THE QUEST FOR SPATIAL QUALITY

A discourse analysis into the conceptualization of spatial quality
within Dutch national spatial planning

by

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Abstract

The pressure on the Dutch (planning) landscape seems to be at an all-time high with a plurality of (future) spatial challenges and transitions affecting the quality of spaces; quality which citizens increasingly desire. This development has resulted in a renewed appreciation in spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning. A multitude of programmes have recently been introduced that feature spatial quality as (part of) their main objective. This quest for spatial quality is, however, not new as it was already on the political agenda during the 1980s, finding its first operationalization within policy in 1988. Since then, its conceptualization and position has developed and changed. This study aims to explore this development process starting with its conception in the 1980s until the year 2020. A discourse analysis paired with the policy arrangements approach are used and adapted to investigate whether a new discourse has been able to instigate change by influencing the available resources, actor coalitions and institutions.

The findings demonstrate that discursive shifts in spatial quality follow a wave-like pattern starting with efforts to instigate spatial quality in the dominant Dutch national spatial planning discourse during the 1980s, followed by a period of hegemony in the 1990s and a subsequent downfall during the late 2000s and onwards. Recent years have experienced a revival in appreciation and interest in the topic with new actors aiming to instigate a new discourse. Overall, the findings indicate that when a discursive shift place took place, interactions with all other policy arrangement dimensions occurred, suggesting the need for resonance with all dimensions for the successful adoption of a new discourse on spatial quality in Dutch national spatial planning. For the successful implementation of recent initiatives to install a new discourse on spatial quality (and to subsequently improve its positioning) it is recommended that resonance is created with all other dimensions of a policy arrangement.

Keywords: Dutch spatial planning, discourse analysis, policy analysis, policy arrangements, spatial quality

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List of tables and figures

This list summarizes all tables and figures in this thesis and their descriptions. All tables and figures with an letter b after their number refer to the original 'Dutch' figures presented in the list of translation in appendix III.

List of abbreviations and terms

BIRK	Budget Investeringen Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit
DG	Directeur-generaal (director-general)
LNV	Het ministerie van Landbouw, Natuur en Visserij (now Landbouw, Natuur en Voedselkwaliteit)
MKBA	Maatschappelijke kosten-batenanalyse
NMP2	Tweede Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan
NRP	Notitie Ruimtelijke Perspectieven
OCW	Het ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap(pen)
PKB	Planologische kernbeslissing
RARO	Raad van Advies voor de Ruimtelijke Ordening
RLG	Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied
RPC	Rijksplanologische Commissie
RPD	Rijksplanologische Dienst
StIR	Stimuleringsprogramma Intensief Ruimtegebruik
SVIR	Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte
V&W	Het ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat
Vijno	De Vijfde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening
VINEX	De Vierde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra
VINO	De Vierde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening
VROM	Het ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer
Wro	Wet Ruimtelijke Ordening
WRR	Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid
WVC	Het Ministerie van Welzijn, Volksgezondheid en Cultuur

List of translations

This list summarizes all in-text translations provided. All translated quotes and figures are presented in Appendix III.

Action agenda on spatial design	Actieagenda Ruimtelijk Ontwerp'
Action programme Space and Culture 2005-2008	Actieprogramma Ruimte en Cultuur 2005-2008
Actualization of the VINEX policy document	Actualisering VINEX
Advisory council on spatial policy	Raad van Advies voor de Ruimtelijke Ordening
Architecture Policy Memorandum	Nota Architectuurbeleid
Council for the living environment and infrastructure	Raad voor de leefomgeving en infrastructuur
Cultural Policy Memorandum	Cultuurnota
Department of Waterways and Public Works	Rijkswaterstaat
Dutch National Physical Planning Agency	Rijksplanologische Dienst
Environment and Planning Act	de Omgevingswet
Environmental quality	Milieukwaliteit
Experiential value	Belevingswaarde
Fifth Policy Document on Spatial Planning	Vijfde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening
Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning	De Vierde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening
Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning Extra	Vierde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra
Fourth Policy Memorandum on Water Management	Vierde Nota Waterhuishouding
Future value	Toekomstwaarde
Government Advisory Council for Public Housing, Spatial Planning and Environmental Policy	VROM-raad
Government Advisory Council for Rural Areas	Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied
Highspeed rail line south and east	HSL(Hogesnelheidslijn)-Zuid en Oost
Housing market	Woningmarkt
Housing quality	Welstandstoezicht
Investment funds for urban renewal	Investeringsfonds Stedelijke Vernieuwing
Landscape Memorandum	Nota Landschap
Longer term programma vital rural areas 2007-2013	Agenda voor een Vitaal Platteland MJP2
Metropolitan areas policy	Grote Stedenbeleid
National interests	Rijksbelangen
National planning commission	Rijksplanologische Commissie
National planning decision	Planologische kernbeslissing
National Policy Strategy on Infrastructure and the Environment	Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte
National Spatial Organization Framework	Ruimtelijke Hoofdstructuur
National Spatial Vision	Nationale Omgevingsvisie
New Key Projects	Nieuwe Sleutelprojecten
Orientation Memorandum	Oriënteringsnota
Pavement tile	Stoeptegel
Performance	Doorwerking
Plan-led spatial planning	Toelatingsplanologie
Planning schemes	Structuurschema's
Plural land-use	Meervoudig ruimtegebruik
Policy Document on Open Air Recreation in the Nineties	Nota beleid voor openluchtrecreatie in de jaren negentig
Project-led spatial planning	Ontwikkelingsplanologie
Public housing	Volkshuisvesting

Quality of the environment	Omgevingskwaliteit
Regional plans	Streekplannen
Scientific council for national policy	Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid
Second National Policy Document on Environmental Policy	Tweede Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan
Societal cost-benefit analysis (instrument)	Maatschappelijke kosten-baten analyse
Spatial Planning Memorandum	Nota Ruimte
Spatial quality	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit
Stimulation programme on intensive use of space	Stimuleringsprogramma Intensief Ruimtegebruik
Subsidy Scheme Investments Spatial Quality	Beleidsregeling Subsidies Budget Investeringen Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit
The ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries	Het ministerie van Landbouw, Natuurbeheer en Visserij
The ministry of Education, Culture and Science(s)	Het ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap(pen)
The ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment	Het ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer
The ministry of Traffic and Water Management	Het ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat
The planning agency for the living environment	Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving
The policy document nature, forest and landscape in the 21st century	Nota natuur, bos en landschap in de 21e eeuw
Third Policy Memorandum on Coasts	Derde Kustnota
Utility value	Gebruikswaarde
Zoning plans	Bestemmingsplan

1. Introduction

1.1 Dynamics in the Dutch planning landscape

The Netherlands is a densely populated prosperous and urbanized country, which results in a high societal dynamic that is pressuring the (spatial) quality of spaces. This dynamic is connected to the transition from an industrial towards a network society (see Castells, 1995) and is further reinforced by the position of the Netherlands within the strongly urbanized and economically vibrant area of Northwestern Europe. Many spatial functions (e.g. housing, recreation, agriculture, industry, transport) compete for the scarce resource of 'space'. At the same time the desire for quality, and with that experiential value and sustainability (i.e. sustainable development) have also increased. Currently, the competition seems to be at an all-time high with a plurality of spatial challenges. The country is facing a housing crisis with a projected current deficit of 0.33 million homes (Obbink, 2020) and a projected demand for one million homes in the next ten years (Jansma & Ockhuijsen, 2021). This is a key spatial challenge the recently installed cabinet aims to tackle by facilitating more housing development (Rijksoverheid, 2022a; 2022b). At the same time the country's peatlands have to be inundated, biodiversity increased, CO_2 and nitrogen-compound (e.g. NO_x) emissions significantly reduced, flood defense systems adapted to climate change and the (public) transport system expanded to meet the growing demand. Additionally, the global thirst for information technology and data requires satisfaction through the construction of new data centers and the energy transition, by means of the construction of renewable energy production sites, is increasing its' merits on the Dutch landscape. The aforementioned developments can be distinguished in the four priorities of the 'Nationale Omgevingsvisie' (National Spatial Vision): (1) Space for climate adaptation and the energy transition, (2) sustainable economic potential (i.e. circular economy, sustainable mobility), (3) healthy and liveable cities (i.e. controlled urbanization and attention for quality of the living environment) and (4) future-proof development that protects and reinforces the cultural historical values and biodiversity of spaces (e.g. sustainable agriculture) (Ministerie van BZK, 2020).

The national government portrays a key role in managing the diversity of spatial claims as it develops a wide range of planning tools, laws and decrees. These tools, laws, instruments and decrees aim to guide the complex planning puzzle and provide sufficient environmental and spatial quality (Arts, 2007). The spatial developments highlighted in the National Spatial Vision have large implications on the environment and affect the quality of spaces (cf. Dirkx & Lankhorst, 2006), while citizens increasingly desire a higher (spatial) quality of their living environment (Brouwer et al., 2007). These developments have put the quest for spatial quality high on the political agenda of the national government. At the time of writing this thesis, the national government has launched three national programs that feature spatial quality as (or as part of) their main objective: 'Programma Mooi Nederland', 'Programma NOVEX' and 'Nationaal Programma Landelijk Gebied' (see Rijksoverheid, 2022c; 2022d; 2022e).

Teisman (1997) argues that innovation is of utmost importance in the search for spatial quality, where through innovation more spatial quality gains can be achieved. Although, Teisman emphasized experiential quality in his thesis, his points remain valid for spatial quality overall as similar notions can be found in the research by Hooimeijer et al. (2001) that focused on a wider conception of spatial quality. Their research into the stimulation of 'meervoudig ruimtegebruik' (plural land-use) describes how plural-land use allows for not only a focus on protecting existing spatial qualities, but also developing new ones. With the new 'Omgevingswet' (Environment and Planning Act) an operation has been instigated that aims to synchronize the planning apparatus with the new societal reality (de Jonge, 2016). With this act the notion of 'ruimtelijke kwaliteit' (spatial quality) will receive a legal basis on the basis of two instances. Firstly, the instruments relating to 'welstandstoezicht' (housing quality), spatial quality and cultural historical protection will be transferred and integrated into the act's legal instruments. Secondly, spatial quality is to be also embedded within the act's three core societal objectives, namely that of

'omgevingskwaliteit' (quality of the environment). Furthermore, as there is growing public demand for quality of the living environment, the national government has given spatial quality a high position on its political agenda (see Ministerie van BZK & Ministerie van OCW, 2020 and Rijksoverheid, 2022a). However, this quest for quality is not new within Dutch national spatial planning. It was already on the political agenda during the late 1980s and found its first operationalization within official policy in 1988. Since then, its conceptualization and position within national planning policy has developed and changed.

1.2 Delving into the quest for spatial quality within national spatial planning

The notion of quality plays a fundamental role in the planning process. But what is quality and what kind of qualities should be preserved or created? The 'Nota Ruimte' (Spatial Planning Memorandum) of 2006 argues for a base level of quality that is required to safeguard the functioning of the Netherlands (Ministerie van VROM et al., 2006). In order to achieve such level of quality, different spatial claims need to be coordinated, but can quality be more than a simple compromise and can careful planning result in additional quality? (Luttik, 2005). This discussion, initiated at the onset of the 1980s within the now defunct 'Rijksplanologische Dienst' (Dutch National Physical Planning Agency, RPD), spawned the term spatial quality (Dauvelier, 1991). The quest for spatial quality has continued ever since, with spatial quality having a fundamental relationship with spatial planning and the pressures and issues it faces. From the 1990s onwards, spatial quality has been pursued by the Dutch national government, as well as by lower levels of government, NGOs and (project-specific) quality teams (see Cousins, 2009; Klijn et al., 2013 and van Assen et al., 2018). As such, various frameworks, guidelines, policy decrees and documents with definitions of spatial quality have been formulated within the Netherlands. The first of such can be found within the 'Vierde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening' (Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning, VINO), which proposes the framework based on Vitruvius's values of *firmitas* (strength), *utilitas* (utility) and *venustas* (beauty) (see Vitruvius & Morgan, 1960) culminating in the three components: 'Gebruikswaarde' (utility value), 'Toekomstwaarde' (future value) and 'Belevingswaarde' (experiential value) (Ministerie van VROM, 1988; Dauvelier, 1991; Hooimeijer et al., 2001).

The meaning of spatial quality cannot be found by looking it up in a dictionary, instead it is constituted socially in the representations and written publications of the national government. For example, the components of the aforementioned spatial quality framework are open to interpretation due to their abstract formulation, culminating in a wide variety of definitions and outcomes within spatial developments (Janssen-Jansen et al., 2009). Teisman (1997) and Leendertse et al. (2016) both regard spatial quality as an outcome of an interactive planning process, one that is able to bring stakeholders together. Such notion highlights that spatial quality is situated within its temporal and spatial context. The frameworks and definitions provided by the Dutch national government aim to influence and steer the outcome as views on spatial quality play a key role in spatial (re)development (Hooimeijer et al., 2001). These views are subjective and find their origin in the plurality of interests involved in the planning process (e.g. economy) (Geertsema et al., 2007). Stimulating spatial quality thus strongly depends on how it is negotiated and conceptualized in the decision-making and planning process (Hartman et al, 2016). It stands therefore, to interpret spatial quality as a social construct in the context of (national) spatial planning (see Goethals & Schreurs, 2011 and Moulaert et al., 2013).

Discourse analysis is a methodology that allows for the analysis of the social construction process (Sharp & Richardson, 2001), and linking these processes to practices, institutions and their structures (see Runhaar et al., 2013). Thus far however, few discourse analyses have been conducted that address the conceptualization of spatial quality. Those that have, have mainly been illustrative of the wide variety of operationalizations on the project-level (see Van Assche & Jacobs, 2002). Other research similarly focusses on highlighting the wide variety of interpretations possible, taking case studies on the project-level (see Janssen-Jansen et al., 2009). One thing all this research shares is the referencing to frameworks and operationalizations made by the national government. Spatial planning is highly devolved and

sectoralized in the Netherlands. Policy documents and spatial plans such as the National Spatial Vision no longer serve as blueprints for Dutch national planning policy. Instead, operationalizations made by the national government serve as a navigation device (cf. Langner, 2014) and source for inspiration and discussion for lower levels of government (Arts, 2007).

As the operationalization on the national level has influence on operationalizations on lower scales, it is valuable to discern how the conceptualization of spatial quality has changed on the national scale. As Healey (1997) describes, such a body of knowledge provide those in the field with reflective material and inspirations for ideas. With spatial quality being socially constructed, it is relevant to examine this development by means of a discourse analysis. Discourse analysis can be used "for understanding choices underlying policies (e.g. problem framing and choice of policy instruments) and controversies in decision making" (van Herten & Runhaar, 2012, p. 3). Discourses discern the ways in which meaning is given to the world (Hajer, 1995; Healey, 1997; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). As such, discourses possess a clear role in governing the social construction of spatial quality. Understanding these discourses is therefore crucial for analyzing what is considered spatial quality (i.e. its conceptualization), and hence why certain operationalizations are deployed in official policy. This knowledge is relevant for (near) future policies that aim to stimulate spatial quality within the future Dutch (planning) landscape. This thesis aims to contribute to the body of knowledge on the discourse on spatial quality by conducting a discourse analysis into the conceptualization of spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning.

1.2.1 Research questions
In order to fulfill this aim, a research question has been formulated to be answered in this thesis:

How is spatial quality defined, conceptualized and operationalized in Dutch national spatial planning discourse since its' introduction in the 1980s?

To support this research question, multiple secondary questions have been formulated.

The first two research questions will be answered based on theoretical information derived from the literature. These serve as the background for the discourse analysis.

1. How is spatial quality conceptualized within the literature?
2. What main discursive changes have occurred within Dutch national spatial planning since the 1980s until now?

The latter two research questions relate to the discourse analysis of this research.

3. What has been the position and definition of spatial quality in Dutch national spatial planning policy documents between the 1980s and now?
4. What discourses have been most dominant in the conceptualization and operationalization of spatial quality between the 1980s and now?

1.3 Research framework
For the investigation of the conceptualization of spatial quality in Dutch national spatial planning, this study adopts a theoretical perspective rooted in the policy arrangements approach (see van Tatenhove et al., 2000). A policy arrangement is defined the "temporary stabilization of both the substance (i.e. content) and organization of a policy domain" (van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003, p. 159). This approach has been selected as it claims to combine all relevant dimensions of a policy domain: Discourses, actors, institutions and resources (power) that allows for the study of a policy arrangement as a whole. Furthermore, this approach has been applied in earlier studies on changes in Dutch policy sectors that are

closely related to (national) spatial planning: Environmental policies (see Arts et al., 2006 and van Tatenhove et al., 2000) and water management (see Hegger et al., 2014 and Wiering & Arts, 2006).

Three features of this approach make it useful for studying spatial quality within spatial planning policy. Firstly, the approach integrates different concepts for the analysis of policy (e.g. discourse analysis and the advocacy coalitions framework). Secondly, it includes both structure and agency, which given the social constructivist nature of spatial quality described above, allows for a more sociological approach (see Giddens, 1984). Thirdly, the policy arrangements approach allows for the inclusion of legal components in the analysis, that within the spatial planning context have a strong role and linkage with discursive shifts. To summarize, the stability and change within these arrangements and the forces that drive them are the gist of this thesis. Parts of the national spatial planning policy domain that contain c.q. refer to spatial quality are analyzed with the aid of the four dimensions. Given the emphasis of this thesis on discourses and discourse analysis, the policy arrangements approach has been adapted to allow for a discourse centered orientation where the other three dimensions explain whether a new discourse has been able to instigate change by influencing the available resources, (potential) actor coalitions and institutions (rules of the game).

1.3.1 Methodology

The aim of study is to explore how the concept of spatial quality has developed over the past decades since its conception in the 1980s until the year 2020. Careful consideration will be given to its conceptualization and its position within policy. More specifically, the conceptualization and position of spatial quality will be investigated from a linguistic approach that highlights the role of discourses. Key policy documents were analyzed on how spatial quality is interpreted, its position within the document (e.g. main or subgoal), its contextual use (e.g. describing in relation to economy) and linkages to other terms. These findings were then compared with other documents considering the timeline of all documents in order to distinguish changes within the policy arrangement and/or the discourse of spatial planning in general and that of spatial quality. These findings were elaborated upon with key actors through interviews to reconstruct the discourses and analyze what had underpinned change in terms of coalition(s) of actors, rules of the game and resources (power).

This methodology allows for the exploration on how discourses influence spatial quality interpretations and its position in Dutch (national) planning. Investigating spatial quality governance by means of a discourse analysis provides not only insights in the history of spatial quality and the current state of affairs, but it also involves the discussion on the future of spatial quality under the Environment and Planning Act.

1.4 Thesis outline

As described above the methodology of this thesis constitutes a discourse analysis. More fundamentally, it considers an analysis of the Dutch language within national policy. This thesis, however, is written in English. As such, translations are provided. The meaning of text may be lost in the translation process, compromising the validity of the data (see Smith et al., 2008). In order to improve the rigor of this thesis, appendix III provides an overview of all translated quotes from textual documents and interview transcripts with their original Dutch text.

Following this introduction to the thesis, the following chapter will portray the theoretical foundation of this thesis. This chapter has four sections. The first section explores spatial quality as a planning concept, investigating theoretical notions behind spatial quality and planning concepts in general, providing a comparison between spatial quality and similar planning concepts. Consideration is given to how discourses are related to, and influence, planning concepts, supporting the understanding of spatial quality as a social construct. Section two investigates the organization of Dutch spatial planning on the national

scale and changes therein since the 1980s. The third section offers an introduction to the policy arrangements approach that provides a theoretical lens to position and investigate spatial quality and the influence of discourses therein. It connects the insights of the previous sections with literature on discourses within planning. The final section concludes this chapter and introduces the conceptual framework. Chapter three introduces the adopted research methodology, the data collection strategy, and data analysis methodology. Following this chapter, chapter four presents the findings of the discourse analysis. This section is followed by a discussion and conclusion (chapter five) on the findings of this research considering the wider academic planning debate as well as its implications on Dutch national planning, ending with a conclusion which answers the research question as well as providing a critical reflection on the research process.

2. Theoretical framework

To ensure a thorough discourse analysis into the conceptualization of spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning, this chapter presents the theoretical underpinning of spatial quality as a planning concept and policy arrangement. The social constructivist epistemic behind the concept is dissected as well as the role of discourses within spatial quality both as a planning concept and policy arrangement. The organization of Dutch national spatial planning since the 1980s is summarized to provide a canvas behind spatial quality within Dutch national planning. Furthermore, the policy arrangement framework is introduced, analyzed and expanded to provide a theoretical framework to dissect the role of discourses within the operationalization of spatial quality. The chapter ends with a conceptual model that visualizes the linkages between the various theoretical concepts discussed within this chapter and the research central to this thesis.

2.1 Spatial quality as a planning concept

Spatial quality is first and foremost a planning concept, originating within times of planning crisis and subsequent change, posing distinct links with other planning concepts and theoretical notions. Viewing spatial quality as a planning concept opens a plethora of options to investigate its origins, changes, as well as construction by means of the communicative and discursive strategies actors deploy.

2.1.1 Environmental quality, landscape quality, architectural quality, or spatial quality?

The concept of spatial quality is discussed predominantly within the boundaries of the Netherlands, as there is little international literature on the topic (Janssen-Jansen et al., 2009). The international literature links the concept of spatial quality to the use and transformation of space (Rapoport, 1970; Segers et al., 2013), the physical geometry (Key & Gross, 2021), physical urban parameters such as lighting, privacy and spatial arrangements (Pacheco & Wyckmans, 2013), as well as the experience of space (Key & Gross, 2021; Rapoport, 1970) and the perception of human and built densities (Pacheco & Wyckmans, 2013). Other literature links the concept with the collective planning process and the notion of co-creation (Teisman 1997; Segers et al., 2013; Leendertse et al., 2016). Most (international) literature describes other concepts that draw similarities with spatial quality such as environmental quality, design quality, landscape quality and architectural quality.

The literature on environmental quality takes a (bio)physical stance, focusing on for example, pollutant concentrations (see Cropper & Griffiths, 1994 and Pierzynski et al., 2005) or taking an economic and financial perspective to environmental pollution (see Shafik, 1994). Literature describing the quality of the living environment and livability similarly feature a clear (bio)physical component, but also give consideration to the 'human' or 'social' component, focusing upon the effects of the direct living environment on people both mentally and physically (see for example van den Berg et al., 2015). The literature on architectural quality provides much stronger linkages with the concept of spatial quality. Rönn (2011) reflects upon the duality behind the concept of architectural quality within a Scandinavian context, describing the duality between the technically oriented definition that relates to building codes and measurable parameters rooted within an engineering tradition (see also Nashed, 2005 and Nelson, 2006), and a subjective aesthetic component, rooted in architecture. Similarly, Probst and Roecker (2007) in a reflection on the architectural quality of solar thermal systems focus upon the integration of said system with a building, describing a similar duality as Rönn (2011) between the perceptions of architects (i.e. aesthetics and perceptions) and engineers (i.e. technical parameters) on what constitutes good architectural quality. Marans and Spreckelmeyer (1982) conclude similarly in their assessment of architectural quality, by means of a survey on occupants, that quality has a distinct functional (i.e. technical) and aesthetic (i.e. perceptive) component.

The literature on landscape quality also reflects on the duality and stark contrast between objectivist and subjectivist perceptions on valuing the landscape (i.e. assessing its quality) (see Lothian, 1999). Daniel (2001) expands this duality by reflecting on perception-based and expert-based definitions of quality, thereby emphasizing that it matters who assesses the quality and by which criteria. This position highlights the situational and context-specificness behind the definition and interpretation of such a concept, a notion that is also emphasized by Dutch-speaking authors that write about spatial quality (see Teisman 1997; Goethals & Schreurs, 2011; Moulaert et al., 2013; Hartman et al., 2016 and Leendertse et al., 2016). Janssen-Jansen et al. (2009) regard the literature on landscape quality as one of the spatial concepts most related to the concept of spatial quality.

To add to the confusion, within the Dutch context, the concept of architectural quality is strongly linked to spatial quality. The term architectural quality was introduced with the first 'Nota Architectuurbeleid' (Architecture Policy Memorandum) in 1991 (see Ministerie van WVC & Ministerie van VROM, 1991). To develop the framework for this concept, the policy whitepaper of Tjeerd Dijkstra, former Chief Government Architect of the Netherlands (1979-1986), on architectural quality (see Dijkstra, 1985) and the framework on spatial quality presented within the VINO was used. The result was a framework, that similarly to spatial quality, was founded based on the principles of Vitruvius consisting of the three terms: Cultural historical value, utilitarian value and future value (Ministerie van WVC & Ministerie van VROM, 1991). This framework consisted of a larger conceptual framework that included notions such as cohesion, clarity and recognition that aim to improve the relationship between the building and the context of its environment.

Cousins (2009) in his research into design quality policy for Dutch housing, therefore, refrains to the terminology of design quality as both the concept of spatial quality and architectural quality focus on achieving similar results, albeit on different geographical scales, by means of similar frameworks and are spearheaded by the same policy makers and experts in the field of spatial design. In Dutch planning practice, both terms as well as other names are used, both alongside each other, as well as synonymous. These are terms that in their selective use pertain additional emphasis on certain elements such as the 'landscape' (i.e. the rural), the 'building' or the 'environment' (i.e. a biophysical emphasis). In this research, the terminology of spatial quality is used as it as a term and concept forms the basis of subsequent landscape and architectural quality definitions and frameworks within the Netherlands.

2.1.2 The origin of planning concepts

Over the course of the 20th century the exercise of spatial planning was left formally to the national government, which had positioned itself as the 'problem solver' of any issues regarding the environment (Wissink, 2000). This was further supported by long-held assumptions that central governments possess the ability to exercise a higher degree of control and are better equipped to represent the public good. However, at the terminus of the 1970s, societal critique on the government's role and performance became more abundant. The control of the Dutch national government started to fall behind the growing complexity, welfare and diversity of society (Kooiman, 1993; Pierre & Peters, 2000). Planning processes had become increasingly distant from society (WRR, 1983).

The governance paradigm of the modern state proved insufficient (Rehg, 1996). Its spatial planning focused on coupling knowledge to direct action (Friedmann, 1998). However, it resulted in a decrease in effectiveness and citizen satisfaction of government functioning. The ensuing crisis of the welfare state (see van Doorn & Schuyt 1978 and de Beus & van Doorn 1984) highlighted its inefficiencies. In many Western nations society experienced a shift towards a governance paradigm more focused on market-led values and neo-liberal principles, the New Public Management[1] (Osborne, 1992; Yeatman, 1994). Planning had lost its political appeal and became rather uninspiring in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

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[1]see van Damme (2004) and Hulsink (2001) for an account for the New Public Management within the Netherlands.

This prompted planners to come with a new approach (Gunder, 2003; 2006) resulting in thinking along more conceptual lines. The late 1980s and early 1990s sparked several 'planning' concepts that functioned as the new guiding principles within spatial planning and policymaking (Gunder, 2006, see also Zonneveld, 1991). Concepts such as 'mainports', 'urban hubs', 'compact cities', 'ecological infrastructure' and 'spatial quality' provided a new impetus for spatial planning (see Zonneveld, 1991). This shift was accompanied by an altered understanding of the role of (national) spatial planners.

It was the time that society no longer accepted that planners are the master experts that hold all answers (Dean, 2001). Concepts such as spatial quality can be used as signifiers for planning (Gunder, 2003). Concepts in themselves do not have a fixed meaning. Instead, actors involved in the planning process give meaning to the concept through hegemonic discourse (Žižek, 1999). Hegemonic discourses are the discourses that those in power use and constitute the 'dominant' discourse (Runhaar et al., 2013). As a result, concepts can have various functions and be used to the benefit of organizations or actors that use it (Gunder & Hillier, 2009). For example, they can be used as a tool to reach consensus by visualizing common objectives and bringing people together, providing the grounds for an agreement (Gunder, 2006; Kooij et al., 2012). More importantly, they can be used to describe (or visualize) the future development of the landscape (van Duinen, 2004). Spatial quality is especially evident in the latter function.

2.1.3 The dimensions and roles of planning concepts

Spatial concepts have acquired a strong presence in the Dutch planning tradition which can be related to the strong planning culture of planning and organizing space (Kooij et al., 2012). They are required to substantiate spatial policy goals and strategies (VROM-raad, 2011). Concepts have a powerful nature as they can be used by people to order the complexity of the world (Gunder & Hillier, 2007). With regards to spatial quality, planning concepts express in a synthetized form (i.e. by means of imagery and words) how people interpret the spatial organization of a particular space (Zonneveld, 2007). Their performance, however, strongly depends on their inherent content, ambition and setting, as well as the power of its users (Hagens, 2010). Power is also at work in the creation of concepts and their acceptance and effects (de Jonge, 2009). This power can be materialized in the availability of knowledge, institutional control over resources and in the rhetorical power of its communication. An important notion with this is that power itself is not concentrated in a certain place or amongst certain actors, instead it is concentrated within the planning process and in the relationships between its stakeholders (Flyvbjerg, 2001). As such, it is also no longer concentrated within institutions and organizations but diffused within networks, which Castells (1997) positions within the process, that is, "within people's minds" (p. 359). As concepts tend to disturb established power relations (de Jonge, 2009), and power itself is diffused, concepts can take on different dimensions through which it can manifest itself within the planning process and influence its power diffusion. Zonneveld (1991) identifies five (Habermasian) dimensions that concepts can have within planning:

- The *cognitive* dimension describes the empirical knowledge regarding the planning issue and its situation based on different forms of knowledge (i.e. tacit, personal and scientific).
- The *intentional* dimension describes the normative intentions of a planning concept to improve an existing situation (i.e. its desires and expectations).
- The *communicative* dimension describes how understanding and new meanings emerge through the means of verbal and metaphorical language.
- The *institutional* dimension is related to the roles, interests, instruments and competences of stakeholders involved.
- The *action* dimension focuses upon how concepts guide implementation by describing how spatial interventions can take shape (e.g. which policy instruments).

In comparison, Rönn (2011) identifies two different functions for the concept of architectural quality. Firstly, the concept can be used as an open and norm building concept, which will be interpreted by means of active debate. This function is comparable to the communicative dimension of Zonneveld (1991). Secondly, the concept can have a distinct usability value in which quality is positioned as a practical question that requires answering. This entails giving consideration to particular spatial desires and needs of for example, end-users, to guide the planning process. This second function is comparable to the action and intentional dimension.

The five dimensions by Zonneveld (1991) all possess distinct elements of power that are represented by actors. Actors take on a role regarding these dimensions. Actors who demonstrate involvement in multiple networks (i.e. dimensions) are considered key agents in the process from the creation of concepts to implementation (de Jonge, 2009). Furthermore, for successful creation and implementation of concepts, all dimensions require attention. However, not all of these functions can take place within the planning domain as certain certainties and powers of planning have been absolved in the wake of governance renewal between the 1980s and 2000s (Witsen, 2007).

2.1.4 Determining the dimension(s) and role(s) that spatial quality takes

The dimension and role spatial quality as a concept takes is the result of socio-technical and economic factors and dominant discourses. These factors assert their influence, both through gradual processes and in the face of windows of opportunity, on the planning agenda and profession (van der Cammen et al., 2012). To illustrate, spatial quality originally posed a distinct aesthetic and sustainability concept built upon the 2000-year-old legacy of Vitruvius as its first framework (1988) strongly relates to Vitruvius's framework of architectural quality; The unity of form (*venustas*), function (*utilitas*), and construction (*firmitas*). However, in contemporary practices it has surpassed this status, becoming a more important aspect of regional competitiveness (i.e. economic importance of spatial quality) (see Dammers et al., 2005 and Assink & Groenendijk, 2009). Some contemporary reflections regard spatial quality as a 'empty' concept without meaning (Segers et al., 2013; Van Assche & Jacobs, 2002).

Gunder and Hillier (2009) reflect on a form of empty (or open) concepts, referred to as 'master-signifiers', which draw strong resemblances with spatial quality. Master-signifiers, similar to spatial quality, are not 'empty' but rather meaningless as they do not have objective content (i.e. they have no fixed definition). They can, however, be used to provide direction by signifying ambitions and problems and providing frames of reference (Kooij et al., 2012). In remaining 'fuzzy' such concepts may turn into "an empty signifier which can be filled to justify almost any ends" (Porter & Davoudi, 2012, p. 329). On the upshot, this property also provides "interpretative flexibility" (Star, 2010, p. 602). This lack of objective content provides the foundation for the reproduction of dominant discourses as this void is filled by means of an omniscient ideology or discourse (Žižek, 2007). As such, the concept does not have a fixed definition (i.e. static meaning), but rather is (re)defined through social relations that connect different discourses (Kooij et al., 2012). Meaning is then given to the concept by means of hegemonic discourse (Žižek, 1999). Concepts as such then provide the proving grounds for discourses, enhancing their reproducibility, culminating in a dominant (hegemonic) discourse. Westerink et al. (2012) and Markusen (1999) similarly highlight the bearing potential of such concepts to stimulate discourses. Concepts (and their dominant discourse) however, must be reaffirmed to retain their mobilizing capacity (Dembski & Salet, 2010). Otherwise, some concepts remain a discourse rather than resulting in actual implementation and reproduction (Bachus, 2009).

