QUALITY OF SPACE: INTERNATIONALLY VALUED OR MERELY CONTEXTUAL?

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Abstract

Key concepts: quality of space/spatial quality, criteria, local scale, planning process

Paying attention to public space and what people want to achieve within this space is nothing new. Not only do people want to achieve within their surroundings what they need to achieve, but they also want to feel comfortable and safe in the places they spend their time in. People see a certain quality in their surrounding spaces. In the Netherlands, this quality is referred to as spatial quality, or quality of space, and often used in spatial planning and plans: from national to local scale. In places outside of the Netherlands a certain quality of space is obtained, without mentioning the concept itself. This triggered the researcher in finding out if and how the criteria of quality of space – the specifics of the concept – could be found within another context than the Dutch planning doctrine. This led to the main question of this research, which is *to what extent the criteria of quality of space can be recognized within a local planning process*.

By the focus on public space and the quality of this space, this research adds to both academia and practice by giving an insight in what and how planners achieve a certain spatial quality. This can help not only planners but also others involved in planning practice to better address the issues at hand on a local level. It is hereby important to focus on the local scale, because that is where public space is depending on and created by the social relationships that play a central role in this space. Next to that, the local level is also the level on which public space is decided upon. It is important to focus on the plan-formation process where quality of space and its criteria come up, because this is where decisions are made before the plan is implemented.

By the search for certain criteria of quality of space within the Dutch planning literature it came up that the concept is closely related to sustainable development, and therefore depends on the sustainability triangle of *economy*, *society* and *environment*. These pillars of sustainability need a fourth pillar, namely *culture*, to understand the importance of institutional and cultural traditions and the interrelations between these two. The pillars of sustainability are connected to the Vitruvian values: *utility*, *perceived* and *future values*, which are central in planning and designing public spaces. These pillars and values connected to each other lead to the criteria within quality of space. By having 2 case studies in two completely different neighbourhoods in Gainesville (FL, USA) and Alachua County (FL, USA) a maximum variation of cases was selected. Both neighbourhoods are seen as having a

high quality of space, where the former is really old and the latter is a relatively new development. Interviews are the main focus in this research, by exploring the local planning process and the use of the criteria of quality of space by different key agents. By having in-depth interviews, and by the transcribing and coding these interviews a narrative, thematic analysis was performed. The goal of this analysis and the presented results was showing if and which criteria of quality of space were important in the local planning process. Standing out here was that the criteria of quality of space were – although not all – easily recognized within the planning process, even though not every criteria was easily recognized by respondents in a more quantitative way. The differences between the two case studies on process, key agents and the goal and function of the process clearly related back to the context and dynamics of the different neighbourhoods.

The concluding part of this research is about the explanation to what extent the criteria of quality of space can be recognized within the local planning process. To see in which way and where the focus lays within the neighbourhoods the criteria of spatial quality are really helpful. It shows that there is a certain focus within a process, which is always depending on the context where the process takes place. This could be perceived as an open door conclusion, but actually the research shows us a matrix which can explain and extend our understanding of both process and space. The interacting relations of people and people with the places around them, is important to grasp, especially because the context is so important. What is also pointed out with this research is that the criteria itself are depending on internationally recognized pillars and values, but that maybe the criteria itself need adjustment to be of better use in other contexts. Some of the criteria need a more 'generalisation' than just a dependency on the Dutch context. The criteria of quality of space can thus be recognized in contexts where "quality" is not an active part of the discussion, and could therefore play an important role in developing insights on the local scale.

Table of contents

Appendices
A. Topic list
B. Interviews and matrix
C. Topic list: coded
D. Matrix: criteria neighbourhoods
E. Matrix: respondents

Chapter 1

Introduction

"It is impossible to map out a route to your destination

if you do not know where you are starting from"

– Suze Orman

This chapter functions as the preliminary chapter of this research. It therefore shows the *background* of the subject, in which the context and the issues connected to "quality of space" are shown. This is important to understand what the problem actually is, and how this problem is handled at this moment by scholars and practice. A *research goal* is set to show what should be achieved within this research, and after that the *research objective* is described. Within the research objective the main research question is presented, which leads to the presentation of the sub questions which are answered within this research. The research objective shows how this research contributes to the planning profession, in both theory and practice. This chapter concludes with a book mark, which describes the following chapters in a cohesive way: what is presented in the next chapters and why is that important for this research.

1.1 Background

This research deals with the notions of "quality of space" within the planning profession. It is important to think about and reflect upon "quality of space", because everyone deals with "space". Space is discussed by various scholars (i.e.: Healey, 2004; Healey 2010; Hayden, 1995; Moulaert, Schreurs & Van Dijck, 2011; Rapoport, 1970). The hard thing, however, is that none of these scholars can give a hard definition of what space is. That is why in this research the classic definition of space of Lefebvre is being used: (social) space is the space that is used for both economic production and social reproduction (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 16-26). The choice to go for this classic definition of space is made, because of the awareness of the broad scholarly debate in, amongst others, sociology and

human geography about the question "what is space?". The goal in this research is not to give an answer to or to add information to this question, rather to find an answer to what is being done in this space. When this classic definition of Lefebvre is being used, space can be seen in the broadest way. Space on different scales goes then from a body (biological reproduction) to the public space in cities (social relations) (Hayden, 1995, pp. 18-19). Within this research the main "space" that is focused on is public space, because it is not only supported by social relations, but also producing and produced by these relations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 286).

Describing "space" mostly happens by mentioning places: a square, the corner of the street, the road to work. "Place" is therefore another concept to focus on within the background of "quality of space". "Place" is a biological and cultural derived phenomenon, place therefore relates to the perception of the space that surrounds us (Hayden, 1995, pp. 14-18). Space is becoming place as soon as a reference is made to its use. When relating these ideas about (public) space and place back to the planning profession, the connection can easily be made. Public space is the space in general that is being handled by planners, while when they are handling a certain public space; this "space" can be perceived as "place". In this sense, (public) space and place do not differ that much. The political, social and institutional context of the public space that is being discussed within spatial planning becomes more clear when talking about a certain place (Healey, 2010, pp. xii-xiii). Within this research the focus is on (quality of) space, which in above reflections thus focuses on a general notion of public space. The idea of place will also be used in this research, to show the difficulties in a certain area or a certain public space: a place.

"Quality of space" is thus about public space. Quality of space is being used by various scholars to indicate a certain goal in planning (i.e.: Barnett, 1995; Healey, 2010; Trip, 2007). What is important here to realize is that when talking about "quality of space" that it is not a question about good quality or bad quality, because quality in spatial planning is always perceived to be good (Rapoport, 1970). The ambition in spatial planning is to attain a good, better or even high (-er) quality of space. Important to point out here is that when in this research "quality of space" (or even: "quality of place") is used, it is the same as

the Dutch concept of "spatial quality" (Dutch: ruimtelijke kwaliteit). The Dutch planning context developed an own concept of quality of space, which is called "spatial quality". Quality of space and spatial quality can thus be referred to in the same way within this research. Quality of space is something which is strived for in every spatial planning process, but the ways the values of quality of space are expressed are different in every context (Healey, 2004). Healey (2004) also points out that the search for quality of space is not something new or only occurring in a certain place or time, but that it is an ongoing process to search for concepts and meanings for both scholars and in the political arena. The 'problem' with not having a clear idea about what the aspects of quality of space are, is a problem with the vocabulary within spatial planning: from local to international scale. Rapoport (1970) agrees with this notion, by stating that there are regularities to find in what is attained in spatial planning, but that a lot is culture and value dependent. That quality of space should therefore be connected by the use of space and the planning practice on and in space, is agreed upon by not only Rapoport (1970), but also Moulaert, Schreurs & Van Dijk (2011).

An example from practice about the problems with the question "what spatial quality actually is" is that from Dutch students at Utrecht University. During their second and third year these students have a course called "planning atelier", a kind of studio where they get a real assignment from one of the municipalities in the Netherlands, to solve current (or coming) local problems. The goal is to get a good grade and to pass the course, of course, but the different groups also compete with each other for the best plan: decided by a jury consisting of members from the municipality and the university. During this particular year the students had to write a strategic spatial plan for 7 districts within the city. The districts were built in the 1960s and 1970s, were perceived as having high spatial quality, but declining, and a quite diverse group of inhabitants. Some of the districts had mainly families with children living there, other districts were mainly having people from older generations in its houses. The group that won that years competition was the group that actively said that the city, or the districts, actually did not have a problem at all: the neighbourhoods were doing really well. What was actively addressed within their plan, though, was the issue of quality of space. However, quality of space or

spatial quality was specifically not mentioned anywhere in their plan, they made the choice to make "quality" explicit: what is it and what does that mean for this particular city and its districts? Both university and municipality chose the group as the winner, because spatial quality was made explicit.

Quality of space is about public space, and because what quality of space is, is context dependent, there is one aspect that cannot be left out when talking about quality of space: the process. Quality of space is not only about the outcome of what is achieved with spatial planning, but also about the process in which quality of space is set. De Jong & Spaans (2009) add to this that spatial planning should take into account stakeholders' interests, for an effective and efficient use of planning gain. This "gain" should then be a better or higher quality of space (De Jong & Spaans, 2009; Healey, 2004). It is therefore logical that a spatial planning process is set up in a way that others than 'professionals' can influence not only the actual outcome of the process, but also the ideas on which this process focuses. Healey (2004) points out that the focus on quality of space and spatial planning on itself asks for a discussion among stakeholders.

One of the problems within this research is thus quality of space. Trip (2007, p. 81) points out that what makes quality of space hard to grasp, is that because it is about public space. Healey (2004) agrees on this, but also says that although public space is locally decided upon, the wider relations of spatial planning and its concepts are important too. It is important to get a better idea of quality of place, because when it is better understood it can have more progressive effects. In this way, the planning profession in both theory and practice can benefit from a better understanding of the aspects of quality of space. Another aspect of quality of space within the planning profession is the connection of the concept with the stakeholders during the process. It is important to point out this relation, so that the general ideas about "quality of space" can also be related back to the local context.

1.2 Goal definition

The goal of this research is to show the overlapping notions of "quality of space". What is the quality that is sought for all interventions during spatial planning? Spatial planning can go from economic incentives through planting a new tree. What are the general ideas in (spatial) planning in this time: what is wanted as an outcome during a planning process? By going after the notions of "quality of space" it is possible to give an overlapping goal for spatial planning, which improves the communication about this 'soft' side of spatial planning. From scholars to the people dealing with planning practice, it is helpful to have a clearer idea what and with whom "quality of space" can be achieved. This, because (higher) quality of space is always one of the goals in spatial planning (Rapoport, 1970). Since quality of space is eventually locally decided upon, the goal of this research focuses on "quality of space" in the local planning process. This way, the research can give new insights in how a planning process can be arranged to have the best outcomes in the view of quality of space. To show how (the aspects) of quality of space is handled in a planning process right now, two case studies are being highlighted.

1.3 Research objective

To clarify the notions of "quality of space", and how these can be seen in the local planning process, the following research question is presented:

To what extent are the aspects of quality of space expressed during the planning process on local level?

This main question shows the importance of the (aspects of) quality of space, the planning process of spatial planning and the focus on the local scale: where public space is decided upon. This question can be separated in several sub questions about the research. The following questions will be answered in this research:

- What is quality of space? And why is it important?
- What are the aspects of quality of space?
- Are there criteria for quality of space? And if so, what criteria are used to define quality of space?
- What kind of planning process should be recognized on the local level? And why is planning on this level it important?
- Can the criteria to assess the quality of spatial interventions be recognized in the case studies? (Duck Pond Neighbourhood, Gainesville, FL, USA and Town of Tioga, Alachua County, FL, USA)

By answering these questions, a contribution is given to the idea of "quality of space", which means the (high) quality of public space which is planned for in (spatial) planning. By scaling this to the local level of spatial planning, a direct connection is made to the fact that public space is locally decided upon, and that this needs a connection to wider concepts (Healey, 2004). What is important to understand is that the United States of America does not have a tradition, as in the Netherlands, where "quality of space" is actively addressed. This means that "quality of space" is expressed in a different way than by mentioning spatial quality. This research therefore focuses on the aspects of this quality, as showed in the main question. Can these criteria be recognized within the spatial planning (process) of these case studies, and if so, where is the focus within these cases? By focusing on this main question and its sub questions an important insight is being brought to planning theory, by bringing together what quality in public space actually means and how this is worked out on a local scale. This insight is important for the ability to have a better communication between people in practice, but also to link these different topics in theory: what does it mean for the "local" scale if there is sought after a "general" conception of quality in public space?

1.4 Significance of research

By connecting these ideas about space and the qualities in spatial planning to the planning process, a more concrete idea can be given about quality in space. This research therefore adds to both planning theory, how complex decisions about

city development are made, and to normative theory, by making connections between human values and settlement form (Lynch, 1982, p. 37). By giving a better understanding how "quality" can be thrived for on the local scale, and by showing this in a case study, the issues within a planning process are shown. This benefits planning practice, so that people can better understand local problems and how each party looks at this problem, which benefits both politicians and individuals, but also and NGOs and companies active in public space. When making decisions about space people always use norms about good and bad, if people could articulate better why they feel a certain way about a place, it is possible to make more effective changes (Lynch, 1982, p. 1).

1.5 Book mark

This book mark functions as a short guideline to the rest of this research. Within the research it was possible to set up certain criteria for quality of space and to recognize these criteria in the different case studies. This means that there is a way to compare different contexts and processes with each other in a manageable way: the criteria of quality of space point out which aspects are to be found important in a certain area. To find out the importance of this concept of spatial quality the main research question and its sub-questions are answered within this study. This guideline points out the rest of the chapters of this research, with a description of what is found in there and why it is important. The chapters are the following:

- *Theoretical reflection*: within this chapter the available literature on the aspects of quality of space, on the (participatory) planning process and local level/neighbourhood planning are set out. The argument is that these subjects are connected in the following way: how and especially about what agents interact within the planning process about the public space that surrounds them leads to a certain perception about the quality of space: about the issues at hand. These relations between the subjects are presented in the conceptual model, which is presented in this chapter. It is therefore important to focus on the theories in spatial planning, to create a framework for the rest of this research;

- *Methodology*: within this chapter it is described which case studies are chosen, why these were chosen, how the in-depth interviews were done and processed, and how a light qualitative part of the research is undertaken to take a deeper look into the criteria of quality of space. The main argument here is that both case-studies were carefully chosen to answer to the question if quality of space can be recognized within a local planning process: two maximum variation cases (one old, one new neighbourhood) which can be easily compared to the theory at hand. This chapter is included to show how this research is undertaken;

- *Results*: The chapter shows the results of the research, with the subjects of neighbourhood planning, the plan-formation process and quality of space all laid out for the different case studies. After this the criteria itself are under discussion. By connecting this chapter with the conceptual model, it is possible to come to a cohesive way to connect both theory and case studies;

- *Discussion*: The discussion chapter is a chapter in which the synergy between theory and results is shown: the answers to the sub-questions are given. This leads to the statement that quality of space (/spatial quality) is an important aspect within spatial planning to focus on;

- *Conclusion*: The concluding part of this research is about the implications of the use of quality of space for policies and practice of planning interventions. Since context is one of the main aspects within spatial planning this study contributes to an understanding of this context, in both research and practice. Quality of space can very well be used on the local scale, but relates back to big issues within the social science of planning. Quality of space has the strength of both worlds: internationally valued and dependent on the local context.

Chapter 2
Quality of Space:
Theoretical Reflection

"Everything must be taken into account.

If the fact will not fit the theory – let the theory go"

– Agatha Christie

Within this chapter the relevant theories and literature about the two main subjects of this research are discussed: quality of space and the planning process. These two subjects are the two topics of the main question of this research. First quality of space will be discussed. What is space, where do current goals in plans come from and what are the assets of quality of space? After that the second part of this chapter is being discussed: the planning process. First, the leading discourse within planning theory will be discussed: communicative planning. Coupled to that is the plan-formation process and the local form of spatial planning in the United States: neighbourhood planning.