2.1.5 Operationalization of the concept spatial quality

Operationalization of an ambiguous open concept such as spatial quality sparks a wide diversity of interpretations and definitions. The 'VROM-raad' (the Government Advisory Council for Public Housing, Spatial Planning and Environmental Policy) concluded in their inquiry into spatial quality that it is in essence a subjective term (VROM-raad, 2011). Similarly, the 'Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied'

(Government Advisory Council for Rural Areas, RLG) argued that no general definition for spatial quality can exist, rather its operationalization occurs on a contextual basis (RLG, 2005). In this operationalization spatial design professionals (e.g. landscape architects) portray an important role as they can offer quality judgement (see also Rönn, 2011). The valuation of quality itself is also both a political and individual choice (RLG, 2005). Beukema et al. (2015) similarly concluded that spatial quality is no objective term, but rather comprises a subjective, individual and political judgement. This makes it also difficult to relate to spatial quality from a singular point of view (e.g. ecology).

These notions emphasize the social constructivist nature of giving meaning to the concept (cf. Van Assche & Jacobs, 2002; Goethals & Schreurs, 2011; Moulaert et al., 2013; Hartman et al., 2016). This social constructivist epistemic relates also to the concept's inherent dualism with its dynamic and context-related underpinning (Hooimeijer et al., 2001). Spatial quality is context specific as its final operationalization is unique to particular cases and localities and influenced by personal circumstances, but it is also dynamic as the valuation of certain qualities change over time (see also Leidelmeijer et al., 2008 and Ruth & Franklin, 2014). Rönn (2011) and Hooimeijer et al. (2001) both point to the distinction that quality should be seen in its context. The context, that is, the locality, time, scale, society and culture, influences how quality is interpreted. However, this influence is not the same for all actors involved in the operationalization of the concept. Furthermore, this influence only partially explains the operationalization process. The operationalization of the concept effectively occurs in the arena of politics and planning (Hartman et al., 2016). The actors involved within this arena all have a different perception and understanding of (spatial) quality and interpret it through a variety of lenses, lenses through which space itself is interpreted (Hartman et al., 2016). These lenses are greatly influenced by (in)formal institutions (e.g. traditions), our education and profession (e.g. our point of view), individual experiences, as well as by the context within which quality is interpreted (Rönn, 2011). More importantly, such lenses are influenced by discourses and frames that function as ordering and sense-making devices (Hajer & Laws, 2006; Weick, 1995). Actors involved within spatial quality governance shape the operationalization of the concept by exerting agency such as authority, actions and power relations, and by means of framing and establishing discursive positions (cf. Epstein, 2010). Discursive positions and framing, elements of discourses, influence the lenses of actors, their interests as well as the identities of actors (see Mukhtarov, 2014).

Criteria and frameworks, such as those created by the national government, also influence the operationalization of spatial quality. They function as ordering and sense-making devices (cf. Hajer & Laws, 2006; Weick, 1995) and as such influence and reproduce dominant discourses. Rönn (2011) distinguishes two types of quality criteria within architectural quality: Context-specific criteria that relate to a particular project or programme (such as within a design brief) and general criteria which emerge out of stable patterns visible within multiple projects and programmes. These stable patterns visualize recurring elements that influence "judgement of quality on a deeper plane" (Rönn, 2011, p. 108). These general criteria strongly resonate with dominant discourses, highlighting that the aforementioned discursive positions are not limited to the project level in which spatial quality is being operationalized. Furthermore, general criteria might strongly resonate with criteria and frameworks furthered by the national government. These frameworks reproduce dominant discourses and are themselves influenced by dominant discourses (i.e. an arena on the national level preceded the framework).

2.2 Spatial quality as a national policy

Planning concepts provide a vital communicative and reflexive role. However, they must be understood in their institutional context (Westerink et al., 2012). Spatial quality has a fundamental relationship with spatial planning in general and the various changes and pressures it is faced with. From the late 1980s and onwards, spatial quality has been pursued by the Dutch national government, as well as by lower levels of government, NGOs and (project-specific) quality teams (see Cousins, 2009; Klijn et al., 2013 and van Assen et al., 2018). During that same period, large changes within Dutch spatial planning occurred that, driven by a shift from government to governance (see Louw et al., 2003), led to a reconsideration of (national) planning responsibilities and tasks. Understanding the origin of these changes provides the canvas on which spatial quality has been conceptualized since its conception until now within Dutch national planning policy. Viewing spatial quality as a policy opens up a theoretical framework of analyzing shifts in discourses (i.e. conceptualizations within policy) through the framework of policy arrangements, that posits linkages with other elements of policies: Power, actors and institutions.

2.2.1 Dutch national spatial planning

Within the Netherlands, planning responsibilities are spread over three governmental layers: National, provincial and municipal (see Wolsink, 2003). Legally, the core of spatial planning can be found within the municipal zoning plan, which is the only legally bounded planning instrument (Needham, 2004). Frameworks and plans made at higher levels of government function as a navigation device (cf. Langner, 2014) or source of inspiration and discussion for lower levels of government (see Arts, 2007). As such, coordination between these levels is required which occurs through legal decisions and communication and negotiation efforts. Planning concepts have become an important instrument for the national government to shape "the minds of actors involved in spatial development" (Faludi, 2001, p. 664). Concepts are known to have been used as an expression of policy ambitions, being subsequently translated into policies and practices of other actors, and at different levels of scale, as well as being used within decision-making (see Faludi, 2000 and Mastop & Faludi, 1997). The use and application of concepts as such have been referred to as 'doorwerking' (performance) and as a way of reproducing the technocratic Dutch planning doctrine (van der Cammen et al., 2012; Faludi & van der Valk, 1994). Furthermore, such 'performance' is facilitated by a centralized financial system that provides the national government with 'golden strings of control' (cf. Faludi & van der Valk, 1994). Whereas overtime shifts can be seen within spatial planning on the national scale, shifts that are linked to the emergence of governance and the introduction of the New Public Management, there is still a strong grip of subsidy regulation on planning content, and thus with spatial planning on lower levels of government following the logic of the subsidies governed by the national level (van der Cammen et al., 2012).

2.2.2 Shifts in Dutch national spatial planning

Since the release of the VINO, discursive shifts regarding spatial planning can be observed within Dutch national planning, most importantly, shifts in responsibilities. The VINO embodied the neoliberal philosophy (Klerk & van der Wouden, 2021) and stipulated a different role for the national government to take with regards to its planning responsibilities in the future (van der Woud, 2006). This philosophy not only materialized itself in the strategies and governance behind national planning policy, but also in the linguistic usage of national planning policy documents, introducing the term 'woningmarkt' (housing market) to talk about housing in the Netherlands rather than 'volkshuisvesting' (public housing). The shift instigated by the VINO can be summarized in the key terms: Fragmentation (and with that decentralization and sectoralization) and market-orientation (and with that project-led spatial planning) (see van der Cammen et al., 2012 and Davoudi, 2008). Each of these 'shifts' had its clear impacts on spatial planning within the Netherlands on the national level and cumulatively they describe the contemporary Dutch national planning governance landscape. These changes form a canvas onto which spatial quality is (re)constructed. As such, it is of importance to understand how each process influences spatial planning policy on the national scale to get an overview of national spatial planning policy in the Netherlands.

Fragmentation

The shifts in Dutch national planning resulted in an increase of actors involved within the planning process, a change linked to paradigmatic shifts towards a more sociocratic democratized process (van der Cammen et al., 2012). Scholars refer to this as the emergence of governance (Jessop, 2000; Rhodes, 1996), which entails a growing involvement of non-governmental stakeholders in 'governing' (Macleod & Goodwin, 1999) but also a weakened position of the national government (Aldred, 2012; Berger, 2003). With an increase of actors, power becomes divided amongst a multitude of parties, which Arts (2007) divides between 'developing' power, those that support a spatial development and 'impeding' power, those that oppose it. As a result, decision-making is no longer straightforward and linear, but instead occurs more iteratively through a negotiation process where the conflicting interests make reaching consensus difficult (Margerum, 2011).

In order to reach consensus, new approaches in decision-making emerged reflecting a more inclusive process of (shared) governance (Innes & Booher, 2010; Healey, 1997). Within these approaches, a clear focus was placed on forming coalitions at multiple levels of government and between governmental, market and civil actors (Hooghe & Marks, 2003; Rhodes, 1996). The key term in planning became 'collaboration' which would generate agreement on planning interventions and decisions by merging institutional capacities (Faludi, 2012), expanding the scope of understanding (Van Assche et al., 2012) as well as legitimizing planning (Forester, 1989; 1993). These concepts were integrated into the decision-making process through the transition towards a more area-specific/oriented approach to spatial development (Hajer and Zonneveld 2000; Louw et al. 2003; de Roo, 2003). With this approach stakeholders gain more importance, and planning became more focused on shared responsibility and building trust (Warsen et al., 2019). As such, the approach can be seen as the revision of the relations, and thus cooperation, between both public and private actors in the planning process (Dwarshuis & Van Rooy, 2005). Within area-oriented development the area is placed at the heart of the plan rather than the other way around. The focus becomes placed on working towards a tailor-made optimum result for the locality (de Roo, 2003). Although the scope of spatial planning has widened and area-based approaches have emerged (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009), it is argued that predefined concepts, such as a framework for spatial quality, have strong support amongst planners (Kooij et al., 2012).

Decentralization and sectoralization

The fragmentation process has also materialized itself in the devolution of planning responsibilities towards lower tiers of government (i.e. provinces and municipalities) (Roodbol-Mekkes & Van den Brink, 2015; de Vries, 2000; Waterhout et al. 2013), as well as the sectoralization on the national level dividing planning tasks amongst multiple ministries. Firstly, the devolution (i.e. decentralization) marked the start of realignment of administrative planning responsibilities that changed relations of authority. The national government could no longer expect lower levels of government to implement its plans. According to van der Cammen et al. (2012) national planning concepts (such as spatial quality) lost their value as *leitmotiv* as a result of decentralization. The national government argued that local governments "must be afforded greater freedom and as much integrated responsibility for the local living environment as possible" (Ministerie van VROM, 2001 et al., p. 68). A further consequence of decentralization was the expansion of the organizational and spatial scope of previously narrowly defined planning concepts (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018).

Secondly, the sectoralization has resulted in national planning policies being situated amongst multiple sectors (Wiering & Immink, 2006). Van der Cammen et al. (2012) further argue that this development has led to a greater orientation on short-term problems and compartmentalization of space, diminishing large spatial questions and integral approaches from political sight. Salet (1994) argues that this shift from one 'control center' towards a differentiated positioning of government for each policy sector (i.e. fragmentation) can be seen as the most profound change in Dutch (planning) policy. The sectoralization has resulted in a multitude of governmental actors becoming involved within the spatial planning domain.

This plural positioning of the national government possesses different interests, which can complement, but also contradict each other. Zuidema and de Roo (2015) describe this process as an "implosion of national policies into a complex, fragmented, voluminous and sometimes conflicting body of policies" (p. 74). A risk accompanying this phenomenon is the proposition of fragmented solutions for coherent spatial challenges (Wissink, 2000) as no integration takes place (Zuidema & de Roo, 2015). The 'Nota Ruimte' published in 2006 proclaimed the further devolving of planning responsibilities alongside a minimizing of national involvement in spatial planning affairs (Ministerie van VROM et al., 2006). Additionally, the financial crisis of 2008 and the austerity measures it brought forward have made active planning and participation by governments less favorable (see Ewijk & Teulings, 2009 and Klerk & van der Wouden, 2021), reducing the amount of attention towards, and investments in, spatial quality. Ministerial strategies and organizations were merged to integrate and simplify national (sector) policies, resulting in the abolition of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM) in 2010. The national planning agenda was trimmed as well, particularly in its reduced interest in spatial quality (Balz & Zonneveld, 2020). Figure 2.1 visualizes the dissolution of the former Ministry of VROM and the current division of national spatial planning responsibilities amongst ministries (sectors). Furthermore, figure 2.2 summarizes the devolution of national planning responsibilities to lower tiers of government.
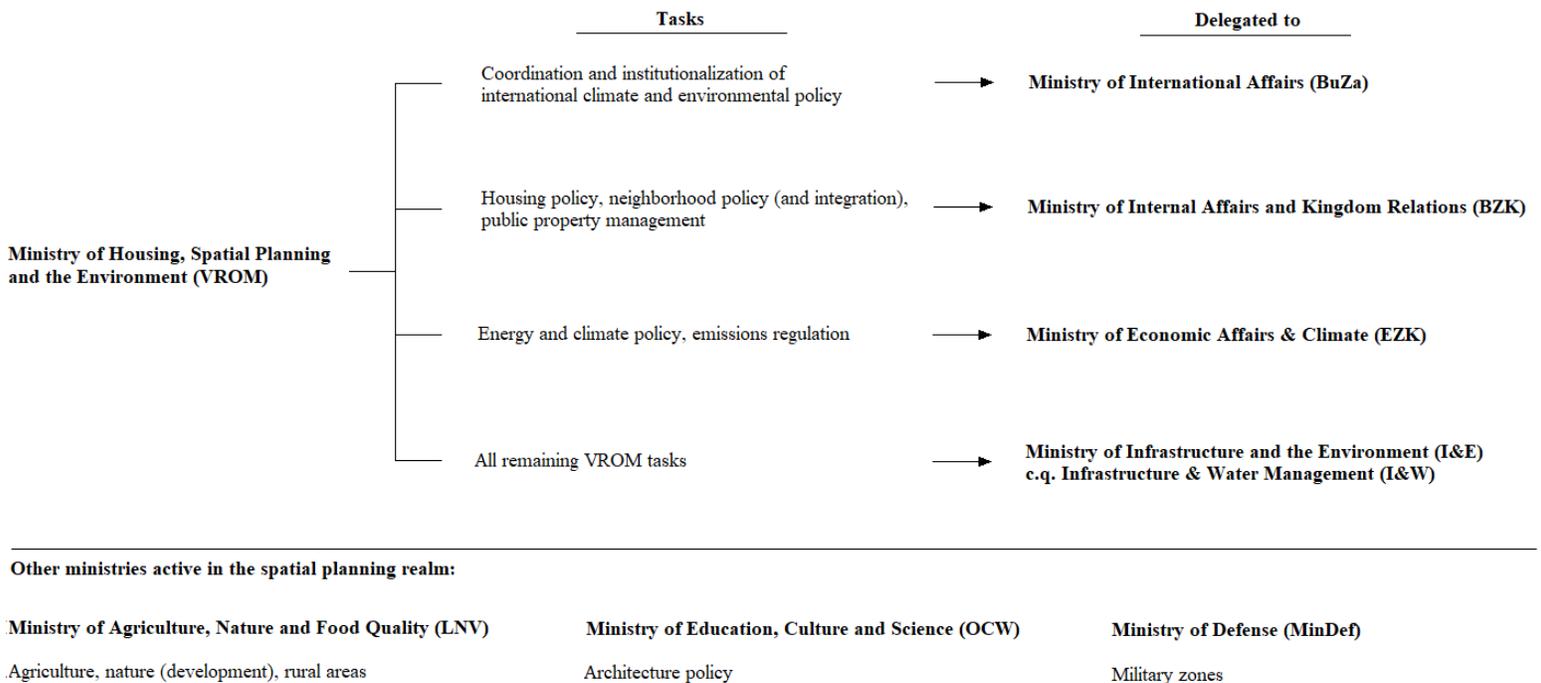
Figure 2.1: A simplified visualization (made by author) of the dissolution of spatial planning tasks of the former ministry of VROM towards four other ministries and other ministries active in the planning domain, made by author.

National government
(Rijksoverheid)

Regional government
(Provincies)

Municipalities
(Gemeenten)

x12

x345 (1 January 2022)

Tasks devolved

Rural areas
(agriculture, nature)

Spatial planning,
Housing, urban
(economical)
development,
environmental
planning,

(b)
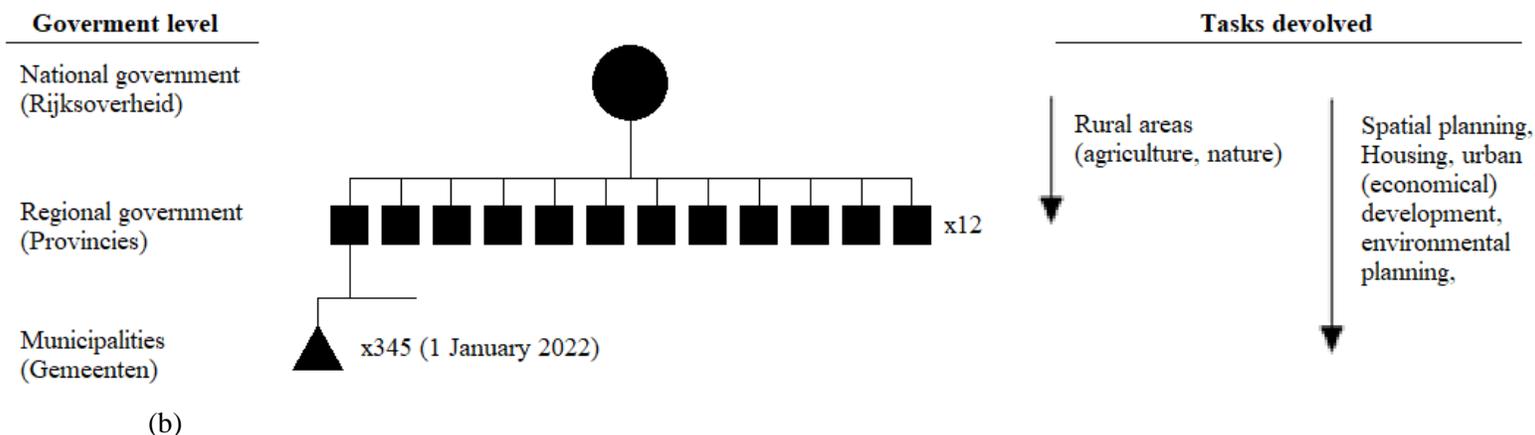
Figure 2.2: The devolution of planning tasks from national to provincial (regional) and municipal levels, made by author.

Market-orientation and project-led spatial planning

The VINO argued that spatial planning should provide the framework for public and private investments (Ministerie van VROM, 1988), describing the need for a new planning approach in which "adjustment of the quality will be the response to changes far more often than expansion of the quantity" (Ministerie van VROM, 1988, p.7). As such, it and subsequent national spatial planning policy documents argued for a smaller, but guiding, role of the central government and wider involvement of non-governmental parties (Beunen & Opdam, 2011). The guiding role entails a shift from regulatory behavior towards strategic and proactive behavior in spatial development (Roodbol-Mekkes & Van den Brink, 2015; Waterhout et al., 2013). Segeren et al. (2005) in their institutional analysis of the Dutch land market describe how the national government's role can be categorized more as a market-participant rather than a market-director/leader. Within this role the national government's behavior starts following the principles of transaction costs (Buitelaar, 2004; Paavola & Adger, 2005). With that it focuses on the efficient delivery of public services or products (Kelly & Muers, 2002), in line with the philosophy behind the paradigm of New Public Management (see Osborne, 1992 and Yeatman, 1994).

This principle has been materialized in the 'maatschappelijke kosten-batenanalyse' (societal cost-benefit analysis instrument, MKBA) that quantifies the expected costs and benefits in euros to improve effective decision-making (Dammers et al., 2005; Ruijgrok et al., 2004). Spatial developments and projects, in which the national government involves itself are accompanied by this instrument. The MKBA was accompanied by a focus on feasibility, entailing a stronger focus on implementation and a strong grip of subsidy regulation on plan contents (van der Cammen et al., 2012). However, this method has two major drawbacks. Firstly, the costs and benefits are predetermined and thus constitute of a fictive scenario as not all effects can be accurately predetermined (Crouwel, 2005). Secondly, there are numerous societal effects that cannot be easily quantified or quantified at all. The latter is of importance to spatial quality design governance. Mels Crouwel, former Chief Government Architect of the Netherlands 2004-2008, notes how this methodology results in a one-sided view on architecture and spatial quality with its focus on aesthetics and the functional and utility quality that can easily be quantified (Crouwel, 2005). He argues that all indicators need to be viewed in their cohesion as architecture (which Crouwel sees as the discipline of quality) is "more than just aesthetics, it is also about functionality, future value and cultural qualities" (Crouwel, 2005, p. 54). What if a spatial development improves the spatial quality and future experiential quality of a locality, can the MKBA already account for these future benefits? Although the MKBA has steadily been improving, it still excludes certain costs and benefits as they are unable to be monetized.

This greater emphasis on the market and a smaller role of the national government also gave rise to the methodology of 'ontwikkelingsplanologie' (project-led spatial planning) (van der Cammen et al., 2012). Generic planning methods that relied on top-down regulation (i.e. plan-led spatial planning or toelatingsplanologie, in Dutch) were too crude for the variation in practice and the high societal dynamism/dynamics of the postmodern age (Kooiman, 1993; Pierre & Peters, 2000). The reduction of involvement by the national government in financing public housing and the desire to expand the involvement of the private sector, and subsequent public-private collaboration, made that project-led spatial planning started to replace regulatory planning as the new methodology for spatial planning in the Netherlands. Lukkes (1990) described the new role of Dutch spatial planning as guiding investments precisely towards spots deemed the most desirable from a spatial planning point of view. However, planning had difficulties in portraying this role as investors and developers, which possessed power in the new area-oriented development c.q. project-based planning process, did not have patience and understanding for planners and their procedures and visions (van der Cammen et al., 2012).

These large-scale shifts in national spatial planning emphasize a decrease in institutional capacity within spatial planning on the national scale. Stoker (1998) argues however, that these shifts do not entail a reduction of power for national governments, rather it is a shift in focus and with that utilizing a suitable governing style. Shifts within governance are often presented as unilinear changes within a particular policy domain (Weber et al., 2011). On the contrary, a plurality of different styles and scales have proliferated (Jessop, 1998). Furthermore, changes did not occur immediately, and some are still within the transition process. Formalized operationalizations of spatial quality within formal national policy documents can be seen as temporary stabilizations within this process of change. Such operationalizations within national policy can be seen as a policy arrangement (see Hajer et al., 2004 and van Tatenhove et al., 2000). A rich assortment of policy arrangements exists, and can co-exist alongside each other, as a result of a variety in actor constellations, policy discourses and policy instruments (van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003). The emergence of new coalitions between actors, the launching of new policy discourses, alterations in the capacity of actors to change and define the rules of the game and actors mobilizing resources, can provoke innovation in for example, spatial quality policy operationalizations, resulting in new policy arrangements (cf. van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003).

2.3 Policy arrangements, towards a conceptual framework

The content (i.e. substance) of, and organization behind, a policy make up the building blocks of its policy arrangement (van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003). Policies are not static but change as perceptions and opinions are spatially and temporally bound (Arts & van Tatenhove, 2004) and are influenced by ideals and conceptions by relevant actors and sectors (Van Assche et al., 2011). A policy arrangement can be seen as a "temporary stabilization of both the substance and organization of a policy domain" (van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003, p. 159). The stability or dynamics of a policy arrangement can be analyzed by means of its analytical framework that claims to link all relevant dimensions of a policy domain: Discourses, rules of the game (institutions), actor coalitions and resources (power) (see van Tatenhove et al., 2000).

Changes in a particular policy (i.e. innovation) can be initiated from any of these dimensions (van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003). For example, (1) the dominant discourse can be reformulated, (2) the actor constellation can be changed by adding or expanding the number of actors involved, (3) the rules of the game may change on which the policies are built, and (4) power relations may be reshaped by altering the available resources available to the policy domain (Arts & van Tatenhove, 2000). There is a clear division between substantive and organization aspects of policy arrangements. Whereas actors, resources and rules of the game influence the organizational aspect, discourses refer to the substance of a policy arrangement (Wiering & Arts, 2006). Figure 2.3 visualizes the analytical model underpinning the policy arrangements approach. Table 2.1 presents an operationalization of all four dimensions of a policy arrangement in the context of spatial quality in national spatial planning.
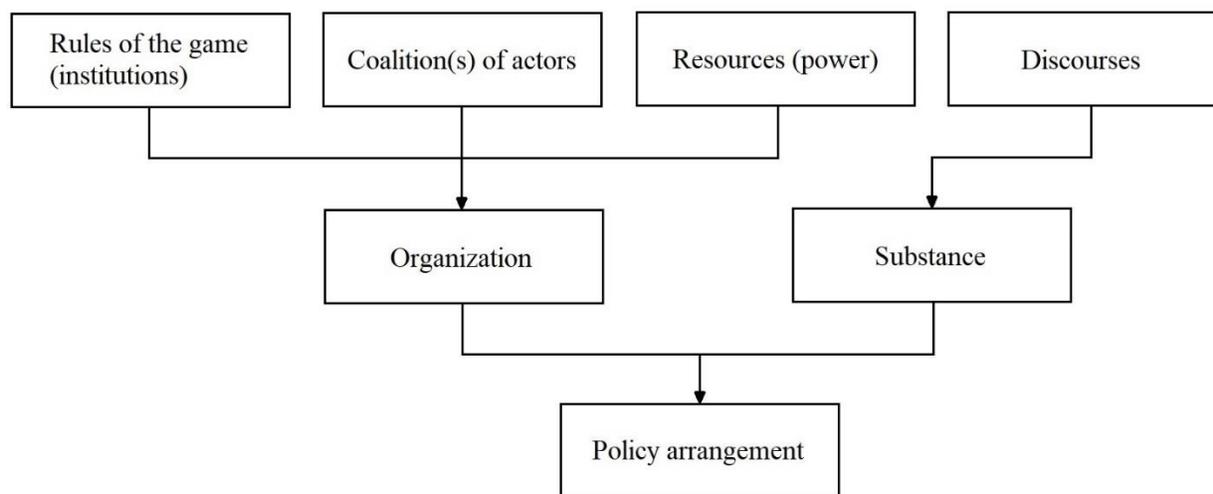
Figure 2.3: The dimensions behind a policy arrangement, image after van Tatenhove et al. (2000).

Institutions

Conceptions and opinions about problem definitions and suitable solutions (e.g. policy) are determined and influenced by institutions (Klerk & van der Wouden, 2021). These institutions are the rules and norms that guide and shape the policy conceptualization process (Beunen & Patterson, 2019). More specifically, they can be defined as frameworks that function as templates for the manner in which actors perceive their environment and the manner in which they act (cf. Salet, 2002). Similarly, Peck (2011) points to the constitutive role of institutional conditions in shaping and energizing the adoption of new policy ideas through policy mobilization. Institutions (i.e. rules) can be divided into formal and informal (Healey, 2007). Formal institutions are explicit and codified through legislation and policies and reproduced by means of their enforcement apparatus (Van Assche et al., 2012). Within Dutch national

planning only pre-defined objective minimum quality standards are defined regarding environmental-physical and construction-physical parameters. Policies such as spatial quality make use of frameworks that are open to interpretation, therefore they are also largely influenced by informal institutions. This realm is influenced by power relations between involved stakeholders as well as discourses (van Tatenhove et al., 2000). Similarly, Hajer (1995) concludes that institutions are enacted and represented through discourses. Ostrom (2005), in a different interpretation, concludes that institutions reflect dominant interests in society (or an organization). These interests can be dictated by discourses.

Coalition(s) of actors
Policy actors play a fundamental role in the policy arena. Actors can coalesce around favored policy definitions and solutions, forming coalitions (see Haas, 1992). Various approaches to studying policy change assign a large role to agency, and with that, actors and their underlying interplay resulting in coalitions. The path dependence approach for instance, highlights the role of actors in protecting existing policy models (see Greener, 2002). The advocacy coalition framework (see Sabatier, 1988; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993) on the other hand, describes that change occurs through interaction between external effects (i.e. shocks) and the success of new ideas in coalitions which may prompts (key) actors present within the advocacy coalition to shift coalitions (Cerna, 2013). Policy diffusion points to the notion that policy actors need to create discursive resonance between policy actors to adopt new policy ideas (Li, 2007; Epstein, 2010; Hasan et al., 2019). Successful adoption of new ideas depends on whether the actors are able to gather sufficient support for the policy ideas to spread (see Akrich et al., 2002, p. 203). All approaches point to the distinctive role of actors and the agency they exert, with coalitions posing a strong enabling or disabling function in the adoption of new policy ideas and components.

Resources
Power dynamics and relations are involved within policy systems that impel the system whether to engage or not with new ideas. Power is always present and exists within relations at different levels and in different forms (Foucault, 1997). These relations are mobile, can be modified and are thus not fixed. Power and its relations define not only the strategic interactions between actors, but more fundamentally also the definition of who is considered an actor, as well as the definition of (policy) problems, methods and solutions (Hillier, 2002; cf. Ferguson, 1994). As such, the division of power between actors can influence who and what determines the outcomes of policies (i.e. goals) and the methodology of achieving said outcomes (Arts et al., 2006). Within the policy arrangements literature, power is operationalized exclusively in the context of agency. With that, power refers to the division of resources between actors involved in a particular policy domain that leads to differences in influence (Leroy & Arts, 2006). More specifically, it is about power and domination (van Tatenhove & Leroy, 2003). Power here refers to the mobilization, deployment and division of resources and domination refers to the influencing of who determines the outcomes of a particular policy (cf. Arts et al., 2006). The last statement points to the importance of key or powerful actors (and institutions that act as agents).

Discourses:
Policies and their institutions (i.e. constitutional rules) reflect shared beliefs (North, 2005; Ostrom, 2005). Discourses are the practices and beliefs that are shared, relational and contextual (van den Brink, 2009). Discourses can be described as "a body of ideas, concepts and beliefs which become stablished as knowledge or as an accepted worldview. These ideas become a powerful framework for understanding and action in social life" (Bilton et al., 1996, p. 210). Discourses prescribe an institutionalized lens, consisting of specific terms and boundaries to what can and cannot be said, through which actors give meaning to aspects of the world around them (Runhaar et al., 2013). They prescribe the ways in which meaning is given (Hajer, 1995; Healey, 1997; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). As such, discourses possess a clear role in governing the social construction of spatial quality. Although discourses are in essence about views and perceptions, they are real in their physical consequences (Collinge & Musterd, 2009; Jinlong, 2007). Discourses are maintained by actors such as managers, political leaders and directorates of both

public and private organizations. Discourses that are shared by the majority of actors involved within the planning process, or discourses that are imposed on these actors by more powerful actors (or coalitions thereof) are considered dominant 'hegemonic' discourses (Runhaar et al., 2013). These express themselves through a wide variety of mediums such as written texts, visual representations, or within social practices (i.e. actor choice, speech) (Waitt, 2005). Subsequently, dominant discourses manifest themselves within policy rhetoric, institutional structures and policy documents (Sharp & Richardson, 2001). These manifested discourses within policy documents condition policy actors down the line, functioning as the "constitutive of institutions" (Mayr, 2015, p. 755, see also Epstein, 2010).

Table 2.1: The four dimensions of a policy arrangement and their operationalization.

Dimension	Coalition(s) of actors	Discourses	Rules of the game	Power & Resources
Operationalization by Arts et al. 2006 and Leroy & Arts (2006)	the actors and their coalitions involved in the policy domain	The policy discourses in effect: The views and narratives of actors (i.e. their norms and values and definitions and approaches to problems and solutions), as well as the specific content (in writing) of policy documents and programmes	The rules of the game in operation in terms of rules for (political) interaction and formal procedures in the policy-making process	The division of power and influence between actors, with power referring to influencing the available resource pool and determining who sets policy goals
Can be recognized within, following Hegger et al. (2014) and Wiering & Arts (2006)	Support of key (powerful) actors and coalition forming with (key) actors	Policy programmes, policy objectives and policy concepts used in the former two	Legislation, legal instruments, procedural and substantive norms and informal rules	Legal authority, financial power

2.3.1 Reflections on the policy arrangements approach

The original policy arrangements framework understands changes to result from alterations in the composition of its four dimensions, with dimensions influencing either the content or organizational aspect of the policy domain (see Arts & van Tatenhove, 2000). This model however poses a distinct separation between the four dimensions, giving no consideration to the interactions between the four dimensions themselves and thus also the possible influencing of discourses on the organizational aspect and vice versa, the rules of the game, resources and actor coalitions on the substance aspect of a policy arrangement. This is a significant weakness of the original model as various authors demonstrate the existence of important linkages between the four dimensions: Van Assche et al. (2012) describes linkages between three dimensions, demonstrating how powerful (i.e. resource rich) actors (and their coalitions) possess the ability to create and change the rules of the game. Furthermore, actors are enabled and constrained by their institutions (i.e. rules of the game) and frameworks (Beunen & Patterson, 2019). Kooiman et al. (2008) understands these structures as the frameworks in which (coalitions of) actors operate, consisting of the formal institutions (i.e. rules of the game) and available resources. Arts et al. (2006) describes how discursive innovations (i.e. developments in the discourses dimension) can bring about new actor coalitions (see also Hajer, 1997), acquire new resources and alter institutions. Similarly, Thelen (2004) and Weaver & Rockman (1993) demonstrate the capability of discourses in mobilizing actors (i.e. forming coalitions) and maintaining (i.e. resisting change) institutions. To solve this impasse, Arts et al. (2006) propose a tetrahedron figure (see figure 2.4) to visualize the connections between all four dimensions.
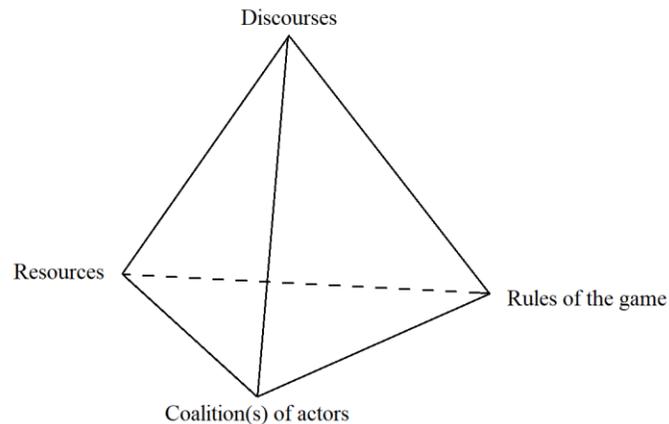
Figure 2.4: The tetrahedron visualizing the connections between all four dimensions of a policy arrangement, adapted from: Arts et al. (2006).

The argument of Arts et al. (2006) describes how change can be initiated from either dimension, proposing a hypothesis that a chain reaction has to be instigated affecting all other dimensions. van Tatenhove & Leroy (2003) conclude that innovations in one particular dimension tend to influence other dimensions and subsequently policy arrangements as a whole, implying a greater role for resonance amongst the four dimensions for successful change in (or instigation of) policy arrangements. As Liefferink (2006) explains, when change occurs in one of the four dimensions, the other dimensions change accordingly. Multiple pathways of interaction between dimensions are thus possible for successful change in a policy arrangement. This thesis places the discourse dimension at the heart of the policy arrangements model and focusses whether a discourse has been able to influence available resources, the actor constellation and institutions to enact change. The follow section explains the rationale for assigning a central role for discourses and the possible pathway within the model.

2.3.2 Towards a discourse centered policy arrangements model
Policy objectives tend to be framed within a discourse (Howlett, 2009). However, these objectives do not emerge spontaneously, they require enforcement and scaling by means of creating coalitions (of actors), acquiring resources (and power) as well as being aided by existing institutions (Beunen & Patterson, 2019; Dollery & Wallis, 1999). This notion provides a directory for establishing a pathway on the policy arrangements model that assigns a central role for discourses. The study of changes in institutions (e.g. spatial governance) through an institutional lens (i.e. institutional work) emphasizes human agency and the nature of policies as dynamic constructs (Lawrence et al., 2009; Schmidt, 2008). This perspective understands change predominantly as a result of communication (Beunen & Patterson, 2019) and puts emphasis on the ways in which actors construct, reproduce, or alter the meaning of policies and their institutions (i.e. institutional context). The institutional work actors undertake is fundamentally political and involves competition between interests as well as collectively binding effects (Beunen & Patterson, 2019). This implies that changes in policies are not only about the content, but also relate to what Ostrom (2005) calls 'constitutional rules' (i.e. rules of the game). Formal institutions not only provide the foundation of politics, but are its very essence (Pierson, 2000).

The meaning and relevance of policies and their institutional context can be maintained, changed, contested and even rejected through the actions of actors (Beunen & Patterson, 2019). Discourses constitute the worldview of these actors and their ideas, which posits a powerful foundation for their action (cf. Bilton et al., 1996). Communication is the medium through which discourses and its beliefs and ideas are created, shared, and sustained (Beunen & Patterson, 2019). Communication changes reality as conversations help constitute it (i.e. aid the social construction) (Ford, 1999). Discourses thus have a central role within political processes (Hajer, 1997). Politics in essence constitutes a struggle for

discursive hegemony wherein political actors aim to secure support for their construction of reality in order to enact change in for example, a policy arrangement.

Hajer (1997) introduces two concepts related to this process: Discourse coalitions and storylines. Storylines describe the narrative on social reality, which provides a set of references that suggest a common understanding. They provide a foundation for clustering knowledge (i.e. power), the positioning of actors and the forming of coalitions actors within a policy domain (van Tatenhove et al., 2000). Other times storylines can function as a directory for action (Low et al., 2003). By presenting themselves as claims (of what is truth) and organizing themselves around ideas, events, characters and dilemmas, storylines can be translated into (in)tangible practices. This results in discourses becoming intrinsic part of (organizational) routines, (shared) rules, norms, institutional frameworks and policies (Willems, 2018).

Storylines are the outcome of interactive and reflexive positioning by actors creating and sustaining a discursive order (Davies & Harré, 1990). Storylines facilitate discourse coalitions as they resonate with certain actors and their belief systems and interests. Actors will form coalitions to share storylines that they believe are credible, although their motives might be different. Discourse coalitions can operate as loosely coupled actors, but they can also be formally embedded in institutional frameworks (Hajer, 1995). Such coalitions materialize themselves in the policy context around programs, shared policy goals or by means of institutional frameworks (Wiering & Immink, 2006). Policies are then formed through the combination of ideas influenced by the dominant discourse and their organizational context. As a consequence, discourse coalitions can be defined as the ensemble of a set of storylines (i.e. the narratives found within policy texts), the actors that further these narratives (i.e. coalitions) and the practices in which discursive activities take place (i.e. institutions). The above notions have explicated the possible interactions between discourses on the one hand, and the other three policy arrangements dimensions on the other. This is in line with Wedel et al. (2005) that describe the anthropology of policy to be the "cultural and philosophical underpinnings of policy – its enabling discourses, mobilizing metaphors, and underlying ideologies and uses" (p. 34). To summarize, the environment in which a discourse operates depends on the coalitions of actors, power diffusion, available resources and the rules of the game, and discourses can interact with these three dimensions to gather strength to enforce policy arrangement change. Figure 2.5 visualizes a changed policy arrangements model that takes a discursive stance, assigning a larger role to discourses.
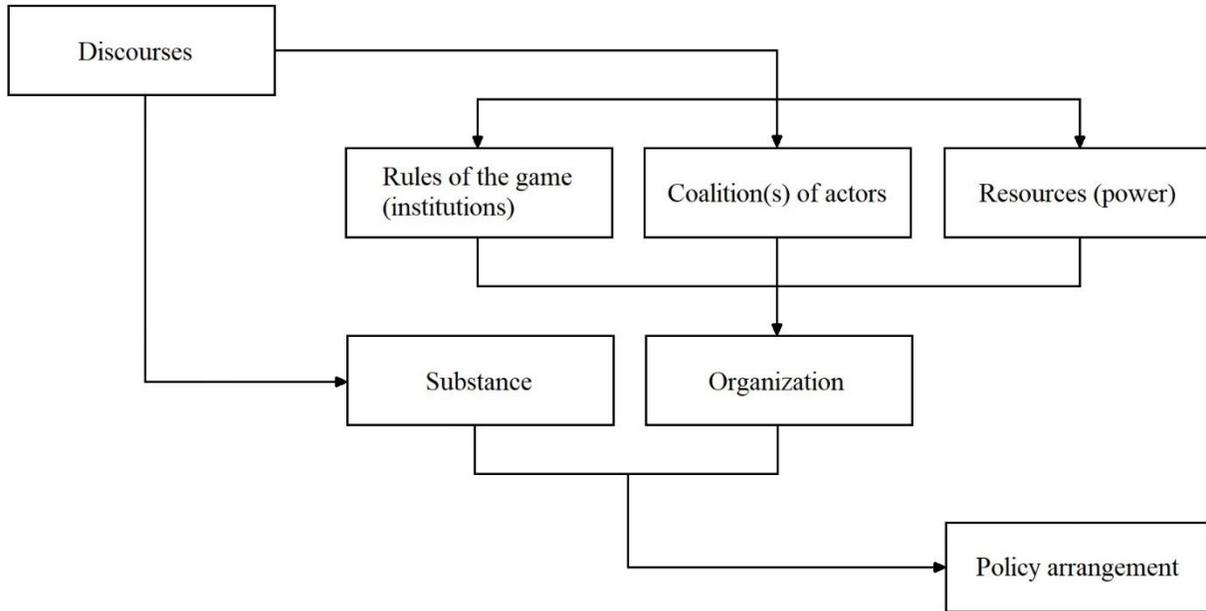
Figure 2.5: the policy arrangements model from van Tatenhove et al. (2000) with a stronger emphasis on discourses and incorporating notions of the tetrahedron by Arts et al. (2006), made by author.

Thus far, this chapter has elaborated upon the central role of discourses in the conceptualization of spatial quality, both from the perspective of spatial quality as a planning concept and policy. These notions justify the discourse centered perspective on the conceptualization (i.e. social construction) of spatial quality by demonstrating the key role of discourses within said process when viewing it from the perspective of planning concepts as well as policies. The policy arrangement approach provides an analytical framework that allows for the identification of discursive shifts in changes within policy arrangements (i.e. spatial quality conceptualization and operationalized within national spatial planning policy). By expanding this model to become more discourse centered, the other three dimensions explain whether a new discourse has been able to instigate change by influencing the available resources, the actor constellation and institutions (rules of the game). The literature emphasizes the strong role discourse can take in influencing the other dimensions of a policy arrangement and that changes within policy arrangements most likely feature a discursive shift.

2.4 Conceptual framework
Following a full elaboration of the theoretical concepts that serve as the foundation of this study, a conceptual model is presented (Figure 2.6). The conceptual model provides a visual representation of theoretical concepts central to this study and their interconnections. It starts by explaining the discourse dimension and the two elements that constitute it: The hegemonic discourse in Dutch national spatial planning that influences the operationalization and positioning of spatial quality therein. Within this perspective, one thing is deemed important: The discursive shifts in Dutch national spatial planning itself over the last 30 years which provides a canvas on which spatial quality has developed. This provides an important reference when analyzing spatial quality within national spatial planning policy and whether general planning discursive shifts have been dominant. Regarding the analytical model of the policy arrangements, the influence of discourses described in section 2.3.2 justifies the alteration of the model into becoming more discourse centered. In doing so it solves one major weakness of the original model, that of not highlighting the interaction (pathways) between the four dimensions for successful change.

By studying the changing definition, description and positioning of spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning policy alongside relevant changes in institutions, resources and actor constellations, discourses and discursive shifts can be identified, which contributes to answering the research question regarding the dominant discourses in the conceptualization and operationalization of spatial quality. The following chapter elaborates upon the methodology to study spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning.
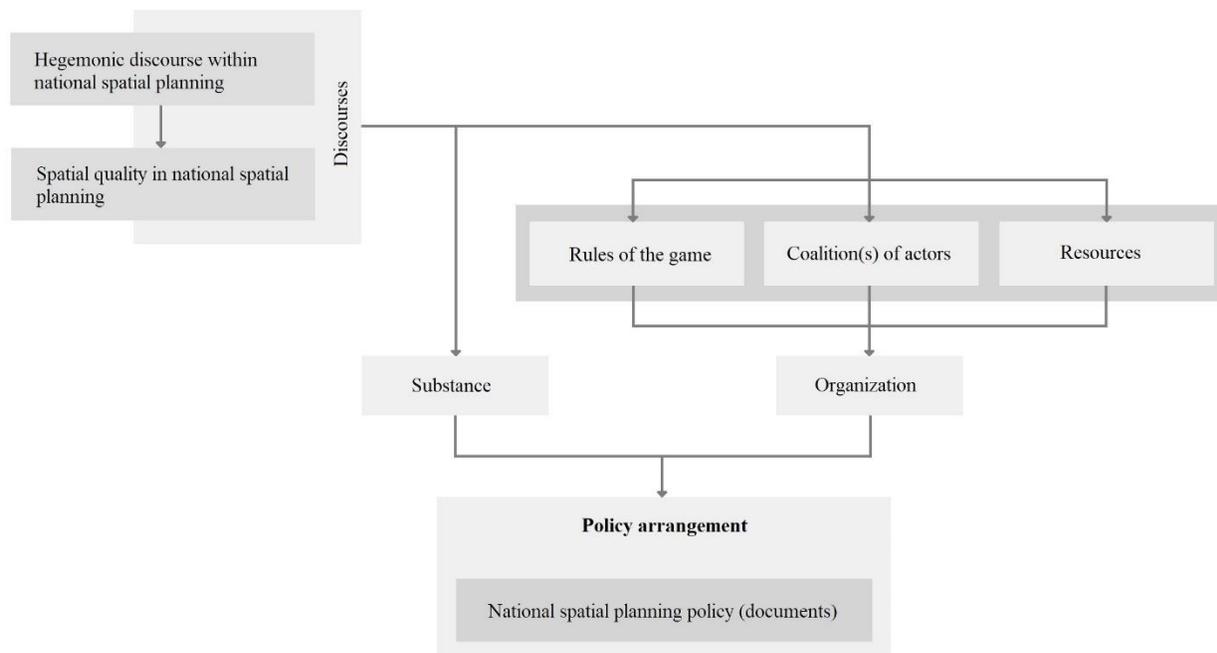
Figure 2.6: The conceptual framework of this study, made by author.

3. Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological approach behind this thesis. The methodology prescribes an organized and systematic effort that is geared to answering the main research question. This study examines the role of discourses in spatial quality policy within Dutch national spatial planning.

3.1 Research design

To identify the discourses that influence spatial quality on the national scale, this thesis first and foremost adopts a qualitative research design as it offers a greater understanding of social realities by drawing attention to structural features, processes and patterns of meaning (Flick et al., 2004). In comparison, quantitative research derives insights from numerical data and larger datasets to uncover insights following a reductionist epistemic (Clifford et al., 2010). More fundamentally, the epistemological stance of quantitative modes understands reality as objective and independent of human consciousness (Cooper, 2015). As shown previously, the epistemological foundation behind spatial quality is one of social constructivism, assigning a larger role *inter alia* to discourses and argumentation (see Dicke, 2000; Dryzek, 1997; Hajer, 1995 and Hannigan, 1995). As such, a quantitative approach is less appropriate to study the phenomenon of spatial quality.

A qualitative methodology is useful to uncover underlying discourses that have contributed to outcomes in the current situation (Waitt, 2005). Furthermore, it allows for a more holistic exploration of the context, such as the support structures of discourses (see McFarlane & Hay, 2003), which this thesis has defined according to the policy arrangements model (see section 2.3).

Two more aspects regarding the research design need further elaboration. Firstly, both deductive and inductive approaches have been used in this research. Starting on the basis of a theoretical grounding aids in the research design and data gathering (Cavaye, 1996; Parkhe, 1993). Subsequently, an inductive approach is applied as the gathered data 'speaks' and is analyzed to identify discursive structures (Waitt, 2005). The successful separation of both approaches is inherently complex, therefore a "continuous interplay" (Parkhe, 1993, p. 256) of both approaches allows for a structured approach to undertaking the discourse analysis.

Secondly, the core of this thesis constitutes a discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a methodology to explore the outcomes of discourses, that is, "the way in which society makes sense of certain phenomenon" (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 176), which can be distinguished in terms of attitudes, perceptions or actions (Waitt, 2005). It specifically concerns linguistics and is therefore regarded as the study of language-in-use (Hastings, 1999; Wetherell et al., 2001). There exists a wide variety of approaches in doing discourse analysis, with two common traditions (i.e. approaches), or as Alvesson & Karreman (2000) describe it, dimensions: The linguistic, textually-oriented discourse analysis and the Foucauldian argumentative discourse analysis. Below follows a description of both approaches.

- The *linguistic* approach conceptualizes discourses as "a devise for making linguistic sense of organisations and organisational phenomena" (Willems, 2018, p. 2). It orients itself on language itself and the use of said language by means of textual analysis in combination with an actor-oriented approach (see Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 1997).

- The *argumentative* approach focuses on linking discourses to their socio-institutional context (practices, institutions and their structures (see Alvesson & Karreman, 2000; Hajer, 1995; 2005 and Sharp & Richardson, 2001). Discourses in this perspective reflect dominant actors (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000). The Foucault methodology considers more than just texts, it also focuses

upon the rhetoric and practices by policy actors to explore the articulation of hegemonic discourses (Carabine, 2001; Sharp & Richardson, 2001).

This study makes use of the latter tradition, which is the most common deployed approach to discourse analysis in planning linking discourses to practices, institutions and their structures (see Runhaar et al., 2013). Furthermore, this methodology allows for the investigation of the processes that underlie policies (i.e. the conceptualization of spatial quality within national planning policy) (van Eeten, 2001; Sharp & Richardson, 2001). Discourses in this methodology are conceptualized as a competition between discourse coalitions, attempting to find acceptance of their framing (see Sabatier & Jenkens-Smith, 1999 and Weible et al., 2009). Furthermore, this perspective argues that discourses cannot be understood in isolation from power (Runhaar et al., 2013) as power determines which discourses are hegemonic and which are discredited.

This study takes a Foucauldian approach in which discourses are seen 'within texts' rather 'as texts' (Hajer, 1995; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Sharp & Richardson, 2001). Foucauldian approaches give explicit attention to how power (i.e. resources within policy arrangements), actors (and their coalitions) as well as institutional structures connect (see Richardson, 2001). As such, this perspective fits with the policy arrangements model presented in section 2.3. With regards to the topic of study, spatial quality, it is about finding its 'episteme' within policy documents and reconstructing this by means of interviews with involved actors. Episteme concerns how thinking is structured about a particular subject (i.e. spatial quality) and how certain methodologies (i.e. policy documents) produce a particular subject (i.e. conceptualization of spatial quality) (cf. Foucault, 1972).

3.2 Study design

In order to address this study's research objective of identifying changes within the conceptualization of spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning policy and the role of discourses therein, a single case study approach was followed. This choice was made as previous studies undertaking a discourse analysis of (planning) policy (see Rozema & Bond, 2015; Runhaar et al., 2013 and Willems, 2018) made use of a single case study approach. The use of case studies is a common research methodology as they enable the acquisition of in-depth and context-specific knowledge (Yin, 2003). Furthermore, case studies are particularly useful in the enquiry of specific contexts (see Gray, 2014). They are particularly useful in investigating complex interactions between factors (such as discourses and the other dimensions of policy arrangements) (McLeod, 2010). Considering the importance of contexts highlighted within the literature on discourses (see Runhaar et al., 2013), a case study approach is deemed most appropriate for this thesis. However, the legitimacy, objectivity as well as reliability of this approach is also questioned. McLeod (2010) argues that the methodology is not suitable for generalization based on its findings. Nonetheless, its insights can be useful for informing future policy practice in other cases.

Following this justification for selection a case study methodology, this subsequent section will further explicate the case study design. A single case is used as research based on a small number of cases allows for the surfacing of fine-grained analysis within the discussion of findings (Rozema & Bond, 2015). This materializes itself in a deeper understanding and richer description of the phenomenon studied (Dyer et al., 1991; Siggelkow, 2007). Discourse analyses utilizing case studies often make use of small cases for that particular reason (see Rozema & Bond, 2015; Runhaar et al., 2013 and Willems, 2018). In this thesis, the Netherlands is the context in which a case is selected, because of its' unique use of the concept of spatial quality. More fundamentally, it is studied as an embedded case. This entails, contrary to a holistic case which views cases as a complete entity, that there is a focus on the sub-units within the case overall (Platt, 2007). The four dimensions of the policy arrangement model described in the theoretical framework can be seen as such sub-units.

3.3 Case study selection

The conceptualization of spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning can be seen as a singular case. This choice has been based on the fact that spatial quality is unique to the Dutch context, secondly the concept originates within Dutch national planning policy, and finally the conceptualization made on the national level has a direct impact on operationalization on the lower (i.e. project) level. As highlighted in section 2.2.2, spatial planning has seen discursive shifts, one of which entails the sectoralization of spatial planning responsibilities on the national scale. Multiple ministries have since been involved with spatial quality policy. The ministries of Education, Culture and Science (OCW), Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM), Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (LNV), and Traffic and Water Management (V&W) c.q. Infrastructure and the Environment (now Infrastructure and Water Management) have been selected to jointly describe Dutch national planning policy.

3.4 Data collection

This thesis makes use of a multiple-method approach consisting of the three sources of data: Policy documents, grey literature and semi-structured interviews. The utilization of different qualitative collection methods is considered essential for case study research (Yin, 2003). The triangulation of multiple sources strengthens the breadth of the findings and is considered essential for in-depth and content-rich case study research (Yin, 2017). Furthermore, the use of multiple data sources, coupled with transparency about the research carried out ensures the validity of the case study (Gray, 2014).

3.4.1 Policy documents and grey literature

A policy documents analysis is a form of qualitative research that makes use of a systematic procedure to analyze textual data in order to answer pre-defined research questions (Frey, 2018). The analysis of policy documents is a common feature within discourse analysis literature (Runhaar et al., 2013). They allow for the identification of hegemonic discourses as well as struggles between discursive formations (Sharp & Richardson, 2001; see also Mazza & Rydin, 1997). As documents are situated in their wider context which have influenced their creation, a fundamental element of discourse analysis, contextual information such as legal status, author(s), publication year and relation to other policy documents was also retrieved and when relevant addressed in chapter four.

The aim of the policy document analysis is to unravel the general positioning and conceptualization of spatial quality within Dutch national planning and the developed frameworks and definitions. For this purpose, the main national planning policy documents (and policy documents of national agencies) have been selected as the main units of analysis. These policy documents were selected as they have been produced by policymakers involved in spatial quality governance on the national level. They present the results of a negotiation process that preceded the definitions and frameworks within policy documents. As such, the policy documents can be viewed as "social facts" (Atkinson & Coffey, 1997, p. 47). However, these documents visualize only a part of the process, namely that of its positive side (i.e. outcomes) (see Bowen, 2009), which in turn may also be geared to influence policy discourses within spatial quality (cf. Wolman, 1992; Stead, 2012). Therefore, documents 'outside' of the national planning apparatus have also been included in this thesis's analysis, by exploring reflections, summaries, critiques and reflections in professional journals (e.g. Landschap and ROM magazine), from official government advisory councils (e.g. VROM-raad), on websites (e.g. Omgevingsweb), and within grey documents from interest groups (e.g. Federatie Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit). Ultimately, 37 policy documents coupled with 57 sources of additional grey literature were identified for further analysis. Table 3.1 shows the documents analyzed within the discourse analysis (i.e. the policy documents) listed by year, original (Dutch) title and reference. Table 3.2 describes the additional documents convened to supplement the contextual description of all policy documents. Appendices I and II prescribe a more elaborate overview of all the policy documents and additional documents including an English translation of the original Dutch title.

Table 3.1: Brief overview of the selected policy documents for the discourse analysis. Selection made by author. See appendix I for an elaborate overview.

Year	Document title	Reference
1988	Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening (VINO)	Ministerie van VROM (1988)
1989	Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan	Ministerie van VROM et al. (1989)
1990	Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan +	Ministerie van VROM (1990)
1991	Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening extra (VINEX)	Ministerie van VROM (1991)
1991	Ruimte voor Architectuur: Nota Architectuurbeleid	Ministerie van WVC & VROM (1991)
1992	Nota Landschap	Ministerie van LNV (1992a)
1992	Nota beleid voor openluchtrecreatie in de jaren negentig	Ministerie van LNV (1992b)
1993	Tweede Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan	Ministerie van VROM et al. (1993)
1995	Discussienota Visie Stadslandschappen	Ministerie van LNV (1995)
1996	Actualisering Vinex	Ministerie van VROM (1996)
1996	De Architectuur van de Ruimte: Nota over het architectuurbeleid 1997-2000	Ministerie van OCW et al. (1996)
1997	Nota stedelijke vernieuwing	Ministerie van VROM (1997)
1997	Nederland 2030 – Discussienota: Verkenning ruimtelijke perspectieven	Ministerie van VROM & RPD (1997)
1997	Vierde Nota waterhuishouding	Ministerie van V&W et al. (1998)
1998	Derde Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan	Ministerie van VROM (1998)
1999	Nota Belvedere	Ministerie van OCW et al. (1999)
2000	Nota natuur, bos en landschap in de 21ste eeuw	Ministerie van LNV et al. (2000)
2000	Anders omgaan met water: Waterbeleid in de 21^e eeuw	Ministerie van V&W (2000a)
2000	3^e Kustnota: Traditie, Trends en Toekomst	Ministerie van V&W (2000b)
2000	Ontwerpen aan Nederland: Architectuurbeleid 2001-2004	Ministerie van OCW et al. (2000)
2001	Vijfde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening (Vijno)[1]	Ministerie van VROM (2001)
2001	Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan 4	Ministerie van VROM et al. (2001)
2003	Beleidsregeling Subsidies 'Budget Investeringen Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit' (BIRK)	DG Ruimte (2003)

2004	Nota Mobiliteit	Ministerie van V&W & VROM (2004)
2005	Actieprogramma Ruimte en Cultuur 2005-2008: Architectuur- en Belvederebeleid	Ministerie van OCW et al. (2005)
2006	Nota Ruimte	Ministerie van VROM et al. (2006)
2006	Agenda voor een Vitaal Platteland MJP2	Ministerie van LNV (2006)
2006	Handreiking Kwaliteit Landschap	Ministerie van LNV & Ministerie van VROM (2006)
2008	Een cultuur van ontwerpen: Visie architectuur en ruimtelijk beleid	Ministerie van OCW et al. (2008)
2012	Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte (SVIR)	Ministerie van I&M (2012)
2012	Actieagenda architectuur en ruimtelijk ontwerp 2013-2016	Ministerie van I&M et al. (2012)
2012	Kader ruimtelijke kwaliteit en vormgeving	Rijkswaterstaat (2012a)
2012	Handreiking ruimtelijke kwaliteit en vormgeving	Rijkswaterstaat (2012b)
2016	Actieagenda Ruimtelijk Ontwerp 2017-2021	Ministerie van I&M & Ministerie van OCW (2016)
2017	Kader ruimtelijke kwaliteit en vormgeving	Rijkswaterstaat (2017)
2020	Nationale Omgevingsvisie	Ministerie van BZK (2020)
2020	Actieagenda Ruimtelijk Ontwerp 2021-2025	Ministerie van BZK & OCW (2020)

[1]this policy document was never formally ratified

Table 3.2: Brief overview of the selected grey literature consulted to supplement the document in the discourse analysis. Selection made by author. See appendix II for an elaborate overview.

Year	Document title	Reference
1982	Plan in openbaar bestuur: - "ruimtelijke kwaliteit"	Dauvellier & Wardenaar (1982)
1984	Op zoek naar ruimtelijke kwaliteit	Dauvellier (1984)
1985	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit	Dauvellier & Leeflang (1985)
1986	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit in NRP en 4^e Nota	Vrij et al. (1986)
1989	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit en de praktijk van de Ruimtelijke Ordening	Petrus (1989)
1990	Naar Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit	RARO (1990)
1991	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit: De oorsprong en toepassing van een begrip	Dauvellier (1991)
1992	Eindrapport van de Stuurgroep Groene Hart	Stuurgroep Groene Hart (1992)
1993	Jong-leren in de ruimte: Over bewustmaking van ruimtelijke kwaliteit bij de jeugd	RARO (1993)
1995	Een geschiedenis van de zorg voor de kwaliteit van de leefomgeving	Siraa et al. (1995)
1996	Ruimtelijk beter investeren	RPD (1996)
1997	Nieuw land ontwikkelen: Zinnig of onbezonnen?	RLG (1997)
1998	Grote projecten: Als het moet, dan ook goed	RLG (1998)
1998	Stedenland-plus	VROM-raad (1998)
1998	Het Stimuleringsprogramma Intensief Ruimtegebruik	Bouwmeester et al. (1998)
1998	Ruimtelijke ontwikkelingspolitiek	WRR (1998)
1999	De kwaliteit van Vinex-uitleglocaties	de Wildt et al. (1999)
1999	Stad en wijk: Verschillen maken kwaliteit	VROM-raad (1999a)
1999	Sterk en mooi platteland	VROM-raad (1999b)
1999	Geleid door kwaliteit: Interim-advies over landelijke gebieden en de 5e Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening	RLG (1999a)
2000	Made in Holland: verscheidenheid en identiteit als basis	RLG (1999b)
2000	Het belang van samenhang	RLG (2000a)
2000	Wonen in het landelijk gebied	RLG (2000b)
2000	Dossier Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit 2.0	Wagenveld (2000)
2001	Advies vijfde nota ruimtelijke ordening	SER (2001)

2001	Kwaliteit in ontwikkeling: Interim-advies over de Vijfde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening	VROM-raad (2001)
2001	Kwaliteit in meervoud	Hooimeijer et al. (2001)
2001	Natuur voor mensen, mensen voor natuur: Nota natuur, bos en landschap in de 21e eeuw	De Blust & Demeulenaere (2001)
2002	Balans Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit 2001	RPD (2002)
2002	Minder blauw op straat?	VROM-raad (2002a)
2002	Impuls voor ruimtelijke investeringspolitiek	VROM-raad (2002b)
2002	De Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit van Verkeer en Waterstaat	de Vries et al. (2002)
2003	Is er wat te beleven aan snelwegen?	Kamphuis et al. (2003)
2003	Nieuwe Sleutelprojecten in aantocht	Ministerie van VROM (2003)
2005	Tijd voor kwaliteit	RLG (2005)
2005	Schoonheid is geld!	Dammers et al. (2005)
2005	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit: sturende kracht op de rivier	van Venetië (2005)
2005	De bezweringsformule voorbij – Ruimtelijke kwaliteit ontrafeld met een analyzematrix	Luttik (2005)
2005	De ruimtelijke kwaliteit en de waarden	de Smidt (2005)
2005	Pakt de Nota Ruimte de verrommeling aan? – Ontwikkelingsplanologie en landschappelijke waarden	Farjon (2005)
2005	Nota Ruimte maakt gebiedsontwikkeling met kwaliteit mogelijk	Vink (2005)
2006	Snelwegpanorama's in Nederland	Piek et al. (2006)
2009	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit in gebiedsontwikkeling	Janssen-Jansen et al. (2009)
2009	Evaluatie sleutelprojecten	van der Wouden et al. (2009)
2009	Negen Nationale Snelwegpanorama's	Bemmer & Looijmans (2009)
2010	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit en rijksbemoeienis	Spaans & Trip (2010)
2011	Verkenning ruimtelijke kwaliteit	VROM-raad (2011)
2014	Kwaliteit zonder groei	Rli (2014)
2014	Trendbreuk in het nationaal ruimtelijk beleid	de Zeeuw & Feijtel (2014)
2014	Wie maakt Nederland?	Heesen et al. (2014)
2015	Waard of niet	Witsen (2015)
2016	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit en omgevingskwaliteit	Witsen (2016)
2017	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit voor het landschap	Berkers (2017)

2017	Omgevingskwaliteit als provinciale missie	Roncken & Beunen (2017)
2018	Naar een kwalitatief hoogstaande Baukultur van Europa	RCE (2018)
2020	8 criteria voor omgevingskwaliteit	ten Cate (2020)
2021	The Davos Baukultur Quality System	SFOC (2021)

3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

There is a risk of attaching too much importance to the policy texts within the analysis (see Runhaar et al., 2013). Therefore, semi-structured interviews were used in order to help translate findings from the content analysis into discourses, and effectively reconstruct discourses. The stakeholders interviewed have been identified as to offer insights into all periods of spatial quality policy. These stakeholders were also selected either on the basis of their direct involvement in spatial quality policy making or their role in operationalizing the concept on the national scale within national executive agencies. Altogether four interviews were conducted. Two respondents could provide insights inside the national physical planning agency, and with that on national spatial planning until its dissolution in 2001. Two respondents have experience within the sector of V&W (and its executive agency Rijkswaterstaat), which is the sector where spatial quality has been explicitly incorporated following the reduction of VROM (see also section 2.2.2). These two respondents were able to provide insights on the impacts of sectoralization in national spatial planning on the discourse of spatial quality. Lastly, one respondent has been selected that as part of an independent organization could provide an 'outside' perspective on spatial quality and national spatial planning.

The interviews were semi-structured of nature, as this enables the fine-tuning of the interview structure based on the responses of the interviewee, however core elements were discussed with every interviewee. The semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix IV) comprised questions regarding stakeholders their understanding of spatial quality, its operationalization, application and governance process, as well as their experiences in the process behind formal policy documents regarding the operationalization of frameworks and definitions. The goal was to reconstruct discourses from the literature and explore how perceptions of interviewees were related to, and could be connected with, particular discourses. The interviews were held between May 2022 and July 2022 at the working place of each interviewee or through an online video-call. All interviews lasted between one and two hours, with interviewees that had a longer duration of involvement with spatial quality in national policy having a longer duration. The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. The interviewees are listed in table 3.3 alongside key information regarding the interviewee (e.g. background) and interview (e.g. duration).

Table 3.3: The interviews conducted and key information regarding the interviewee and interview. The abbreviations used are as follows: 'GOV' refers to an actor working within government, 'IDP' refers to an actor working in an independent non-governmental setting.