The first of this chapter is about quality of space and consists of several parts. Before starting to explore the aspects of quality of space, an introduction will be given by describing the space that is central in this research. It is important to clarify the focus of this research: public space is produced by and producing social relations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 286). After that the goals for the development of public space are globally set out through a description of the history. It is important to discuss this history, to understand where present goals and the assets of quality of space are coming from. After that, the assets of quality of space are set out, along the triangle of economy, environment and social aspects of development. This triangle of relationships in sustainable development are a familiar way in spatial planning to set out the (inter-) linkages that exist within the development of public space.

The second part of this chapter is about the planning process. The first part is about communicative planning, which is a leading discourse in spatial

planning (Daffara, 2011). This is discussed, because it is important to realize where today's ideas about the planning process come from. After this, the plan-formation process will be discussed, with a clear emphasis on the part before the plan is established: the plan-formation process. This is necessary because that is the part of the planning process that is central in this research. The part where the assets of quality of space might be actively discussed is in the plan-formation process, and not after the plan is implemented. The local scale is the last part of this chapter, with a focus on neighbourhood planning of the United States. Neighbourhood planning is chosen as a focus because in this research the assets of quality in space in a local planning process are a central aspect. The chosen case studies are in the United States, where local planning is legally organized in neighbourhood planning (Hester, 1984, pp. 4-5).

To connect the two parts of this literature review, a conceptual model is presented. This conceptual model represents schematically how the links between the different parts of the literature can be made. Aftet this, the conclusion is drawn up. This conclusion functions to connect the different factors of the main question with the theory and literature that is available. By setting out the two big themes of this research, quality of space and the planning process, within one chapter a theoretical basis is built on which the qualitative research can built on. The theory and the qualitative research together can give an answer on the main question; in which ways are the assets of quality of process in a local planning process.

2.1 Quality of space

2.1.1 Space

To define what is meant by "quality of space", or what the aspects of "quality of space" are, it is necessary to look into what is being meant by "space". It is not the goal of this research to develop new ideas to add to the scholarly discussion, in especially human geography and sociology, about the question what space is. This is the reason the rather general idea about space of Lefebvre is used to define what space is within this research. As mentioned in the introduction, the definition of Lefebvre (1991, pp. 16-26) is used: (social) space is the space that is

used for both economic production and social reproduction. This is the classic way in which space is seen in science, of which spatial planning is a part. Space in this research is however not seen as the broadest way Lefebvre describes it, but is focusing on public space. Public space is supported, producing and produced by social relations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 286). What is important to point out here, is that "public space" is a homogenous word for a clearly heterogonous world; public space in many areas in the world is being used differently (Cooper, 1998). That is why (political) decisions should be made about public space, to identify the use, symbols, and activities happening in public space (Cooper, 1998).

Public space is thus the space that is central in this research. Not only Cooper (1998), but also Trip (2007) and De Jong & Spaans (2009) stress the importance of different stakeholders and thus the planning process of public space. Trip (2007) explicitly mentions that public space cannot exist without people, which is in line with Lefebre's (1991, p. 286) and Hayden's (1995, pp. 8-9) ideas about public space. Also Castells (1983) argues that space cannot exist without society, and therefore that spatial forms – public space included – are produced by human action. Mensch (2007) adds to this by stating that public space is the space where people see and are seen by others. Castells (1983) also points out some evolving 'new' relationships between space and society. Changing interests and social "riots" cause the way that people interact with space is changed and ongoing changing (Castells, 1983). This means that the way spatial forms are evolving over the years is in direct relationship with changes in the human experience (of space) and new ways of communication (about space) (Castells, 1983). Castells (1983) statements about the ever-changing relationship of society with (public) space is in line with the ideas of Hayden (1995) and Graham and Healey (1999), who point out that the ways society thinks about space is cultural dependent and always changing.

When talking about space, public space and quality of space, people often switch to use terms of "place" and "quality of place". As mentioned in the introduction, this is because "place" is often used to express the perception people have of the space that surrounds them (Hayden, 1995, pp. 14-18). This means that in this research space is central, but when focus changes to a certain area, the research mentions place. By using the indication of place instead of

space clarity is brought: the political, social and institutional context of public space come together in a place (Healey, 2010, pp. xii-xiii). Hayden (1995, pp. 15-16) states that how a person thinks about its surrounding space as place is a biological response to the physical environment as well as a cultural creation. Space and place cannot be discussed without the social relationships, that are actively produced by and producing space and place. These two interrelated notions can, however, also not be discussed without another aspect: time. Places are moments in a network of social understanding, and time is nonlinear and multiple, and therefore socially constructed too (Graham & Healey, 1999). Managing space, or spatial planning, is with all its social relations an institution, which is concerned with managing a flow of problems over time (Palermo & Ponzini, 2010).

To conclude, space in this research concerns public space. Where Lefebvre (1991, p. 286) points out that public space is supported, producing and produced by social relations. These social relations form an institution where political, economic, social and physical decisions about space are being made. These decisions influence certain places, which are culturally and physically recognized as the space surrounding people in day to day life (Hayden, 1995, pp. 14-18). These places cannot be seen without the time in which it takes place: spatial planning is concerned with managing space over time. Time and social relations are thus central to the idea of public space within this research. It is not needed to come to a new discussion about what space is, but it is known that there is a broad, ongoing, discussion about this in today's literature still. The basic aspects of time and social relations of (public) space are important because the concept of "quality of space" (discussed in chapter 2.1.3) is about the space that surrounds people and the space people influence and get influenced by.

2.1.2 History

Spatial planning is not a new thing in practice or in science: people have been altering their space as long as they exist. The goals in planning, however, changed over the years. The goals changed from shelters against nature, from fortified space to protect against strangers, to more rapid change today: the focus

on quality and processes in (public) space (Verbart, 2004, p. 49-51). Over the past few decades, however, a great number of goals in spatial planning have passed. The focus in this study is on how "quality of space" developed to be an interest in developing public space, and to understand the changing goals in spatial planning of the last century. Next to that a connection is being made with the theory of agency in geography and spatial planning. This all leads to a better understanding of the limitations of concepts and the use of concepts in social sciences, where spatial planning and thus the development of public space belongs to.

When the history of spatial planning of the last century is looked upon, the start is the beginning of the 20th century. This is the time where research points out that especially western societies had a clear focus on managing their surroundings. A focus in these first years of the 20th century was economic development, to improve work opportunities, housing and social welfare facilities. When talking about post World War II (WWII) development, the focus in large parts of the world was on city (re-)building to revive not only economic, but also social conditions (Healey, 2010, pp. 10-11). This rebuilding was a different course in spatial planning than the United States of America (USA) were taking: the focus in the USA was on regional development and on information services: democratic and efficient (Healey, 2010, pp. 10-11). Both these post-WWII contexts, of rebuilding and regional development, were seeing government policies, coming from experts and politicians, as the main way to develop spatial planning and its policies (Healey, 2010, pp. 10-11). Over time, however, in both European and North-American context, citizens and other organizations started to realize that the policies on physical, social and economic aspects of spatial planning, affected them and their accessibility to it (Healey, 2010, pp. 10-12). Not only is there a bigger focus on environmental aspects of development since the 1960s and 1970s, but also the social aspects of spatial development and its policies were getting in the centre of goal development.

The focus thus shifted to an emphasis where not only government and experts were the ones who decided on policies, but where other actors also wanted and had a role in policies which influenced their surroundings. The goals in spatial planning shifted from an economical and land use view to a planning

system which included environment and social aspects too. Healey (2010, p. 33) explains this by pointing out that a place and the perceived quality is not only about the availability of things, but also by the influence people have on their surroundings. Verbart (2004, p. 73) elaborates on this by stating that different actors find different dimensions (e.g.: physical, social, economic) important. This focus on the 'soft' side of spatial planning enlarged the focus on qualities of a place, where different ideas about quality by different actors leads to a focus not only on the end goal of spatial planning, but also on the process (Healey, 2010, p. 33; Verbart, 2004, p. 73/p. 109). Flint & Raco (2012, p. 91) point out that the shift in (urban) planning not only focuses on quality of space, but also on creating sustainable places. Sustainability in spatial planning has developed into the idea of sustainable spatial development. Sustainability within sustainable development is seen as:

"Providing the needs for present generations, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"
– WCED (1987)

Flint & Raco (2012) point out that sustainable spatial development developed out of the conflict between ecology and urban economic and population growth, from the 1960s and 1970s on. Sustainable spatial development is therefore supported by three pillars: economy, society, and environment (Healey, 2010, p. 17). These three pillars show the conflicts in sustainable spatial development that take place on a day to day basis: how can a city keep growing in both economy and populations wise, while the environment is taken into account? And how can populations undertake their activities, without changing the opportunities for future generations? The pillars of economy, society and environment therefore show conflicts and the need for integration of these three pillars within planning policy (Healey, 2010, pp. 16-17).

When mentioning that (public) space and the planning of (public) space is connected to the actors involved in shaping space, it directly links to the agency that is mobilized in spatial planning practice (Healey, 2010, pp. 235-238; Hudalah & Woltjer, 2007). With 'agency' the definition of Bingham (1996) is

followed: a precarious, contingent effect, achieved only by continuous performance and only for the duration of that performance. Graham and Helaey (1999) extend on what this means for the governance of spatial planning: that there is a need for the recognition of the social context, with social relations, technical artefacts, discourses and texts as planning documents. Spatial planning practice and its processes are therefore a product of institutional and cultural traditions, which are interacting (Bingham, 1996; Hudalah & Woltjer, 2007). Recognizing the power of these relationships, as agency, within the planning field can lead to better co-ordinated action (Healey, 1999). It is therefore important to realize what the goal in planning is today, especially within the background of environmental and social aspects of spatial planning. Recognizing the goals and processes in (spatial) planning as agency within this profession, can help to better organize the way that spatial planning takes place.

Spatial planning is developed into a profession where not only experts and government officials have a say in about what is happing in space. Next to that, a bigger emphasis is come on the environmental and social aspects of planning. This leads to a spatial planning where attention in planning is shifted from a mere economical viewpoint, where work opportunities and (social) housing facilities should be realized, to a spatial planning where the process, involved actors and (perceived) qualities of a place are important. Actors and the ideas they about (spatial) planning of their (public) space act in a social context with certain discourses recognizable. When agency is recognized within spatial planning, it can help formulizing the upcoming social and environmental goals in planning. The focus on "quality of space" and its difficulties can be better coordinated when realizing where it is coming from.

2.1.3 Criteria

Quality in itself is a word that is hard to grasp. On the one hand it is objective, because you can set out marks and features which are measurable, on the other hand 'quality' is highly subjective because it shows a resultant of appraisal of one or more individuals (Van den Hof, 2006). Van den Hof (2006) states that quality, and especially quality in spatial planning, is always about a previous asserted

goal, but that the goal itself is hard to formulate. Next to that Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007, p. 5) point out that quality of space in different places is hard to compare. Within this subchapter the goal is to find out which aspects of quality of space can be seen as globally useful, even when quality is context dependent. Or even if these aspects can be seen as criteria. First, the concept of quality of life is discussed, and why quality of space is a better alternative. After that quality of space is connected to sustainable spatial development, and the matrix of Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007, p. 38) is presented to show the aspects of quality of space used in this research.

Quality of life has been an important aspect in planning for decades. Meyers (1988) even states that quality of life is the core of planning, because it shows the comprehensiveness communities strive for. Quality of life in his eyes is therefore negotiated knowledge, where stakeholders in a local process decide what quality of life actually is (Meyers, 1988). Doi, Kii & Nakanishi (2008) elaborated on this 2 decades later: quality of life is about freedom in opportunities and choices in social, economic and also cultural aspects. Dissart & Deller (2000) show in their bibliographic review of quality of life that there is no generally accepted meaning of the concept, and that is hard to inform how to improve quality of life in different places. Meyers (1988) and Dissart & Deller (2000) come to the same point that quality of life is about public decisions, while at the same time it is about personal values. Meyers (1988) points out that using the concept of 'quality of life' it is actually about using a way to describe people's satisfaction about different places, but that it fails to show an integrated, comprehensive view of spatial planning. While even scholars from the 21st century cannot agree about what quality of life is or should be, this research proposes another way to look at the same freedoms space should foster: quality of space. By introducing another concept to work with within spatial planning, a comprehensive and integrated view of (public) space is easier to obtain within a local community. Quality of life has always been the focus of spatial planning, even while "quality of space" has been there too, since the emergence of "quality" in planning (Rapoport, 1970).

Quality of space is a clear aspect of the discourse towards sustainable spatial development. Van Der Valk (2002) points out that sustainability should

lead to variation and opportunities for identification. This means that the three pillars – society, economy, and environment – pointed out by Healey (2010, p. 17) are not a comprehensive view of sustainable spatial development. Agency already showed the importance of institutional and cultural traditions and the interacting relations of these two (i.e.: Bingham, 1996; Hudalah & Woltjer, 2007). Not only out of the concept of agency, but also the understanding of quality of space shows the importance of culture as one of the pillars in sustainability. Culture is seen as important in one of the earliest works on quality of space by Rapoport (1970), but also by more recent scholars (i.e.: Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 5; Verbart, 2004, pp. 65-68). The aspects of quality of space should therefore be related to the pillars of economy, society, environment and culture. This is clearly done by Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007, p. 38) in their matrix of the Dutch idea of spatial quality (see table 2.1).

The 3 pillars of sustainable spatial development and the pillar of culture are the basis for the aspects of quality of space. In the matrix these pillars are set out against the 3 values of Vitruvius: utilitas, firmitas, and venustas. These three Vitruvian values are translated into the "utility value", "perceived value", and "future value", which can be recognized in spatial development (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 10; VROM-raad, 2011). By adding these values to the aspects of quality of space, it shows that space is not only about here and now, but also about the future and the past, about public and private goals (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 16). This way the three values in the matrix represent not only the formal things society needs and wants to achieve within planning, but also the societal significance of use, perception and future. It shows a new perspective to how sustainable spatial development can be looked upon (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 5; VROM-raad, 2011, p. 10). De Jong & Spaans (2009) point out that although quality of space is perceived differently in different countries, it does show the surplus value in planning. The matrix therefore gives a 'basis' in notions to work from, without noting what quality of space exactly is. These aspects of quality of space, as presented in table 2.1, can be used to talk about what is needed in a plan-design instead of using the unclear concept of quality of life. Quality of space therefore represents not only

flexibility, but can solve a part of the vagueness that surrounds quality of life (Dissart & Deller, 2000; Myers, 1988).