Interviewee	Abbreviation	Year starting involvement within the (national) spatial planning sector	Year starting involvement with spatial quality	Involved perspectives on spatial quality	Date of interview	Medium	Duration (hours:minutes)
Employee national planning agency	GOV1	1972-2017	1982	VROM, V&W	30 5 2022	MFST teams	1:41
Employee national planning agency	GOV2	1974-2016	1982	VROM, external perspective	17 6 2022	On-site	1:41
Employee national executive agency	GOV3	2003-present	2016	V&W	7 6 2022	MFST teams	1:04
Independent advisory agency	IDP1	1982-present	2002	External perspective	31 5 2022	On-site	1:55

3.5 Data analysis

The collected data (i.e. policy documents and interview transcripts) have been analyzed on content by means of textual coding. The utilization of coding schemes to analyze content has proven to be a merit for deriving critical insights from large amounts of qualitative data (Shapiro & Markoff, 1997). The software of ATLAS.ti has been used to code and analyze the data (see appendix V for the codebook used in this thesis). The discourse analysis in this thesis builds upon the textual interpretation from document data and subsequent perceptions obtained from interviews. The methodology of reconstructing discourses by means of interviews helps situate the textual interpretations from the documents in their decision context, thereby identifying the discourses that have been mobilized or have been accommodated by the document (cf. Rozema & Bond, 2015). In reconstructing these discourses, careful attention was paid to texts that convey an argumentative claim or demonstrated clear linkages with key discourses within national spatial planning. Furthermore, attention was paid to the other three dimensions of a policy arrangement and their relation to the discourse.

The coding of the various data sources all began with a rudimentary, content-based coding scheme. Attention was given to how spatial quality was interpreted and positioned within the text, its contextual use, and linkages to other terms. Questions such as whether it was seen on its own or as part of something larger, whether it was part of a main or sub policy goal and what underlying rationale was used in its surrounding texts. From these codes, discourses and their underlying storylines were identified, as well as findings and/or questions to be discussed with the interviewees. The next step included looking for interrelationships and/or differences between the findings from each main document considering the year of publication (e.g. did documents that shortly followed each other convey a similar message on spatial quality?). The outcome of these changes may indicate a change in policy arrangement and thus subsequent changes in the other three dimensions of a policy arrangement are likely to have occurred as well (Arts et al., 2006). On the basis of this analysis a separation into four periods was made that are introduced in chapter four. Finally, the above findings were elaborated upon during the interviews to reconstruct discourses and unravel what had underpinned change in terms of coalition(s) of actors, rules of the game and resources (power).

3.6 Epistemological foundation

Discourse analysis is generally positioned as a social constructivist epistemic of viewing the world, wherein language not only mirrors reality (i.e. how it can be viewed) but also mirrors prevailing discourses (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005; Sharp & Richardson, 2001). The research in this thesis therefore takes a constructivist stance. A constructivist perspective on knowledge acknowledges that knowledge is constructed "in and out of interaction between human beings and their world" (Crotty 1998, p. 42). This constructive position rejects a view of knowledge rooted in realism. Such a view argues that knowledge is independent of those that interpret it and that a universal definition can be discerned. From a constructivist epistemology, the question that is central is how reality is being constructed, why certain elements are emphasized in the interpretation of problems, which actors portray an important role and what forms of power are implicitly and explicitly involved in these processes. These questions also underpin that of discourse analysis (Waitt, 2005). Foucault (1972) distinctly emphasized the social constructivist epistemic in his analysis of discourses and the importance of this epistemology in the analysis of how thinking is structured and how certain methodologies produce a particular construction. In this way, discourses limit what can be accepted as knowledge and become objects of our knowledge (Waitt, 2005).

This thesis is not opting for taking a radical social-constructivist stance which tends to reduce action to discursive interaction in which power and structure are only relevant through the perception of actors (see Arts et al., 2006). Although structures are (trans)formed through interaction, they also give structure to that interaction (Giddens, 1976). In terms of discourses and its linguistic centric, a discourse centered approach acknowledges that social practices and material objects exist outside of language, however, they are brought into our view by language (Waitt, 2005), thereby emphasizing a constructivist epistemic but not a radical one. As described in the theoretical framework, the formulation and changes in spatial quality both from a planning concept and policy perspective, occurs through means of argumentation. The construction of reality (i.e. spatial quality) has consequences on the outcomes of its use as either a concept or policy arrangement. The outcomes of said construction and the process that predated it is central to this thesis. This notion implies a constructivist epistemology.

3.7 Ethical considerations

To ensure a responsible and morally defensible manner of research, four ethical principles have been followed: Ensuring informed consent of respondents, respecting the privacy of respondents, avoiding impairment to respondents and avoiding the use of deceptive practices (see Gray, 2014). To operationalize these principles, each interview started by explaining the terms and conditions of the interview and a short explanation of the thesis topic to ensure informed consent and avoid deception. The terms and conditions were laid down in a contract signed by both the researcher and interviewee. This contract described the voluntary nature of the interview, how the interviewee's data would be used and stored, how their privacy would be respected and how their anonymity would be ensured. Furthermore, approval for the recording, to be used for transcription was also embedded in the contract. During the interview, the researcher's aim was to facilitate an open environment to ensure the comfortability of the interviewees. The use of quotations from the interviews was approved through the contract in which the interviewee would be anonymized using a synonym based on their job position. Furthermore, interviewees had the ability to edit transcripts on factual information (e.g. dates and names) and check if information had been appropriately interpreted by the researcher. Data was stored safely on an external drive and destroyed after the research process had been completed.

4. Discursive transformations in spatial quality

On the basis of the analysis of the formal policy documents described in table 3.1, four periods of spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning can be distinguished. These are firstly, the development phase (1982-1988) where spatial quality is developed as a new discourse in national spatial planning. This phase is followed by the hegemonic phase (1988-2004) where spatial quality is the main goal of national spatial planning and other policy sectors are either translating it, lining with it, or referring to it in their own policies. Thirdly, the downfall phase (2004-2020) where spatial quality loses its position and spatial planning within the Netherlands ushers into a new phase. Finally, there is the revival phase (2020-now) in which an European discourse and a paradigm shift in national planning are trying to foster a new discourse regarding quality in Dutch spatial planning. To visualize these phases and policy documents on a timeline, a graph was drawn that displays the key policy documents and programmes that reference spatial quality from the different policy sectors involved in the national planning domain (see figure 4.1). Milestones regarding spatial quality and the person who fulfills the office of the ministry of VRO(M) and the political party to which they belong are also highlighted. Together on this timeline they visualize the history of spatial quality and the analytical framework behind this study.

This chapter is structured according to the policy arrangements model presented in section 2.3, in line with the conceptual model. Each subchapter introduces one of the four phases of spatial quality, followed by the main discourse of spatial quality distinguished within the policy documents analyzed (see table 3.1). Next, An examination is given of the coalition(s) of actors, resources (power) and institutions (rules of the game) that are involved with this particular discourse, which subsequently explain the operationalization of the discourse within the policy arrangement (i.e. the operationalization within policy documents). Quotes from the policy documents and interview transcripts are made to illustrate discourses and findings. Furthermore, references to policy documents will always refer to the original (Dutch) title as that is how a particular text was meant to be read. An English translation for each policy document is provided in appendix I. Furthermore, appendix III provides translations of all quotes used in this chapter.
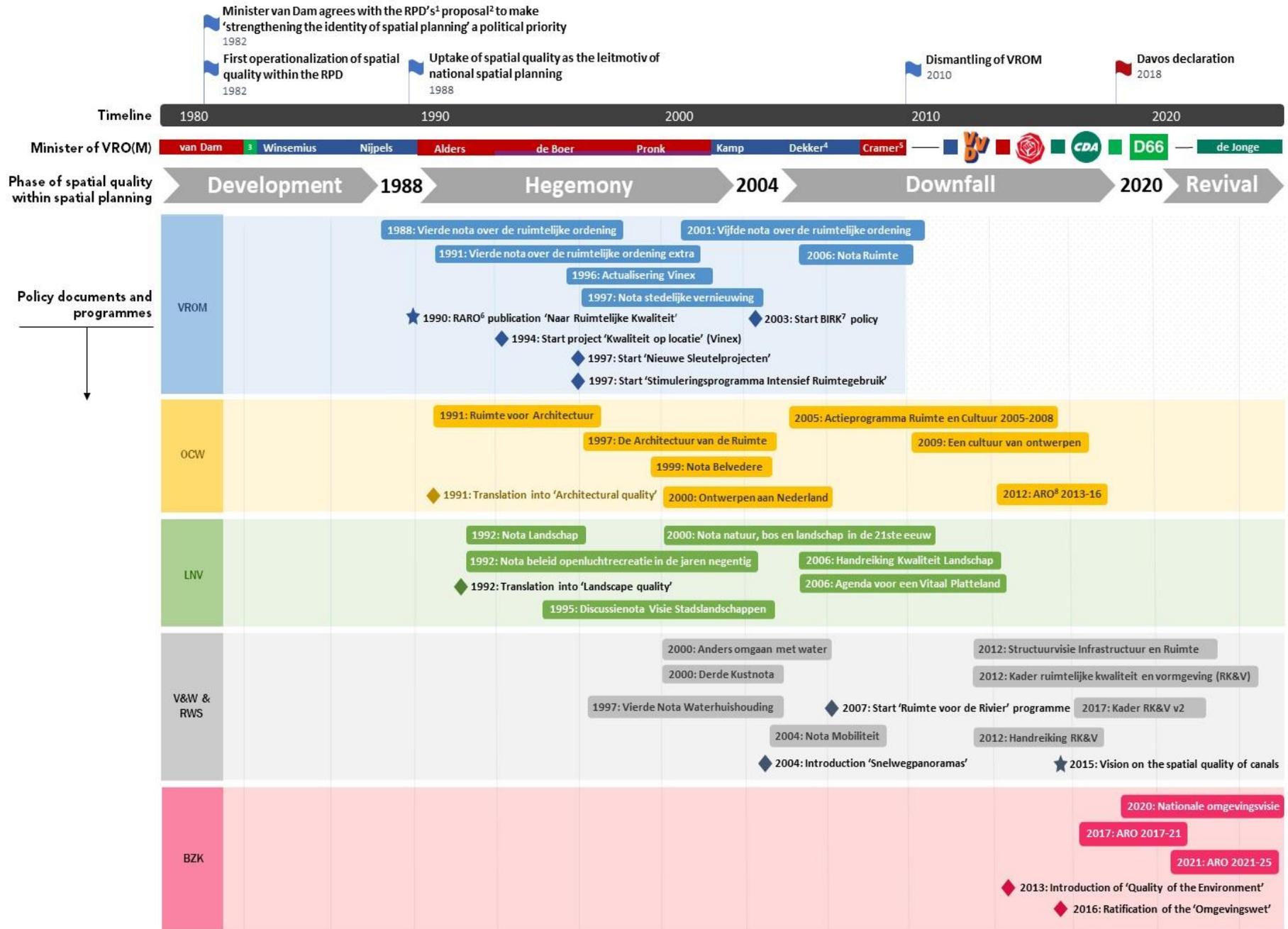
Figure 4.1: Timeline of all policy documents analyzed alongside the four phases that can be distinguished, made by author.

4.1 Prologue: Crisis in Dutch national spatial planning
The interviewees GOV1 and GOV2 indicated that Dutch national spatial planning was facing a crisis in the late 1970s and 1980s. As of the end of the 1960s, national planning started to primarily focus on the execution of plans and policies forthcoming from the policy documents on spatial planning from 1960 and 1966 respectively (Witsen, 2016). In this setting, planning had to increase its procedural apparatus through strengthening (the position of) its instruments such as the 'Planologische kernbeslissing' (National planning decision, PKB), the 'streekplannen' (regional plans) of provinces and 'bestemmingsplannen' (zoning plans) of municipalities, while also increasing the influence on sectoral policy through 'structuurschema's' (planning schemes) (Witsen, 2016). This culminated in the Third Policy Document on Spatial Planning which was published in multiple volumes from 1973 through 1983, alongside a multitude of PKBs that produced a significant amount of paperwork. Respondent GOV1 reflects on this period:

> "The multitude of processes and endless amount of PKBs of the third policy document made it that one could not see the forest for the trees"

Dauvellier (1991) underpins this perspective in his reflection on the origins of spatial quality, writing: "All these instruments followed precisely formulated procedures of participation and deliberation in parliament. The question arose whether this attention on procedures would harm the added value of spatial planning" (p. 7). This negative attention, coupled with a deep economic recession during the late 1970s and early 1980s and a social crisis against planning policies (e.g. the 'cityvorming' urban renewal policy), resulted in a wide scale discussion on the functioning of government and the role of spatial planning therein. National spatial planning had fallen into a crisis, a period Zonneveld (1991) refers to as a certain upheaval of spatial planning at the supra-local level. Procedures prevailed above clear policy concepts and guidelines to solve spatial issues. The identity of spatial planning was lost (Zonneveld, 1991). This crisis did not go unnoticed by political parties and government advisory councils. The 'Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid' (scientific council for national policy , the WRR), the 'Raad van Advies voor de Ruimtelijke Ordening' (advisory council on spatial policy, the RARO), the scientific councils of political parties CDA (Dutch Christian democratic party) and PvdA (Dutch social democratic party) and the 'Rijksplanologische Commissie' (national planning commission, RPC) all had discussions regarding the functioning and identity of (national) spatial planning (Dauvellier & Leeflang, 1985; Witsen, 2016). Planning had become a procedural police-agent and did not provide its own vision. The memorandum of the RPC titled 'Plan in Openbaar Bestuur' aimed at searching for the fine line between all planning policy memorandums and PKBs, and with that the identity of spatial planning. It is this memorandum that sparked the discussion on spatial quality in 1981 (Dauvellier & Leeflang, 1985).

4.2 Phase 'Development' (1982-1988): With crisis comes opportunity, the origins of the concept of spatial quality

An internal discussion within the RPD on the RPC memorandum led to the conclusion that spatial planning had to profile itself on the basis of its vision and unique added value in national policy making. With this challenge in mind, the RPD set out at the end of 1981 to investigate the future of spatial planning and possibilities to strengthen the identity of planning (Witsen, 2016). Within this discussion, Peter Dauvellier and Henk Wardenaar introduced spatial quality within an internal memo on January 13th in 1983. They did so by emphasizing the second base goal of spatial planning as described in the 'Oriënteringsnota' (Orientation Memorandum) of 1973 (i.e. the first volume of the third policy document on spatial planning):

> "Promoting spatial and ecological conditions in such a way that the diversity, coherence and sustainability of the physical environment are guaranteed as much as possible" (Ministerie van VRO, 1973, p.99).

Within this memo they introduced spatial quality to be used as the central theme within the vision that should direct spatial planning. However, they specified that spatial quality would benefit from a better operationalization so it can be more than simple noise (Dauvellier & Wardenaar, 1982). Diversity, coherence and sustainability all describe important aspects of quality but proved insufficient as an operationalization (Dauvellier & Leeflang, 1985). With this invitation it was emphasized that a future and improved operationalization of spatial quality should promote a shared understanding that displays the duty of spatial planners.

The triad diversity, coherence and sustainability were in essence about three fundamental comprehensions within spatial planning: Pattern, structure and process (Dauvellier, 1991). These terms are however neutral and only receive meaning when translated into the world of social processes (shape, function and time) or the world of designing and planning (composition, integration and development). The latter triad was used to set up a check list for applying spatial quality (Petrus, 1989). However, a quick realization occurred that these terms were still too vague and hindered discussion (Dauvellier, 1991). Furthermore, the operationalization of spatial quality had to be compared with the wish of the RPD to profile the identity of spatial planners, and the RPD in particular (Dauvellier, 1984). These terms were coupled with 'societal valuation' resulting in the use of experiential quality and functional quality, terms that already existed within the 'ruimte als omgeving' scheme. These two terms not only displayed what planning (and the RPD) is about, they also discuss terms that other policy sectors also deal with. This discussion furthered with the addition of the topics of long-term horizons and sustainability. Fortunately, the 'ruimte als omgeving' scheme already positioned both terms under the category 'development', see table 4.1.

Table 4.1: The 'Ruimte als omgeving' scheme, adopted from: Dauvellier (1984). See appendix III for the original scheme in Dutch.

				Spatial values	Gebieds- en beleidscategoriën
Space as environment	Use	Short term	Separation of spatial function	• Location requirements • Demand for land	• City center formation • Spreading
			Spatial functions in relation to each other	• Conditions • Coherency	• Noise nuisance zonation • 'Relatienota' (relation memorandum) areas • Urban regions
		Long term	Existing functions	• Environmental requirements • External safety	• Nature areas • Protected soil areas • Silent areas
			New functions	• Potentiality • Flexibility	• Economic potential • Nature development • explicit housing zonation
	Experience	Planning	The environment as a whole	• Form • Scale	• Open areas • Buffer zones • Small scale landscapes
			Form/Function	• Orientation • Identity	• Identity of urban cores (The Hague centre of governance, Amsterdam centre of culture) • Fight against water: Delta works
		Development	Origin	• Genesis • "roots"	• Archeological monuments • Urban and town skylines • Geological monuments • Natural monuments
			Future	• Signals • Perspectives	• Scaling up the agriculture sector • Technical innovation: Oosterscheldedam, Markerwaard

With 'Origin', the topic of cultural heritage is underpinned, which has a strong influence on the identity of spaces (see Groote & Haartsen, 2008 and Sepe, 2013). In the discussion on spatial quality, the aspect of development (i.e. future) would also receive a great role as it is the primary viewpoint of planning. Respondent GOV2 reflects on the difficulty of placing this axis within the operationalization of spatial quality:

> "At a certain moment we had operationalized experiential value and utility value alongside the factor 'time' which were referred to as development. This was development oriented both at the future, as well as development from the past… Jenno Witsen argued that this combination did not work and therefore came up with future value, which worked well communicatively speaking, as the final triad was easier to remember for people."

This resulted in the final operationalization framework (see figure 4.2) consisting of experiential value, utility value and future value that was formally introduced in the VINO (Ministerie van VROM, 1988). This operationalization is referred to as the Spatial Quality Triad hereafter. Spatial quality is determined by these three terms and their underlying cohesion (Dauvelier, 1991). Function refers to the functionality of the spatial structure and topology. A high utility value is reached when different land uses in a locality strengthen rather than hinder each other. Shape relates to the aesthetics of spaces that increase the experiential value. Finally, the parameter time relates to sustainability. Buildings and spaces are long-term commodities and should be able to be altered during its lifetime to correspond to changing demands. When this notion is also valid for the wider built environment, the future value increases. This framework poses strong similarities with Vitruvius's values of *firmitas* (strength), *utilitas* (utility) and *venustas*

(beauty) (see Vitruvius & Morgan, 1960). Figure 4.3 visualizes the development process and the changing definitions concerning the operationalization of spatial quality.
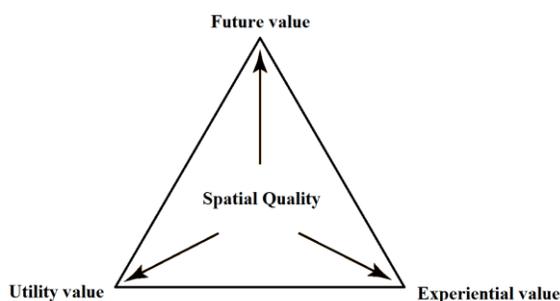
Figure 4.2: The Spatial Quality Triad, made by author.

Pattern	Structure	Process
↓	↓	↓
Shape	Function	Time
↓	↓	↓
Composition	Integration	Development
↓	↓	↓
Experiential value	Utility value	Future value
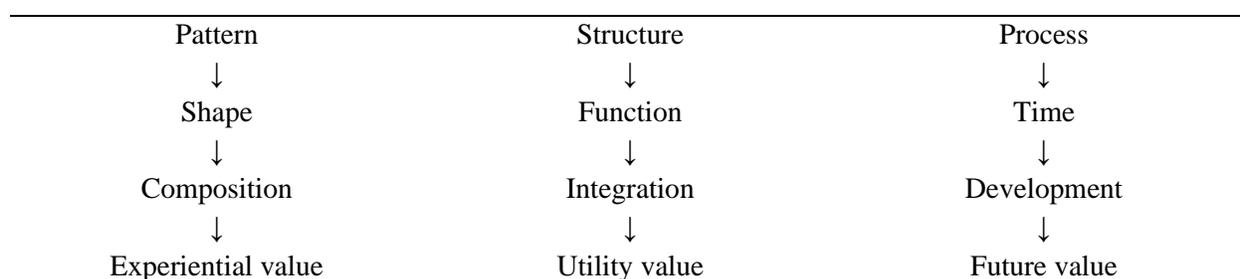
Figure 4.3: The conceptual framework behind the concept of spatial quality, adopted from: Dauvelier (1991)

Discourse

The competitive position of the Netherlands as a whole, and its cities, as an attractive place to reside as a company and urban professional was a dominant theme in the late 1980s (Zonneveld, 1991). The Netherlands was starting to recover from a prolonged period of economic stagnation. As such, national planning had to support the economic development of the Netherlands. The Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning (i.e. the VINO) had to become an answer to new international forcefields and relations (Krombeen, 2015). To give spatial quality, that which would describe the identity and value of spatial planning, a strong position within the next planning document it had to accommodate the dominant discourse of economic development.

An internal memo within the RPD reflecting on the future planning document and spatial quality acknowledges that the NRP (i.e. the 'notitie ruimtelijke perspectieven' which functioned as a preparation for the VINO) and the VINO will be themed by development (Vrij et al., 1986). In their subsequent discussion on spatial quality, they conclude:

> "Clear structures on a national scale will receive valuation through the lens of spatial quality: It is a visualizing and readable concept, it accentuates development, dynamism and additionally, it seems to be in line with the market" (Vrij et al., 1986, p.11).

The linkage between this competitive nature and spatial quality is strong within the VINO. The introduction of the policy document introduces spatial quality as:

> "The quality of amenities and services instead of available square meters will become more the defining features in the location choice of companies. The quality of housing and their living

> environments will become more important when citizens receive a larger freedom of choice. More quality is of outmost importance for multiple policy sectors. National planning policy contributes to the quality of our urban and rural environment. Our spatial policy is geared to increase the user value, experiential value and future value. The actual operationalization of spatial quality will differ for each space. The government proclaims in this policy document how coherent policy can add spatial quality" (Ministry of VROM, 1988, p. 7).

The descriptions of spatial quality within the VINO refer to it as if it is understood as a property of spaces. This is done in relation to the notion that the quality of a particular space should comply with the high demands of businesses in an international context (Ministerie van VROM, 1988). The core focus of the fourth policy was to strengthen the (economic) strongpoint of the Netherlands, operationalized in 'mainports', transport corridors and spatial quality (operationalized through utility value, future value and experiential value). Therefore, the usage of spatial quality within the policy document accommodates the discourse on economic development that dominated national spatial planning during the late 1980s. This economic orientation can also be distinguished in an example on how spatial quality could be improved by Witsen (2016):

> "The spatial quality of our country can be improved in particular by raising the quality of infrastructure to a European level, strengthening the competitive position of our large cities and striving for a new balance between agriculture and nature in rural areas" (no pagination)

Coalition(s) of actors
Minister Marcel van Dam (1981-1982) supported the RPD's proposal to strengthen the identity of (national) spatial planning, and to make it a political priority (Witsen, 2016). Within this proposal this identity was defined as three recognizable elements of spatial planning: The balanced decision-making, its future-orientation and its consideration of spatial composition and cohesion (RPD, 1983). Faludi and van der Valk (1994) argue that the formulation within this proposal was the first operationalization of what would later become spatial quality. Minister van Dam was shortly followed by Nypels (1982) and then succeeded by Pieter Winsemius (1982-1986) who respondents GOV1 and GOV2 refer to as having played an important role. Winsemius' opinion on spatial planning was that it should demonstrate its position and vision. GOV1 reflects:

> "Pieter Winsemius recognized the importance of spatial planning and the fact that it was losing terrain in the political arena of The Hague. He actively stimulated the RPD to develop a new agenda that would highlight the added value of spatial planning to other policy sectors"

Winsemius wanted planning to become more focused and directing and with that for RPD to propose new ideas and concepts. As such, spatial quality took his interest which was seen as an instrument for new planning policy. GOV1 also reflects on Winsemius' analysis of the situation by means of his policy analysis cycle:

> "Winsemius his thesis was that we as planners had a multitude of old products on sale in our store (i.e. policy goals from the second policy document), at the back of the store we had been working on difficult things to help others, all the while phase five of our product development cycle was in the storefront. Within this situation, we also had to work on phase one: The development of new products. In short, we had forgotten to develop new policy"

Winsemius supported the RPD its ambition to strengthen its policy development function where conceptions such as spatial quality found its origin. This support was in partly due to the, as GOV1 describes:

> "the new agenda of the RPD aligned rather well with the (neo)liberal (VVD) background of Winsemius as they focused upon the competitive position of the Netherlands"

This agenda and with that of the development of spatial quality received a major boost. This also resulted in the possibility for Jenno Witsen to become director-general (DG) (Witsen, 2016). Witsen who activated the RPD to continue developing spatial quality, would portray an important and protective role for spatial planning and the RPD that culminated in increased power.

Resources

From the appointment of Witsen as DG in 1983, the RPD had more influence through Witsen's strong position as DG within the political sub-councils such as the RPC. GOV1 reflects:

> "He (Witsen) was respected by the other DGs and minister of VROM that resulted in them listening to him. As secretary of the RPC (where all DGs circumvented) he also participated monthly in the sub-council for spatial planning and the environment. Ministers would listen to the advice presented by Witsen. With that, the RPD had more influence than it formally would have"

GOV2 reflects on Witsen's role similarly describing that both he as DG and the management of the RPD were able to position spatial quality on the political agenda. This additional power (i.e. resources) allowed the RPD to position its conceptions and plans on political agendas and later within official policy, or as GOV1 describes:

> "This infrastructure (i.e. the councils in which Witsen participated) along which the dialogue was presented explained for a large part the success of spatial quality"

Institutions

The infrastructure of these councils are not the only institutions that allowed spatial quality to be positioned so highly in national policy. The RPD as an institution had an extraordinary position that was repeatedly highlighted by both GOV1 and GOV2. The agency offered a lot of intellectual freedom in the development of ideas such as spatial quality: "There was a lot of room for the talents of its employees" (GOV1). This paired with the notion that the successor of Winsemius, Ed Nijpels (1986-1989), left a lot of freedom to the RPD to develop new policy as GOV1 reflects:

> "Nijpels stated during his start at VROM: I am going to fully let myself be advised by you civil servants but remember there is one thing I can do rather well, and that is to sell policy. In that manner he positioned spatial planning on the map"

However, a lot of freedom by the minister itself was insufficient, as highlighted in the quote above. The policy (i.e. what would later become the Fourth Policy Document) needed to be sold to parliament. However, the perspective of planning as a procedural police-agent was still fresh in the minds of those in parliament. This perspective relates to the two pathways of enforcing (i.e. doorwerking) national planning policy amongst lower levels of government and other national policy sectors. Firstly, planning policy could be tuned with lower levels of government by means of the 'facetspoor' (Stuurgroep Groene Hart, 1992). Secondly, national planning policy could be translated into other policy sectors their execution programmes by means of the 'sectorspoor'. Figure 4.4 describes both pathways.

	Spatial Planning	Other policy sectors			
National government	Fourth Policy Document				
Regional government (provinces)					
Local government (municipalities)					
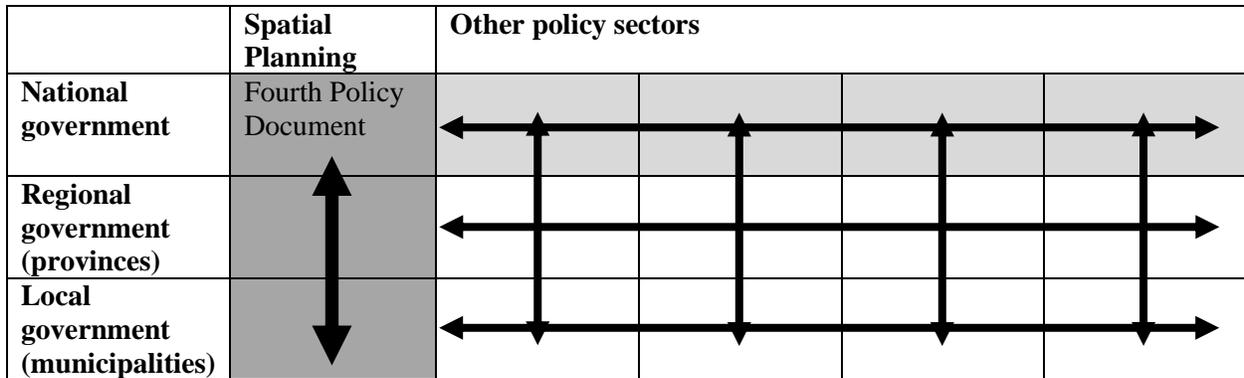
Figure 4.4: The two pathways of enforcing national planning policy, with the 'facetspoor' highlighted in dark grey (vertical arrow) and the 'sectorspoor' highlighted in light grey (horizontal arrow), adapted from Stuurgroep Groene Hart (1992).

The VINO notes that a selection of national planning policy themes, goals and localities, by means of their complexity and urgency, makes that traditional pathways of enforcement are unsuitable (Ministry of VROM, 1988). For these cases, a combination of both aforementioned pathways is proposed, visualized in figure 4.5. An example of this can be found within the further elaboration of the VINO for the Green Heart, which is the open less densely populate area within the Randstad conglomeration. In this policy document, to demonstrate the usefulness of spatial quality, it had been used to structure and formulate the policy document (see Stuurgroep Groene Hart, 1992). As GOV2 explains:

> "Diagonal planning entailed not only looking at the sectors or lower tiers of government, but across these barriers. Therefore, within the formulation process for the Green Heart vision, both provinces as well as other policy sectors were involved alongside spatial planning. … This process started with defining starting points according to the Spatial Quality Triad"

	Spatial Planning	Other policy sectors			
National government		Vision		Projects	
Regional government (provinces)					
Local government (municipalities)					

Figure 4.5: The diagonal planning policy pathway, adapted from Stuurgroep Groene Hart (1992).

Table 4.2: Summary of phase one 'development'

Dimension of the policy arrangement	Summary
Discourse	The dominant discourse in national spatial planning is to increase the competitive position of the Netherlands and to support economic development. Spatial quality is the lens through which valuation occurs as it describes the attractiveness and competitiveness of spaces
Coalition(s) of actors	Support of key actors (the ministers of VROM) in the endeavor and development of a new identity and vision by the RPD
Resources	Increased influence on the minister of VROM and within government commissions through Jenno Witsen
Institutions	Introduction of diagonal planning in response to the shortcomings of previous national planning methods (see section 4.1) to ensure increased support for the enforcement of spatial quality (goals) in Dutch planning performance.

4.3 Phase 'Hegemony' (1988-2004): A seat on the big table and a decade as hegemonic discourse

The VINO introduced a new impetus to national spatial planning, and with that renewed the belief that the spatial organization could be managed by the national government (Zonneveld, 1991). This stands in stark contrast with the perspective at the beginning of the 1980s during the 'planning crisis' highlighted at the beginning of this chapter. As such, the policy arrangement was successfully changed following efforts made described in the previous subchapter. The VINO, however, was soon replaced 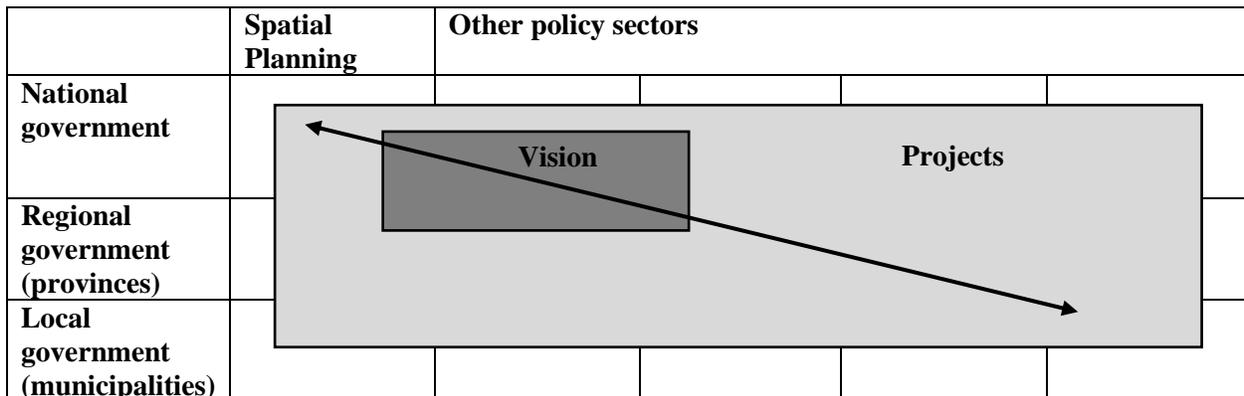by the 'Vierde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra' (Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning Extra, VINEX) in 1991 following a switch in cabinet. The VINEX retained the notions of the VINO but added additional policy goals related to housing and the environment. With that, it embodied a more 'leftist' sound through its minister Alders (PvdA, 1989-1994) that culminated in more coordination by the national government, more vision and the integration of environmental policy and spatial planning (which had until then remained separated) (GOV2). The VINEX marked the start of the 1990s, a decade in which other policy sectors involved in the planning realm started to work with spatial quality, and spatial quality dominated the national spatial planning discourse. The growing influence and involvement of national spatial planning within policy and national debate also resulted in the adoption of VINEX in popular culture such as novels (e.g. Vinexvrouwen) and as an official adjective within the Dutch language.

Discourse

Within the policy documents related to spatial planning that were published in the 1990s, spatial quality can be distinguished as the *leitmotiv* for (national) spatial planning. However, the way these documents make use of spatial quality, and refer to it, differs. Three pathways can be distinguished: Translating spatial quality to fit to a particular policy sector (1), engage with the notion of spatial quality to enforce a particular spatial claim (2), and referring to the potential influence and role one (i.e. policy sector) can play with regards to spatial quality (3).

Translating spatial quality

The early 1990s saw along with the VINEX also the publication of the first Architecture Policy Memorandum (1991) and the 'Nota Landschap' (Landscape Memorandum) (1992). Both were revolutionary, as they marked the first national policies on architecture and the landscape respectively. Both documents translate spatial quality into a new 'quality' befitting to their policy sector, while retaining the original structure of a triad, and following a similar logic and positioning within the policy. As a result of these policy documents the notions of architectural quality (Ministerie van WVC &

Ministerie van VROM, 1991) and landscape quality (Ministerie van LNV, 1992a) were installed. Figure 4.6 describes the operationalization triad of all three qualities. GOV2 refers to this translation process as:

> "Those other qualities are a bit different but, their intentions are the same as spatial quality, that is, to get a grip on quality. They all use a different approach to getting a grip on quality"
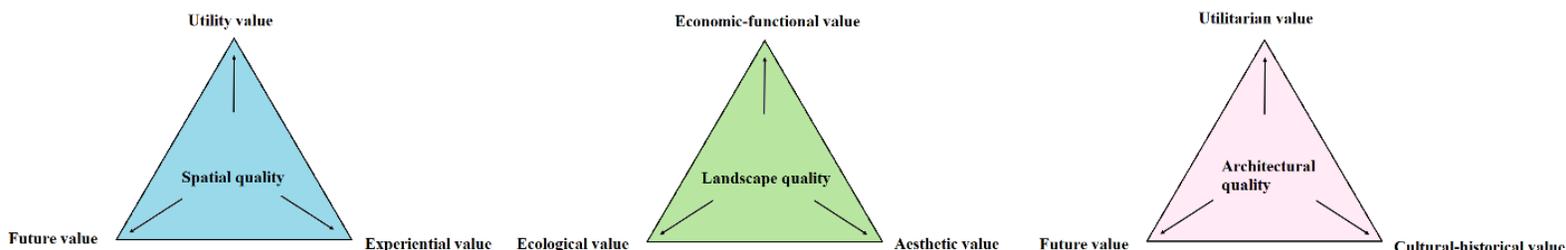
Figure 4.6: The three 'qualities' and their operationalization in the form of triads. Figure made by author.

Both policy documents refer to spatial quality as an intrinsic component of spatial planning, having a wider application and operating on a larger geographical scale and level of abstraction. Nonetheless, both policy documents, similar to the VINO (and VINEX), have put their 'quality' at the core of its policy, also referring to it as a responsibility of the national government. These qualities are, comparable to spatial quality, defined as a characteristic of buildings and landscapes (i.e. rural areas) respectively. These documents can be seen as the translation of spatial quality into the respected policy fields and geographical scale, retaining the model of spatial quality and its conceptual function. Furthermore, they demonstrate the dominance of the (spatial) quality discourse within the (national) spatial planning field, in which the ministries of LNV and WVC, by means of these policy documents, entered.

Engaging with spatial quality
This decade also saw the publication of the 'Nota beleid voor openluchtrecreatie in de jaren negentig' (Policy Document on Open Air Recreation in the Nineties) (see Ministerie van LNV, 1992b) and the Belvedere policy document (and programme) (Ministerie van OCW et al., 1999). Both policy documents saw to increase the attention towards a particular spatial claim within national spatial planning, with recreation and tourism in the former and cultural heritage in the latter. GOV1 reflects:

> "This development tells us a few things. Firstly, recreation and cultural heritage were weaker spatial functions on the national scale. Secondly, it tells us something about the guiding role that spatial planning had and with that its influence. If you were able to relate to that sector, that is, build a meaningful relationship with the core of its (i.e. planning) policy, you could achieve strategic position. Thirdly, it describes the people behind the policy and contact between those people. There were members of the RPD that inspired employees of other departments"

The latter part described by GOV1 is also underpinned by GOV2:

> "It was a joint project (i.e. between the cultural sector and the RPD). A lot of cooperation predated this policy document that started with a seminar and some publications which led to the realization that a new policy memorandum was needed"

The Policy Document on Open Air Recreation underpinned spatial quality as the most important spatial characteristic of rural areas. It aimed at increasing the importance of recreation, tourism and nature within the planning of rural areas, as opposed to agrarian functions. To do so it had to reflect on the economic viability of rural areas post-agriculture. Spatial qualities were seen as key spatial characteristics that could

help with developing tourism and recreation as other sources of revenues for rural areas (Ministerie van LNV, 1992b). With this approach the document aimed at demonstrating synergies with the VINEX. The VINEX featured a landscape-oriented approach to rural areas with more consideration for recreation, forestry and nature under the structural goal of increasing the spatial quality of said areas (see Ministry of VROM, 1991).

Another case of this 'engaging with spatial quality' can be distinguished within the Belvedere policy document (see Ministerie van OCW et al., 1999). This policy aimed at strengthening cultural heritage within spatial planning. To do so, it highlighted the role of cultural heritage in spatial quality (Ministerie van OCW et al., 1999). This connection was earlier already introduced within the 'Actualisering VINEX' (actualization of the VINEX policy document) (see Ministerie van VROM, 1996) and the 'Cultuurnota 1997-2000' (Cultural Policy Memorandum) (see Ministerie van OCW, 1997). The goal of Belvedere was to integrate heritage in planning and introducing a new conceptualization of heritage: A cultural-historical quality that either has to be conserved or can be used as an inspiration and direction for future spatial development. IDP1 reflects:

> "Belvedere was unique as it provided a methodology of dealing with heritage: Heritage as a vector instead of a factor"

Spatial quality is described within the Belvedere policy document as constituting the core and focus of spatial policy (Ministerie van OCW et al., 1999). The operationalization within the Belvedere policy document emphasizes the importance of cultural heritage to spatial quality by means of attaching itself to the dominant economic development discourse that was materialized with spatial quality within the VINO and VINEX. Cultural heritage is described as an identity and attractive factor for a space in terms of its attractiveness as a locality for firm location (Wagenaar, 2011). By emphasizing the role of heritage in spatial quality, it emphasized the role of heritage in planning. With that the policy document achieved its main goal, effectively using spatial quality as a bridge. IDP1 reflects:

> "This effect (i.e. engaging with spatial quality to integrate with planning) was achieved by the policy most definitely, although I am not sure if that was the original intention"

Figure 4.7 visualizes the connection made between both topics within the Belvedere policy.
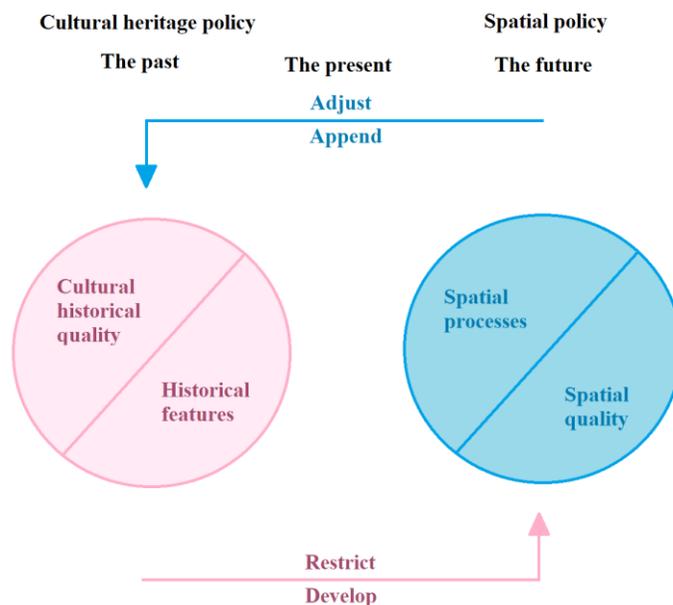
Figure 4.7: The bridge between spatial quality and cultural heritage (and both policy sectors) made within the Belvedere policy document, adapted from: Ministerie van OCW et al. (1999). See appendix III for the original scheme in Dutch.

Referring to spatial quality

Other policy documents that reflect on spatial planning (e.g. water management) from this decade, that do not engage with, or translate spatial quality, do refer to, and acknowledge it. The policy sector of infrastructure and water management experienced a discursive shift from technocratic water management to integrated river basin management (see van der Brugge et al., 2005). This also entails referencing to spatial quality: The 'Vierde Nota Waterhuishouding' (Fourth Policy Memorandum on Water Management) aimed to improve the spatial quality from a perspective of "high-grade development of the Netherlands requires attention for a spatial orientation that is of a qualitatively high level" (Ministerie van V&W et al., 1998, p. 117). It further refers to spatial quality as an "important economical factor" (Ministerie van V&W et al., 1998, p. 117) in line with the perspective of spatial planning. The 'Derde Kustnota' (Third Policy Memorandum on Coasts) also refers to spatial quality as an important space characteristic of coasts that requires additional care (Ministerie van V&W, 2000b). The 'Anders omgaan met water' (Dealing differently with Water) report explicitly describes:

> "The cabinet aims to avoid new activities that cannot be reconciled with the future water management function of these areas (i.e. areas of attention), and where possible stimulate activities that can be reconciled such as nature and recreation, through which the spatial quality can be improved" (Ministerie van V&W, 2000a, p. 37).

The environmental policy sector also refers to spatial quality in its policy documents published in the 1990s. The 'Tweede Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan' (Second National Policy Document on Environmental Policy, NMP2) for example describes:

> "The protection and development of spatial quality as laid out in the VINEX policy will to a large degree be supported by the realization of NMP2 measures for areas where, as a result of a cumulation of environmental pressures and/or a high susceptibility to these pressures, insufficient environmental quality cannot be guaranteed" (Ministerie van VROM, 1993, p. 211).

The successor to the first Architecture Policy Memorandum describes that the national government as a large client of projects, has a large responsibility for the spatial quality and that it should promote this by means of high design quality (Ministerie van OCW et al., 1996). Interestingly it describes both architectural and spatial quality alongside each other, with architectural quality describing the construction itself and spatial quality its relationship with its surroundings.

The Ministry of LNV produced two additional policy documents alongside its landscape memorandum that aim to improve spatial quality. The vision urban landscapes of 1995 clearly articulates this goal:

> "This approach has as goal to reach spatial quality by strengthening the coherence between urban and rural areas on the regional scale" (Ministerie van LNV, 1995, p. 32).

'This approach' refers to the policy goal that the ministry has given itself: To guide the spatial transformation of urban areas in such a way that the spatial quality (articulated as sustainability and identity) can be protected. Furthermore, the policy document also introduces chances of creating new spatial qualities. This path of improving spatial quality is continued with the successor to landscape memorandum: The 'Nota natuur, bos en landschap in de 21e eeuw' (The policy document nature, forest and landscape in the 21st century) (Ministerie van LNV et al., 2000). This document further underpinned the importance of the landscape quality and with that spatial quality of rural areas. In a reflection, it criticizes existing policy for having used landscape quality as an instrument to integrate already-made spatial decisions into the landscape. In response, this policy aims to make spatial quality a factor to be explicitly addressed in decision-making (Ministerie van LNV et al., 2000). To enforce the position of this policy document as the successor to the Landscape Memorandum, it refers to elements of earlier policy documents of the 1990s. With that, it emphasizes the role of recreation (drawing from the Policy document on open air recreation), cultural heritage (drawing from the Belvedere policy document) and the increasing demand for qualitative landscapes in light of firm location choice comparable to the policy documents on spatial planning (i.e. VINO and VINEX).

Coalition(s) of actors

From the literature and interviews no coalition forming for a new perspective on (the use of) spatial quality can be distinguished. This is not surprising as after the publication of the VINO (and VINEX) a new impetus for planning was given (Zonneveld, 1991), which shifted the focus on execution rather than developing new ideas. Nonetheless, coalition forming *per se* did occur by means of policy sectors collaborating as can be distinguished in the aforementioned 'discourse' section.

Resources

The implementation of the VINEX agreements (i.e. housing development agreements with local governments) dominated national planning policy alongside the instigation of the planning process for the construction of the 'HSL-Zuid en HSL-Oost' (highspeed rail line south and east), the expansion of Schiphol airport and the Betuwe railroad. The VINEX agreements, although of national importance, left the implementation and planning of new neighborhoods to local governments (de Zeeuw & Feijtel, 2014). Nonetheless, the national government (by means of the RPD) portrayed a facilitating and stimulating role regarding spatial quality within the 'Kwaliteit op locatie' project (see Wagenveld, 2000). GOV1 reflects:

> "We facilitated the dialogue on spatial quality within the 'Kwaliteit op locatie' community consisting of actors involved in the development of VINEX locations (i.e. development areas). Stories and insights were gathered, and the members of the community activated one another in their quality ambitions"

In a reflection of this instrument, GOV 1 concludes:

> "This project was a soft policy instrument but had much more effect than if we would have followed the traditional pathway of dictating what must happen"

Alongside the 'Kwaliteit op locatie' project, subsidies were also made available that aimed at improving spatial quality within existing urban areas through the 'Investeringsfonds Stedelijke Vernieuwing' (Investment funds for urban renewal) and the 'Grote Stedenbeleid' (Metropolitan areas policy). Furthermore, in line with the infrastructural ambitions laid out above (e.g. highspeed rail) the 'Nieuwe Sleutelprojecten' (New Key Projects) was launched that aimed at transforming railway stations along these projected railway lines to improve their spatial quality (Ministerie van VROM, 2003). These locations would not only serve as a gateway to the Netherlands, but should also function as attractive locations with housing, jobs and services. By improving their spatial quality they would boost their respected urban areas. GOV1 reflects on the 'Sleutelprojecten'

> "The 'sleutelprojecten' through which train stations and their surroundings received a large impulse, all under the guise of spatial quality"

Lastly, the 'Stimuleringsprogramma Intensief Ruimtegebruik' (Stimulation programme on intensive use of space, StIR) was launched in 1997. The VINEX operationalized the component 'utility value' to the multi-functional use of space. To implement this notion the StIR aimed at promoting the sustainable use of space, which entails using spaces as multifunctional as possible (Bouwmeester et al., 1998).

By means of these aforementioned projects, programmes and subsidies the ministry of VROM was able to actively influence national spatial planning to include and develop the newly installed notion of spatial quality.

Institutions

In a response within the parliamentary enquiry into the VINO, then minister Nijpels stated:

> "The cabinet is of the opinion that a further operationalization of the term spatial quality is of importance" (TK, 1989, p. 16)

The plurality of government advisory councils involved in the spatial planning realm followed this request and started discussing and reflecting upon spatial quality over de course of the 1990s. Table 4.3 summarizes the influential reports these council produced that refer to spatial quality. GOV1 and GOV2 reflect on the influence these councils had:

> "These councils had indirect influence as they individually worked with spatial quality and through that process kept it on the (political) agenda" (GOV1)

GOV2 responds to the question whether they made sure it stayed on the agenda

> "They did, there was clear attention for the topic, continued attention"

As such these councils had an important role in keeping spatial quality at its position of hegemony during the 1990s, as GOV1 explains:

> "Advisory councils and the Chief Government Architect of the Netherlands acted as a continued factor in the discourse of spatial quality, whereas the ministries demonstrated discontinuity"

Table 4.3: Advisory councils and their produced reports that reference to spatial quality during this period of spatial quality (1988-2004).

Year	Document title	Author(s)	Reference
1990	Naar Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit	Raad van Advies voor de Ruimtelijke Ordening (RARO)	RARO (1990)
1993	Jong-leren in de ruimte: Over bewustmaking van ruimtelijke kwaliteit bij de jeugd	Raad van Advies voor de Ruimtelijke Ordening (RARO)	RARO (1993)
1997	Nieuw land ontwikkelen: Zinnig of onbezonnen?	Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied	RLG (1997)
1998	Grote projecten: Als het moet, dan ook goed	Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied	RLG (1998)
1998	Stedenland-plus	Raad voor volkshuisvesting, ruimtelijke ordening en milieubeleid (i.e. VROM-raad)	VROM-raad (1998)
1999	Stad en wijk: Verschillen maken kwaliteit	Raad voor volkshuisvesting, ruimtelijke ordening en milieubeleid (i.e. VROM-raad)	VROM-raad (1999a)
1999	Sterk en mooi platteland	Raad voor volkshuisvesting, ruimtelijke ordening en milieubeleid (i.e. VROM-raad)	VROM-raad (1999b)
1999	Geleid door kwaliteit: Interim-advies over landelijke gebieden en de 5^e Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening	Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied	RLG (1999a)
1999	Made in Holland: verscheidenheid en identiteit als basis	Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied	RLG (1999b)
2000	Het belang van samenhang	Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied	RLG (2000a)
2000	Wonen in het landelijk gebied	Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied	RLG (2000b)
2001	Advies vijfde nota ruimtelijke ordening	Sociaal-Economische Raad	SER (2001)
2001	Kwaliteit in ontwikkeling: Interim-advies over de Vijfde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening	Raad voor volkshuisvesting, ruimtelijke ordening en milieubeleid (i.e. VROM-raad)	VROM-raad (2001)
2002	Minder blauw op straat?	Raad voor volkshuisvesting, ruimtelijke ordening en milieubeleid (i.e. VROM-raad)	VROM-raad (2002a)
2002	Impuls voor ruimtelijke investeringspolitiek	Raad voor volkshuisvesting, ruimtelijke ordening en milieubeleid (i.e. VROM-raad)	VROM-raad (2002b)

| 2005 | Tijd voor kwaliteit | Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied | RLG (2005) |

Table 4.4: Summary of phase two 'hegemony'

Dimension of the policy arrangement	Summary
Discourse	Spatial quality is the *leitmotiv* for (national) spatial planning. Documents make use of spatial quality, and refer to it, by means of three pathways: (1) Translating spatial quality to fit to a particular policy sector, (2) engage with the notion of spatial quality to enforce a particular spatial claim, and (3) referring to the potential influence and role an agency or sector can play with regards to spatial quality
Coalition(s) of actors	From the literature and interviews no coalition forming for a new perspective on (the use of) spatial quality can be distinguished
Resources	Exercising influence by means of involvement within the VINEX implementation (responsibility of lower governments) through the 'Kwaliteit op locatie' project
	Subsidies (financial resources) made available to stimulate and realize spatial quality with the 'Stimuleringsprogramma Intensief Ruimtegebruik' and the 'Nieuwe Sleutelprojecten' programmes.
Institutions	Government advisory councils started discussing and reflecting upon spatial quality over de course of the 1990s, acting as a continuous factor in the discourse of spatial quality. This kept spatial quality at its position of hegemony

4.4 Phase 'Downfall' (2004-2020): Political and ideological shifts and the reduction of national planning

The successor to the VINO and VINEX, the 'Vijfde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening' (Fifth Policy Document on Spatial Planning, Vijno), embodies the height of the position of spatial quality as hegemonic discourse. Following an unsatisfactory reflection on previous quality governance that concludes that "The burden on spatial and environmental quality is considerable" (Ministerie van VROM, 2001, p. 27), The Vijno aimed at strengthening spatial quality, summarized in the statement: "Giving space for the dynamics of the economy within the boundary conditions of spatial quality" (Ministerie van VROM, 2001, p. 9). With that, the Vijno underpins the need for a clear and operational *leitmotiv* for spatial interventions. Spatial quality, and its new seven criteria, would determine the base for spatial planning: Spatial diversity, economic-societal functionality, cultural diversity, social justice, sustainability, attractiveness and the human scale (Ministerie van VROM, 2001).

What characterizes this policy document is its red contours (i.e. areas in which spatial development ought to be take place) that sparked heated debates (de Zeeuw & Feijtel, 2014). This summarizes the perspective that stuck of this policy document: That it was a failure and its nickname the 'stoeptegel' (pavement tile) (GOV1; GOV2; IDP1). As GOV1 further explicates:

> "That is the perspective of spatial planning consisting of a lot of paperwork, long procedures and one that is detached from its execution"

The Vijno was never ratified as the cabinet Kok II disbanded before parliament was able to vote on the policy document. With that it reached political bad waters. According to GOV2 it suffered the same fate

as the Third Policy Document on Spatial Planning as it did not generate energy and provide a new impetus (i.e. spirit) for national spatial planning. GOV1 provides a similar reflection:

> "Everything lost its strengths. Spatial planning outgrew its own strengths and that sparked its reckoning. This has to deal with people. Within The Hague and the cabinet (i.e. Balkenende era) there was much allergy against the Vijno and people such as Jan Pronk (minister of VROM during the formulation of the Vijno) and his governance style"

IDP1 also reflects on this perspective of reckoning:

> "The person that reckoned the most would have been Sybilla Dekker (minister of VROM 2003-2006). She made clear attempts to deregulate and decentralize spatial planning"

Elements of the Vijno were transferred to the Spatial Planning Memorandum of 2006, a product of a new cabinet with a different composition (Balkenende II) that transferred this reckoning into formal policy. This document sought to open up planning to more market involvement (i.e. project-led spatial planning) and accelerate the decentralization trend under the slogan: "Decentral for all that is possible, central for what is necessary" (Ministerie van VROM et al., 2006, p. 2). The policy memorandum was geared at strengthening the international competitive position of the Netherlands, comparable to the VINO (and VINEX). As such, thirty-nine national points of attention were laid out. These were the elements that would still receive national attention, other elements would devolve to lower levels of government.

Following the financial crisis, the national government receded even further in its influence within planning matters (de Zeeuw & Feijtel, 2014). The successor to the Spatial Planning Memorandum, the 'Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte' (National Policy Strategy on Infrastructure and the Environment, SVIR) reduced the number of points of national attention to thirteen canons of 'rijksbelangen' (national interests) (Ministerie van I&M, 2012). Anything not deemed of national importance was devolved to lower governments, which were now responsible for setting the boundaries and coordinating these canons. Furthermore, the 'green domain' (i.e. landscape) became the full responsibility of provinces (i.e. regional governments).

The deregulation and decentralization process were paired with institutional changes, changes in resources and changes in perspectives amongst key actors that would be necessary coalition members in keeping spatial quality dominant within national spatial planning.

Discourse
Although the Vijno was never ratified, one of its policy-instruments, the 'Beleidsregeling Subsidies Budget Investeringen Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit' (Subsidy Scheme Investments Spatial Quality, BIRK), was established in 2003. Its focus is to serve as 'trigger-money' to improve the spatial quality within urban regions, in particular within development plans (TK, 2002). To do so, money could be supplied to realize extra quality (i.e. added value). To exemplify, the BIRK operationalizes spatial quality as an open term related to safety, public space, openness, public health, accessibility and identity (DG Ruimte, 2003). GOV1 reflects:

> "Within the VINO there were example plans which had a similar goal (i.e. as Programma Mooi Nederland and BIRK), but these were coupled to that policy document. With the BIRK and Mooi Nederland that is not the case. As a result it turns into an open-ended thing that designers start to work with, while missing large societal objectives"

This description of spatial quality as something open-ended and something that is extra (i.e. added value) can be viewed as an demotion compared to policy documents (and their programmes) from the previous phase of spatial quality. Similarly, the perspective on spatial quality within the Spatial Planning Memorandum that specifies that it is no longer the primary goal of planning, that is to facilitate development, can be seen as a decline in influence and importance. The Spatial Planning Memorandum accelerated the decentralization trend. On a national level, the central government would safeguard spatial quality by determining base qualities for the living environment and the 'Ruimtelijke Hoofdstructuur' (National Spatial Organization Framework). Base qualities, core qualities and price/quality ratio dominate the terminology of this policy document, highlighting the reduced ambition for quality-based planning that preceded it. Safeguarding base qualities is the only responsibility of the national government, demonstrating a clear break with earlier policy documents. Furthermore, the operationalization of spatial quality returns to the Spatial Quality Triad, refraining from referring to elements of the Vijno (i.e. the seven criteria).

The demotion of quality can also be deduced from the decision-making framework that specifies that quality is co-informing (i.e. one of the elements considered) within decision-making, opposed to leading in earlier policy documents (Ministerie van VROM et al., 2006). Quality is demoted to one of the plurality of goals of spatial planning, opposed to its main goal. Quality stimulation is still put on the agenda by means of the goal: Stimulating lower tiered governments to their environmental quality and safety ratings above threshold levels (i.e. base qualities), but also spatial quality (Ministerie van VROM et al., 2006). This positioning of spatial quality as a lower tiered ambition fits the renewed planning narrative of the Spatial Planning Memorandum.

National programmes that followed the Spatial Planning Memorandum continued the base quality and decentralization discourse. The 'Agenda voor een Vitaal Platteland MJP2' (Longer term programma vital rural areas 2007-2013) for instance specifies that spatial quality is a responsibility of the national government, it however, only entails the quality of the country as a whole (Ministerie van LNV, 2006). It still aims to improve the spatial quality of rural areas but by 'asking' lower tiered governments, following the decentralization logic. The 'Actieprogramma Ruimte en Cultuur 2005-2008' (Action programme Space and Culture 2005-2008), the successor to the Belvedere policy document, similarly demonstrates a reduction in ambition on the side of the national government in relation to spatial quality. It also defines goals of improving spatial quality, but its instruments are mostly process-related describing that the national government "does not want, and is not able, to actively engage" regarding this subject (Ministerie van OCW et al., 2005, p. 47). These tasks are delegated as a responsibility of lower tiered governments and clients.

The SVIR of 2012 marks another demotion of spatial planning, and with that spatial quality, on the national political agenda. It mostly refrains from using terms related to spatial quality (e.g. landscape quality) that signal a loss of rural policy within spatial planning (see Wagenaar, 2011). It also dismissed the conceptual framework behind the Spatial Quality Triad altogether. Within the SVIR, spatial quality is operationalized as a formula consisting of utilitarian value + experiential value + future value (Ministerie van I&M, 2012). This stands in stark contrast with the conceptualization within the VINO which Dauvellier (1991) explains: "Spatial quality is determined by three factors and their underlying cohesion" (p.8). Contradictions are possible as solely focusing upon one element automatically puts strain on the other three. Therefore, the triad was formulated as it is, quality resides in the middle of all three elements (see figure 4.2). By operationalizing spatial quality as a formula, the original conceptual framework of spatial quality gets dismissed.

The SVIR furthermore also reduces the meaning of spatial quality as the degree to which a particular locality is able to meet the demands of its users (Ministerie van I&M, 2012). Earlier policy instruments are reduced to governmental agreements (which are less rigorous) and previous quality goals have been

either abolished or delegated to lower tiered governments or clients. The national government shifts its focus towards only retaining and/or improving qualities of (inter)national significance.

Coalition(s) of actors
From the literature and interviews no coalition forming in favor off (the use of) spatial quality can be distinguished. On the other hand, discursive positions against spatial planning, and with that spatial quality, emerged that would hinder any coalition forming,

As described above, the Vijno produced a reckoning against spatial planning partly due to an allergy against the style of governance of the minister responsible for it. GOV1 expands this notion, explaining the deregulation and decentralization of (national) spatial planning as a result of:

> "Partly due to dominant market thinking and partly due to the reckoning of the social democrats (PvdA)"

Figure 4.1 also visualizes the ministers of VROM and their political party during all phases of spatial quality. During the hegemonic phase, the ministry of VROM was dominated by PvdA politicians. Kuipers (2006) for example in her examination of political rhetoric refers how this ministry was also seen as a 'PvdA department' in the early 1990s. Such departments were known for swallowing the majority of the government budget. This reckoning and allergy as described above by GOV1 was strongly embedded in later politicians that followed the hegemonic era. IDP1 reflects for instance on the process of formulating the new Environment and Planning Act:

> "The liberals (VVD) did not want to use a term that was surrounded by a strong social-democratic ooze"

Resources
The resources available to the various ministries working with spatial quality, and the ministry of VROM in particular, dropped over the course of the third phase (2004-2020). Firstly, as a result of the decentralization and deregulation in combination with austerity measures following slowing economic growth in the early 2000s. Secondly, this was expanded following the financial crisis of 2008. The government crisis that followed prompted "them (i.e. the cabinet) to emphasize short term goals within the SVIR" (GOV1), whereas spatial quality always was something focused on the longer term.

The Spatial Planning Memorandum and SVIR follow a more sectoral character opposed to the more integral (i.e. linked with other policy sectors) character of the VINO and VINEX. Financial support by the national government started to become increasingly coupled to sectoral goals, whereas spatial quality requires in essence an integral approach. Spatial quality is threatened by this notion or as GOV3 reflects:

> "It is customary that finances are managed and spent on a sectoral basis ... This sectoral way of working hinders spatial quality"

Institutions

Changes to legislation
The desire for deregulation turned into the ratification of new planning legislation with laws such as the 'Wet Ruimtelijke Ordening' (Wro), 'Crisis- en Herstelwet' and 'Wet Algemene Bepalingen Omgevingsrecht'. These laws effectively codified the decentralization and deregulation discourse. The Wro codified the decentralization of spatial planning and disbanded the national instrument of 'PKBs' limiting direct national involvement, whereas the others sought to speed up spatial development by shortening procedures. The 'Crisis- en Herstelwet' was a direct reaction to the perspective of "a spatial

planning that is slow and has a lot of procedures" (GOV1). It, together with the 'Wet Algemene Bepalingen Omgevingsrecht' stipulated the development-orientation of planning, the key impetus of planning following the Spatial Planning Memorandum.

Changes to institutional infrastructure
The previous phase in spatial quality highlighted the pivotal role of the advisory councils in proving continuity and keeping the topic of spatial quality on the (political) agenda. The disbandment of the ministry of VROM did not stand in isolation. Changes to the RPD and advisory councils predated and succeeded it.

The deregulation and decentralization discourse also culminated in the disbandment of the ministry of VROM in 2010. In anticipation of this disbandment, the RPD itself was reduced in size and complexity to later be split into a new planning agency (Ruimtelijk planbureau) and to be partly transferred to the ministry of VROM. This planning agency was then merged with the planning agency for environmental and nature affairs in 2008 resulting in the 'Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving' (The planning agency for the living environment). On another note, the advisory councils such as the VROM-raad, RLG and RARO merged with each other and other councils such as the council for traffic and water management into the 'Raad voor de leefomgeving en infrastructuur' (council for the living environment and infrastructure).

These new hybrid institutions address a wider range of topics for multiple policy sectors. For example, the agenda for the council for the living environment and infrastructure is determined by the ministries of infrastructure and water management, internal affairs, economic affairs, and agriculture, nature and food quality (Rli, 2022). As a result, a specialized spatial planning topic such as spatial quality quickly fades to the background, as elements of other policy sectors are more politically stringent and/or urgent. With that, this loss of vital institutional infrastructure through the downsizing and subsequent disbandment of the RPD, the ministry of VROM and the merging of advisory councils meant that spatial quality lost its institutional home.

However, spatial quality did not become orphaned, as IDP1 explains:

> "The effect of Belvedere and its successor Heritage and Space, which was a skimmed version, resulted in the topic of spatial quality not becoming orphaned on a national scale"

The Action programme Space and Culture features the statement "Spatial quality is unmistakably a cultural objective" (Ministerie van OCW et al., 2005, p. 10) that highlights the process of transferring spatial quality from the spatial planning sector (i.e. ministry of VROM) towards other sectors, in this case culture and heritage (i.e. OCW). Although previous policy documents referred to spatial quality in line with 'culture' and 'cultural heritage' it was always explicitly a topic of spatial planning. For example, the first Architecture Policy Memorandum (1991) and the Landscape Memorandum (1992) referred to spatial quality as an intrinsic component of spatial planning. This transfer can also be relinquished in the way spatial quality is used within the document: Stronger linkages to elements of cultural heritage and architectural policy within planning, rather than to planning itself.

4.4.1 Emancipation of the sectors
The previous passage explained the transfer of spatial quality as topic and source of expertise to other sectors that spatial planning. Culture and heritage (i.e. the policy sector of OCW) was not the only sector that started working with spatial quality. The ministry of V&W, to which later elements of the ministry of VROM were transferred, actively started working to include spatial quality in their domain. This was predominantly done within the various projects and programmes that its implementation agency Rijkswaterstaat (the Department of Traffic and Public Works) carried out, such as the 'Room for the

River' programme. This programme was heralded by multiple respondents as a prime example of integrating spatial quality in planning (GOV1; GOV3).