Table 2.1 Criteria of quality of space

	Economy	Society	Environment	Culture
Utility value	Allocation-efficiency	Accessibility	Safety, nuisance	Freedom of choice
	Accessibility	Distribution	Pollution, contamination	Diversity
	External effects	Participation	Drying out (of grounds)	Encounters
	Multi-purpose	Choice	Fragmentation	
Perceived value	Reputation	Inequality	Space, serenity	Authenticity
	Attractiveness	Connectivity	Beauty	Beauty
		Safety	Health	Contrast
Future value	Stability/flexibility	Enclosure	Supplies	Heritage
	Agglomeration	Cultures of poverty	Ecosystems	Integration
	Cumulative attraction			Renewal

Source: Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007, p. 38)

When looking with more interest to above matrix (as shown in table 2.1), every aspect of sustainability is crossed with the (societal) values of sustainable development. This leads to a list of criteria which show a mix of public interests and design requirements. In the next part these criteria for a place, which are recognized within each crossing, are explained in a more extensive way (based on Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, pp. 17-38):

o **Utility value** (functional suitability, expediency, cohesion), and:
  • **Economy**: A*llocation-efficiency* is about the site characteristics, while *accessibility* is about situation characteristics, *external effects* are the functions that influence each other (positive or negative), while *multi-purpose* is about the inter-action patterns that can be recognized within the location;
  • **Society**: *Accessibility* is about the social justice and the ability to access both locations as resources, where *distribution* is about the costs and benefits of maintaining and developing an area, *participation* and *choice* show the social freedoms to take advantage of opportunities (in space) and to have a say in what these opportunities are;

- **Environment**: *Safety/nuisance* is about having the smallest risks for society from sources or moving objects, *pollution/contamination* concerns grounds, air and water, and both *drying out (of grounds)* and *fragmentation* are about the intensity of the use of grounds;

- **Culture**: *Freedom of choice* for the individual, *diversity* of cultural and recreational spaces, and *encounters* is about the access to and between diverse cultural spaces.

o **Perceived value** (identity, diversity, sense making), and:

- **Economy**: *Reputation* is about the cultural identity of a region that entrepreneurs experience, *attractiveness* means that the identity of a region attracts other business (both consumers and companies);

- **Society**: *Inequality* is about opening up chances for society, *connectivity* is about connecting social and functional opportunities to society, *safety* is about feeling safe in an area, by both arrangement and composition of space;

- **Environment**: *Space/serenity* of nature areas, *beauty* in both aesthetic way and as in not polluted, and *health* is about risks for society, which are mostly perceived as bigger by society than they actually are;

- **Culture**: *Authenticity* is about the opportunity to experience or express identity, *beauty* is really cultural dependent and needs to have the opportunity to be expressed, and *contrast* is about the balance between being the same and being completely different from other places.

o **Future value** (cohesion over time, steering, adaptivity), and:

- **Economy**: *Stability/flexibility* shows the tension between stabile growth and also the ability to open up for new opportunities, *agglomeration* is about spatial uniformity (specialization) and variation, *cumulative attraction* is about the importance of experiences, and that a place should develop itself as an 'activity place';

- **Society**: *Enclosure* is about having equal distributions through society on a bigger than local scale, *cultures of poverty*[1] is about countering segregation of the disadvantaged;

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[1] The criterion of *cultures of poverty*, as described by Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007, pp. 29-30), can be perceived as a misleading criterion in this table, and this footnote is

- **Environment**: *Supplies* are about natural resources that has a function or can have a function in the future for society, and *ecosystems* represent that some sources are not replaceable;
- **Culture**: *Heritage* is about the preservation of cultural heritage, *integration* is about weaving in new elements (which are often result of individual actions), *renewal* is about being open to this kind of new elements, and open up to them to replace older elements.

When writing out all these criteria, an idea of high quality and a 'good' space can come up. These criteria give a better sense on when people judge a place to be "good". When referring to "good" in space, Lynch' theory of good city form cannot be left out (Lynch, 1982). Lynch tried to develop a normative theory to know a good city when you see one (Lynch, 1982, p. 37). According to Lynch (1982, p. 235) a good city is a "continuous, well connected, open place, conducive development". Amin (2006) adds to this idea of Lynch of the good city that is about "urban order that might enhance the human experience". The criteria developed within the theory of good city form are: vital, sensible, well fitted, accessible and well controlled (Lynch, 1982, p. 235). Although these criteria are less specified than the above criteria of quality of space (see table 2.1), they are fully overlapping each other. Looking deeper into the criteria developed by Lynch, concluded can be that even the meta-criteria of justice and efficiency are covered by the criteria of spatial quality. This is especially the case because not only the utility value of sustainable development and culture is taken into account, but also perceived and future value. The choice to show this theory of good city form in comparison to the criteria of spatial quality, and not the whole discussion on the subject, is because the "good city" is highly dependent on the time in which the model is developed (Amin, 2006). By 'building' the criteria of spatial quality upon the pillars presented in the table (see table 2.1) it is tried to project criteria that are better transcendent through space and time, when considering planning to be a sustainable development.

Another scholar who developed a framework for specifically quality of space is Werksma (2002), but that one is not being used in this research. Reason

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added to warn that a "culture of poverty" in itself is not seen as a quality of space. This criterion is about preventing the "lock-in" that poverty can cause.

not to use this matrix, is because the ideas within this particular framework are less universal, because they are more connected to the Dutch and European ways of working. This is explicitly coming back in the way quality of space is presented here: the cultural, economic, social and environmental pillars are connected to different layers (Werksma, 2002, p. 11). These layers are presented as foundation layer, network layer and occupation layer (Werksma, 2002, p. 11). The matrix of Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2008, p. 38) is considered more universal, because the values of Vitruvius show a broad definition of what is needed in spatial planning. These broad values are recognized as needed in planning by, among others, Healey (1998; 2010), Flint & Raco (2012), Dissart & Deller (2000), Myers (1988), and Rapoport (1970). The different notions within this matrix (see table 2.1) are developed on the ratio of literature and policy documents in the Netherlands (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 89). The recommendations of the study include to look into case studies and the way quality of space is used there, and studies where the interactions in spatial planning and the relation to quality of space should be looked upon. This is what is happening in this research: this matrix and its aspects of quality of space are being looked upon in a local planning process in the USA.

Quality of space is recognized as context dependent and dynamic (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 5). This is confirmed by Lynch' idea of good city form, in which he states that to judge a quality of a place, you need to know the social circumstances of the people who occupy a place. Quality of space differs over the time and space continuum, and therefore differs when discussing a different scale, different social dependents, and cultural views. The matrix presented in table 2.1 is considered to take into account this context dependent and dynamic view of quality of space. It does not set out what quality of space IS, but does set out what can be included in viewing quality of space: criteria based on literature and policy documents. Sustainable spatial development is the basis of this matrix, with its conflicts in economy, environment and society. This matrix can therefore be used as a common 'language' in planning, to recognize the aspects of quality of space. That is what is done in this research. The matrix will be used to recognize if the aspects of quality of space are being used during a neighbourhood planning process.

2.2 Planning process

2.2.1 Communicative planning

Within quality of space, which criteria are central in this research, it is public space that is being focused on. Public space is supported, producing and produced by social relations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 286). This definition shows the communicative function of spatial planning and public space: it is about social aspects. From the 1990s on communicative planning is the central way to collect information within spatial planning (Innes, 1998). This communicative planning has its basis in Habermas' theory about "communicative rationality" (Voogd, 2006, p. 32). Habermas theory evolved since the 1970s, which states that interaction between different stakeholders is needed to solve problems. Both Castells (1983) and Healey (1997) recognize since 1970s a more social and interactive process between stakeholders in spatial planning.

Communicative planning has developed into one of the leading discourses within spatial planning: "how planning should be done". Or even, as some argue, as the way "planning is done" in today's society. Communicative planning could be described as the planning that is developed by democratic society (Healey, 1992). This democratic society is not only a society where everyone has the right to have influence on politics, but also a society where stakeholders get more and more importance (Healey, 1998). This means that in a so-called stakeholder society power is not –in the classic way- with the political elite, but also divided over other stakeholders. Friedmann (2002) points out that what is needed in a society like that is a clear view of not only political objectives, but also the dominant interests within society. Knowledge is therefore not only on scientific basis, but collected through a social, interactive process (Healey, 1992, 1997; Innes 1998). This kind of processes should undertake problems within a fast changing society, which leads to the fact that there is no "truth" anymore which is only based on scientific facts (Healey, 1992). This is the reason communicative planning and therefore community engagement is still a main stream discourse within (urban) spatial planning (Daffara, 2011).

This ground idea of Habermas' communicative approach, where the goal is to come to consensus through mutual understanding, is leading within this

study. It is a clear choice to go for this approach, although in the ongoing communicative approach versus power debate the former is often seen as utopian (Flyvbjerg, 2001, pp. 88-95). Flyvbjerg (2001, p. 88) also points out that when looking at a subject it is required to make a choice of the approach taken, because it is not possible to incorporate both views at once. Foucault's idea of a power conflict is one that is important when thinking about planning. However, when discussing how different agents within a process come to certain subjects, as done in this study, it is more logical to take an approach in which agents look for the things they have in common. The weakness of this approach is the difference in what is seen as 'ideal' (the communicative approach) and what is happening for 'real' (Flyvbjerg, 2001, pp. 88-95).

The spatial planning process is thus the process in which communication between stakeholders takes place (Castells, 1983; Wallagh, 1994, p. 32). Communicative planning should take care of the creation of a basis to answer for planning policy (Healey, 1992; Innes, 1998). A plan should have more chances to have successful implementation after a communicative process. It is recognized that the communicative turn in planning has not only positive outcomes. Obstacles about a communicative process are found in especially time and money constraints (Attree et al., 2011; Woltjer, 1997). A planning process can become a battleground of struggles between competing interests (Healey, 1998). The way people get connected within a process, and the ways how objectives and interests become clear during a process defines the outcome. Community engagement can lead to a long process, in which the time to take decisions and the money to invest run out (Attree et al, 2011; Woltjer, 1997).

Spatial planning, in which public policies are being made, is pre-eminently a social process (Healey, 1997). The turn from the 1970s on to have a more communicative turn in spatial planning is therefore not surprising. As society changed rapidly, also the way information was being dealt with changed: information nowadays is more than pure scientific facts. Even while communicative planning has time and money constraints when the process is not managed well, it is still the leading form of planning today (Daffara, 2011). The communicative turn in planning is therefore an important aspect of this research:

if the planning process is communicative, how can the aspects of quality of space than being recognized within the process?

2.2.2 Plan-formation process

Within this research the criteria of quality of space in a local planning process are central. What is good to realize is that within this research the goal is not to analyse these criteria after the plan is implemented. The research concentrates on a part of the planning process: the plan-formation process. This organizational process takes place next to the intellectual process, social process, political-administrative process and the methods and techniques of processes (De Roo & Voogd, 2007, pp. 20-22). The plan-formation process is hereby the part of the process until the plan-implementation (De Roo & Voogd, 2007, p. 22; Spit & Zoete, 2006, p. 88). The plan-formation process includes not only plan- and process-design, but also the preliminary phase before that. It is logical to focus on this part of the planning process within this research, because it is where most of the communication about the plan takes place. Therefore it is the part of the process where quality of space should be discussed and choices are made. The process is related to the problem-solving aspect of planning: the problem is an integrated perception, while the process is the part of planning where a clarification of this set of perceptions about the problem is being made (Lynch, 1982, p. 42).

The complete planning process is divided into 7 steps: problem-identification, problem-analysis, goal-setting, plan-generation, evaluation (ex-ante), implementation, and evaluation (ex-post) (Spit & Zoete, 2006, pp. 86-89). This steps are in line with the steps Jones (1979, p. 13) set out for a neighbourhood planning process, although Jones' steps are more precise, but exclude implementation and any evaluation procedures. The scheme of these steps is shown in figure 2.1. Although the scheme and the steps look mutually exclusive, they are certainly not. Most times the different steps are taken a few times, because there is a cyclic iterative process going on (Spit & Zoete, 2006, pp. 86-89). The planning process in figure 2.1 therefore does not show a trajectory that is being passed in every process. During the planning process steps

can be taken back and forward a few times, if that is necessary. When these steps of the planning process are connected back to the plan-formation process, the plan-formation process takes place until step 5: the implementation is not a part of the formation any more. The plan-formation process focusses on plan-preparation and plan-design, which are hard to separate from each other.

The first phase of the planning process, problem-identification, is about recognizing if the signalled problem is a spatial problem or not (Spit & Zoete, 2006, pp. 84-92). With the local scale it is about solving problems which can be solved locally, and do not need a bigger scale as regional or even global (Friedmann, 2002, pp. 115-116; Larssen, Gunnarson-Östling & Westholm, 2011). After that, problem-analysis is about finding out what the problem exactly is and how the issues are related, where the focus is, and to get an integral view of the problem (Spit & Zoete, 2006, pp. 84-92). A program of requirements is the outcome of the problem-analysis, which leads to the phase of goal-setting (Spit & Zoete, 2006, pp. 84-92). The goals should enhance the program of requirements, (political) limiting conditions, priorities and the plan ambitions (Spit & Zoete, 2006, pp. 84-92). The goals are therefore often recognized within a planning process by a list of principles which are used as a guideline for the further process and plan. During the plan-generation an actual plan is being written (Spit & Zoete, 2005, pp. 84-92). The first outcome of this plan-generation is a first plan-design, which is being evaluated. This evaluation is to take care that the plan is meeting the list of principles which were set out after the goal-setting phase (Spit & Zoete, 2006, pp. 84-92). When the plan is approved by the designated parties, the plan can be implemented. The plan evaluation ex-post is about how the implementation worked out: did it solve the problem?

Figure 2.1 Planning process
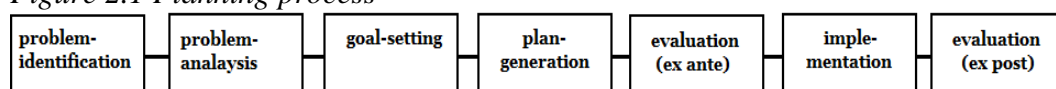
Source: Jones (1979, p. 13); Spit & Zoete (2006, pp. 86-89); Spit et al (2010, p. 19)

In a planning process, as described above, it is clearly about a certain problem that needs to be solved. Within local planning, however, there are not always

problems to be solved. The issues at hand can be about other benefits a process can bring, too. Friedmann (2002, pp. 115-116) points out that not only the outcome of the process, but also the process itself is seen as important these days. Verbart (2004, p. 99) adds to this by stating that a focus on the process is not only about creating support within the community, but also about enriching the content of the process. This is in line with the discourse of communicative planning, where knowledge within a planning process is not only scientific knowledge anymore (Healey, 1997, p. 29). Palermo & Ponzini (2010, pp. 85-88) point out 8 different functions a process can have. These 8 points are: contributing to the spread of knowledge, mobilization and coordination of a network of actors, improving self-building abilities of local community, strengthen relationship of trust and cooperation, improve social capital (seen as set of cooperative relations), filling in a void in "civic culture", symbolic representation of the right to citizenship, and a process could also function as a predetermined ritual with consensus as the main goal (Palermo & Ponzini, 2010, pp. 85-88). Also these 8 functions of the planning process are a clear representation of the communicative turn in spatial planning.

How "communicative" a planning process is, is influenced by the list of principles that is set up within the process (Spit & Zoete, 2007, p. 83). The reason to decide how to open a planning process up, depends on the subject. Blondel (2007) points out that today's focus on process directed designing within planning is not only about physical-spatial issues, but also about cultural-social, and social-economic issues too. The choice is then to choose if stakeholders are going to have influence on the process and how (D'Albergo & Moini, 2007; Koeman e.a., 2008, pp. 40-41). This could be divided from interactive to participative (Propper & Steenbeek, 2001, pp. 50-55). This choice is especially an issue in European planning, the United States have legalized that local planning should always be open. Neighbourhood planning in the US started as an uproot idea in poor, urban communities, which is the reason local planning in the US is still considered to be participative (Hester, 1984, p. 1-10). The participation of citizens in their neighbourhoods is institutionalized in the US planning system by law (Hester, 1984, pp. 4-5). By having local planning legalized, the US neighbourhood planning processes function as a predetermined ritual with

consensus as main goal (Palermo & Ponzini, 2010, pp. 85-88). This does not exclude other functions the process can play in local planning: knowledge accumulation and strengthening relationships are seen as clear functions too (Hester, 1984, pp. 5-10)

The planning process could thus be divided into 7 steps, from problem-identification to ex-post evaluation (see figure 2.1). The focus for this research is on the plan-formation process, which is the part of the planning process that is going on until the implementation of the plan. It is logical to focus on these steps, because that is the part of the process where the assets of quality of space are expected to play a role. A process can have different functions, from adding knowledge to strengthening relationships. This focus on the process is important because the outcome of a process is dependent on what is being discussed and decided upon within the process. The plan-formation process is the part of the local spatial planning process where it becomes clear if and how the assets of quality of space play a role: are these discussed, or are they a mere side-effect of what the neighbourhood considers to be important?