While the execution of Room for the River took place during this third phase, its origins can be traced to the second phase. The origin for Room for the River can be found within the 'Dealing differently with water' report of 2000, the Fourth Policy memorandum on Water Management, and the Room for the River Policy Document of 2000. The Vijno and Spatial Planning Memorandum already highlighted the relationship between water management and spatial quality, but the VINO already started this linkage in its 'Nederland-Waterland' spatial development perspective. As such, the Room for the River programme can be seen as a product of the second 'hegemonic' phase of spatial quality.

The relationship between spatial quality and water management was not the only project that the ministry of V&W and its' associated organizations focused on during this phase. The 'dry' infrastructure side[1] launched the highway panoramas (Beemer & Looijmans, 2009). This programme focused predominantly on the experiential value of car drivers as the original study in its cover explains:

> "Aspects of a route design that are of importance in the experience of spatial quality" (Kamphuis et al., 2003, p. 1).

This perspective on spatial quality was however not limited to just this programme as GOV1 explains:

> "Within V&W the approach is often more one dimensional, but it also depends on those that are involved. I cannot say if spatial quality was alive in this sector, but by then the downfall of spatial planning was already in full swing"

GOV3 also confirms this perspective. Regarding the second element of GOV1's statement, an internal evaluation within the Department of Traffic and Public Works offers a similar conclusion. The evaluation of the department's first manual c.q. framework on spatial quality in infrastructure projects describes that:

> "Spatial quality has as a whole a low priority within the department. Managers of projects consider spatial quality as a risk in the preposition of time and budget and never as a goal" (Rijkswaterstaat, 2017, p. 11).

GOV1 posits a similar reflection:

> "Within V&W the wider dialogue was lacking"

GOV3 does signal a positive change, starting with an updated framework (2017) that reflects on the changing conditions regarding spatial planning:

1) The increasingly integral nature of spatial problems as a result of increasing complexity
2) The increased attention for sustainability and sustainable spatial development and with that spatial quality
3) The decentralization trend that posits more responsibility on developers, clients and citizens themselves that result in networks, participation and mixed financial structures. (Rijkswaterstaat, 2017, p. 13)

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[1]The policy sector of V&W and its executive agency, Rijkswaterstaat, is divided into two fields: The 'dry' infrastructure (i.e. highways) and 'wet' water management

GOV3 reflects:

> "Within the majority of projects nowadays, it (i.e. spatial quality) is one of the main goals, or at least the discussion is held on what the spatial quality of a particular locality is, how we as an organization can protect it and what our ambitions are regarding it"

What helped in this shift was the positive evaluation of the Room for the River project (see Wolbers et al., 2018) that according to GOV3 showed:

> "That spatial quality not necessarily means that it is going to cost more as they stayed within budget"

More fundamentally, GOV3 explains:

> "By including it as a goal (strengthening the spatial quality was one of the two main goals of the programme), you see that people actively start working towards it, moreover that people are put on the topic itself. It will receive a more important say in the decision-making process"

These positive changes regarding attention for spatial quality stand not in isolation within this policy sector but can be witnessed in the wider spatial planning domain, signaling a new phase of spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning.

Table 4.5: Summary of phase three 'downfall'

Dimension of the policy arrangement	Summary
Discourse	Decentralization and deregulation dominate the national spatial planning discourse. Planning had to focus on providing room for private initiatives. Spatial quality is seen as part of the base quality responsibility of the national government, underpinning that is a topic in which the government does not want to actively engage. Reduced ambitions towards quality are also underpinned by its demotion to one of the goals of spatial quality rather than primary objective
Coalition(s) of actors	A reckoning against the PvdA and social democracy prompted the emergence of discursive positions against spatial planning, and with that spatial quality, that would hinder any coalition forming
Resources	Reduction of financial resources to the disposal of VROM, followed by austerity measures following the financial crisis.
	Stronger sectoralization resulted in financial state support being coupled with sectoral goals, whereas spatial quality had an integral character
Institutions	Planning legislation was altered to codify the decentralization and deregulation discourse
	The institutional infrastructure of government advisory councils, that in the previous phase had an important role, was altered through mergers and dissolutions. This reduced the positioning of planning matters such as spatial quality on their agendas and subsequently their role in keeping the topic on the (political) agenda
	The disbandment of the ministry of VROM caused spatial quality to be moved to other policy sectors such as OCW and V&W that resulted in different approaches and consideration given to spatial quality

4.5 Phase 'Revival' (2020-): Fostering a new paradigm on spatial planning and a new discourse on quality

The SVIR signaled the peak of the stagnation phase as it was formulated during the aftermath of the financial crisis and under the hospice of decentralized and deregulated planning legislation. However, works were underway to transform spatial planning in the Netherlands that culminated in the 2016 passing of the Environment and Planning Act that aims to introduce a new planning paradigm (although at the time of writing not yet in force). Whereas previous legal frameworks for planning focused upon protecting the physical environment, the Environment and Planning Act focuses upon a continued care for quality and creating room for development under the slogan "Room for development, safeguard quality" (TK, 2014, p. 20). Furthermore, the act's planning instrument, the National Spatial Vision (published in 2020), underpins a growing awareness on the national level regarding the large spatial transitions and challenges (see Ministerie van BZK, 2020). In comparison with the SVIR, it assigns greater attention and signals a greater importance to spatial planning and (spatial) quality.

The Dutch national government is not alone in this growing awareness on the impacts of large spatial transitions, and with that spatial quality. The European Commission's New European Bauhaus, an anchor of the European Green Deal within the built environment, aims to support more attractive, inclusive and sustainable spaces (Kolbe, 2022). It aims to help authorities integrate and implement quality principles within the built environment. It bases itself on the Davos declaration which was signed by the Netherlands in December 2018. The Davos declaration introduces an even wider conception on spatial quality than the Environment and Planning Act its quality of the environment: 'Baukultur'. Baukultur is understood as "every human activity that alters the built environment" (RCE, 2018, p. 2). Every interference in the physical environment must improve its quality (ten Cate, 2020). The Davos declaration acknowledges and condemns the trend of quality losses across European landscapes. A trend also highlighted in the National Spatial Vision.

With these developments a new level of discourse on 'quality' has been created; the European discourse on (spatial) quality. In short, the European Union has tasked the Dutch national government to make Baukultur a more important element in decision-making opposed to the economy. The New European Bauhaus (and with that Baukultur), combined with the upcoming paradigm shift of the Environment and Planning Act has prompted a renewed discussion on 'quality' in national planning governance. Not only about integrating quality in decision-making, but also about what defines the quality of spaces (ten Cate, 2020).

Discourse

The dominant discourse on quality is not easily defined in this phase. The national government is focusing upon actively introducing and operationalizing 'quality of the environment', whereas an executive agency such as the department of Traffic and Public Works (Rijkswaterstaat) retains the use of spatial quality, all the while a coalition of non-governmental agencies is actively working to establish the Baukultur notion of quality as dominant discourse in Dutch national spatial planning.

The Environment and Planning Act introduces the new term 'quality of the environment' to be defined as the enumeration of 'milieukwaliteit' (environmental quality) and spatial quality (Ministerie van BZK, 2020). The 'Actieagenda Ruimtelijk Ontwerp' (action agenda on spatial design) further clarified that spatial quality within the act is operationalized according to the original Spatial Quality Triad (Ministerie van I&M & Ministerie van OCW, 2016), whereas environmental quality is determined according to functional values stipulated in appendices and decrees following the act.

Quality of the environment is one of the act's two main goals and underpins the importance given to quality within the future legal basis for spatial planning in the Netherlands. This act aims to combine all

laws and decrees regarding spatial planning (TK, 2014). With that "a broader conception of quality is needed" (GOV1). The term has another reasoning according to IDP1:

> "My observation is that amongst officials in national government, there is a strong connotation of spatial quality as something about beauty. With quality of the environment, they have tried to regain the broader encompassing nature that spatial quality had. This one of the reasons why it is called quality of the environment"

This new 'quality' is central in all policy documents following the ratification of the Environment and Planning Act in 2016. However, the Netherlands signed the Davos declaration that introduces eight criteria that can be used to operationalize the quality of its Baukultur: Governance, Functionality, Sustainability, Economy, Diversity, Context, Sense of place and Beauty (SFOC, 2021). These eight criteria are not yet operationalized in any formal planning policy within the Netherlands. Nonetheless, work has started on further operationalizing and integrating these criteria within the Netherlands by means of coalition(s) of actors.

Coalition(s) of actors

The National Spatial Vision, the main policy instrument for national spatial planning under the Environment and Planning Act, has 'Improving the quality and attractiveness of urban and rural areas' as one of its (main) goals (Ministerie van BZK, 2020). However, it underpins that the national government is only partially responsible for said quality. Following the signing of the Davos declaration, the Dutch government did not make work of it according to IDP1. This prompted non-governmental organizations to start focus on this new Baukultur and what that entails for the Netherlands by organizing dialogues and forming a collaborative coalition (i.e. impact network) that organized as IDP1 explains:

In 2020 on former air force base Soesterberg, the national dialogue on Baukultur was organized. This meeting consisted of 250 key actors explicitly grouped by a steering group.

IDP1 further explains the nature of this dialogue:

> "A wide array of parties that in their operations have influence on the way the Netherlands looks, but do not necessarily trust and/or want to work with each other. We cannot wait before the national government will act. We consider the Environment and Planning Act as a societal objective and that we have to organize this dialogue"

This dialogue is set to continue for ten years with the aim of improving collaboration between key actors, as well as figuring out the implications of the European Bauhaus on spatial planning and development within the Netherlands. This process occurring outside the government apparatus is nonetheless valued by the national government IDP1 explains. Nonetheless, the coalition has not yet been able to garner sufficient political support. To strengthen their case, they did not limit themselves to the dialogue itself, but rather also focused on producing results as IDP1 explains:

> "One of the conclusions following two years of dialogue is that we should also work on projects: Research by design projects to be exact. The outcomes of these projects serve as input for advice to strengthen quality of the environment in national programmes (i.e. Nationaal Programma Landelijk Gebied)"

The process of coalition building continues at the time of writing this thesis.

Resources

Sufficient resources have not yet been gathered to strengthen the case of the aforementioned coalition. Nonetheless, IDP1 explains that this is something the coalition is working on, predominantly in light of the projects (i.e. research) that are being carried out. Talks have been started with different policy sectors to further the coalition's objectives (IDP1).

Institutions

The New European Bauhaus (and Baukultur) together with the Environment and Planning Act are elements of the future of (national) spatial planning in the Netherlands. Both aim to establish a new paradigm. Regarding the act, IDP1 summarizes:

> "In my opinion the act is revolutionary as it marks the transition from an era in which the government was the dominant decision-maker that sanctions and determines in relation to public health and safety. The act makes a leap and proclaims that is not about preventing such problems but about stimulating what is desired. This is more about ambitions, formulating in spatial visions that are made together with the population"

Furthermore, a new institutional level is introduced with its own discourse on (spatial) quality with the New European Bauhaus (and Baukultur). This entails a change in the dynamics within national spatial planning that have been central to this thesis. As described in chapter one and section 2.2.1, the operationalization on the national level has influence on the operationalization on lower scales. Similarly, operationalizations made on the European level influence the operationalization on the Dutch national level. This line of influence is evident in the fact that the European Union has tasked the Dutch national government to make Baukultur a more important element in decision-making opposed to the economy regarding spatial planning affairs. IDP1 explains that one of the first criteria of the Davos quality system (i.e. Baukultur) is 'governance', which is especially interesting in light of (spatial) quality governance, which the Netherlands has a rich history of. The developments taking place at the time of writing this thesis signal a new phase and chapter that will also introduce a new dynamism that *inter alia* changes where the (dominant) discourse on spatial quality takes place.

Table 4.6: Summary of phase four 'revival'

Dimension of the policy arrangement	Summary
Discourse	Two discourses on spatial quality are being introduced and are effectively competing for hegemony
	The national government is introducing the new term of 'omgevingskwaliteit' with the Environment and Planning Act. This term encompasses a wider conception to quality, befitting to the nature of the act
	On the other hand, the European Union and non-governmental organizations are trying to establish the New European Bauhaus and its Baukultur, which has an even wider conception of (spatial) quality than 'omgevingskwaliteit'
Coalition(s) of actors	Non-governmental organizations have formed a coalition surrounding the new Baukultur, organizing a dialogue with key stakeholders in the (national) spatial planning sector
Resources	Sufficient resources have not yet been gathered to strengthen the Dutch coalition on Baukultur
Institutions	The Environment and Planning Act introduces a new paradigm in (national) spatial planning. With that, it marks the transition within spatial planning from preventing spatial and environmental problems on the basis of public health and safety towards a system that stimulates desired forms of spatial organization
	Additionally, a new 'European' institutional level with a discourse on (spatial) quality is introduced with the New European Bauhaus (and Baukultur)

5. Discussion and conclusion

The following chapter elaborates upon the findings presented in the previous chapter, followed by a reflection on the present study and ending with a conclusion featuring a proposal of questions for further research. Section 5.1 discusses the findings in light of the literature presented in chapter two. Subsequently, sections 5.2 and 5.3 consider the contributions of this study to the policy arrangements model and to planning literature and practice. Section 5.4 concludes the discussion part by reflecting upon the followed research methodology. Section 5.5 offers a conclusion to this thesis by providing a brief summary of this study followed by an answer to the main research question. Finally, section 5.6 presents an outlook, exploring questions for further research.

5.1 Discussion of findings

5.1.1 Instigating change within the policy arrangements model

The previous chapter elaborated the four dimensions of a policy arrangement (and changes therein) in a particular phase of the discourse on spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning. The theory on policy arrangements and the subsequent theoretical model presented in section 2.3.2 suggest that with the development and introduction of a new discourse on spatial quality in the national spatial planning domain, the coalitions of actors, institutions and resources also require alteration. Phases one and three both demonstrated how activities take place in each of these three dimensions in order to instigate a new discourse in the national planning policy arrangement. Phase four, similarly demonstrates attempts of altering the three dimensions in order to introduce a new discourse. While still unsuccessful, one dimension has not yet received any (i.e. resources) successful alteration. This possibly explains the current state of unsuccess following the logic of the theoretical model.

Phase two on the other hand, demonstrates a different process. During this phase no new discourse was introduced. Instead, the dominant discourse remained the same following the efforts made in phase one. Nonetheless, the dimensions of 'resources' and 'institutions' did alter, but not on the basis of introducing a new discourse. Instead, the discourse became institutionalized through the introduction of new policies and programmes that reconstructed the dominant discourse. Phase two as such demonstrates a different interaction pathway in the policy arrangements model. The phase is characterized by 'stability', where no interaction between all dimensions necessarily occurs. This stands in contrast with the expectation from the theory that explains that if change occurs in any of dimensions, all other dimensions ought to change accordingly (Liefferink, 2006, see also van Tatenhove et al., 2000). This expectation was adapted to hypothesize that for a new discourse to successfully bring about change within the policy arrangement, it had to influence all other dimensions (see section 2.3.2). However, the discourse dimension did not act as 'trigger' during this phase. This demonstrates that change does not exclusively occur on the basis of changes in the discourse dimension. This stands in contrast with the theoretical model.

A possible explanation for this difference might be found in the differences and similarities between each phase. Phases one and three witnessed large changes within national spatial planning that spawned new planning concepts and themes. Both phases also started on the premise of a crisis in spatial planning; a perspective within national politics that spatial planning does not function properly, has too many procedures, and costs too much time. Phase two on the other hand was a period of stability, with spatial planning having a strong position in the national political arena. During phases one and three (and currently also taking place in phase four), national spatial planning had to reinvent itself in order to sustain itself within the political arena. It might be that these premises offer the breeding grounds for a new discourse that subsequent have a large steering and initiating role in all other dimensions of a policy arrangement. Future research might consider these starting premises of each phase, investigating how this

influences the discourse formulation process, and subsequent interaction with other policy arrangements dimensions within Dutch national spatial planning.

5.1.2 The inertia of discourses and the planning cycle

The findings predominantly discussed the formulation of policy on the national scale. This process is followed by the execution phase of these policies and their programmes. This 'planning cycle' did not strictly follow the dynamics of the four phases identified in this study. Phase three was characterized by decline on the national level, while at the same time the (national) Room for the River programme started, which was heralded by multiple respondents as a prime example of integrating spatial quality in planning. This programme found its direct origin in phase two. Similarly, the programmes described under 'resources' during phase two also found their execution during phase three. Overall, the findings demonstrate a considerable inertia of discourses that follow the dynamics of the planning cycle from development on the abstract policy level towards execution. Furthermore, they also demonstrate the long distance between the abstract level of national policy making and policy execution, as two different discourses on spatial quality effectively existed at the same time in the national spatial planning policy realm.

5.1.3 The relationship between spatial quality and the dominant discourse in Dutch national spatial planning and national policy sectors

The theory in sections 2.1.4 and 2.1.5 elaborated upon the open nature of spatial quality as an empty concept. Its lack of objective content provides interpretative flexibility (see Star, 2010) that can function as the foundation for the reproduction of dominant discourses (Žižek, 2007). As such, meaning is given to the concept by means of hegemonic discourse (Žižek, 1999). This characteristic explains why spatial quality does not possess a fixed definition, but rather is (re)defined through discursive frames of reference (cf. Kooij et al., 2012). Dominant discourses however must be reaffirmed to retain their position (Dembski & Salet, 2010). Markusen (1999) and Westerink et al. (2012) also highlighted the bearing potential of concepts such as spatial quality for stimulating (dominant) discourses, and thus providing room for reaffirmation. The conceptual framework (see figure 2.6) materialized these conceptions in the relationship between the hegemonic discourse within national spatial planning and the discourse on spatial quality. This relationship has been operationalized as a conditioning factor that influences the conception, use and positioning of spatial quality in national spatial planning.

The findings support the existence of this relationship. Phase one demonstrated that the discourse of spatial quality was not the discourse *per se* as spatial quality catered to the dominant discourse of economic development. For spatial quality to be given a strong position within the VINO it had to accommodate the dominant discourse in national planning at the time. This accommodation increased the power of the spatial quality discourse. During phase two, spatial quality was part of the dominant discourse in planning, which did not alter. As such, no interaction between both discourses occurred. Phase three however, demonstrated a similar process as the dominant discourse at the time, the deregulation and decentralization of (national) spatial planning, materialized itself in the discourse on spatial quality, which started being viewed as part of the base qualities that were the responsibility of the national government. In addition, the decentralization trend also materialized itself in the view that spatial quality ought to be the responsibility of lower levels of government. Phase four did not demonstrate this relationship. But, as this phase is still in its early stages, no clear conclusion can be deduced for that particular phase. The developments in both phases one and three suggest the presence of a conditioning interaction between the discourse on spatial quality and the dominant discourse in national spatial planning.

This relationship between discourses was not limited to the VROM policy sector. Following the reduction of VROM and its subsequent disbandment, spatial quality became a responsibility of other national policy sectors: V&W and OCW. The way spatial quality is used within the policy documents of these policy

sectors demonstrate that the use of spatial quality is adapted to the dominant discourse of each policy sector. With regards to OCW, stronger linkages to elements of cultural heritage and architectural policy within planning are made, rather than referring to planning itself, whereas previous documents of the same policy sector addressed spatial quality as intrinsically part of spatial planning (i.e. VROM). Additionally, the statement "Spatial quality is unmistakably a cultural objective" (Ministerie van OCW et al., 2005, p. 10) also signals this change in use.

The sector of V&W experienced a discursive shift from technocratic water management to integrated river basin management during this timeframe (see van der Brugge et al., 2005). This new dominant discourse focused upon giving space to water and living with water. This new dominant discourse can be relinquished in the usage of spatial quality within V&W following the transfer during phase three. Policy documents of V&W during this phase predominantly focus upon the relationship between water management and spatial quality. This relationship is in line with dominant discourse, as the link with spatial quality offers a strong argument for the larger claim on space that this discourse forwards. As such, both approaches of OCW and V&W stand in contrast with the usage of spatial quality within VROM that highlighted the dominant discourse in planning, for example (catering for) economic development.

5.2 Contribution to planning practice

At the time of writing this thesis, the pressures on the Dutch (planning) landscape seem to be at an all-time high with a plurality of (future) spatial challenges and transitions. This has instigated a renewed appreciation for Dutch national spatial planning and spatial quality in national politics. This culminated in the launch of three national programs that feature spatial quality as (part of) their main objective: 'Programma Mooi Nederland', 'Programma NOVEX' and 'Nationaal Programma Landelijk Gebied' (see Rijksoverheid, 2022c; 2022d; 2022e). These programmes aim, in concordance with the National Spatial Vision and Environment and Planning Act, to introduce the new conception of 'quality of the environment'. This wider conception of spatial quality is being introduced in combination with the introduction of a new paradigm in the spatial planning sector: That of caring for quality and creating room for development instead of sanctioning what is unsuitable. This paradigm can be seen as a possible direction for a new dominant discourse in the national planning domain.

These three programmes can be seen as the latest addition to the efforts described in phase four, that until now have not yet been successful in instigating a discursive shift. The 'resources' dimension had until now not received any positive alteration. These programmes might aid in the efforts of the national government, however no efforts for the dimension of coalition(s) of actors can be distinguished for this particular discourse (note that phase four is witnessing a competition between two discourse). The current phase (i.e. four) shares sufficient similarities with phases one and three to suggest that the approach laid out in the theoretical model might offer helpful insights. Similar to phases one and three, national spatial planning is undergoing changes that require a new *leitmotiv* and signal a shift towards a new dominant discourse. It is advised to actively start working on building coalitions with relevant actors in the sector (and other policy sectors) and to start linking these efforts with actions undertaken in the dimensions of institutions and resources to successfully instigate this new discourse on quality of the environment.

On the other hand, phase four described efforts that have been made with regards to coalition building in the name of another discourse: Baukultur. The findings have illustrated the presence of a relationship between the discourse on spatial quality and the dominant discourse in national spatial planning. This relationship conditions the discourse on spatial quality, as accommodating the dominant discourse offers it more 'strength' in its initiating efforts. The (near) future will see the introduction of a new institutional level above the Dutch national government with its own dominant discourse on spatial quality: The New European Bauhaus and its Baukultur criteria system. Within the Netherlands, private initiatives are

underway of instigating this discourse within national spatial planning. The aforementioned relationship might also be true for the European discourse. Thus, a potential conditioning from the European discourse on the discourse within the Netherlands might occur. It is therefore also recommended for the new dominant spatial planning discourse, and that of spatial quality, to accommodate this (new) European discourse to prevent competition, and instead build upon each other's efforts to instigate change within the policy arrangement.

5.3 Contribution to planning theory

Firstly, the theory on policy arrangements and the subsequent theoretical model presented in section 2.3.2 proclaims the interactive relationship between all dimensions of a policy arrangement. This relationship entails that change in one dimension influences all other dimensions and that change driven by one dimension requires interaction with all other dimensions accordingly. This perspective was adapted to turn the policy arrangements model more discourse centered, hypothesizing that for a new discourse to successfully instigate change it has to influence the available resources, (potential) actor coalitions and institutions (rules of the game). The findings for phases one and three support this hypothesis. Phase two on the other hand, has demonstrated a dismissal for this possible pathway. Phase four might support this hypothesis, but as a phase it is too young to make any meaningful conclusions. Section 5.1.1 delved deeper into the differences between phases one and three on the one hand, and phase two on the other.

Phases one and three contained premises that offered breeding grounds for a new discourse in national spatial planning, whereas phase two was characterized by stability. Phases one and three also only truly witnessed a discursive shift, with phase two focused rather on sustaining a particular discourse. With this distinction in mind, the adopted pathway within the policy arrangements model, of putting the discourse dimension at the center, offers a potential research lens for investigating discursive shifts in the planning realm. As such, this methodology can enrich the policy arrangements approach by offering a possible pathway to trace within the model and to see how the most relevant dimensions of a policy domain interact in the pursue (and face) of discourse driven change. This is especially relevant given the strong enabling role discourses possess in the anthropology of policy (see Wedel et al., 2005). Discourses are effective in bringing about change in (spatial) policy (cf. Epstein, 2010; Hajer & Laws, 2006; Howlett, 2009). The altered policy arrangements model in this thesis offers a methodology of investigating that change process.

5.4 Methodological reflections

5.4.1 Limitations of the analysis

This section reflects upon the carried-out research approach and data collection efforts in order to present an integer image about the potential usefulness of this study as well as its potential perils. Firstly, the generalizability of the findings has been limited through the adoption of a single case study approach (see McLeod, 2010). As such, the findings of this thesis cannot provide an empirical basis to derive general insights regarding the functioning of the policy arrangements approach and the role of discourses in policy processes.

With regards to the data collection strategy, an informed decision was made to keep the number of interviews to four respondents. Given the limited timeframe of this study and the adopted research methodology in which interviews function as a supplementation to the discourse analysis of documents, additional interviews would've sacrificed the amount of policy documents that could have been analyzed, which would have resulted in a narrower view on spatial quality (i.e. less policy sectors referred to). Nonetheless, the four interviews did recall similar perspectives and notions that leads the researcher to belief that saturation has occurred. In the context of the topic however, this research lacks sufficient

insights from the perspective of key policy actors in other policy sectors (e.g. LNV and OCW). Furthermore, the balance between the number of actors interviewed and their activity in a particular phase is not equal across all phases. Lastly, no political actors were interviewed, although they do play an important role as is evident from the findings. This lack of interviewees has implications for the richness of data. Given the roles the respondents portray (or have portrayed) however, they offered sufficient insights, even from other policy sectors or political actors, due to their own experiences and reflections. Paired with additional literature that supplemented gaps or unclarities from the interviews, sufficient linkages could be made to construct a coherent storyline. Although this minimized the implications to some extent, it remains a genuine limitation of this thesis.

Lastly, two of the interviews were carried out by means of a videocall application. This was done as the distance between the researcher and respondent was too far or by suggestion of the respondent. This has as consequence that there is a restricted opportunity to facilitate a good interview. Non-verbal information may have been lost during the interview process. In order to still establish a degree of trust and to ensure the comfort of the respondent, a lively email conversation was instigated in anticipation of the interview. This conversation already specified goals and expectations, as well as boundaries and questions that could be answered in advance. The choice of medium was also done by suggestion of the respondent, after which the author facilitated accordingly.

5.4.2 Reflections by author
Following the discussion upon the theoretical foundation and research design of this thesis, the subsequent section will reflect upon the personal research process. First and foremost, a research project of considerable size such as a thesis can be an overwhelming task at onset. By dividing this task into manageable work packages, it becomes easier to oversee and manage. The first point of improvement is to start earlier in planning interviews, the current planning of a month in advance resulted in a widely spread-out timetable that was inefficient. As it meant that the author had to transition between data analysis and data collection during later stages of the research process. Sometimes these transitions caused stagnation as waiting commenced until the next interview. By organizing this earlier, a tighter schedule could have been achieved that would have left more time to analyze data and possibly fill in more data gaps.

Secondly, in following the previous reflection, interviews offered additional documents and data to analyze which in line with the schedule resulted in a pile-up down the line, slowing down the overall research process. Lastly, the interview guide offered some coordination for the interviews, however this guide was not strictly followed. As the semi-structured nature of the interviews entails that the researcher can improvise as well, the interviews followed similar answers albeit in different orders. Some had less questions as the respondent had a much younger career compared to other respondents. The interview guide was used to ask questions and steer the conversation when some questions weren't already answered (in)directly. The (sub-)questions functioned as a way of coordinating but not dictating. Hereby, the validity of the interview process was assured.

5.5 Conclusion

The pressure on the Dutch (planning) landscape seems to be at an all-time high with a plurality of (future) spatial challenges and transitions that are having their merits on the quality of spaces; quality which citizens increasingly desire (see Brouwer et al., 2007). This development has resulted in a renewed appreciation for both Dutch national spatial planning and spatial quality therein. A multitude of programmes have recently been introduced that feature spatial quality as (part of) their main objective. This quest for spatial quality is, however, not new as it was already on the political agenda during the 1980s, finding its first operationalization within policy in 1988. Since then, its conceptualization and position within national planning policy has developed and changed. This development process was the main object of study. A single case study approach featuring a discourse analysis was used that addressed how spatial quality has been operationalized, used and positioned within Dutch national spatial planning policy. The main research question to be answered was: 'How is spatial quality defined, conceptualized and operationalized in Dutch national spatial planning discourse since its' introduction in the 1980s?'. The policy arrangements approach was used and adapted to analyze whether a new discourse had been able to instigate change by influencing the available resources, actor coalitions and institutions. The following sections answer each of the four sub-questions, furnishing the grounding for answering the main research question.

Following an exploration of the conceptualization of spatial quality within the literature (sub-question 1), it can be deduced that spatial quality is fundamentally a Dutch topic given the little international literature discussing it. Spatial quality as a planning concept is part of the stream of new guiding concepts developed in the 1980s following a crisis in national (planning) governance (see Gunder, 2006 and Zonneveld, 1991). This notion was also supported by respondents GOV1 and GOV2. Spatial quality provided a new impetus for national spatial planning that highlighted the identity of spatial planning and its added value in national policy making. Its use has since then changed from an aspect of regional competitiveness to a concept focused on aesthetics and sustainability. Scholars emphasize the social constructivist nature of spatial quality (cf. Van Assche & Jacobs, 2002; Goethals & Schreurs, 2011; Moulaert et al., 2013; Hartman et al., 2016). Gunder and Hillier (2009) refer to these empty concepts as 'master-signifiers', whose interpretative flexibility (see Star, 2010) provides the foundation for the reproduction of dominant discourses (Žižek, 2007). Following this line of reasoning points to the distinction that meaning is given to the concept by means of hegemonic discourse (Žižek, 1999).

These hegemonic discourses constitute the dominant discourses in Dutch national spatial planning whose discursive changes since the 1980s (sub-question 2) provide the canvas onto which spatial quality has been conceptualized since its conception until now. Since the release of the VINO (which introduced spatial quality) discursive shifts can be observed. The VINO focused on the competitive position of the Netherlands as an attractive place to reside as a company and urban professional, which dominated the policy discourse during the late 1980s (see Zonneveld, 1991). It had to respond to new international forcefields and relations (Krombeen, 2015). The VINO also embodied the neoliberal philosophy, which over the course of the 1990s and early 2000s slowly became integrated into Dutch national politics and policies. This process resulted in the deregulation, fragmentation (and with that the decentralization and sectoralization of planning responsibilities) and market-orientation of spatial planning (see van der Cammen et al., 2012 and Davoudi, 2008). These changes stipulated a different role for the national government with regards to its planning responsibilities, one of which was spatial quality (see van der Woud, 2006).

The discourse on spatial quality, that can be distinguished within the position and definition of spatial quality in National spatial planning documents since its conception in the 1980s and now (sub-question 3), demonstrates a wave-like pattern of growth, stabilization and decline followed by slow signs of growth at the time of writing this thesis. Phase one demonstrated efforts of developing a new identity and impetus for national spatial planning. The final conceptualization strongly accommodated the dominant

discourse at the time: Catering for economic development. The efforts made in driving change in all other dimensions of the policy arrangement based on this discourse on spatial quality paid off as spatial quality was given the prominent position within the VINO and VINEX policy documents, becoming the *leitmotiv* of national spatial planning. This strong position materialized itself during phase two 'hegemony' wherein all other national policy sectors involved in spatial planning interacted with it, either by translating the term, engaging with it for their benefit in planning policy, or by referring to the potential contributions it could make towards it. Only the dimensions of 'resources' and 'institutions' witnessed activities during this phase that demonstrated efforts of institutionalizing the spatial quality discourse. Phase three on the other hand demonstrated a decline where spatial quality demoted from main goal to sub-goal. It became part of the base qualities the national government would provide. As such, it became part of the planning policies that were deregulated and decentralized. This decline was fueled by the deregulation and decentralization discourse that materialized itself in all other dimensions. The decline furthered in the wake of the financial crisis as subsequent policies scrapped spatial quality ambitions, reaffirming the dominant discourse. Phase four on the other hand, demonstrates a renewed appreciation for national spatial planning and spatial quality, with increased ambitions and a more prominent position in policy through a new term: 'quality of the environment' that signal a revival.

Exploring which discourses have been most dominant in the conceptualization and operationalization of spatial quality between the 1980s and now (sub-question 4), several observations can be made. The findings demonstrate a relationship between this dominant discourse in national spatial planning and the discourse on spatial quality. This relationship conditions the discourse on spatial quality as accommodating the dominant discourse offers it more 'strength' in its initiating efforts. This relationship can be found in phases one and three. For instance, phase one demonstrated how spatial quality had to accommodate the dominant discourse on economic development. Phase three demonstrates how the dominant discourse on deregulation and decentralization directly influences spatial quality. During phase two the dominant discourse included spatial quality, as such no conditioning can be distinguished. Phase four does not visualize this relationship, but it as a phase is still too young to deduce any meaningful conclusions. This relationship between discourses can also be distinguished in the uptake of spatial quality within the policy sectors of OCW and V&W following the decline and disbandment of VROM. In both sectors, spatial quality was adapted to fit the dominant discourse of each sector.

The sections above have drawn the premises upon which a general conclusion to the main research question can be made. The findings demonstrate that the definition, operationalization and use of spatial quality in Dutch national spatial planning followed a wave-like pattern, where in periods of discursive shifts (i.e. a phase characterized by either growth or decline) the discourse dimension acted as a trigger for change in other policy arrangements dimensions. This discourse dimension, which was expanded to include two elements: The dominant discourse in national spatial planning and the discourse on spatial quality, demonstrated a strong relationship where the dominant discourse influenced the spatial planning discourse. This is in line with both theory on planning concepts and the policy arrangements model. This study hypothesized that for the discourse dimension to successfully instigate change, interactions with all other policy arrangement dimensions had to be made. The findings support this hypothesis. Although, phase two demonstrated a dismissal, this phase did not witness any change, but rather focused on the preservation of the dominant discourse and keeping stability. As such, phase two does not inherently contradict the hypothesis as this phase did not focus on initiating change. The hypothesis and proposed pathway in the policy arrangements model proved suitable in explaining how discourses have been able to instigate change in spatial quality within Dutch national spatial planning. Although phase four is still ongoing, it demonstrates similarities with phase one that suggest that the model might inform current efforts being made to instigate change, that until now have remained unsuccessful. it is therefore recommended that resonance is created with all other dimensions of a policy arrangement on the one hand, and with the European discourse on quality in the built environment on the other, to further this phase's efforts of installing a new discourse on spatial quality in national spatial planning.

5.6 Recommendations for future research

The limitations of this thesis presented in this section imply that there are opportunities for further research. The findings of this thesis cannot provide an empirical basis to derive general insights regarding the functioning of the policy arrangements approach and the role of discourses in policy processes. The proposed pathway of putting discourses central has provided a suitable methodology for this thesis. Its hypothesis was also confirmed for two phases in this study that were characterized by change. First and foremost, more case studies can be investigated that test the formulated discourse-centered pathway along the policy arrangement approach. Multiple case studies can explore whether this pathway is relevant and/or whether it is the dominant pathway within the model. These recommendations may help advance the policy arrangements approach and its usability in policy (and planning) research, especially whether taking a predefined pathway in the policy arrangements model offers a suitable methodology for investigating policy change.

Secondly, the proposed pathway in the policy arrangements model can also be tested in different scenarios that all experienced change to see whether the findings from this thesis stand alone or posit similarities with cases from other countries (and their policies on quality in the built environment). Furthermore, a similar research strategy may also be followed to see whether other guiding planning concepts in Dutch national spatial planning followed a similar development process as spatial quality.

Thirdly, this study made use of the policy arrangements approach to study spatial quality in national spatial planning. Although this approach claims to connect all relevant dimensions of a policy domain, it might be possible that certain important elements have been missed by following this theoretical model. Future research might consider opting to take a different theoretical perspective in investigating the development of spatial quality in Dutch national spatial planning.

Lastly, this study focused exclusively on policy documents on the national scale, whereas spatial planning, and with that the operationalization of spatial quality, also occurs on the regional (provincial), local (municipal) and project level. Given the implications of national policy on policies of lower tiered governments, as described in section 2.2.1, future research might investigate the operationalization at these lower levels, either individually or in light of national policy. A wider interpretation can result in greater contributions to the topic and (Dutch) planning practice.

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Appendix I – Overview of analyzed policy documents in the discourse analysis

Year	Original Dutch title	Translated title	Authors	Reference
1988	Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening (VINO)	Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van VROM (1988)
1989	Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan	National Environmental Policy Plan	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Economic Affairs; Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV) & Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W)	Ministerie van VROM et al. (1989)
1990	Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan +	National Environmental Policy Plan Plus	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van VROM (1990)
1991	Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening extra (VINEX)	Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning Extra	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van VROM (1991)
1991	Ruimte voor Architectuur: Nota Architectuurbeleid	Room for Architecture: Architecture Policy Memorandum	Ministry of Welfare, Public Health and Culture; Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van WVC & VROM (1991)
1992	Nota Landschap	Landscape Memorandum	Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV)	Ministerie van LNV (1992a)
1992	Nota beleid voor openluchtrecreatie in de jaren negentig	Policy memorandum on open air recreation in the nineties	Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV)	Ministerie van LNV (1992b)
1993	Tweede Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan	Second National Environmental Policy Plan	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Economic Affairs; Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV); Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W) & Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Ministerie van VROM et al. (1993)
1995	Discussienota Visie Stadslandschappen	Policy document 'Vision Urban Landscapes'	Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV)	Ministerie van LNV (1995)
1996	Actualisering Vierde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra	Actualization of the Fourth Policy Document on Spatial Planning Extra	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van VROM (1996)
1996	De Architectuur van de Ruimte: Nota over het architectuurbeleid 1997-2000	The Architecture of Space: Policy memorandum on architecture policy 1997-2000	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV); Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W)	Ministerie van OCW et al. (1996)
1997	Nota stedelijke vernieuwing	Urban Renewal Memorandum	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van VROM (1997)

1997	Nederland 2030 – Discussienota: Verkenning ruimtelijke perspectieven	The Netherlands in 2030 – exploration of spatial perspectives	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); National spatial planning agency (RPD)	Ministerie van VROM & RPD (1997)
1998	Vierde Nota Waterhuishouding	Fourth Policy memorandum on Water Management	Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W); Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV); Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM) & Union of Dutch Water Boards	Ministerie van V&W et al. (1998)
1998	Derde Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan	Third National Environmental Policy Plan	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van VROM (1998)
1999	Nota Belvedere: Beleidsnota over de relatie cultuurhistorie en ruimtelijke inrichting	Belvedere: Policy memorandum on the relationship between cultural heritage and spatial planning	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV); Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W)	Ministerie van OCW et al. (1999)
2000	Natuur voor mensen, mensen voor natuur: Nota natuur, bos en landschap in de 21e eeuw	Policy memorandum on nature, forestry and the landscape in the 21st century	Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV); Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W); Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Ministerie van LNV et al. (2000)
2000	Anders omgaan met water: Waterbeleid in de 21^e eeuw	Dealing differently with Water, Water management in the 21st century	Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W)	Ministerie van V&W (2000a)
2000	3^e Kustnota: Traditie, Trends en Toekomst	Third Policy Memorandum on Coasts: Tradition, trends and the future	Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W)	Ministerie van V&W (2000b)
2000	Ontwerpen aan Nederland: Architectuurbeleid 2001-2004	Designing the Netherlands: Architecture Policy 2001-2004	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W); Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV)	Ministerie van OCW et al. (2000)
2001	Vijfde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening (Vijno)	Fifth Policy Document on Spatial Planning	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van VROM (2001)
2001	Nationaal Milieubeleidsplan 4	National Environmental Policy Plan 4	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Economic Affairs; Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Fisheries (LNV); Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W); Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Finances; Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW); Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports	Ministerie van VROM et al. (2001)

Year	Dutch title	English title	Ministry/Department	Reference
2003	Beleidsregeling Subsidies 'Budget Investeringen Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit' (BIRK)	Policy arrangement subsidies 'Budget for Investing in Spatial Quality'	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Directorate-General Space	DG Ruimte (2003)
2004	Nota Mobiliteit	Policy Memorandum on Mobility	Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W); Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van V&W & VROM (2004)
2005	Actieprogramma Ruimte en Cultuur 2005-2008: Architectuur- en Belvederebeleid	Action programme 'Space and Culture 2005-2008' on Architecture and Belvedere policy	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (LNV); Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W); Ministry of Economic Affairs; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ministry of Defence	Ministerie van OCW et al. (2005)
2006	Nota Ruimte	Spatial Planning Memorandum	Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W); Ministry of Economic Affairs; Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (LNV) & Ministry of Finances	Ministerie van VROM et al. (2006)
2006	Agenda voor een Vitaal Platteland MJP2	Agenda for vital rural areas	Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (LNV)	Ministerie van LNV (2006)
2006	Handreiking Kwaliteit Landschap	Policy guideline 'Quality of the Landscape'	Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (LNV); Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM)	Ministerie van LNV & Ministerie van VROM (2006)
2008	Een cultuur van ontwerpen: Visie architectuur en ruimtelijk beleid	A culture of design: Vision architecture and spatial policy	Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW); Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM); Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (LNV); Ministry of Traffic and Water Management (V&W)	Ministerie van OCW et al. (2008)
2012	Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte (SVIR)	National Policy Strategy on Infrastructure and the Environment	Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment (I&M)	Ministerie van I&M (2012)
2012	Actieagenda architectuur en ruimtelijk ontwerp 2013-2016: Werken aan ontwerpkracht	Actionagenda architecture and spatial design 2013-2016: Working on design capacity	Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment (I&M); Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW); Ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom Relations (BZK); Ministry of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation & Ministry of Defence	Ministerie van I&M et al. (2012)
2012	Kader ruimtelijke kwaliteit en vormgeving	Framework on spatial quality and design	Department of Waterways and Public Works	Rijkswaterstaat (2012a)
2012	Handreiking ruimtelijke kwaliteit en vormgeving	Guideline spatial quality and design	Department of Waterways and Public Works	Rijkswaterstaat (2012b)
2016	Actieagenda Ruimtelijk Ontwerp 2017-2021: Samen Werken aan Ontwerpkracht	Action agenda on Spatial Design 2017-2021: Working together on design capacity	Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment (I&M); Ministry of Education, Culture and Science	Ministerie van I&M & Ministerie van OCW (2016)

2017	Kader ruimtelijke kwaliteit en vormgeving	Framework on spatial quality and design	Department of Waterways and Public Works	Rijkswaterstaat (2017)
2020	Nationale Omgevingsvisie	National Spatial Vision	Ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom Relations (BZK); Ministry of Defence; Ministry of Economic affairs and Climate; Ministry of Infrastructure and Water management; Ministry of Finance; Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (LNV); Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW); Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sports	Ministerie van BZK (2020)
2020	Actieagenda Ruimtelijk Ontwerp 2021-2025	Action agenda on spatial design 2021-2025	Ministry of Ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom Relations (BZK); Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW)	Ministerie van BZK & OCW (2020)

Appendix II – Overview of analyzed grey literature used as supplementary information in the discourse analysis

Year	Original Dutch title	Translated title	Reference
1982	Plan in openbaar bestuur: - "ruimtelijke kwaliteit"	Spatial plans in public governance – "spatial quality"	Dauvellier & Wardenaar (1982)
1984	Op zoek naar ruimtelijke kwaliteit	The quest for spatial quality	Dauvellier (1984)
1985	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit	Spatial quality	Dauvellier & Leeflang (1985)
1986	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit in NRP en 4ᵉ Nota	Spatial quality in Memorandun on Spatial Perspectives and the Fourth Policy Document	Vrij et al. (1986)
1989	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit en de praktijk van de Ruimtelijke Ordening	Spatial quality and the practice of spatial planning	Petrus (1989)
1990	Naar Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit	Towards spatial quality	RARO (1990)
1991	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit: De oorsprong en toepassing van een begrip	Spatial quality: The origin and application of a term	Dauvellier (1991)
1992	Eindrapport van de Stuurgroep Groene Hart	Final report of the 'Stuurgroep Groene Hart'	Stuurgroep Groene Hart (1992)
1993	Jong-leren in de ruimte: Over bewustmaking van ruimtelijke kwaliteit bij de jeugd	Learning while young (wordplay that amounts to juggling): About awareness of spatial quality amongst the youth	RARO (1993)
1995	Een geschiedenis van de zorg voor de kwaliteit van de leefomgeving	A history of care and responsibility for the quality of the living environment	Siraa et al. (1995)
1996	Ruimtelijk beter investeren	Improving spatial investments	RPD (1996)
1997	Nieuw land ontwikkelen: Zinnig of onbezonnen?	Developing new land: Sensible or unthinking?	RLG (1997)
1998	Grote projecten: Als het moet, dan ook goed	Large-scale projects: If you have to, do it well	RLG (1998)
1998	Stedenland-plus	Nation of cities plus	VROM-raad (1998)
1998	Het Stimuleringsprogramma Intensief Ruimtegebruik	Stimulation programme intensive use of space	Bouwmeester et al. (1998)
1998	Ruimtelijke ontwikkelingspolitiek	Spatial development politics	WRR (1998)
1999	De kwaliteit van Vinex-uitleglocaties	The quality of Vinex urban expansion sites	de Wildt et al. (1999)
1999	Stad en wijk: Verschillen maken kwaliteit	City and neighborhood: Differences make the quality	VROM-raad (1999a)
1999	Sterk en mooi platteland	Resilient and aesthetic rural areas	VROM-raad (1999b)

1999	Geleid door kwaliteit: Interim-advies over landelijke gebieden en de 5e Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening	Guided by quality: Interim advice on rural areas and the fifth policy document on spatial planning	RLG (1999a)
2000	Made in Holland: verscheidenheid en identiteit als basis	Made in Holland: Variety and identity as core	RLG (1999b)
2000	Het belang van samenhang	The importance of coherency	RLG (2000a)
2000	Wonen in het landelijk gebied	Living in rural areas	RLG (2000b)
2000	Dossier Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit 2.0	Spatial quality file 2.0	Wagenveld (2000)
2001	Advies vijfde nota ruimtelijke ordening	Advice on the fifth policy document on spatial planning	SER (2001)
2001	Kwaliteit in ontwikkeling: Interim-advies over de Vijfde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening	Quality under development: Interim advice on the fifth policy document on spatial planning	VROM-raad (2001)
2001	Kwaliteit in meervoud	Quality in plurality	Hooimeijer et al. (2001)
2001	Natuur voor mensen, mensen voor natuur: Nota natuur, bos en landschap in de 21e eeuw	Nature for people, people for nature: Policy memorandum on nature, forestry and the landscape in the 21st century	De Blust & Demeulenaere (2001)
2002	Balans Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit 2001	Balance sheet on spatial quality 2001	RPD (2002)
2002	Minder blauw op straat?	Less blue on the streets?	VROM-raad (2002a)
2002	Impuls voor ruimtelijke investeringspolitiek	Impulse for spatial investment politics	VROM-raad (2002b)
2002	De Ruimtelijke Kwaliteit van Verkeer en Waterstaat	The spatial quality of (the ministry of) traffic and water management	de Vries et al. (2002)
2003	Is er wat te beleven aan snelwegen?	Is there something to experience with highways?	Kamphuis et al. (2003)
2003	Nieuwe Sleutelprojecten in aantocht	New 'Key Projects' approaching	Ministerie van VROM (2003)
2005	Tijd voor kwaliteit	Time for quality	RLG (2005)
2005	Schoonheid is geld!	Beauty is money	Dammers et al. (2005)
2005	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit: sturende kracht op de rivier	Spatial quality: guiding force on the river	van Venetië (2005)
2005	De bezweringsformule voorbij – Ruimtelijke kwaliteit ontrafeld met een analyzematrix	Beyond the incantation – Spatial quality unraveled with an matrix	Luttik (2005)
2005	De ruimtelijke kwaliteit en de waarden	The spatial quality and the values	de Smidt (2005)
2005	Pakt de Nota Ruimte de verrommeling aan? – Ontwikkelingsplanologie en landschappelijke waarden	Is the 'Nota Ruimte' (Spatial Planning Memorandum) tackling the cluttering of space? Project-led spatial planning and landscape values	Farjon (2005)

2005	Nota Ruimte maakt gebiedsontwikkeling met kwaliteit mogelijk	Spatial Planning Memorandum makes spatial development with quality possible	Vink (2005)
2006	Snelwegpanorama's in Nederland	Highway panoramas in the Netherlands	Piek et al. (2006)
2009	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit in gebiedsontwikkeling	Spatial quality in spatial development	Janssen-Jansen et al. (2009)
2009	Evaluatie sleutelprojecten	Evaluation of the 'Key Projects'	van der Wouden et al. (2009)
2009	Negen Nationale Snelwegpanorama's	Nine national highway panoramas	Bemmer & Looijmans (2009)
2010	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit en rijksbemoeienis	Spatial quality and interference of the national government	Spaans & Trip (2010)
2011	Verkenning ruimtelijke kwaliteit	Reconnaissance of spatial quality	VROM-raad (2011)
2014	Kwaliteit zonder groei	Quality without growth	Rli (2014)
2014	Trendbreuk in het nationaal ruimtelijk beleid	Breaking trends in national spatial planning	de Zeeuw & Feijtel (2014)
2014	Wie maakt Nederland?	Who develops the Netherlands?	Heesen et al. (2014)
2015	Waard of niet	Is it worth or not?	Witsen (2015)
2016	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit en omgevingskwaliteit	Spatial quality and quality of the environment	Witsen (2016)
2017	Ruimtelijke kwaliteit voor het landschap	Spatial quality for the landscape	Berkers (2017)
2017	Omgevingskwaliteit als provinciale missie	Quality of the environment as provincial mission	Roncken & Beunen (2017)
2018	Naar een kwalitatief hoogstaande Baukultur van Europa	Towards a qualitative Baukultur of Europe	RCE (2018)
2020	8 criteria voor omgevingskwaliteit	Eight criteria for quality of the environment	ten Cate (2020)
2021	The Davos Baukultur Quality System	The Davos Baukultur Quality System	SFOC (2021)

Appendix III- List of translated quotes

The following quotations have been used throughout the thesis. They have been translated from Dutch into English by the author. As described in section 1.4, the meaning of text may be lost in the translation process, compromising the validity of the data (see Smith et al., 2008). In order to improve the rigor of this thesis, this appendix provides an overview of all translated quotes with their original Dutch text. Each quotation will be presented in its original form from the thesis text followed by the original text in italics. The quotations are presented in order of appearance within this thesis.

"must be afforded greater freedom and as much integrated responsibility for the local living environment as possible" (Ministerie van VROM et al., 2001, p. 68)

Daarom moeten de andere overheden meer vrijheid en (zoveel mogelijk) de integrale verantwoordelijkheid voor de lokale leefomgeving krijgen

"adjustment of the quality will be the response to changes far more often than expansion of the quantity" (Ministerie van VROM, 1988, p.7)

Aanpassing van de kwaliteit zal veel vaker het antwoord op veranderingen zijn dan uitbreiding van de kwantiteit

"more than just aesthetics, it is also about functionality, future value and cultural qualities" (Crouwel, 2005, p. 54)

maar architectuur is veel meer dan dat. Hierbij gaat het naast esthetiek ook over functionaliteit, toekomstwaarde en culturele kwaliteiten

"The multitude of processes and endless amount of PKBs of the third policy document made it that one could not see the forest for the trees" (GOV1)

want door de vele procedures en eindeloze hoeveelheid PKB's van de derde nota kon je door de bomen het bos niet meer zien.

"All these instruments followed precisely formulated procedures of participation and deliberation in parliament. The question arose whether this attention on procedures would harm the added value of spatial planning" (Dauvellier, 1991, p. 7)

Al deze structuurschetsen en structuurschema's volgden de nauwkeurig uitgezette procedurele paden van inspraak en kamerbehandeling. De vraag kwam echter op of met deze aandacht voor procedures de inhoudelijke meerwaarde van de ruimtelijke plannen niet onder de tafel dreigde te raken.

"Promoting spatial and ecological conditions in such a way that the diversity, coherence and sustainability of the physical environment are guaranteed as much as possible" (Ministerie van VRO, 1973, p.99)

Basisdoel
Het bevorderen van zodanige ruimtelijke en ecologische condities dat
> *a.   De wezenlijke strevingen van individuen en groepen in de samenleving zoveel mogelijk tot hun recht komen;*
> *b.   De diversiteit, samenhang en duurzaamheid van het fysisch milieu zo goed mogelijk worden gewaarborgd*

Table 4.1: The 'Ruimte als omgeving' scheme, adopted from: Dauvellier (1984).

				Spatial values	Gebieds- en beleidscategoriën
Space as environment	Use	Short term	Separation of spatial function	• Location requirements • Demand for land	• City center formation • Spreading
			Spatial functions in relation to each other	• Conditions • Coherency	• Noise nuisance zonation • 'Relatienota' (relation memorandum) areas • Urban regions
		Long term	Existing functions	• Environmental requirements • External safety	• Nature areas • Protected soil areas • Silent areas
			New functions	• Potentiality • Flexibility	• Economic potential • Nature development • explicit housing zonation
	Experience	Planning	The environment as a whole	• Form • Scale	• Open areas • Buffer zones • Small scale landscapes
			Form/Function	• Orientation • Identity	• Identity of urban cores (The Hague centre of governance, Amsterdam centre of culture) • Fight against water: Delta works
		Development	Origin	• Genesis • "roots"	• Archeological monuments • Urban and town skylines • Geological monuments • Natural monuments
			Future	• Signals • Perspectives	• Scaling up the agriculture sector • Technical innovation: Oosterscheldedam, Markerwaard

Table 4.1b: The original 'Ruimte als omgeving' scheme, source: Dauvellier (1984)

				Ruimtelijke waarden	*Gebieds- en beleidscategoriën*
Ruimte als omgeving	*Gebruik*	*Korte termijn*	*Funkties apart*	• *Lokatieeisen* • *Ruimte behoefte*	• *Centrumvorming* • *Spreading over verzorgingsgebieden*
			Funkties in relatie	• *Randvoorwaarden* • *Samenhang*	• *Geluidshinderzones* • *Relatienotagebieden* • *Stadsgewesten*
		Lange termijn	*Bestaande funkties*	• *Milieueisen* • *Veiligstelling*	• *Natuurgebieden* • *Bodembeschermingsgebieden* • *Stiltegebieden*
			Nieuwe funkties	• *Potenties* • *Flexibiliteit*	• *Economische potenties* • *Natuurbouw* • *Vervend woonmilieu*
	Beleving	*Ordening*	*Ruimte als geheel*	• *Vorm* • *Schaal*	• *Open ruimten* • *Bufferzones* • *Kleinschalige landschappen*
			Vorm/functie	• *Oriëntatie* • *Identiteit*	• *Identiteit stedelijke centra (Den Haag regeringscentrum, Amsterdam cultuurcentrum)* • *Strijd tegen water: Delta werken*
		Ontwikkeling	*Herkomst*	• *Genese* • *"roots"*	• *Archeologische monumenten* • *Stads- en dorpsgezichten* • *Geologische monumenten* • *Natuurmonumenten*
			Toekomst	• *Signalen* • *Perspektieven*	*Schaalvergroting landbouw* *Technische vooruitgang: Oosterscheldedam, Markerwaard*

"At a certain moment we had operationalized experiential value and utility value alongside the factor 'time' which were referred to as development. This was development oriented both at the future, as well as development from the past… Jenno Witsen argued that this combination did not work and therefore came up with future value, which worked well communicatively speaking, as the final triad was easier to remember for people." (GOV2)

Op een gegeven moment hadden we compositie, dat werd belevingswaarde en gebruikswaarde, maar we hadden de factor tijd wat wij ontwikkeling noemde. Dit was ontwikkeling naar de toekomst gericht, maar

ook ontwikkeling vanuit het verleden… toen kwam Jenno met 'ja je hebt gebruikswaarde en belevingswaarde en daarnaast ontwikkeling, dat wil niet'. Toen heeft hij toekomstwaarde bedacht, dat was ook heel goed want die trits goed bij mensen in het hoofd blijft hangen. Communicatief gezien is dat heel goed.

"Clear structures on a national scale will receive valuation through the lens of spatial quality: It is a visualizing and readable concept, it accentuates development, dynamism and additionally, it seems to be in line with the market" (Vrij et al., 1986, p.11)

Heldere structuren op nationale schaal krijgen uit een oogpunt van ruimtelijke kwaliteit veel waardering: het is beeldend, een afleesbaar concept, het accentueert ontwikkeling, dynamiek, en bovendien lijkt het nog vaak marktconform te zijn ook

"The quality of amenities and services instead of available square meters will become more the defining features in the location choice of companies. The quality of housing and their living environments will become more important when citizens receive a larger freedom of choice. More quality is of outmost importance for multiple policy sectors. National planning policy contributes to the quality of our urban and rural environment. Our spatial policy is geared to increase the user value, experiential value and future value. The actual operationalization of spatial quality will differ for each space. The government proclaims in this policy document how coherent policy can add spatial quality" (Ministry of VROM, 1988, p. 7)

Meer aandacht voor kwaliteit komt op velerlei wijze tot uitdrukking. Zo zal bij de vestiging van een bedrijf steeds vaker de kwaliteit van allerlei voorzieningen en niet zozeer het aantal beschikbare vierkante meters de doorslag geven. Zo zal de kwaliteit van woning en woonomgeving steeds meer bepalend worden wanneer burgers een grotere keuzevrijheid krijgen. Méér kwaliteit is van groot belang voor vele beleidsterreinen.

Ook het ruimtelijke beleid zelf levert een eigen bijdrage aan de kwaliteit van ons stedelijk en landelijk gebied. Het ruimtelijk beleid is er op gericht de gebruikswaarde van een gebied te vermeerderen, de belevingswaarde te verhogen, en de toekomstwaarde te vergroten. De concrete invulling van die ruimtelijke kwaliteit zal daarbij van geval tot geval verschillen.

"The spatial quality of our country can be improved in particular by raising the quality of infrastructure to a European level, strengthening the competitive position of our large cities and striving for a new balance between agriculture and nature in rural areas" (Witsen, 2016, no pagination)

De ruimtelijke kwaliteit van ons land kon met name worden verhoogd door de infrastructuur op Europees niveau te brengen, de positie van de grote steden te versterken en in de landelijke gebieden te streven naar nieuwe evenwichten tussen landbouw en natuur.

"Pieter Winsemius recognized the importance of spatial planning and the fact that it was losing terrain in the political arena of The Hague. He actively stimulated the RPD to develop a new agenda that would highlight the added value of spatial planning to other policy sectors" (GOV1)

Pieter Winsemius die het belang van de ruimtelijke ordening heel erg in zag. Hij zag ook dat de ruimtelijke ordening in Den Haag terrein aan het verliezen was. Hij stimuleerde ons met een nieuwe agenda te komen, waarbij de meerwaarde van ruimtelijke ordening ten opzichte van de sectoren (met inmiddels voor iedere sector een eigen structuurschema) duidelijk naar voren zou komen.

"Winsemius his thesis was that we as planners had a multitude of old products on sale in our store (i.e. policy goals from the second policy document), at the back of the store we had been working on difficult things

to help others, all the while phase five of our product development cycle was in the storefront. Within this situation, we also had to work on phase one: The development of new products. In short, we had forgotten to develop new policy" (GOV1)

Pieter, en dit was zijn trucje, kwam met de beleidsanalysecyclus. Hij als VVD-minister kwam van McKinsey over. Zijn stelling: je hebt een aantal dingen in de verkoop zitten van je oude handel (de tweede nota), achter in de winkel heb je allerlei ingewikkelde dingen gedaan om anderen te helpen en in de etalage stond fase vijf. Maar, tegelijkertijd moet je weer werken aan fase 1, de mogelijk nieuwe producten. Kortom, jullie zijn met de Derde Nota in de uitvoering gestapt en zijn vergeten om aan de voorkant nieuw beleid te ontwikkelen (nieuwe producten uitvinden).

"the new agenda of the RPD aligned rather well with the (neo)liberal (VVD) background of Winsemius as they focused upon the competitive position of the Netherlands" (GOV1)

een nieuwe agenda bij de RPD, die prima aansloot bij de VVD-achtergrond van Winsemius. Dit ging om het verdienend vermogen van BV Nederland op de lange termijn.

"He (Witsen) was respected by the other DGs and minister of VROM that resulted in them listening to him. As secretary of the RPC (where all DGs circumvented) he also participated monthly in the sub-council for spatial planning and the environment. Ministers would listen to the advice presented by Witsen. With that, the RPD had more influence than it formally would have" (GOV1)

Hij werd gerespecteerd door collega DG's en minister waardoor naar hem werd geluisterd. Als secretaris van de rijksplanologische Commissie (waar alle DGs kwamen), kwam hij ook maandelijks in de onderraad voor RO en milieu. Ministers luisterden naar de adviezen van Witsen. Daarmee hadden wij als RPD meer invloed dan je formeel zou verwachten.

"This infrastructure (i.e. the councils in which Witsen participated) along which the dialogue was presented explained for a large part the success of spatial quality" (GOV2)

Deze infrastructuur waar langs het gesprek werd gevoerd, dat was een belangrijk deel van het succes van ruimtelijke kwaliteit.

"There was a lot of room for the talents of its employees" (GOV1)

daarbij was veel ruimte voor de talenten van de mensen bij de RPD.

"Nijpels stated during his start at VROM: I am going to fully let myself be advised by you civil servants but remember there is one thing I can do rather well, and that is to sell policy. In that manner he positioned spatial planning on the map" (GOV1)

Daarbij kwam dat hij bij zijn start op VROM stelde: Ik laat me volledig door jullie (ambtenaren) adviseren, maar weet wel, een ding kan ik goed en dat is beleid verkopen. Op die manier heeft hij ruimtelijke ordening op de kaart gezet, hetzelfde met het milieubeleid en met het NMP.

"Diagonal planning entailed not only looking at the sectors or lower tiers of government, but across these barriers. Therefore, within the formulation process for the Green Heart vision, both provinces as well as other policy sectors were involved alongside spatial planning. … This process started with defining starting points according to the Spatial Quality Triad" (GOV2)

Diagonale planning noemden we dat: niet alleen naar het sectorale kijken of naar het overheidsniveau, maar dwars daar doorheen. Daarom zaten in deze visie zowel de provincies als andere beleidsterreinen (departementen) naast ruimtelijke ordening...We hebben gewoon gezegd we gaan de problemen en ontwikkelingen op deze drie ruimtelijke kwaliteiten (gebruikswaarde etc.) benoemen en dit (respondent verwijst naar het document) zijn de uiteindelijke thema's geworden waarop het plan (visie en ontwikkelingsprojecten) zich verder heeft gericht. We zijn dus begonnen met de uitgangspunten formuleren voor belevingswaarde, gebruikswaarde en toekomstwaarde.

"Those other qualities are a bit different but, their intentions are the same as spatial quality, that is, to get a grip on quality. They all use a different approach to getting a grip on quality" (GOV2)

Het is net even anders, maar de intentie is hetzelfde om grip te krijgen op kwaliteit, maar net even een andere aanpak.

"This development tells us a few things. Firstly, recreation and cultural heritage were weaker spatial functions on the national scale. Secondly, it tells us something about the guiding role that spatial planning had and with that its influence. If you were able to relate to that sector, that is, build a meaningful relationship with the core of its (i.e. planning) policy, you could achieve strategic position. Thirdly, it describes the people behind the policy and contact between those people. There were members of the RPD that inspired employees of other departments" (GOV1)

Dit zegt een paar dingen. Ten eerste recreatie en cultuurhistorie waren in verhouding wat zwakkere ruimtelijke functies in Den Haag. Verder zegt het iets over de regisserende rol die ruimtelijke ordening had en daarmee de grote invloed. Als je als sector daarmee verstaan kon worden, dat is, een relatie opbouwt met het kern van dat beleid, was dat strategisch. Ten derde, zegt het iets over de mensen en de contact tussen de mensen. Hoe Chris van Leeuwen ons inspireerde, waren ook RPD'ers die mensen bij andere departementen, in dit geval bij de niet landbouw kant van LNV.

"It was a joint project (i.e. between the cultural sector and the RPD). A lot of cooperation predated this policy document that started with a seminar and some publications which led to the realization that a new policy memorandum was needed" (GOV2)

Het was een samenwerkingsproject. Er was al op heel veel vlakken samenwerking en die werd hiermee echt. Het begon met een seminaar en een publicatie. Op een gegeven moment kwam er de gedachte 'moet er niet een soort nota komen?', Het in beleid omvormen van wat de centrale gedachte hier was.

"Belvedere was unique as it provided a methodology of dealing with heritage: Heritage as a vector instead of a factor" (IDP1)

Belvedere was uniek omdat het vertelde hoe we om moesten gaan met erfgoed: Is het iets wat beschermd moet worden of dat als inspiratiebron dient en wordt doorontwikkeld? Het denken over erfgoed als vector in plaats van factor. Erfgoed wijst de richting van het nieuwe.