2.2.3 Neighbourhood planning

Concentrating spatial planning on a local scale is nothing new; citizens are the change agents in creating futures in a specific place (Daffara, 2011). Over the years planning has become more and more political, where problems that are taking in place in daily lives of individuals demand resolutions (Friedmann, 2002, pp. 153-154). These problems are often solved on local scale, while these problems do not stand on their own, but reflect back to regional and global level (Friedmann, 2002, pp. 114-116; Larsen, Gunnarsson-Östling & Westholm, 2011; Rohe & Gates, 1985, p. 3). Within this research, the local scale is being considered within the case studies of Duckpond Neighbourhood, Gainesville and Town of Tioga, Alachua County (both in Florida, United States of America). This is the reason why the focus for local scale planning within research is concentrating on the US idea of neighbourhood planning, which is actively carried out throughout the US since the 1960s. The neighbourhood space that is of concern within this research, is public space and is seen as space that is close

to home, where people feel collective responsibility, are familiar with the neighbourhood association and where there is frequent shared use (Hester, 1984, p. 10-15). Neighbourhood space is therefore often considered as 'own', for example people that talk about 'my street', 'our park', etcetera. In terms of the process, it is also logical to concentrate on the local level: when the immediate users of a place make the decisions about its form it seems more likely to result in well-fitted environment (Lynch, 1982, p. 44).

Neighbourhood planning emerged from the 1960s and 1970s out of poor, urban communities, where it developed as an uproot idea from society (Hester, 1984, pp. 4-5). The focus within neighbourhood planning was therefore in the first years mainly as a public health purpose, with the focus on sanitation, zoning, housing and transportation (Ricklin, Klein & Musiol, 2012). Neighbourhood planning eventually got institutionalized by legislation, wherefore it is seen as municipally sponsored programs to involve neighbourhood groups (Hester, 1984, p. 4-5; Rohe & Gates, 1985, p. 4-5). Rohe & Gates (1985, pp. 13-49) point out 3 eras within neighbourhood planning, with the first era having a focus on the social dimensions, the second a focus on the physical dimension of planning and the last era adding a more political dimension to it, with a concentration on – again- poverty and related issues. Neighbourhood planning developed from mainly neighbourhood organization to more public sector investments and greater citizen involvement in program design and operation (Rohe & Gates, 1985, pp. 13-49). Jones (1979, p. 5) recognizes 4 key agents involved in neighbourhood planning next to citizens: neighbourhood organizations, public officials, developers and 'others', which may include schools, businesses and social agencies. Having all these agents involved in planning, the political aspect and the importance of the process stand out. Knowing how the process works, who is important and what kind of objectives these stakeholders have are essential for the outcome of the neighbourhood planning process (i.e.: Barnett, 1995, p. 188; Jones, 1979, pp. xv-xviii; Friedman, 2002, pp. 153-154).

The goal in neighbourhood planning is mostly a plan with recommendations of how to improve a given area in the city (Jones, 1979, p. 6). A neighbourhood plan therefore shows consensus among stakeholders, while the plan should also be consistent with the comprehensive plan that is available for

the city. The plan is characterized by being a design that balances common and individual needs (Hester, 1984, p. 57). The reasons to set up a neighbourhood plan are multiple: as a guide for future development, to identify risks, or to justify requests or proposals for funding or services (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8). These reasons are in line with a lot of ideas within traditional, comprehensive plans, too. Neighbourhood planning should however be capable of better addressing certain problems. Rohe & Gates (1985, p. 176) point out in their research conclusion that neighbourhood planning brings a process that is more responsive to local values and preferences, with more local improvements, where there is an increase in political constituency for specific plans, and an increase in service delivery. Both Rohe & Gates (1985, p. 176) and Jones (1979, p. 70) point out the focus in plans on the physical and economic aspects of a neighbourhood. Neighbourhood plans thus focus on issues and problems in a certain territory of the city, with reflections of future desires and current risks of stakeholders in that area.

Although the outcome of a neighbourhood plan is important, today's focus is on the process too. The process within a neighbourhood plan should be a transparent, democratic procedure (Friedmann, 2002, p. 109). According to Berger (1997) and Jones (1979, pp. xv-xviii) important of an open process is that everyone involved is aware of the roles, relationships and objectives of participating stakeholders. Innes (1992) adds to this by stating that next to key stakeholders themselves, it is important in a group process that these stakeholders know what their task is, that they have access to essential information and that there are experts involved who can bridge the gap between technical and everyday knowledge. The way stakeholders are involved, is therefore important. Hester (1984, pp. 97-129) and Jones (1979, pp. 15-27) point out the same ways of involving citizens and other stakeholders in a neighbourhood planning process: town meetings, interviews, questionnaires, observations or other ways (e.g. activity logs). Rohe & Gates (1985, p. 176) show in the conclusions of their research that neighbourhood processes which are open lead to a modest increase in participation within a neighbourhood.

Neighbourhood planning in the US is thus seen as an open, democratic process in which different key agents are involved. The focus has shifted from a pure focus on health and poverty issues, to a more physical and economical view

of the neighbourhood. It brings local problems into the picture, by involving citizens and other stakeholders in a planning process. This should lead to more participation, but also to a clearer view of the future problems and current issues at hand on a local scale. Plans written under neighbourhood planning objectives should lead to written recommendations for the neighbourhood. These recommendations are supposed to be in line with the city's comprehensive plan, while it is also a way to justify requests for funds or services needed in the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood planning is therefore a democratic way for citizens to increase their involvement in local government (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8). This is also the reason the plan-formation process of the case studies are expected to take place not only with government officials, but with other stakeholders of the neighbourhood as well.

2.3 Concluding
2.3.1 Conceptual model

This part of the literature review shows how the different parts of the theory connect with each other. It is thus about the most important factors within this research and the relations which can be shown between this factors (Bryman, 2008, p. 143). These factors and relations between these factors are shown in a schematic way in figure 2.1. Within the conceptual model the (expected) relationships are shown, to give a clear image of what is being researched. This conceptual model is therefore a block that is formed by available theory (Bryman, 2008, p. 143).

Figure 2.2 Conceptual model
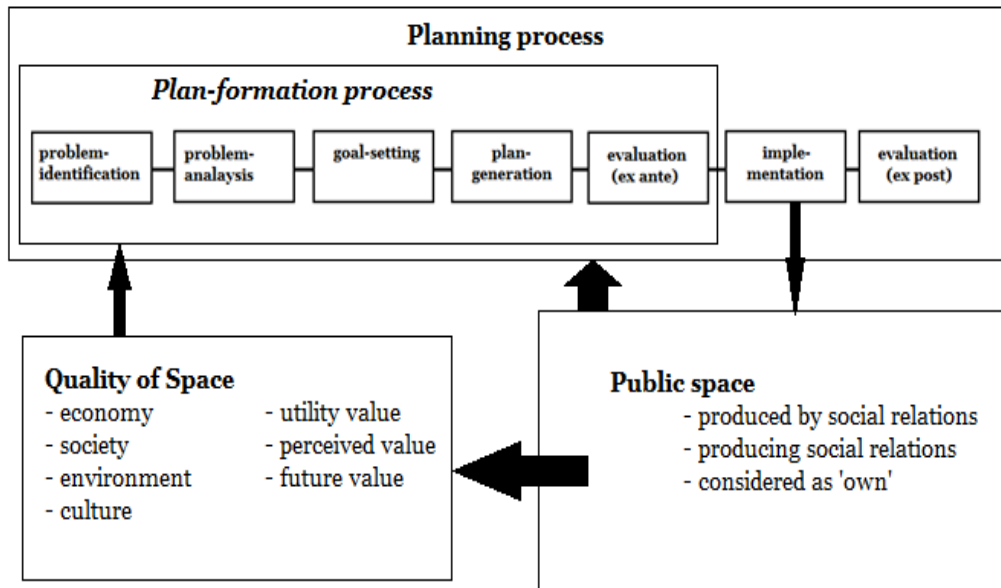
Based on: Chapter 2.1-2.2

The most important part of this research is obviously quality of space, which consists of the three principles of sustainable development (economy, society and environment) and culture. This is crossed with societal values of space: utility value, perceived value and future value. These crossings come to criteria on which we can judge public space: the space that is produced by and producing social relations. Since public space on a local scale is the space people consider as 'own', the focus often shifts to place. Quality of space and public space are closely interlinked because society and individuals can feel a certain way about a place: they can assign a certain quality to it. Since society is the core of (public) space and places, it is logical to also have societal values on the basis of the criteria of spatial quality.

Since society thinks a certain way of its public space, and therefore assigns quality to it, it is also within quality of space that problems occur. Since the criteria of quality of space are set up in such a broad way: from economy to culture, from utility value to future value; it is within spatial quality that problems are recognized. These problems or issues are the start of the planning process, and are especially addressed within the plan-formation process. It is therefore within this part of the planning process that (the criteria of) quality of space are being discussed upon. This link between problems/issues and the planning

process is also made between public space and the process, because public space is the space where the problems actually are.

The output of the plan-formation process is the plan, and therefore the implementation of the plan. This plan should lead to changes in public space, which therefore then (re-)starts the process again of having a problem in (public) space, experiencing a certain quality of space and these aspects influencing the (future) planning process once again. This way, all the aspects of the literature are discussed. Neighbourhood planning and the communicative turn in planning are left out of this conceptual model, because it would not add anything in understanding these relationships. These aspects of the literature review only show a certain context in which this kind of processes from issues in planning to changes in space take place.

It is in this research about the criteria of quality of space, and how these come up in a local planning process. By presenting this conceptual model it is easier to understand and to explore the relationships between the different factors (Bryman, 2008, p. 144). As seen in this conceptual model, there are different factors that mutually influence each other. The literature review of this chapter, and the (expected) relationships together are the start of the analysis, which is further elucidated in the following chapter (see Chapter 3).

2.3.2 Conclusion

Within this conclusion the factors of this study are being discussed in light of the main question. The main issues that were discussed within this chapter are lightly touched up upon, as to avoid repeating the whole conceptual model (see 2.3.1).

The factors which are leading in this research can be derived from the main question of this research: to what extent are the aspects of quality of space expressed during the planning process on local level? The main factors which are then coming up are the following:

- Public space;

- Quality of space;

- Plan-formation process;

- and neighbourhood planning.

Public space is the central kind of space being researched in this study; Lefebvre's (1991, p. 286) classic idea of space and social relations is being used. Public space, and therefore place, is always seen in relation to the specific context it is in. It is therefore hard to point out when a place is specifically 'good', because what is good is different in different contexts (Hayden, 1995, pp. 14-18; Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 5). It is however possible to come to different criteria for quality of space, especially when these criteria are derived from general ideas about society and sustainable development. This is why quality of space is therefore based on the social values of utility, perception, and future; and the 'triangle' of sustainable development of society, economy, and environment; and at last of culture. Culture is added to this mix of concepts because quality cannot be talked about without its social dependents and cultural values. The matrix presented in table 2.1 therefore shows the criteria of quality of space by crossing former concepts.

To understand what kind of role quality plays in the planning process, this research focuses on the plan-formation process. It is therefore about the steps of the planning process before implementation of the plan. It is logical to have the plan-formation process as the focal point for this research, because the outcome of the process is dependent on what is discussed within the process. The reason to focus on the local scale of the planning process is because the local scale is the scale where decisions upon public space are made. In the United States this is recognizable in neighbourhood planning. Within neighbourhood planning citizens and other stakeholders are involved in their neighbourhood, to come to a clearer view of the current situations and future issues. The plan-formation process is therefore not a closed process, but is open to other stakeholders as well.

The factors described above all have different aspects or criteria which are related to each other in a certain way, these relationships are already described in the previous part of this chapter: the conceptual model. To get all these factors together, and to answer the main question of this research, the next chapter is about the case studies and the way of analysis undertaken in this research.

Methodology

"Science is not about making predictions or performing experiments.

Science is about explaining"

– Bill Gaede

Within this chapter the questions what, how and why this research is been done are central (Boeije, 2005, p. 150). The connections presented in the conceptual model (see 2.3.1) are researched on the basis of qualitative research: 5 interviews are undertaken. The first sub chapter is therefore about the case-studies: what is case-study research, why is it important, which case-studies are chosen and why? Next to that, this part of the chapter also explains why and whom the interviews are done with. The sub-chapter after that is about the interviews themselves: why interviews, how was the set up and where did they take place? Next to that, it also explains a bit more about cross-cultural studies and the hardships of it. The part after that explains about the analysis of these interviews. The last part of this chapter is about the matrix presented to the respondents: the question was to put the criteria on the right place in the empty matrix. This part of the research shows more a quantitative way of approaching the criteria of quality of space and shows more about the use of criteria and if the matrix is indeed that useful as it seems to be. This paragraph has the goal to show the whole analysis, which is presented in the results.

3.1 Case-study

The reason to choose for case-studies in this particular research is because it is expected to advance the understanding of the use of the aspects of quality of space in a local planning process (Ghauri, 2004, p. 109). One case-study can already explain a lot about a certain phenomenon, because context is central in social science (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 9). Although there are 2 case-studies the goal is not to answer how the differences between the case-studies can be explained, but rather how the case-studies differ from the theory. The choice for 2 case-

studies is made because during the interviews of 1 case-study it appeared that another case-study was needed for a better understanding. It is therefore a research where it is examined whether a phenomenon that is recognized in one society, holds up in another (Pickvance, 2001). The phenomenon here is the use of "quality of space", which is split out in different aspects, as used in the Netherlands, and how this holds up in the United States. This research is part of a master thesis and therefore a learning process: case-study research offers a method of learning which offers an insight to context-dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Case-study research is a method chosen quite often in social research, because when studying human interaction it all depends on the context. Since the problem in this study is a context-dependent human affair: the way a phenomenon comes up in a process, this method will answer the questions asked. The starting point in this study is thus the observed differences in both societies, and not a search for similarities between the two case studies (Pickvance, 2001). The end point of this study is not a search for universality, but an explanation in terms of variation between the two contexts (theory versus case-studies) (Pickvance, 2001) According to Pickvance (2001) this means that the comparative analysis between case-studies and theory that is being performed in this study is a differentiating comparative analysis. Below is explained which case-studies were selected for this research, since well-chosen case studies can improve the ability of understanding (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 72).

3.1.1 Cases

The neighbourhoods being researched in this study are selected through a mix of convenience sampling and through information-oriented selection (Mann & Stewart, 2003, p. 27; Flyvbjerg, 2006). This means, that on the one hand, the cost and time available were important aspects to select certain cases. The cases that were eventually selected, however, are seen as representative for unravelling historical conditions and assume to have presence causation (Pickvance, 2001). This is because of the following conditions of the neighbourhoods: one of the cases is the oldest neighbourhood in Gainesville and the other is the newest specifically developed neighbourhood near the city (under direction of Alachua

County). Both these neighbourhoods are seen as having a high quality of space by the people in Gainesville and Alachua. The cases therefore are maximum variation cases: one really old neighbourhood, one really new neighbourhood; both being seen as having a high quality of space. By selecting maximum variation cases it is possible to obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case and process (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Although only one case was selected at the beginning of the research, it came apparent a second was needed to understand the quality of space better in development. Since the first choice of case-study was a rather old neighbourhood, the specific choice for a new development was made.

The first neighbourhood selected for this research is the Duckpond Neighbourhood in Gainesville (FL, USA). It is one of the oldest neighbourhood in the city, located northeast of downtown Gainesville. The neighbourhood is a predominantly residential area, which is named after a pond in the area. The neighbourhood is chosen because of its historical buildings, because the area is seen as having 'high quality', and because of the active neighbourhood association (DNA: Duckpond Neighborhood Association).

The second neighbourhood selected is that of Tioga Town in Alachua County (FL, USA). It is really close to Gainesville and was pointed out by all the interviewees of the Duckpond Neighbourhood as having a high quality of space. Next to that, the neighbourhood is one of the newest, successfully developed neighbourhoods in the region. The selection of the second case was mainly done because of the need for information on how "quality of space" comes up in the local process, since the one in the first case seemed to lack the inside being a really old and good taken care of neighbourhood.