"This effect (i.e. engaging with spatial quality to integrate with planning) was achieved by the policy most definitely, although I am not sure if that was the original intention" (IDP1)

Dat effect had het in ieder geval wel, of dit ook de intentie was vraag ik mij af.
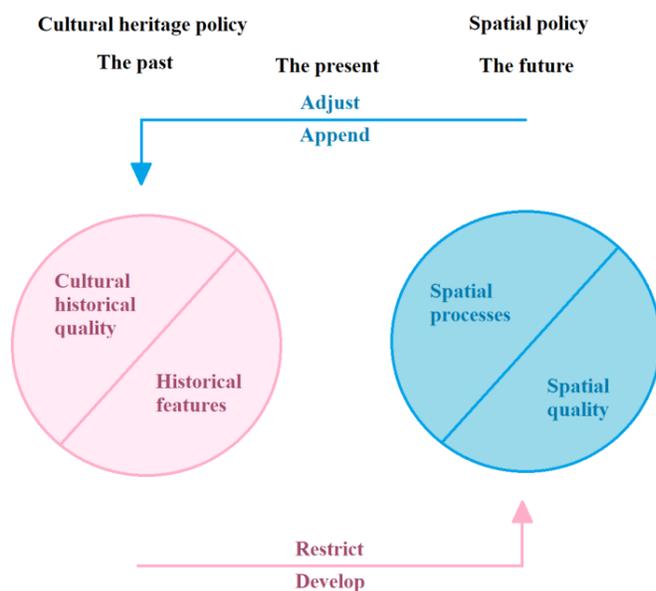
Figure 4.7: The bridge between spatial quality and cultural heritage (and both policy sectors) made within the Belvedere policy document, adapted from: Ministerie van OCW et al. (1999).
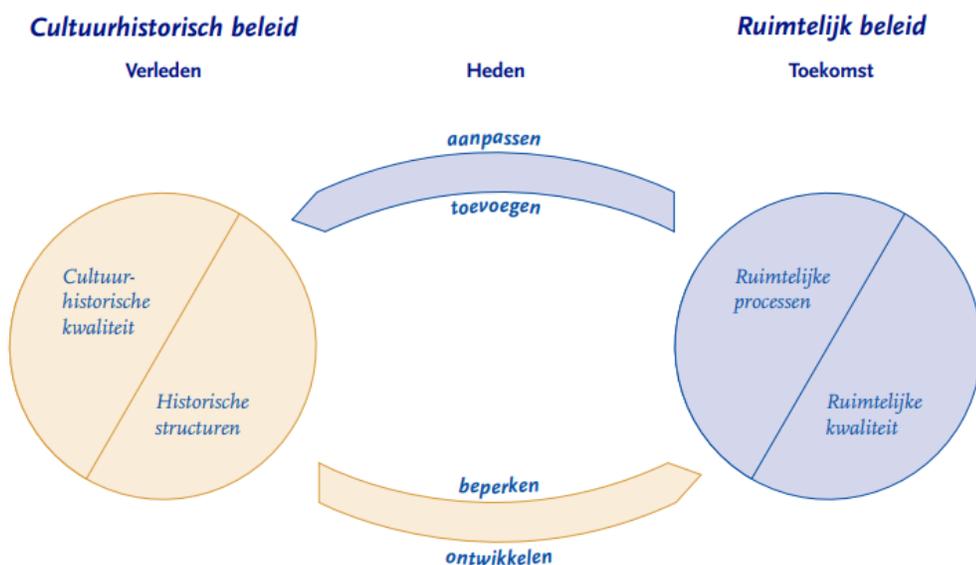

Figure 4.7b: The original figure in the Belvedere policy document, source: Ministerie van OCW et al. (1999).

"high-grade development of the Netherlands requires attention for a spatial orientation that is of a qualitatively high level" (Ministerie van V&W et al., 1998, p. 117)

Een hoogwaardige ontwikkeling van ons land vraagt in deze optiek aandacht voor een inrichting die op een kwalitatief hoog niveau gestalte krijgt

refers to spatial quality as an "important economical factor" (Ministerie van V&W et al., 1998, p. 117)
Immers, de ruimtelijke kwaliteit kan zich onder meer door een positieve vestigingsvoorwaarde vertalen in een belangrijke economische factor

"The cabinet aims to avoid new activities that cannot be reconciled with the future water management function of these areas (i.e. areas of attention), and where possible stimulate activities that can be reconciled such as nature and recreation, through which the spatial quality can be improved" (Ministerie van V&W, 2000a, p. 37)

Het kabinet wil nieuwe activiteiten die niet met de toekomstige waterkeringsfunctie te verenigen zijn uit deze gebieden weren en waar mogelijk activiteiten stimuleren die er wel mee te verenigen zijn, zoals natuur en recreatie, waarmee ook de ruimtelijke kwaliteit verbetert.

"The protection and development of spatial quality as laid out in the VINEX policy will to a large degree be supported by the realization of NMP2 measures for areas where, as a result of a cumulation of environmental pressures and/or a high susceptibility to these pressures, insufficient environmental quality cannot be guaranteed" (Ministerie van VROM, 1993, p. 211)

Het behoud en/of de verhoging van de ruimtelijke kwaliteit overeenkomstig het koersenbeleid van de VINEX wordt in belangrijke mate ondersteund door de realisatie van aanvullende NMP 2-maatregelen voor gebieden waar door een cumulatie van milieuproblemen en/of hogere kwetsbaarheid de gewenste milieukwaliteit onvoldoende is gewaarborgd.

"This approach has as goal to reach spatial quality by strengthening the coherence between urban and rural areas on the regional scale" (Ministerie van LNV, 1995, p. 32)

We kunnen de essentie van de stadslandschappen-benadering als volgt kernachtig samenvallen: deze benadering heeft tol doel, ruimtelijke kwaliteit te bereiken door de samenhang tussen stad en land te versterken op regionaal niveau.

"We facilitated the dialogue on spatial quality within the 'kwaliteit op locatie' community consisting of actors involved in the development of VINEX locations (i.e. development areas). Stories and insights were gathered, and the members of the community activated one another in their quality ambitions" (GOV1)

In de nadagen van de Vinex hebben we dit gesprek gefaciliteerd binnen de community 'Kwaliteit op locatie'. Hierin zaten mensen die betrokken waren met de vormgeving van VINEX-locaties. Het gesprek ging over wat we aan het maken zijn: is het functioneel, houdbaar, een aantrekkelijke toevoeging voor het stad en landschap? Verhalen werden opgehaald en de groep zetten elkaar op scherp en bevorderde elkaars ambities

"This project was a soft policy instrument but had much more effect than if we would have followed the traditional pathway of dictating what must happen" (GOV1)

Als het nodig was kon de minister van VROM aangesproken worden op de kwalitatieve kant. Dit was een zacht instrument, maar dat had zoveel meer effect dan als je had gezegd hoe het zou moeten.

"The 'sleutelprojecten' through which train stations and their surroundings received a large impulse, all under the guise of spatial quality" (GOV1)

de sleutelprojecten, waarmee heel veel stations en stationsomgeving in ons land een giga impuls hebben gekregen, helemaal in de geest van 'ruimtelijke kwaliteit'.

"The cabinet is of the opinion that a further operationalization of the term spatial quality is of importance" (TK, 1989, p. 16)

Overigens is de regering van mening dat het verder uitwerken van het begrip ruimtelijke kwaliteit van belang is.

These councils had indirect influence as they individually worked with spatial quality and through that process kept it on the (political) agenda" (GOV1)

De raden hebben indirecte invloed gehad doordat ze apart werk maakten van ruimtelijke kwaliteit en het op de agenda hebben weten te behouden

"They did, there was clear attention for the topic, continued attention" (GOV2)

Dat wel, er was duidelijk belangstelling en aandacht voor. Blijvend ook.

"Advisory councils and the Chief Government Architect of the Netherlands acted as a continued factor in the discourse of spatial quality, whereas the ministries demonstrated discontinuity" (GOV1)

De adviesraden en de rijksbouwmeester waren een continue factor in het discours van ruimtelijke kwaliteit terwijl de ministeries juist discontinuïteit hebben laten zien. Het is belangrijk dat die clubs er zijn en geluid laten horen in Den Haag.

The burden on spatial and environmental quality is considerable" (Ministerie van VROM, 2001, p. 27)

Door de intensiteit en de mate van bebouwing is de negatieve belasting voor milieu en de ruimtelijke kwaliteit echter aanzienlijk

Giving space for the dynamics of the economy within the boundary conditions of spatial quality" (Ministerie van VROM, 2001, p. 9)

Ontwikkelingen in vrijwel alle sectoren van de Neder landse economie leiden tot een dynamisch ruimtelijk-economisch beeld. Het kabinet wil ruimte geven aan deze dynamiek, maar wel binnen de randvoorwaarden van ruimtelijke kwaliteit en onder de voorwaarde dat er sprake is van intensief ruimtegebruik en van voorrang voor hergebruik van verouderde bedrijventerreinen

"That is the perspective of spatial planning consisting of a lot of paperwork, long procedures and one that is detached from its execution" (GOV1)

Dat is het beeld van een ruimtelijke ordening met veel papier, lange processen en een die niet uitvoeringsgericht is.

"Everything lost its strengths. Spatial planning outgrew its own strengths and that sparked its reckoning. This has to deal with people. Within The Hague and the cabinet (i.e. Balkenende era) there was much allergy against the Vijno and people such as Jan Pronk (minister of VROM during the formulation of the Vijno) and his governance style" (GOV1)

Alles verloor zijn kracht. De ruimtelijke ordening groeide uit zijn krachten en daar is de afrekening op gekomen. Dit heeft wederom met mensen te maken. Er was binnen Den Haag en het kabinet zoveel allergie voor die nota en mensen als Jan Pronk en zijn manier van beleid voeren. Dit beeld zat bij velen erg diep.

"The person that reckoned the most would have been Sybilla Dekker (minister of VROM 2003-2006). She made clear attempts to deregulate and decentralize spatial planning" (IDP1)

Dat klopt wel, ik denk dat dit wel waar is. Betreft het afzetten, degene die zich het meest afzette moet Sybilla Dekker (VVD) zijn geweest. Die heeft echt pogingen gedaan om te dereguleren en decentraliseren met het motto: Je gaat erover of je gaat er niet over. Ik denk dat daar heel veel kwaad is gedaan, maar de geschiedenis is natuurlijk ingewikkelder.

Decentral for all that is possible, central for what is necessary" (Ministerie van VROM et al., 2006, p. 2)

Het motto van het beleid is daarom "decentraal wat kan, centraal wat moet". De taak van het rijk is de voorwaarden te scheppen, zodat provincies, gemeenten en alle andere partijen aan de slag kunnen

"Within the VINO there were example plans which had a similar goal (i.e. as Programma Mooi Nederland and BIRK), but these were coupled to that policy document. With the BIRK and Mooi Nederland that is not the case. As a result it turns into an open-ended thing that designers start to work with, while missing large societal objectives" (GOV1)

In de vierde nota had je voorbeeldplannen die hetzelfde als strekking hadden, maar deze waren gekoppeld aan die nota. Bij de BIRK en Mooi Nederland was dat niet het geval. Als gevolg blijft het een vrijblijvend dingetje waarmee veel ontwerpers aan de slag gaan, maar de grote maatschappelijke opgaven worden erdoor niet geraakt

"does not want, and is not able, to actively engage" regarding this subject (Ministerie van OCW et al., 2005, p. 47)

Het rijk kan en wil hierin echter niet dwingend optreden.

"Spatial quality is determined by three factors and their underlying cohesion" (Dauvellier, 1991, p.8)

Ruimtelijke kwaliteit wordt bepaald door drie factoren in onderlinge samenhang.

"Partly due to dominant market thinking and partly due to the reckoning of the social democrats (PvdA)" (GOV1)

Het afschaffen van ruimtelijke ordening op nationaal niveau, mede door het dominante marktdenken en de afrekening van de PvdA (de scherven van paars). Zowel de VVD als de CDA hadden beiden belang om de ruimtelijke ordening op nationaal niveau minder belangrijk te maken. De een vanuit marktdenken, de ander vanuit decentralisatie. Niet alleen ruimtelijke kwaliteit, maar de ruimtelijke ordening in het algemeen werd niet meer omarmd met de Nota Ruimte (dit zegt de nota ook echt).

"The liberals (VVD) did not want to use a term that was surrounded by a strong social-democratic ooze" (IDP1)

De VVD heeft bij de omgevingswet niet een begrip willen gebruiken waaromheen een sterk PvdA, sociaaldemocratische sfeer omheen hing.

"them (i.e. the cabinet) to emphasize short term goals within the SVIR" (GOV1)

Men ging destijds met de SVIR (i.e. Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte) voor de korte termijn

"It is customary that finances are managed and spent on a sectoral basis ... This sectoral way of working hinders spatial quality" (GOV3)

Tot nu is het gebruikelijk dat financiën sectoraal besteed worden en je moet echt moeite doen om financiën te koppelen en te combineren om een integrale opgave aan te pakken… Het sectorale werkt heel terughoudend op ruimtelijke kwaliteit.

"a spatial planning that is slow and has a lot of procedures" (GOV1)

het beeld van een trage ruimtelijke ordening met veel procedures.

"The effect of Belvedere and its successor Heritage and Space, which was a skimmed version, resulted in the topic of spatial quality not becoming orphaned on a national scale" (IDP1)

Het is wel zo dat het effect van Belvedere, een daarna Erfgoed en Ruimte wat een uitgekleed vervolg was, ervoor gezorgd heeft dat het onderwerp ruimtelijke kwaliteit op nationaal niveau niet verweesd is geraakt, maar in de boezem van OCW terecht is gekomen

statement "Spatial quality is unmistakably a cultural objective" (Ministerie van OCW et al., 2005, p. 10)

Het rijk wil in de eerste plaats uitdragen dat het tot stand brengen van ruimtelijke kwaliteit onmiskenbaar een culturele opgave is

"Aspects of a route design that are of importance in the experience of spatial quality" (Kamphuis et al., 2003, p. 1)

Aspecten van een routeontwerp die van belang zijn bij de beleving van de ruimtelijke kwaliteit

"Within V&W the approach is often more one dimensional, but it also depends on those that are involved. I cannot say if spatial quality was alive in this sector, but by then the downfall of spatial planning was already in full swing" (GOV1)

Binnen Verkeer & Waterstaat is de benadering vaak toch eendimensionaal, al maakt het ook uit wie er op gezet worden, het is en blijft mensenwerk. Ik kan echter niet zeggen dat ruimtelijke kwaliteit echt leefde, toen was ook de teruggang van de ruimtelijke ordening volop in gang.

"Spatial quality has as a whole a low priority within the department. Managers of projects consider spatial quality as a risk in the preposition of time and budget and never as a goal" (Rijkswaterstaat, 2017, p. 11)

Ruimtelijke kwaliteit heeft binnen Rijkswaterstaat als geheel weinig prioriteit. Managers in de projecten beschouwen ruimtelijke kwaliteit vooral als een ri sico in het licht van tijd en geld, nauwelijks als een streven

"Within V&W the wider dialogue was lacking" (GOV1)

Bij Verkeer & Waterstaat ontbrak vaak dit breder gesprek (het om de kaart zitten)

*List of pointers from a reflection within the updated framework on spatial quality and design (Rijkswaterstaat, 2017, p. 13) :
1) The increasingly integral nature of spatial problems as a result of increasing complexity
2) The increased attention for sustainability and sustainable spatial development and with that spatial quality
3) The decentralization trend that posits more responsibility on developers, clients and citizens themselves that result in networks, participation and mixed financial structures.

1. Het steeds meer integraal benaderen van ruimtelijke vraagstukken als ge volg van de toenemende complexiteit van opgaves.
2. De toenemende aandacht voor duurzaamheid, duurzame gebiedsontwikkeling en ruimtelijke kwaliteit.
3. Een trend van decentralisatie, meer nadruk op eigen inbreng en eigen verantwoordelijkheid, wat voortvloeit in netwerkachtige samenwerkingsverbanden, meer inspraak, participatietrajecten en gemengde (publiek-private) financieringen.

"Within the majority of projects nowadays, it (i.e. spatial quality) is one of the main goals, or at least the discussion is held on what the spatial quality of a particular locality is, how we as an organization can protect it and what our ambitions are regarding it" (GOV3)

Nu is het in een groot deel van de projecten of een doelstelling of wordt in ieder geval het gesprek gevoerd over welke plek ruimtelijke kwaliteit heeft, hoe wij het kunnen borgen, hoe we het gaan bemensen en welke ambities hebben we.

"That spatial quality not necessarily means that it is going to cost more as they stayed within budget" (GOV3)

Wat dit programma heeft laten is dat ruimtelijke kwaliteit niet per se duurder hoeft te zijn want ze bleven binnen budget.

"By including it as a goal (strengthening the spatial quality was one of the two main goals of the programme), you see that people actively start working towards it, moreover that people are put on the topic itself. It will receive a more important say in the decision-making process" (GOV3)

Door het als doel te stellen: Het versterken van ruimtelijke kwaliteit…Doordat het een doel is zie je dat mensen ernaartoe gaan werken en mensen erop gezet worden. Het krijgt een belangrijkere stemming in de belangenafwegingen.

Room for development, safeguard quality" (TK, 2014, p. 20)

Deze doelstelling is samengevat in het motto van de Omgevingswet: «ruimte voor ontwikkeling, waarborgen voor kwaliteit».

"a broader conception of quality is needed" (GOV1)

Eigenlijk beschrijft het, het doel van de omgevingswet, het samennemen van alle wetten van de ruimtelijke ordening en milieubeleid. Daar hoort een breder kwaliteitsbegrip ook bij

"My observation is that amongst officials in national government, there is a strong connotation of spatial quality as something about beauty. With quality of the environment, they have tried to regain the broader encompassing nature that spatial quality had. This one of the reasons why it is called quality of the environment" (IDP1)

het is mij opgevallen dat in het spraakgebruik onder ambtenaren in Den Haag de connotatie ruimtelijke kwaliteit gaat over schoonheid. Die brede benadering hebben ze teruggehaald door het omgevingskwaliteit te noemen. Dit is mede ook een verklaring waarom het nu omgevingskwaliteit heet, al zijn er diverse verklaringen.

"A wide array of parties that in their operations have influence on the way the Netherlands looks, but do not necessarily trust and/or want to work with each other. We cannot wait before the national government

will act. We consider the Environment and Planning Act as a societal objective and that we have to organize this dialogue" (IDP1)

Een breed pallet aan partijen die in hun werk invloed hebben op hoe Nederland eruit ziet, maar die elkaar niet vertrouwen en/of willen samenwerken. We kunnen niet wachten tot de overheid wat doet, we beschouwen dit na de Omgevingswet als een opdracht voor de samenleving en we moet regelen dat ze dit gesprek willen voeren.

"One of the conclusions following two years of dialogue is that we should also work on projects: Research by design projects to be exact. The outcomes of these projects serve as input for advice to strengthen quality of the environment in national programmes (i.e. Nationaal Programma Landelijk Gebied)" (IDP1)

Deze dialoog doen wij al twee jaar en een van de conclusies is dat we aan concrete projecten moeten gaan samenwerken: Ontwerpend onderzoek. Wij proberen om die projecten input te laten zijn voor dat advies over omgevingskwaliteit van het nationaal programma 'Landelijk Gebied'

"In my opinion the act is revolutionary as it marks the transition from an era in which the government was the dominant decision-maker that sanctions and determines in relation to public health and safety. The act makes a leap and proclaims that is not about preventing such problems but about stimulating what is desired. This is more about ambitions, formulating in spatial visions that are made together with the population" (IDP1)

Ik vind de Omgevingswet een revolutionaire wet, omdat het een overgang markeert van een tijdperk waarin de overheid de bepalende instantie is die sanctioneert en bepaald wat wel en niet mag in relatie tot gezondheid en veiligheid. De Omgevingswet maakt een sprong en zegt het gaat niet om het voorkomen van problemen, maar het bevorderen van het gewenste. Dat gaat over ambities, geformuleerd in een omgevingsvisie die je samen maakt met de bevolking

Appendix IV – Interview guide (original Dutch version)

Interview handleiding 'de zoektocht naar ruimtelijke kwaliteit'

Algemeen:
- Stel vragen in de verleden tijd
- Het gesprek heeft een open format
- Tijdens het interview kan het gesprek gestuurd worden d.m.v. bijlagen vervaardigd uit de literatuur die beschikken over definities en de operationalisering van ruimtelijke kwaliteit binnen officiële beleidsstukken.
- **Doel**: Zoektocht naar de discussies, invloeden, gebeurtenissen achter de beleidsstukken
- Mij laten meevoeren met de respondent:
  - Let op de markers die de respondent laat vallen
  - Doorvragen naar achtergrond discussies, processen en voorbeelden
- De respondent vragen om naast discoursen ook invloedrijke **actoren**, **rules of the game (institutions)**, en veranderingen in **resources** te identificeren dan wel te reconstrueren. Dit is een algemene leidraad die gedurende het interview meerdere male toegepast kan/dient te worden afhankelijk van de antwoorden van de respondent.

Interview protocol:
- Voorafgaand aan het interview wil ik u op de hoogte stellen van het volgende toestemmingsformulier voor dit interview, met daarin de voorwaarden en afspraken waarin ik mijzelf aan zal houden

- De respondent krijgt de mogelijkheid om het transcript op een later moment te corrigeren op feitelijke onjuistheden (e.g. namen, nummers en datums). Het is niet mogelijk om het transcript aan te passen inzake het herschrijven/toevoegen en verwijderen van passages tekst.

Introductie:
dhr. Coen Keijzer, (master-)student aan de rijksuniversiteit Groningen

Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname aan dit onderzoek over ruimtelijke kwaliteit binnen de ruimtelijke ordening op nationaal niveau, onderdeel van mijn afstudeeronderzoek aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Het doel van dit onderzoek is het analyseren hoe ruimtelijke kwaliteit gedefinieerd en toegepast wordt over de jaren heen (op nationaal niveau) sinds het ontstaan van de term in de jaren tachtig tot aan nu. Om dit doel te bewerkstelligen, analyseer ik officiële beleidsstukken geanalyseerd en spreek ik met actoren die betrokken zijn (geweest) met ruimtelijke kwaliteit op nationaal niveau. De focus is om discoursen te identificeren die de toepassing en operationalisering van ruimtelijke kwaliteit beïnvloeden. Vragen over hoe ruimtelijke kwaliteit wordt ervaren, gedefinieerd en gebruikt staan hierbij centraal

De opening van het gesprek:

- Ten eerste zou ik u willen vragen om mij iets meer te vertellen over uw positie, rol en/of betrokkenheid bij het Nederlandse ruimtelijkeordeningsbeleid in uw carrière tot nu toe?
  - Eventuele vervolgvragen:
    - Kunt u mij een voorbeeld geven?
    - Sinds wanneer bent u (specifiek) betrokken met ruimtelijk kwaliteit (beleid)?

- Verder zou ik graag willen vragen wat uw (studie) achtergrond is van waaruit u deze carrière heeft benaderd

Deel 1: Ruimtelijke kwaliteit algemeen

- Om dit interview van een mooi begin te voorzien zou ik graag willen beginnen over ruimtelijke kwaliteit in het algemeen. Ik zou daarom om te beginnen u graag willen vragen om mij een **voorbeeld te schetsen van ultieme ruimtelijke kwaliteit**?

- Wat betekent ruimtelijke kwaliteit voor u?

- Hoe ervaart u ruimtelijke kwaliteit?

- Naar uw ervaring, refereert ruimtelijke kwaliteit naar een uitkomst, begin of proces of is het iets anders?

- In de context van de Nederlandse Ruimtelijke Ordening/ context van uw organisatie, ziet u ruimtelijke kwaliteit als een begrip, concept of beleidsdoel
  - Heeft u dit ergens binnen uw carrière als anders ervaren?

- In de Omgevingswet (en NOVI) wordt gesproken over omgevingskwaliteit. Hoe verhoudt omgevingskwaliteit zich in uw ogen tot ruimtelijke kwaliteit?
  - Ziet u ruimtelijke kwaliteit als iets zelfstandigs of als onderdeel van iets?
    - Is dit perspectief ooit eens anders geweest?
    - Voor landelijke organisaties: Waarom maken jullie nog steeds gebruik van ruimtelijke kwaliteit i.p.v. omgevingskwaliteit?

- Is uw perspectief op ruimtelijke kwaliteit in de tijd veranderd?
  - Zo ja, hoe?
  - Zo nee, wat maakt denkt u dat dit hetzelfde is gebleven?
    - Bij beide follow-up vragen: Wat is hierbij de doorslaggevende invloed geweest? (wat heeft het grootste invloed gehad op uw perspectief)

- Kunt u reflecteren op de manier hoe u ruimtelijk kwaliteit interpreteerde en gebruikte toen u voor het eerst in contact kwam met het concept.
  - Op welke basis kwam dit perspectief tot stand?
  - Wat is hierbij de doorslaggevende invloed geweest? (Wat heeft het grootste invloed gehad op uw perspectief)
  - Verdere toelichting (waarom) vragen indien nodig

Deel 2: Ruimtelijke kwaliteit door de jaren heen
U bent betrokken geweest bij <organisatie(s)> en <periode(s)>

Opening tweede deel:
- Herkent u verschillen in ruimtelijke kwaliteit binnen de Nederlandse ruimtelijke ordening gedurende uw carrière?

In mijn analyse van de literatuur (beleidsdocumenten) herken ik een golfbeweging met meerdere tijdperken op basis van de positie van ruimtelijke kwaliteit binnen nationaal beleid. Ik wil het met u over een aantal beleidsdocumenten en tijdperken hebben.

Punten voor het tweede deel:

Discours punten van documenten om te bespreken:
- Positie ruimtelijke kwaliteit
- Begripsvorming ruimtelijke kwaliteit
- Gebruik ruimtelijke kwaliteit
- Zorgplicht overheid
- Maatstaaf ruimtelijke ordening

Focus bij de antwoorden op:
- Invloed van politiek, stichtingen, maatschappij etc.
- De institutionalisering of invloed van bestaande instituties (verbinden aan gevestigde belangen, begrippen etc.)
- Sporen van coalitievorming
- Hoe is <een bepaalde definitie of raamwerk van ruimtelijke kwaliteit kracht bijgezet (in termen van actoren, resources en institutions)?
- Waar krijgen raamwerken, definities hun kracht door of zijn elementen ervan lege waarden gebleven?

Algemene vragen toe te passen in de reflecties op bepaalde tijdperken:
- Kunt u voor mij reflecteren op beweging(en) en ruimtelijke kwaliteit in deze periode(s)?
  - Hoe verklaart u deze verschillen?
  - Was ruimtelijke kwaliteit een relevant begrip in deze veranderingen?
    - Zo ja, hoe werd ruimtelijk kwaliteit kracht bijgezet?
    - Zo nee, waarom niet?
    - Wat vond u binnen deze periode/ verandering bijzonder/opmerkelijk?

Dieper in de periodes ingaan:

Jaren 80 'oorsprong':
- Witsen (2016) en Dauvellier (1991) reflecteren op de oorsprong van ruimtelijke kwaliteit.
  - Vragen naar de totstandkoming van ruimtelijke kwaliteit en de vierde nota ruimtelijke ordening; waarom ruimtelijke kwaliteit?
  - Hoe hebben jullie binnen de rijksplanologische dienst politieke steun gekregen?
  - Waren er al duidelijke veranderingen met de VINEX in perspectief, gebruik, positionering?

Jaren 90 'hoogtij':
In de jaren 90 is ruimtelijke kwaliteit het leidmotief van de ruimtelijke ordening. In de literatuur herken ik een koppeling van ruimtelijke kwaliteit aan andere begrippen zoals het toepassen in de nota Belvedère om cultuurhistorie te integreren in de RO en de nota buitenlucht recreatie die dit doet voor non-agrarische functies in het landelijk gebied. Verder vertalen de nota architectuurbeleid en nota landschap ruimtelijke kwaliteit naar respectievelijk architectonische- en landschapskwaliteit. Andere nota's gerelateerd aan de ruimtelijke ordening referen naar ruimtelijke kwaliteit en hoe zij eraan kunnen bijdragen.
- Vraag de respondent hierop te reflecteren

Specifiek:

- Het ontstaan van de Eo Wijersstichting?
  - Is het doel van de stichting (het stimuleren van regionaal ontwerp, ruimtelijke kwaliteit) veranderd door de tijd?
  - Wat was de rol van de Eo Wijersstichting met betrekking tot ruimtelijke kwaliteit

- Verandering naam van de federatie welstand (nu federatie ruimtelijke kwaliteit)
  - Vanwaar deze verandering?

Jaren 2000 'begin afzwakking':

- Ruimtelijke kwaliteit is in de Vijno aanzienlijk uitgebreid (het criteria lijstje van Pronk)
  - Hoe is deze uitbreiding tot stand gekomen?
  - Heeft deze brede interpretatie ruimtelijke kwaliteit haar kracht laten verliezen?
  - De vijfde nota was nooit formeel beleid geweest, heeft dit invloed gehad?

- De BIRK (budget investering ruimtelijke kwaliteit) ziet ruimtelijke kwaliteit als een breed begrip, als het toevoegen van kwaliteit doormiddel van integrale gebiedsontwikkeling. Wij noemen dat binnen de planologie als 'added value creation', later werd zelfs gesteld dat alle BIRK-projecten lossen fysieke knelpunten op EN realiseren ruimtelijke kwaliteit.
  - Vragen de respondent hierop te reflecteren

- De Nota Ruimte zette een grote verandering op gang in de ruimtelijke ordening waarbij kwaliteitsdoelen grotendeels verdwenen.
  - Vragen de respondent hierop te reflecteren
  - De decentralisatie
  - Minimumkwaliteit, kernkwaliteit en basiskwaliteit
    - Hoe verhouden termen zoals deze die domineerde in dit tijdperk zich tot ruimtelijke kwaliteit?

- **Sectoralisatie:**
  Hoe heeft de sectoralisatie (departementen die slechts met het realiseren van hun eigen kerntaken bezig zijn, financiering, politieke verantwoordelijkheid) invloed op ruimtelijke kwaliteit?

De jaren 2010 'versobering':

  - De invloed van de financiële crisis en crisis in politiek Den Haag
    - Perspectief ruimtelijke kwaliteit is franje (gezien als luxe); Duurkoop?
  - De SVIR 2012 is erg sober over ruimtelijke kwaliteit ook in haar operationalisering
  - De Omgevingswet en nu NOVI introduceren een nieuw tijdperk.
  - De Verklaring van Davos (2018)

Specifiek:
- Hoe gaan jullie binnen de organisatie om met ruimtelijke kwaliteit
- Perspectieven over ruimtelijke kwaliteit
  - Vanwaar of hoe voorkom je bepaalde perspectieven?

- Vragen over interne kaders en handleidingen
    - o Waarom deze operationalisering?
    - o Invloed van deze kaders (en/of handleiding)

Deel 3: afsluiting

- Is er iets wat u nog kwijt wil over Ruimtelijke kwaliteit dat ik heb gemist te vragen gedurende dit gesprek?

- Zijn er nog punten met betrekking tot ruimtelijke kwaliteit die u nog zou willen meegeven?

- Zijn er nog specifieke documenten die ik moet doorlezen of die u zou willen delen met mij?

- Zijn er nog andere respondenten waarvan u vindt dat ik die zou moeten uitnodigen voor een gesprek

- Herhalen voorwaarden overeenkomst conform het interviewprotocol
    - o Uitwisselen details voor transcriptie uitwisseling

- Hartelijk dank voor uw medewerking aan dit onderzoek en het zeer informatieve gesprek.

Interview tips:
- De respondent vragen om specifiek te zijn
- Representatie: de respondent vragen mij mee te nemen naar de specifieke situatie
- De flow in het gesprek houden
- Meer diepte in het interview/ verder vragen (non-directief)
- Transitie naar een ander onderwerp
    - o Terugkomen op eerder gemaakte punten (notities maken gedurende het gesprek)

Appendix V – Coding scheme

Dimension	Description	Sub codes	Description
Discourses	The policy discourses in effect: The views and narratives of actors (i.e. their norms and values and definitions and approaches to problems and solutions), as well as the specific content (in writing) of policy documents and programmes	Main goal(s) of planning (leitmotiv)	The main function and purpose of national spatial planning
		Key policy goal(s) of policy documents	The main function and purpose of a particular policy document
		Division of planning responsibilities	Which elements and tasks are seen as a national responsibility
		Operationalization of spatial quality	The operationalization of spatial quality within a particular policy document
		Position of spatial quality in policy (document)	The position spatial quality is given in a policy document: Standalone or as part of a larger goal?
		Accommodation of other policy goals	The accommodation of other policy goals (also from other sectors) in policy goals and strategies within a particular policy document
Coalition(s) of actors	The actors and their coalitions involved in the policy domain	Political support	The support of a particular cause in national planning and national planning itself
		Support key (political) figures	(political) support by key figures with a strategic position in the political and government arena
		Political perspectives	The perspectives within national politics and key figures therein on national spatial planning and spatial quality therein
		Coalition forming surrounding a particular objective	The formation of groups and coalitions around a particular cause and objective (e.g. developing a certain policy)
Resources (power)	The division of power and influence between actors, with power referring to influencing the available resource pool and determining who sets policy goals	Financial measures (subsidies)	Wielding influence in Dutch spatial planning through the strings of control of subsidies
		Instigating national policy projects and programmes	Launching national projects and programmes to exert a particular planning goal and cause
		Exercising legal authority	Using legal authority to enforce a particular spatial cause
		Support key (political) figures	(political) support by key figures with a strategic position in the political and government arena, exerting their influence to the benefit of spatial quality
		Strategic position in national policy making	Acquiring a strategic position within the dynamics of planning governance (making use of political or discursive changes)
Institutions (rules of the game)	The rules of the game in operation in terms of rules for (political) interaction and formal procedures in the policy-making process	Changes to planning legislation	Altering planning legislation to institutionalize a new discourse
		Changes to planning instruments	Altering planning instruments and procedures to institutionalize a new discourse
		Informal institutions	The norms and values of actors involved in national spatial planning
		Institutional infrastructure	Existing institutions and procedures in national spatial planning
		Planning culture	The culture of Dutch (national) spatial planning