These two case-studies together are seen as representative for the area and the subject of this research, especially because other neighbourhoods are not seen as having the same kind of spatial quality as these two neighbourhoods. Next to that, the different stages of development both neighbourhoods are in can show the broad spectrum quality of space can be recognized in. This is the reason it was not seen as necessary to select a third case study for this research.

3.1.2 Interviewees

The interviewees are chosen to give information from every case-study and the (planning-) process that was and is going on in the neighbourhoods. The choice for interviewees fell on one for the government for every case-study, since the government still plays an important role in planning in the US. This means that for the Duckpond neighbourhood the choice fell on a person of the planning department of the city of Gainesville, and for Tioga Town on a person from the planning department of Alachua County. Next to that, for the Duckpond neighbourhood the neighbourhood association plays an important role, so the president of the neighbourhood was interviewed. The Duckpond neighbourhood also had an architect/realtor living and working in the area, who was willing to help during the study by giving an interview. For Tioga Town, next to the government, the developer was interviewed. The neighbourhood itself did not have an active neighbourhood board just yet. An overview of all the interviewees is given in table 3.1 below. By having interviews with different actors involved in the neighbourhood that is discussed, it is possible to have different measures to capture the same construct (Van der Vijver & Leung, 1997, p. 55). This is important because interviewing just one party involved would not give a complete overview of the issue.

Table 3.1 Interviewees

A. Duckpond neighbourhood - Gainesville, FL	B. Tioga Town - Alachua County, FL
1 Planner and historic preservationist Gainesville	4 Development reviewer and planner Alachua County
2 President of the neighbourhood board	5 Developer
3 Architect/Realtor	

The reason to interview not more people involved in the planning process is that these interviewees all completed each other, and were already repeating each other in the subjects they mentioned as being important within the neighbourhood. It was therefore not seen as necessary to select more participants. For the Town of Tioga it was tried to contact one of the advisors that was involved in making the master plan for the neighbourhood, but it did not work out

to schedule an interview with this person. The information provided by both the developer and the planners within the county appeared to be cohesive with each other and completing the information about the process, since these parties were the most important parties within the planning process.

3.2 Interviews
3.2.1 In-depth interviewing

Within this sub-chapter the qualitative interviews are explained. The kind of interview that is performed in this research is the semi-structured interview, one of the two important types of interviews (Boeije, 2005, p. 57; Bryman, 2008, p. 436). The reason to choose an interview over for example a method like observing, is because mere observing is not possible (Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004, pp. 13-14). Within this research a certain situation is described; to see how the aspects of quality of space are (not) used within a plan-formation process. It is therefore not only about describing the situation, but also about why this is (not) happening (Boeije, 2005, p. 34). To give an answer to this, qualitative research in the form in-depth interviews are chosen to be the most complete (Boeije, 2005, p. 45). Marschan-Piekkari & Welch (2004, p. 6) and Ghauri (2004, p. 111) add to this that qualitative methods like interviewing are used to come in terms with the meaning of a phenomenon, not the frequency. Within this sub-chapter the structure of the research is being shown, so it is clear how the research is undertaken and how the analysis is done.

The in-depth interviews are semi-structured interviews, for which a topic list is being used (Boeije, 2005, p. 57; Bryman, 2008, p. 143). The reason to choose for a semi-structured interview is because on the one hand it takes care that all the aspects of the research are being discussed, while on the other hand the subjects for the participants are being decreased (Boeije, 2005, pp. 57-58). The topic list will therefore allow the interviewee to tell his/her story, while the information needed is obtained through the loose structure of the interview (Gubrium & Holstein, 2004, p. 41). Next to that, it will allow the interviewer to improvise and adapt during the interview: which is an intrinsic part of a research process (Wilkinson & Young, 2004, p. 207). The topic list will be the same for all

participants of the research, because they were all involved in the same plan-formation process. This way, with all participants all the aspects of the research are being discussed. While the head of a neighbourhood organization may look upon the process and aspects discussed differently than an official from the municipality, it is important to find out the full view on the topic from every interviewee. The topic list can be found in the appendix (see appendix A). The topic list is in big lines how the interview will take place: with main subjects (**bold**), which are the fixed form of the interview, and sub subjects, which should be discussed in the interview as well. These main subjects are in line with the conceptual model (presented in 2.3.1).

Subjects discussed during the interviews will take care that every subject that is important to answer the main question of this research will be discussed. By choosing a semi-structured form for the in-depth interviews the subjects can be recognized easily from the conceptual model, and are therefore easy to code and the different interviewees will be easier to compare (Bryman, 2008, pp. 437-440). The (expected) relations out of the conceptual model are therefore explained. The semi-structured interview has the advantage of giving flexibility to both the interviewer and the interviewee (Bryman, 2008, pp. 436-439; Gubrium & Holstein, 2004, p. 41). This flexibility will therefore take care of a certain freedom during the interview, so that for the interviewer it is possible to respond to the direction the interviewees are taking (Bryman, 2008, p. 437). This way the interviewer has the freedom to explore important issues when they come up during the interview (Bryman, 2008, p. 237). Important for the interviewer is that there should not be suggestive questions coming up. To avoid this, the 'trick' of summarizing long answers is being used, to check of the interpretation by the interviewer of the answers by the interviewees is correct (Bryman, 2008, p. 445). Other difficulties of conducting an interview, especially concerning cross-cultural interviewing, are being discussed in the next part of this sub chapter (see 'cross-cultural interviewing').

The interviews took place at places where the interviewees felt comfortable: from their offices to their own house. The interview with the developer of Tioga, however, took mostly place in a car: by driving to and

showing Tioga Town. The in-depth interviews are about a process that already took place and choices which are being made during these processes, it is therefore not expected that the chosen locations will influence the outcome of this research.

Before starting the interviews, a short introduction is given about the research to the interviewees. An explicit choice is being made to tell the interviewees that the process and the aspects of quality of space are central in this research, so that the interviewees would know where the focus of the interview would be (Bryman, 2008, p. 444). After this introduction the question is being asked if the interviewee would mind if the interview is being recorded, because it will raise the quality of the data collection (Boeije, 2005, pp. 60-61; Bryman, 2008, pp. 451-452). All participants answered 'no' to this questions, so all interviews but one were recorded. Since the developer of Tioga chose to ride the interviewer around during the interview to show what he was talking about, it was not possible to tape the interview: intensive notes were being made during the interview. Most interviews were thus recorded and next to that notes were being made during the interview: to point out remarkable answers and/or positions of the participants.

There were some problems with the taping of the interviews, so the first interview was not taped completely: the notes made during the interview were helpful to fill in the gaps. Another problem with recording interviews was with that of the interviews of the Town of Tioga: the interview with the developer took place in a car and outside, which made it impossible to record the interview: extensive notes were made (see appendix B). Next to that, it was not possible to schedule an interview with the planner of Alachua County, so that the questions asked and answered went through e-mail (see appendix B). Mann & Stewart (2003) point out that this should not be a problem, since it allows interviews to still have a one-to-one comparison. The hardship with interviewing and collecting data this way, however, is the fact that later or additional questions stayed unanswered. After an interview that was recorded this was being typed out as soon as possible (within 3 days). After this the transcriptions of the sound recording of the interviews were suitable of being analysed (Boeije, 2005, p. 61).

Every interview was about 30-45 minutes long, which was enough to collect the information necessary. The interviews are available in both recording and the transcription on the included appendix (see appendix B).

The in-depth interviews within this research are thus being done by semi-structured interviews on the basis of a topic list. The choice for this type of interviews is being made because of the flexibility it offers to both the interviewer and the interviewee (Bryman, 2008, pp. 436-439). By recording the interviews, the interviewer has the freedom to concentrate on the interview, and not on making notes during every answer. Further analysis of these interviews is being discussed in the next sub-chapter.

3.2.2 Cross-cultural interviewing

As mentioned in the previous part of this chapter, in-depth interviewing can have its difficulties (Bryman, 2008, p. 445). An extra difficulty within this research is the cultural aspect that plays a part when conducting cross-cultural interviews. The reason to undertake a research across cultures, is because it was expected to give a better insight in how other cultures than the Dutch planning culture handle "quality" in space. This is elaborated on by Marschan-Piekkari & Welch (2004, p. 8) who say that qualitative research across cultures shows a more holistic approach, answering "why" and "how" questions. The choice then fell on another western culture, where English would be the first language. This limited the possibilities of countries, while cultural differences were expected to be less big: the differences in spatial planning within Europe are already quite big, let alone comparing the Dutch planning culture and theories about quality criteria with for example an Asian, African or South-American country. After setting the criteria of "western" and "English-speaking", the choice for the USA and specifically Florida was made by cost and time convenience[2].

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[2] By given the opportunity through a EU – Atlantis scholarship to join the NEURUS-ICURD program 2012-2013

Cross-cultural research and interviewing means doing research, or conducting an interview, across cultural and national borders (Ryen, 2003, p. 430). Since the researcher is Dutch and the research is undertaken in the USA, this study is considered cross-cultural. The main problems in this research lay in more than just knowing a language. It is about the ways to use language, the meaning of words, pronunciation and sounds and (cultural) appropriate ways of communication (Ryen, 2003, pp. 436-438). People who use English as their second language will always use the language differently from people for whom English is their first (Ryen, 2003, pp. 436-438). It is important to keep this in mind, especially when conducting interviews. Interviews are the way of communicating in which it is important to secure a kind of interaction which allows more than just politeness in a short time (Ryen, 2003, p. 431).

It is important to anticipate on the problems that can come up doing cross-cultural interviews (Van der Vijver & Leung, 1997, pp. 42-51). Ways to overcome the difficulties overcoming these problems during the interviews that were conducted for this study are for example by translating the criteria of quality of space used from Dutch to the target language: English (Van der Vijver & Leung, 1997, pp. 42-51) (see appendices A and B). Next to that, the main question of this research was explained in the first contact by e-mail, and through verbal explanation at the beginning of the interview. This way, the number of alternative interpretations was limited (Van der Vijver & Leung, 1997, pp. 139-146). Also the researcher decided to clearly present herself as an outsider: by making clear she is Dutch, that she really wanted to understand the situation in the USA and by being positive about the way things in planning are undertaken in the USA. Especially this last thing was important, because it allowed the interviewees to respond more freely to the questions: the Netherlands is still famous about the way its spatial planning is set up. By representing herself as an outsider cultural differences could be better explained by context variables (Van der Vijver & Leung, 1997, pp. 139-146). By being an "outsider" it means that the researcher clearly is not a part of the group that is being studied: positions are needed for both parties during the interview, so that it is easier to develop a level of trust and cooperation (Mullings, 1999). Also the fact that a semi-structured

interview is being used, allows for both parties to develop a level of trust as well as obtaining the necessary information (Mullings, 1999).

Being an outsider of the planning and developing culture of the United States, the researcher still presented herself as being an expert in spatial planning, by the education she has in different contexts. This helped the interviewees to better understand why the researcher came up with the questions during the interview. Next to that, it also helped both parties to have the feeling they had something in common: by luck all interviewees have a background in planning or development. The problems and issues that can come up during cross-cultural interviewing are thus carefully considered before conducting the interviews. Of course conducting interviews in a cross-cultural context is also a matter of learning, where the last interview went better than the first.

3.3 Analysis
3.3.1 Interviews

In this paragraph it will be discussed how the analysis of the different interviews will take place. To analyze the different interviews, the different topics within the research are coded according to the topic list. The goal with coding is to recognize relations between codes and theory (Boeije, 2005, p. 83). It is logical to choose coding as a research method, because it brings the focus of the research to the terms that are used being the research (Bryman, 2008, p. 538). This way, a clear connection with the main question and the conceptual model can be made.

The research therefore is a narrative analysis in which the focus is on the stories which are told during the interviews (Bryman, 2008, p. 562). This differs from a discourse analysis, where the focus is more on how things are said and which words are being used (Bryman, 2008, p. 370). The kind of narrative analysis used in this research is the thematic analysis: a study after what is being said during the interview, and not after how this is being said (Bryman, 2008, pp. 553-557). This is important, to make it easier to compare the different interviewees on what is actually being told, and not on how they tell their story: the focus is on the content of their story. The recordings of the interviews were

transcribed after interviews and these transcriptions were used during the coding (transcriptions: see appendix B). This analysis and coding was conducted in different steps. Before the data collection took place a coding list is made along the conceptual model and the topic list (see figure 2.2; appendices C and E). By reading the transcriptions through 2 times after transcribing them it was possible to remember the conversations better and to actually code parts of the text (Bryman, 2008, pp. 557-560). The coding was done on paper, with different colours of markers. The coding has as goal to compare different subjects which came up in the interviews: by coding them they are easier to compare. This way the codes show an easy way to compare them with the conceptual model (Bryman, 2008, pp. 437-440).

Within this research the comparison on how the different respondents within one case think about their case is the most important part of the analysis (see table 3.2). The reason to concentrate on this kind of analysis, and not on a comparison of the two cases, is because what is central in this research is the comparison of the cases to the theory that stands in another society (Pickvance, 2001). By having more than one interview on one case it is possible to show a broader spectrum of the case. By eventually comparing the cases with each other, a broader analysis can be done. Within every part of the results chapter is explained which things are compared to each other.

Table 3.2 Analysis

	Others		
Government officials	**Duckpond – Respondent 2**	**Duckpond – Respondent 3**	**Tioga Town – Respondent 5**
Duckpond – Respondent 1			■■■
Tioga Town – Respondent 4	■■■		

During the analysis other subjects came up which were not recognizable within the conceptual model just yet. These subjects got their own code and are showed in the coding list of the appendix (see appendix C). These codes take care of the

fact that the pieces of text in the transcriptions are separated from each other, but at the same time can create a synthesis with the same code from another transcription (Boeije, 2005, p. 64). The different pieces of the analysis are divided by the following main subjects: neighbourhood planning, plan-formation process, quality of space. Within the different subchapters a connection with the available literature can be easily made, since the main subjects reflect back to the conceptual model. A strong comparison can therefore be made. The results chapter will be ended with a conclusion, so that an even stronger connection can be made between theory and practice. This will result in an easier way to give an answer to the main question in the last part of this research: the use of the aspects of quality of space within a local planning process.

The reason to choose for a narrative thematic analysis within this research is because it is important to observe what is being said (Bryman, 2008, pp. 553-557). Next to that coding is being used because that is often use by this kind of research (Boeije, 2005, pp. 437-440; Bryman, 2008, pp. 557-560). The most important analysis within this research is the analysis of the different interviews within the different cases, to compare how the different actors think about the local process and the use of the aspects of quality of space.

3.3.2 Matrix

To extend the qualitative research being undertaken by the in-depth interviews, the respondents were also asked to answer another question. Before the interviews were done different conversations took place with scholars within the planning department of different universities and one of the comments was the matrix itself. The question that came up was how the matrix would be used by people who had never seen it before. Van der Vijver & Keung (1997, p. 8) already warned that a comparison cannot be made when an instrument measures different constructs in two cultures. This is the reason the research was extended by presenting the matrix with the criteria empty to the respondents (see table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Empty Matrix

	Economy	Society	Environment	Culture
Utility value				
Perceived value				
Future value				

The matrix was presented with the 'original' loose words cut out next to it, and the respondents got the question to put the loose words at the places they thought the words belonged to. There are 4 respondents who were able to do this at the end of every interview: because of time and convenience constraints. By taking pictures of how the matrix was filled out by the respondents it is possible to start to analyse these matrixes with each other (see appendix B). The analysis made is comparing the matrixes with the original matrix and see which words the respondents were not able to place in the matrix, and to see how the words they did put in the matrix differed from the real matrix. A score can be given in the following way: +1 for a "perfect fit", -3 if not placed correctly at all and a -2 if being situated in the right row and a -1 if being situated in the right column, and 0 if not placed at all. This way every word can be compared to real matrix: can the respondents put them in the same positions as the scholars who designed the matrix did? An emphasis is hereby put on the scores with a 0 and +1: not placed at all and perfect fit.

Although the outcomes will not be significant, since only 4 respondents answered to the question of doing this, it will give a good insight. It will give an insight in which criteria that are used in the matrix are not familiar to the respondents, and how they would use the criteria and put them in the matrix. Goal is not to modify, extend or adjust the matrix within this research but rather to see if any of these things are necessary for the matrix, or that the matrix could be extensively used outside of its context without adjusting it. This way a more quantitative way of research is connected to the qualitative part of the in-depth interviews.

"'Google' is not a synonym for 'research'"

– Dan Brown

Within this chapter of the study the results of the analysis are presented. As described within chapter 3 there were 5 interviews being held and analyzed. The transcriptions of the interviews, as well as the recordings, are to find in appendix B. The analysis of these interviews is divided in neighbourhood planning, plan-formation process and quality of space. These are the parts which can be found in the conceptual model, as presented in paragraph 2.3.1 – figure 2.2. This chapter will first discuss the case-study of Duckpond neighbourhood, then that of the Town of Tioga and at the latest the matrix. This way the chapter is presented in a consistent way.

The first part the different case-studies are about neighbourhood planning. The reason to choose for this subject is because it is seen as an important part of the American spatial planning tradition (Hester, 1984, p. 4-5; Rohe & Gates, 1985, p. 4-5). It is important to describe what is actually being done within the government and what the goals are of the plans being made (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8). After this the plan-formation process itself is being described: who are the key agents involved in this process and what was the function of the process? It is important to show this in separate paragraph, because it is one of the key parts of this research: it explains in what kind of context spatial quality is discussed. The third sub-chapter is about quality of space: the kind of subjects discussed within the plan-formation process. These subjects might show certain goals in planning, in both content and purpose. The last paragraph of each sub-chapter will show a short overview of the results presented in that part of the results. The sub-chapter after the case studies is about the empty matrix presented to 4 respondents: to give an answer on if the matrix can be put in a different context or not, or if the criteria set in the matrix are completely off. By connecting these sub-chapters

with each other it is easier to give an answer on the main question of this study: To what extend are the criteria of quality of space expressed during the planning process on local level?

4.1 Neighbourhood planning

Within this sub-chapter it is about the "what" of the spatial planning in a certain case. The kind of planning on a local level is important to figure out, so that it is logical in what kind of setting the object of the plan is discussed. This setting is discussed along the history of plan making, the comprehensive plan and the process that eventually developed. Next to that, the goals within the local process are discussed: was there a need for a guide for future development, was it about identifying risks, or was the process about the justification of requests or proposals for funding and/or services (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8). The reason to choose for this way of approaching the cases is because it can give an explanation about how spatial quality can come up within the plan-formation process. The interviews with the government officials will be the basis of the analysis and where necessary will be completed with the interviews of the persons outside of the city/county. The last paragraph will show an overview of the different goals of the local planning and the differences in the approach.

4.1.1 Duckpond Neighbourhood

The Duckpond neighbourhood is not a planned neighbourhood, but is grown as an organic development (respondent 1, appendix B). This means that the neighbourhood has grown and evolved over time (respondent 3, appendix B). At this moment there is a comprehensive plan in Gainesville (FL, USA) and that is what the neighbourhood connects to a planning process: in the neighbourhood itself is no process going on. The Neighbourhood Association (NA) therefore only politically organizes itself when it wants to have a certain program or a development in the neighbourhood (respondent 1, appendix B). This is confirmed by the president of the Neighbourhood Association, who states that there is not much communication going at all (respondent 2, appendix B). This means that

there are things happening in and around the neighbourhood, but that the city keeps in charge of how this relates to the comprehensive plan. Spatial planning is seen as a public policy, where neighbourhoods are not involved in the process of making plans (respondent 1, appendix B).

What can clearly be recognized, though, is the way that the Neighbourhood Association makes itself important by contacting the municipality itself when they see current problems in the neighbourhood (respondent 2, appendix B). This is confirmed by the city itself, who states that the NA really intervenes sometimes in the process that is going on within the comprehensive plan (respondent 1, appendix B). However, the NA gets invited when there are meetings informing people of the neighbourhood about developments that go on in the neighbourhood. That means that the comprehensive plan is more about the identification of risks and as a guide to future development, city-wide, where as an opposite from within the neighbourhood the things going focus more on having justification for proposals on funds and services.

There is thus not much of a local process going on in the Duckpond neighbourhood, other than what would be expected reading the literature about neighbourhood planning the USA (Hester, 1984, p. 4-5; Rohe & Gates, 1985, p. 4-5). The lack of a real neighbourhood plan and/or local process might be explained by the neighbourhood being an old neighbourhood. The neighbourhood was one of the suburbs which only came up because of utilitarian needs (respondent 1, appendix B). Nowadays the focus of the NA is on intervening on a political level when they do not agree with, or when they need something from the city, this means that the goal of the process that is going on mostly focuses on a justification for proposals on funds and services.

4.1.2 Town of Tioga

For the Town of Tioga the master plan was made to fit the ideas of the comprehensive plan of Alachua County. As a development by a private developer the plan needed to fit into the ideas the county had for their new residential areas. The proposal of the master plan, that was approved to be carried out in 1994, showed an innovative design (respondent 4, appendix B). The Town of Tioga was developed as being a natural progression of Gainesville, though under direction of Alachua County (respondent 5, appendix B). The process for the development of the Town of Tioga mostly focused on the developer having to market his plan, through academia and eventually at the county (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B).

The Town of Tioga is situated on the urban fringe, and had the limitation of having to be approved along the comprehensive plan of the county (respondent 5, appendix B). The county set up a covenant to work from, and certain restrictions for the developer to work with (respondent 4, appendix B). This means that the master plan for the Town of Tioga had the clear goal to be a proposal for later funding/services and therefore justify the request of developing the area (respondent 5, appendix B) (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8). The master plan was made to develop an area on the urban fringe which was, until then, only a division of agricultural lots. The Town of Tioga was thus developed from the master plan, which therefore really functioned as a guide for future development until today (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B).

Having a master plan and having a clear connection to the comprehensive plan of the county, the Town of Tioga developed itself on the urban fringe of the city. The developer had to have the approval of the county to develop the area (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B). This means that the master plan had two clear goals: it was a proposal while at the same time a clear guide for future development.

4.1.3 Overview

Within this overview a short comparison will be made between the case studies considering neighbourhood planning: what is actually being done? And what are the goals of the process?

As shown in table 4.1 "what is actually being done" within the two neighbourhoods shows that there is a distinctive difference between the neighbourhoods. For the Duckpond neighbourhood there never was a clear plan, because it is grown as an organic development. There is no official planning process going on in the neighbourhood, although there are parties who concern themselves with the neighbourhood. The Town of Tioga shows a completely different way of planning, where a private developer had the initiative to develop the area into a neighbourhood with both residential and non-residential use. The Duckpond neighbourhood is therefore one of the oldest neighbourhoods, and first suburb, where Tioga actually is one of the newer suburbs outside of the city limits and in the county.

Both the neighbourhoods had a clear reference to the comprehensive plan, where the Duckpond neighbourhood is included in the plan and the Town of Tioga is developed according to requirements in the comprehensive plan (see table 4.1). The Duckpond neighbourhood is therefore under influence of the comprehensive plan, which is both a guide for future (re-)development and being used as identification for risks within the city (see table 4.1). The Town of Tioga, as mentioned before, is in line with the comprehensive plan of Alachua County. The process for Duckpond therefore merely concentrates on little communication form the city to the NA and individuals about projects and developments, and from the NA to the city for a justification for requests and proposals for funds and services (see table 4.1). The Town of Tioga, however, shows a whole own master plan and therefore in itself had a clear goal to a guide to future development, as well as a justification for requests on services and a proposal that had to be approved (see table 4.1)

Table 4.1 Overview neighbourhood planning

Government officials	Others		
	Duckpond – Respondent 2	**Duckpond – Respondent 3**	**Tioga Town – Respondent 5**
Duckpond – Respondent 1	No process, organic development Comprehensive plan, goal: guide for future (re-) development, identifying risks NA: justify requests – proposals for funding and services (focus on current problems)		
Tioga Town – Respondent 4			Developer initiator In line with comprehensive plan Guide for future development – Justify request and proposal for funding services

It is important to recognize the different goals of the process that is going on within a neighbourhood, and between the neighbourhoods of Tioga and Duckpond are clear differences to recognize. It is logical that the process and the goal of the process differences between the neighbourhoods, since every process concentrates on different issues and problems in a certain territory (Rohe & Gates, 1985, p. 176; and Jones, 1979, p. 70). Neighbourhood plans thus focus on issues and problems in a certain territory of the city, with reflections of future desires and current risks of stakeholders in that area.

An explanation that can be given for the clear differences between Tioga and Duckpond is the fact that they are both in a different stage of development: Tioga is a recent and quite new development, where Duckpond is there for years already. It is logical the process within the neighbourhoods have a completely different goal, because the problems and the background in the neighbourhoods are completely different.

4.2 Plan-formation process

Within this sub-chapter it is about the "how" of the plan-formation process: how is the process structured and which other parties are involved? It is important to show how this process evolves, so that differences can be easily shown. When there is a real process to get to a plan, you would expect to recognize the steps of the planning process (Spit & Zoete, 2006, pp. 86-89). By showing which key agents are involved in the process and what kind of role they play within local planning, it can be shown which parties are important and why. The role of the process is pointed out by the 8 functions Palermo & Ponzini (2010, pp. 85-88) recognized (as shown in 2.2.2). First the two cases are shown separately, and after that an overview is given to compare the two cases with each other.

4.2.1 Duckpond Neighbourhood

As mentioned in paragraph 4.1.1 spatial planning in Gainesville (FL, USA) is considered to be public policy and should be done by the city. According to the city, therefore, the main agent in the neighbourhood considering planning is the city and the Neighbourhood Association has only a very limited role. When talking to the president of the NA and to a local realtor, however, other important agents within the neighbourhood can be recognized. Of course, the NA is seen as important because of their position within the neighbourhood, especially because the NA is consisting of only voluntary positions (respondent 3, appendix B). Concerned with the public space within the neighbourhood, which is the central topic in this research, it is the city which mainly focuses on historic preservation in the neighbourhood (respondent 2, appendix B). This means the city really clearly functions as a regulator, where the city preservation planner is the main point of contact for individuals in the neighbourhood. Relating back to the public space within the neighbourhood, it is not only the city which is an important agent. Both the Roper Park Committee, a city-owned NGO, and the Thomas Centre Associates, which you can join by paying dues, are involved in public space in the neighbourhood (respondent 2, appendix B). These agents are involved in developing or maintaining the two most important public spaces within the neighbourhood: Roper Park and the Thomas Centre, in which the

departments of the city are situated as well (respondent 2, appendix B). The last key agent to mention, of which it could not be confirmed if it still important today, is Historic Gainesville Incorporated which acted as a force in (re-)development of the neighbourhood in the 1970s (respondent 3, appendix B).

The process, which is close to non-existing, concerning Duckpond neighbourhood can merely be seen as a predetermined ritual, where the goal is not to have opposition from the NA (respondent 1, respondent 2, appendix B) (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8). It can also be recognized that the city wants to have guidance from or focus attention to the planning process or development projects, which is more a symbolic way of the right to citizenship that is created by the city (respondent 3, appendix B) (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8). The NA gets invited for events where information is spread about the developments that are going on, which only endorses the idea that this meetings are merely designed as a predetermined ritual, where the spread of knowledge is seen as important. It is not that much about exchanging information in both directions, but only one-sided information which can be taken in (respondent 2, appendix 2).

The key agents that can be recognized within the neighbourhood are thus the city of Gainesville, the neighbourhood association and especially considering the public space of the city the Roper Park Committee and the Thomas Centre Associates. The function of all these agents within the process, if any, can mostly be seen as a predetermined ritual, which should lead to a (one-way) spread of knowledge and shows a symbolic right to citizenship.

4.2.2 Town of Tioga

As the Town of Tioga clearly developed from a master plan, the initiative was at the private developer (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B). This means that the private developer had to market is plan at the county to be approved (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix). The private developer and the county are thus the main key agents that can be identified within the process of developing the Town of Tioga. Since the neighbourhood is a completely new development it is not possible to recognize any neighbourhood organizations being active within

the development process, although that is one of the key agents expected (Jones, 1979, p. 5). To overcome this lack of local influence, the developer set up several meetings with neighbouring individuals, to tell to story of the development and to have some workshops (respondent 4, appendix B). Next to that, the plan needed some marketing before it could be approved. The help of academia as consultants leaded to having intellectuals giving the plan a status before approval (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B). Not only the county, but also realtors needed the persuasion of marketing to believe in the project (respondent 5, appendix B). Since the development of the Town of Tioga does not only exist of residential uses, the development depends on another kind of actors as well. Other agents include a day-care, medical office, fitness centre, school, and a hotel (respondent 5, appendix B).

The main function of setting up the proposal and eventually the master plan of the neighbourhood was to get to an approval of the county to develop the area. It therefore clearly was intended to come to consensus within a predetermined ritual (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8). By informing neighbours of the project, and by informing realtors and the county about the project, mostly through academia, the spread of knowledge was also an important function of the project. Since the project depends not only on residential use, the (ongoing) development of the Town of Tioga really depends on a synergy between especially the developer and other agents. This way, the neighbourhood really shows that the network of actors on which it depends is also an important function of the development process.

The key agents for the Town of Tioga are thus the private developer, Alachua County, academia functioning as consultants, realtors and others as a school and fitness centre. All these agents together take care of a kind of synergy, so that the function of the process as a network of actors is still really important. The beginning of the process for the Town of Tioga had two other functions, especially being a predetermined ritual to get the plan approved and the spread of knowledge about the development itself.

4.2.3 Overview

Within this overview the key agents and the function of the process within both neighbourhoods is given (see table 4.2). The key agents within neighbourhood planning can vary from neighbourhood associations, public officials, developers and 'others' (Jones, 1979, p. 5). And the function of a process within neighbourhood planning are the spread of knowledge, network of actors, strengthen relationships, improve social capital, void in "civic culture", right to citizenship (symbolic) and as a predetermined ritual (consensus) (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8). It is important to recognize both these aspects of the process, because it could explain the focus on different criteria within the process (i.e.: Barnett, 1995, p. 188; Jones, 1979, pp. xv-xviii; Friedman, 2002, pp. 153-154).

The Duckpond Neighbourhood does not have a clear plan-formation process that is currently happening, but there is still a process where different agents are concerned and focussing on current problems within the neighbourhood. The city of Gainesville is the main actor, but within the neighbourhood different organisations concern themselves with the public space: not only the Duckpond Neighbourhood Association, but also the Roper Park Committee and the Thomas Centre Associates concern themselves with the open space. This is completely different from what has happened, and is ongoing, within the Town of Tioga, where a private developer is the main key agent. Next to that, Alachua County is an important agent, next to academia at the early stages of the development. That academia was involved is logical, since you need expert knowledge to bridge the gap to every day knowledge (Innes, 1992). Realtors needed persuasion to believe in the neighbourhood and are still involved in further development. Next to that, for the non-residential areas of the neighbourhood, there are other agents which can be seen, from a school to a fitness centre. It is logical these agents differ so much with the both neighbourhoods, because of the need and capacity of certain stakeholders to acts as change agents (Daffara, 2011).

Comparing the neighbourhoods in functions of the process that is going on within the neighbourhoods, it is clear that both neighbourhoods depend on a predetermined ritual with the NA and the city and the private developer and the

county. The spread of knowledge is seen as important as well, although in Duckpond it is about current (re-)developments that could affect the neighbourhood, and for Tioga the spread of knowledge was especially important the beginning the development. A different function for the Duckpond neighbourhood is that of a symbolic right of citizenship, where the NA and individuals in the neighbourhood can show that they are a part of city as well. An ongoing function for the Town of Tioga however is that of a network of actors, which is important for the beginning as well as the continuation of the development of the neighbourhood. The functions for the neighbourhoods are not mutually exclusive and one might be more 'active' in a certain point of the process than another. It is important to understand the function so that the way of communication within the process can be better understood. It depends on the agents involved in the process, and how they were involved in the process, what kind of end a process has (Innes, 1992).

The key agents in both neighbourhoods mainly have a role in relation to the government, where the government determines a predetermined ritual. It is logical that within Duckpond the other agents have a symbolic role, in which they are sometimes informed, because the neighbourhood is not undergoing any (big) changes. An explanation why within the Town of Tioga the different agents have a different synergy, is because it is a new project developed out of a master plan. Every different territory asks for a different set of agents and the agents themselves should be able to bridge the gap between expert and every day knowledge with information provided (Innes, 1992).

Table 4.2 Overview plan-formation process

Government officials	Others		
	Duckpond – **Respondent 2**	**Duckpond** – **Respondent 3**	**Tioga Town** – **Respondent 5**
Duckpond – **Respondent 1**	City of Gainesville, Duckpond Neighbourhood Association, Roper Park committee, Thomas Centre Associates Predetermined ritual (consensus) – right to citizenship (symbolic) – spread of knowledge		■■■
Tioga Town – **Respondent 4**	■■■		Private developer, Alachua County, Academia, Realtors, others (individuals, school, hotel, medical office, day-care, fitness centre etc.) Predetermined ritual (consensus) – network of actors – spread of knowledge

4.3 Quality of Space

Within this subchapter it is about which criteria of quality of space actually came up during the planning process. The goal is to compare the criteria set up in the matrix of Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007, p. 38) with what is mentioned and discussed during the processes of the cases of Duckpond neighbourhood and the Town of Tioga. The paragraph therefore explains how spatial quality can be recognized without mentioning the concept of spatial quality. The last part of this subchapter is the overview paragraph, in which the two cases are compared to each other.

4.3.1 Duckpond Neighbourhood

To understand which criteria of quality of space are important within the neighbourhood, it is important to understand the relationship of the neighbourhood to the comprehensive plan within the city. Especially within the comprehensive plan a greater attention is given to space, and not only a focus on minimal requirements anymore (respondent 1, appendix B). For the city the main focus within Duckpond neighbourhood are the rules considering the historic background of the neighbourhood and the fact that structures and integrity should be maintained (respondent 1, appendix B). This is confirmed by the president of the NA, who states that the parks, restoring of houses, pedestrian network and water quality are important subjects discussed within the neighbourhood (respondent 2, appendix B).

To further work out the criteria of quality of space the same structure is chosen as was for the explanation of the criteria in paragraph 2.1.3. These criteria can be recognized in the local process in the following way (as shown in table 4.3):

o **Utility value**, and:
  - **Economy**: all these factors do not seem to be a factor of interest in the neighbourhood, they did not come up during the interviews about the neighbourhood;
  - **Society**: *Accessibility*, seen as social justice, is not a big issue in the neighbourhood, where *distribution* about maintaining and developing is a subject actively discussed (respondent 1, respondent 2, appendix B), *participation* and *choice* in relation to social freedoms can be recognized within the neighbourhood, especially concerning the neighbourhood events (respondent 2, appendix B);
  - **Environment**: *Safety/nuisance* is a point of discussion within the subject of the sidewalks, one- or two-way streets and the transportation choices/automobile use that are important subject within the neighbourhood (respondent 1, respondent 2, respondent 3, appendix B), *pollution/contamination* issues especially relating to the Duckpond itself were an important subject of discussion within the NA especially

(respondent 2, appendix B), and both *drying out (of grounds)* and *fragmentation* are connected to this issue on a higher scale (respondent 2, appendix B);

- **Culture**: *Freedom of choice* for the individual does not seem to be a object of discussion, where *diversity* within the neighbourhood especially is focused on the different kind of people living in the neighbourhood, and not so much about cultural or recreational spaces – as how it is defined within the literature – (respondent 3, appendix B), and *encounters* is a subject relating to especially to two subjects under interest: the homeless people 'living' in the centre and the Thomas Centre (respondent 2, respondent 3, appendix B).

o **Perceived value**, and:

- **Economy**: *Reputation* and *attractiveness* are subjects that would be clearly present in the neighbourhood, if these words were not about economy (respondent 2, respondent 3, appendix B), this is why the words are presented in a grey box in table 2.3. Since there are close to non economic activities happening in Duckpond itself, these aspects cannot be assigned to the neighbourhood;

- **Society**: *Inequality*, when talking about chances, is not a subject that came up as important within the neighbourhood, *connectivity* is certainly a point of attention in the neighbourhood by the focus on events in the park and the cultural aspects of the Thomas Centre (respondent 2, respondent 3, appendix B), where *safety* and feeling safe in the neighbourhood is a subject that is discussed (especially concerning the homeless people in downtown), but not as much because it is seen as a divisive subject (respondent 2, appendix B);

- **Environment**: *Space/serenity* of nature areas is not a subject of discussion within the neighbourhood, where *beauty* mainly concerns the aesthetics of the park(s) in the neighbourhood (respondent 2, respondent 3, appendix B), *health* seen as the risks for the society did not seem to be an issue of discussion;

- **Culture**: *Authenticity* is a subject of discussion especially concerning the preservation of the houses (respondent 1, respondent 2, respondent 3,

appendix B), where *beauty* in terms of cultural expression did not come up as a topic of discussion, and *contrast* is a subject in terms of the NA wanting to express the neighbourhood as being different and the clear focus on the historic aspects of the neighbourhood at the city (respondent 1, respondent 2, respondent 3, appendix B).

o **Future value**, and:

- **Economy**: The issues within this part of the criteria are not recognized as subjects important within the neighbourhood;

- **Society**: *Enclosure* is about distributions through society on a bigger than just local scale and is not seen as a subject of a discussion, *cultures of poverty* come up with the linking of the homeless people to the neighbourhood and the diversity of people the neighbourhood itself shows (respondent 2, respondent 3, appendix B);

- **Environment**: *Supplies* were a subject of discussion especially when talking about water issues in the neighbourhood (respondent 2, appendix B), which also relates to the *ecosystem* Duckpond is a part of and thus the recognition that some sources are not replaceable;

- **Culture**: *Heritage* is about the preservation of cultural heritage and is therefore in all its aspects really important in and for the Duckpond neighbourhood (respondent 1, respondent 2, respondent 3, appendix B), *integration* and *renewal* however do not seem to be objects which are really coming up discussing the neighbourhood.

To show all these criteria in the matrix, table 4.3 is drawn up. The black boxes show the issues that do not seem to be an issue within the process that is concerned with the public space in the neighbourhood, the grey boxes show the subjects that might be important for the neighbourhood but on which a clear decision cannot be made and the white boxes show the criteria which are important for the neighbourhood.

Table 4.3 Criteria and Duckpond neighbourhood

	Economy	**Society**	**Environment**	**Culture**
Utility value	Allocation-efficiency	Accessibility	Safety, nuisance	Freedom of choice
	Accessibility	Distribution	Pollution, contamination	Diversity
	External effects	Participation	Drying out (of grounds)	Encounters
	Multi-purpose	Choice	Fragmentation	
Perceived value	Reputation	Inequality	Space, serenity	Authenticity
	Attractiveness	Connectivity	Beauty	Beauty
		Safety	Health	Contrast
Future value	Stability/flexibility	Enclosure	Supplies	Heritage
	Agglomeration	Cultures of poverty	Ecosystems	Integration
	Cumulative attraction			Renewal

4.3.2 Town of Tioga

The Town of Tioga has a clear process and is a development in which a certain attention to the criteria of quality of space is paid. Within this part it is shown which criteria of spatial quality were important during the ongoing process of the development of the neighbourhood. Since both the comprehensive plan of the county and the master plan of the developer showed the ambition to mix both residential as non-residential uses, the area is designed to complement both uses (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B). The goal for the developer within this mix of uses was not only keeping the natural features of the agricultural lots, but also develop the area in an efficient way: having 1 block and 1 entrance, and therefore a diversification in houses and social classes (respondent 5, appendix B).

To further work out the criteria of quality of space the same structure is chosen as was for the explanation of the criteria in paragraph 2.1.3. These criteria can be recognized in the local process in the following way (as shown in table 4.4):

- o **Utility value**, and:
  - **Economy**: *Allocation-efficiency* and *accessibility*, about site and situation characteristics, were clearly a subject within the Town of Tioga: the position of the streets and esplanade within the development, but also the placement of the non-residential area has been well thought-ought (respondent 5, appendix B), *external effects* and *multi-purpose* come back within the neighbourhood by the thought of the functions of residential and non-residential and how these influence each other: in both function and inter-action patterns (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B);
  - **Society**: *Accessibility* comes back in the term of social justice by having various lot sizes and different houses available within the neighbourhood, and by having access for everyone within the neighbourhood to the facilities provided (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B), and *distribution* is, especially because the neighbourhood was a new development, an aspect certainly discussed (respondent 5, appendix B), where *participation* and *choice* are coloured grey in the table, to show that the social freedoms and the opportunities might be an issue within the neighbourhood, but that it cannot certain enough be said if they are or not;
  - **Environment**: *Safety/nuisance* is an issue within the neighbourhood, considering the speed bumps that were installed in the streets and the way the curves and crooks were set up (respondent 5, appendix B), *pollution/contamination* issues were a concern in the neighbourhood thinking about sewage and water retention (respondent 5, appendix B), and both *drying out (of grounds)* and *fragmentation* are well thought off through the way the new roads and houses were set up and again the water retention shows a clear focus on these aspects (respondent 5, appendix B);
  - **Culture**: *Freedom of choice* for individuals is well thought off in the form of the houses that can be built on the property (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B), *diversity* is seen in the development through the developments and through the recreational options (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B), and *encounters* is an issue by having access to

the certain locations by all the neighbourhoods (respondent 5, appendix B).

- o **Perceived value**, and:
  - **Economy**: *Reputation* of the Town of Tioga comes up especially through the network of actors that is central to the development (respondent 5, appendix B), *attractiveness* is also closely related to this: having both the residential and non-residential parts of the neighbourhood (respondent 5, appendix B);
  - **Society**: *Inequality* does not seem to be a big issue in the Town of Tioga, *connectivity* within the neighbourhood is important, but the outsides of the neighbourhood do not seem to be connected that much (respondent 5, appendix B), *safety* has been and is an issue in the neighbourhood, by the way of designing the streets and alleyways (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix B);
  - **Environment**: *Space/serenity* is considered in the area by keeping the original features as tree lines within the neighbourhood, and by designing certain open areas (respondent 5, appendix B), these are also the reason why *beauty* has been considered within the neighbourhood, and *health* as considered as a risk for society does not seem to be an issue during the development of the neighbourhood;
  - **Culture**: *Authenticity* people within the neighbourhood have by the opportunity to develop their house, and *beauty* is closely linked to that (respondent 5, appendix B), at last *contrast* shows in the neighbourhood by the development of the houses itself, but also by the idea of Seaside – which depended on the sea in its development – where Tioga concentrates in its existing tree lines within the development (respondent 5, appendix B).
- o **Future value**, and:
  - **Economy**: *Stability/flexibility* of the neighbourhood is showing by the opening to other businesses and by developing the neighbourhood step by step (respondent 5, appendix B), *agglomeration* is shown by especially the non-residential use of the area, in which a big variation of businesses can be seen (respondent 5, appendix B), *cumulative attraction* is shown

through the events going on in the non-residential part of the neighbourhood and the parks in the residential part of the neighbourhood (respondent 5, appendix B);

- **Society**: Both *enclosure* and *cultures of* poverty cannot be easily recognized within the neighbourhood, but it can't certainly be said that they have not been a part of the process (respondent 4, respondent 5, appendix);

- **Environment**: Both *supplies* and *ecosystems* are considered within the neighbourhood by the trees that are kept and worked around and by the water retention in the area, (respondent 5, appendix B);

- **Culture**: *Heritage* is clearly shown in the neighbourhood by keeping the old treelines of the agricultural lots (respondent 5, appendix B), *integration* is also closely linked to this, because the neighbourhood was a completely new development in an agricultural area (respondent 5, appendix B), *renewal* however does not seem to be so much of a consideration, especially because the whole neighbourhood is new already.

To show all these criteria in the matrix, table 4.4 is drawn up. The black boxes show the issues that do not seem to be an issue within the process that is concerned with the public space in the neighbourhood, the grey boxes show the subjects that might be important for the neighbourhood but on which a clear decision cannot be made and the white boxes show the criteria which are important for the neighbourhood.

Table 4.4 Criteria and Town of Tioga

	Economy	**Society**	**Environment**	**Culture**
Utility value	Allocation-efficiency	Accessibility	Safety, nuisance	Freedom of choice
	Accessibility	Distribution	Pollution, contamination	Diversity
	External effects	Participation	Drying out (of grounds)	Encounters
	Multi-purpose	Choice	Fragmentation	
Perceived value	Reputation	Inequality	Space, serenity	Authenticity
	Attractiveness	Connectivity	Beauty	Beauty
		Safety	Health	Contrast
Future value	Stability/flexibility	Enclosure	Supplies	Heritage
	Agglomeration	Cultures of poverty	Ecosystems	Integration
	Cumulative attraction			Renewal

4.3.3 Overview

When talking about the criteria of spatial quality it is in this research about public space and the local process. Both neighbourhoods, Duckpond and Tioga, show a certain emphasis on the criteria of quality of space. Not always a criteria itself is specifically mentioned within the interviews, but the criteria can be recognized within the subjects discussed. The goal is not to describe every difference between the two cases, since the goal of this research is not to compare the cases in such depth. But the main differences are shown through comparing the two tables on their crossings: economy, society, environment and culture vs. utility, perceived and future values (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, pp. 17-28).

To give an example of how an in-depth comparison would be made, the following example is being sketched out: "space/ serenity" in nature areas, one of the criteria of the crossing perceived value – environment (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, pp. 17-38). In Duckpond this is not an issue because there are no natural areas in the city, although the parks are actively discussed. When taking the subject to Tioga it is an issue, because great efforts were being made to keep an hold of the original natural features of the lots and to have certain open spaces

(respondent 5, appendix B). It is important to realize that this kind of comparison will not explain to what extend the criteria are discussed within a local process.

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 are not presented within this paragraph one more time, but the tables are put together in appendix D, for an overview for the reader. Giving the two tables a first glance a few things can be noticed at once:

- There are more things an issue within Tioga than Duckpond (black vs white blocks);
- Duckpond is not emphasizing on economic issues, where Tioga is;
- Cultural aspects seem to be more of an issue within Tioga than Duckpond;
- Societal issues within Duckpond can easier be recognized than within Tioga (where a lot of societal issues are grey);
- And, although a comparison on direct criteria is not the main focus here, what springs out is that in both case studies health (perceived value vs. environment) and renewal (future value vs. culture) are not issues of concern.

The first difference between the neighbourhoods can be explained by the fact that Tioga is a completely new development where an active local process is going on, where Duckpond is an older neighbourhood which is concentrating on current problems. An explanation why in Duckpond the issues are not emphasizing on economic issues is because in Duckpond neighbourhood itself there are no commercial or non-residential uses, except for the city hall. The Town of Tioga, however, explicitly developed non-residential (commercial) uses and therefore is forced to also concentrate on economic issues within its development. The reason Tioga is concentrating more on cultural aspects, is because they are still non-existing in a new neighbourhood: they have to be created and therefore need attention; this is also the reason Duckponds issues are not found in cultural criteria, because the neighbourhood already exists for a longer period of time. The reason societal issues are easier to recognize within Duckpond is the same: because Duckpond is a neighbourhood where the issues are already there, while Tioga is a new development. That health and renewal are both not an issue in the two cases relates back to the fact that there was not any

talk about health-risks for society, and that heritage in both cases is more important than letting in new kinds of developments and opportunities.

Comparing the two case studies on the criteria of spatial quality that come up during the local process most differences can be explained by the stage of development the two cases are in. Duckpond is an old neighbourhood, where the Town of Tioga is a completely new development. Another explanation that can be given for the different criteria that come up within the process is the fact that Tioga also includes non-residential uses within the neighbourhood, where Duckpond only has the city hall as non-residential use. These differences in focus within the neighbourhood seem to be clear differences on a neighbourhood-wide scale. Looking back to the literature a clear sign of this given of spatial planning always being context dependent and dynamic (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 5).

4.4 Matrix

This last sub-chapter of this research is not noting results about the cases, but the more quantified part of this study. The first part will compare the matrixes that were filled out by the different respondents with the original matrix, to understand the focus of the respondents. Next to that, it also helps to give an insight in which criteria are not used by the respondents at all. This helps to shed a light on the fact if maybe the criteria set up by Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007, p. 38) are not applicable all over the world, but only in a certain context. And that maybe a different set of criteria should be developed. It is important to realize that this subchapter functions as a supporting part for the rest of the results.

4.4.1 Not chosen

Within the comparison of the matrixes filled out by the respondents to the original matrix of Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007, p. 38) an emphasis is put on the comparison of the matrix with the criteria that were not chosen at all (score: 0, colour: red) and the criteria that were put in the matrices on the right row and the right line (score: +1, colour: green) (see appendix E). An overview of these results is given in table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Overview not chosen and completely right

		Economy		**Society**		**Environ-ment**		**Culture**
Utility value	0111	Allocation-efficiency	1	Accessibility	0001	Safety, nuisance	0	Freedom of choice
	1	Accessibility	0000	Distribution	011	Pollution, contamination	0	Diversity
	0	External effects	011	Participation	000	Drying out (of grounds)	1	Encoun-ters
	111	Multi-purpose	0	Choice	00	Fragmentation		
Perceiv ed value	0	Reputation	000	Inequality	111	Space, serenity	0	Authenti-city
		Attractiveness		Connectivity	001	Beauty	0111	Beauty
			0	Safety	0	Health	00	Contrast
Future value	0	Stability/ flexibility	0000	Enclosure	001	Supplies	1	Heritage
	0001	Agglomeration	0	Cultures of poverty	1	Ecosystems	0	Integratio n
	0	Cumulative attraction					0000	Renewal

When looking at the table the most important criteria that spring are those with three, or more than three, times a zero or a one (table 4.5). This because it means that 3 or more out of 4 of the respondents then did not or did know where to put the criteria in the matrix. This means that the criteria the respondents are not familiar with are the following:

- *Distribution* (utility value – society; the costs and benefits of maintaining and developing an area);
- *Safety, nuisance* (utility value – environment; having the smallest risks for society from sources or moving objects);

- *Drying out (of grounds)* (utility value – environment; about the intensity of the use of grounds);

- *Inequality* (perceived value – society; opening up chances for society);

- *Agglomeration* (future value – economy; spatial uniformity (specialization) and variation);

- *Enclosure* (future value – society; having equal distributions through society on a bigger than local scale);

- *Renewal* (future value – society; being open to new elements, and open up to them to replace older elements).

Most times a score of 0 can be found in the crossings with utility value and society and economy and with perceived value and society and culture and within future value and the pillars of economy, society and culture (see table 4.5). Most 'missed' words were thus the words with those crossings with society, which could mean that the focus within planning in the US is not on societal issues that much. This could be explained by the fact that the research done was in a 'country-side' city, and not that much in an area where a lot of poor neighbourhoods are situated (Hester, 1984, pp. 4-5). Criteria as distribution, inequality and enclosure fall in this category. Since there was and still is an abundance of space in most of the USA, it might be logical that criteria as *agglomeration* and *renewal* are words local planners are unfamiliar with. This might also be an explanation for the fact that *safety, nuisance* was a criterion that often could not be placed. Next to that, the respondents might be unfamiliar with the words used, d*rying out (of grounds)* is a word related to the polders and agricultural use in the Netherlands and would be better formed into a criterion as "water-supply".

4.4.2 Perfect fit

When shifting to the criteria the respondents could fit into the table perfectly, the respondents could place the following criteria into the table as perfect fit (see table 4.5, score 1):

- *Allocation-efficiency* (utility value – economy; the site characteristics);

- *Multi-purpose* (utility value – economy; the inter-action patterns that can be recognized within the location);
- *Space, serenity* (perceived value – environment; of nature areas);
- *Beauty* (perceived value – culture; cultural dependent and needs to have the opportunity to be expressed).

Most times a perfect fit (score: 1) within the matrix would be placed within the crossings of utility value and economy or the crossing of perceived value and environment (see table 4.5). This means that was hard for all the respondents to put the criteria of quality of space in their right spot in the matrix. This might be because of the method chosen in this research, which could have caused a misinterpretation of the words. The lack of information about the criteria itself and the inability to place the criteria in the right spot in the matrix indicate that the criteria need explanation before being used. It could also imply that the criteria used in the matrix are simply words the respondents were unfamiliar with. The words put into the matrix only show a pattern in the focus on utility value and economy, but since this was also the part in which a lot of non-placed issues were marked, a sound explanation cannot be given.

4.4.3 Overview

The respondents were able to put only 4/5 to a bit more than half of the criteria in the table, of which only a small part was laid out perfectly (see score 1, table 4.5). When putting the two extremes together, from not-placed criteria to perfect-fit criteria, it springs out that only a small part of the criteria that were placed, were placed 'perfect' on the matrix. The main explanations given for this inability of the respondents to put the criteria in the right spot, if at all, in the matrix are summarized in the following way: lack of information, misinterpretation/unfamiliarity with words, the lack of focus on societal issues, abundance of space. The things that are found through the perfect-fit criteria does not seem to add anything to the not-chosen criteria of the respondents.

4.5 Conclusion

This sub-chapter has as goal to connect the different parts about neighbourhood planning, the plan-formation process and quality of space: both within the case studies as along the matrix. These subjects are within this sub-chapter connected to the available literature. Main goal is to give an explanation why certain criteria were given the focus within the different processes. With every sub-chapter an overview with explanations was already given, so that thus conclusion can be read as a concise summary. In table 4.6 the process, goal, key agents and function of the process are shown. These put all together can show the battleground of struggles between competing interests, and therefore explain the plan-formation process in which the criteria of spatial quality come up (Healey, 1998).

One of the case studies did not show a clear planning process, while the other did. This is the reason why in the Duckpond neighbourhood was not a clear plan-formation process, but that there was social and political-administrative process going on (De Roo & Voogd, 2007, pp. 20-22). This showed clearly the way the neighbourhood developed: in an organic way, and being completely established by now. In the Town of Tioga on the other hand was a clear plan-formation process which led to plan-implementation (De Roo & Voogd, 2007, p. 22; Spit & Zoete, 2006, p. 88). This process was not initiated by the government, but by a private developer. What is important to point out is that the focus of both the processes lay on the justification of proposals for services or funding (Jones, 1979, pp. 6-8); in Duckpond for small developments, in the Town of Tioga for the whole neighbourhood.

Going further into the case studies the processes that were set up clearly focused on the spread of the knowledge and having a predetermined ritual to come to consensus. Where in Duckpond the focus lays more on the (re-)development of surrounding areas, and in the Town of Tioga the focus of this ritual was on the development of the neighbourhood itself. Out of the Duckpond the right to citizenship seemed to important, while the development of the Town of Tioga dependents on a network of actors. It was therefore easy to recognize the main functions of the neighbourhood process, which were set out by Palermo & Ponzini (2010, pp. 85-88). The cases show these functions, although Duckpond is

not a clear example of the communicative in planning (Palermo & Ponzini, 2010, pp. 85-88). The key agents in the Duckpond neighbourhood show clearly how citizens can be change agents (Daffara, 2011) (see table 4.6). The Town of Tioga involved the stakeholders in a way that stakeholders knew what their role was (i.e. workshops), and that there were experts involved to bridge the gap between technical and every day knowledge (Innes, 1992). Although both there is not an open process, all the stakeholders involved in the both processes are aware of roles, relationships and objectives, which is important according to Berger (1997) and Jones (1979, pp. xv-xviii).

Quality of space and its criteria show a clear focus in both neighbourhoods. This focus shows the emphasis on local values and preferences and thus local improvements (Rohe & Gates, 1985, p. 176). It is logical that these differ per case study, since the local issues and problems indicate where the quality of space in certain place is lacking, and thus the attention will be on that area as well. Duckpond neighbourhood focuses on societal and environmental issues, crossed mainly with utility and perceived value, where the Town of Tioga seems to have the focus on economy, environment and culture at all values. It is logical that Duckpond focuses more on societal issues than Tioga, because it is an existing neighbourhood. The focus on economy in Tioga can be explained by the non-residential uses that are developed within the neighbourhood. The criteria all together show where the surplus value in planning is created (De Jong & Spaans, 2009). The criteria show a flexible way to interpret quality of space within the different neighbourhoods.

By going deeper into the criteria, and asking the respondents if they could put the criteria in the matrix, the study shows that the matrix itself is not easy to use. At least 1/5 of the criteria was left out of the matrix by the respondents, and the criteria that were put into the matrix did not seem to show a certain coherence. The way the matrixes were filled out shows the importance to explain the matrix before using it and to make the respondents familiar with the criteria. Next to that, it also shows that some of the criteria might need adjustment before being applicable in different areas of the world. The fact that some of the criteria were left out could also indicate a different context which people work in, where in certain societies people focus on other parts of the matrix than on other.

This chapter clearly shows that the criteria of quality of space can be recognized within the different case studies. This means that although the concept is not used, the process did focus on contents of this concept of spatial quality. The different cases, explicitly chosen for their variation in background and development, showed hereby that the focus within every case was completely different. This is underlined by the makers of the matrix, who stated that quality of space is always context dependent and dynamic (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 5). Using the matrix shows that the criteria itself are not easy to use and need explanation before putting them into the matrix. Next to that, the matrix shows that some of the criteria need to be adjusted before they will they be fit for a broader use, outside of the Dutch context it is developed in. Quality of space shows itself to be context-dependent, what was already known. The matrix and its criteria, however, shows an easier way to compare the different cases and to point out the issues and problems at hand: within a case and between cases.

Table 4.6 Overview conclusion

Government officials	Others		
	Duckpond – Respondent 2	**Duckpond – Respondent 3**	**Tioga Town – Respondent 5**
Duckpond – Respondent 1	No process, organic development Comprehensive plan, goal: guide for future (re-) development, identifying risks NA: justify requests – proposals for funding and services (focus on current problems) City of Gainesville, Duckpond Neighbourhood Association, Roper Park committee, Thomas Centre Associates Predetermined ritual (consensus) – right to citizenship (symbolic) – spread of knowledge		
Tioga Town – Respondent 4			Developer initiator In line with comprehensive plan Guide for future development – Justify request and proposal for funding services Private developer, Alachua County, Academia, Realtors, others (individuals, school, hotel, medical office, day-care, fitness centre etc.) Predetermined ritual (consensus) – network of actors – spread of knowledge

Chapter 5
Discussion:
Critical reflection

"Arriving at one goal is the starting point for another"

– John Dewey

Within this chapter the results of this study are connected with the literature, so the goal is to give answers to the sub-questions of this research. Next to that the questions are raised, and answered, what this means for spatial planning. Is quality of space recognizable on a local level, where the historical path doesn't show a special interest for this concept? The statement in this study is that quality of space (/spatial quality) is an important concept to focus in within spatial planning, also out of its Dutch planning context.

5.1 Quality of space

The space where the focus lays in this research is public space, the space in which social relations are formed by and forming the space (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 16-26). It is therefore seen as a continuous process which has mutual relations: from space to the social, and the other way around: Lefebvre's classic definition. It relates back to the agency in planning, which stresses the importance of this continuous effect within planning (i.e. Bingham, 1996; Healey, 2010, pp. 235-239; Hudalah & Wotljer, 2007). It is important to set out what space is, because of the importance of quality of space (i.e.: Barnett, 1995; Healey, 2010; Trip, 2007). Quality of space is a way to define what is found important in space within a certain area. The main finding of this study is that the use of quality of space, the concept and its criteria, is a useful tool to address public space on a local scale. Even in a context where the concept is not actively used, the criteria are there to find: the goal in planning is always to obtain a certain quality. To be a useful tool it is needed that the criteria are explained carefully, so that it is understood where to link the issues to the criteria.

Quality of space, as found in this research, relates back to the pillars of sustainable development (economy, society, and environment) and an important addition to these values is the pillar of culture (i.e.: WCED, 1987; Healey, 2010, pp. 16-17; Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 5; Verbart, 2004, pp. 65-68). Crossed with these pillars are the values of Vitruvius, which are: utility, perceived, and future values (Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik, 2007, p. 10; VROM-raad, 2011). These pillars of sustainable development and values together were the starting point of Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007) to develop the criteria of spatial quality (see table 5.1). It is argued within this study that these pillars and values are recognizable on an international level as the way planners work in today's society. This because the values and pillars (the basis) of the criteria relate back to concepts that are not only used in the Netherlands, but worldwide. Within this research these criteria are taken into another context than the Dutch in which these criteria were developed.

Table 5.1 Criteria of quality of space

	Economy	**Society**	**Environment**	**Culture**
Utility value	Allocation-efficiency	Accessibility	Safety, nuisance	Freedom of choice
	Accessibility	Distribution	Pollution, contamination	Diversity
	External effects	Participation	Drying out (of grounds)	Encounters
	Multi-purpose	Choice	Fragmentation	
Perceived value	Reputation	Inequality	Space, serenity	Authenticity
	Attractiveness	Connectivity	Beauty	Beauty
		Safety	Health	Contrast
Future value	Stability/flexibility	Enclosure	Supplies	Heritage
	Agglomeration	Cultures of poverty	Ecosystems	Integration
	Cumulative attraction			Renewal

Source: Hooimeijer, Kroon & Luttik (2007, p. 38)

The basis of the criteria are thus seen as internationally relevant, but this research shows that the criteria itself might not all be that transferrable to other contexts. Although the quantitative part of this research is not significant, already some of the criteria spring out. *Cultures of poverty*, for example, leads to confusion because actually the counter-acts against cultures of poverty are meant. This is

the same with criteria as *pollution/contamination* and *fragmentation*, where actually the opposite is the 'ideal'. The use of the matrix itself within the research pointed out the following criteria: *enclosure, drying out (of grounds), safety/nuisance, inequality, agglomeration, distribution,* and *renewal* (see appendix B). These were all terms that the respondents were not able to put into the empty matrix. Explanations as culturally valued aspects, unfamiliarity with words and lack of information show two main things. First, that the criteria need explanation before being used and second, that the criteria itself need to have adjustments to fit to other contexts.

The matrix and therefore criteria of quality of space that are used within this research to define quality of space is a useful way to work with the concept. The concept is depending on a internationally valued basis, which makes the matrix useful in other contexts than the just the Dutch planning field. As shown above, the important remark that is pointed out within this study is that the matrix itself needs adjustment before further use.

5.2 Recognizing criteria

The matrix and these criteria can be used in multiple different ways, and in this research it was core to recognize these criteria within a planning process on a local level. Ideally would be to be involved in local process and observe if and how these criteria come up. Since there was no an active process going on, and because this would be very time consuming, the choice was made to talk about a process that was already finished. Within these interviews and by comparing the main issues with the matrix, and criteria, of quality of space it was recognized that these criteria did come up during the process. The choice to do two case-studies instead of one was mainly made because one case-study did not seem to give enough information. Because in Duckpond there was not a clear planning-process going on made it hard to understand what was going on in the neighbourhood, which explains the choice for a second case study.

By making constant use of both theory and coding the issues with the first case-study were quickly worked out. The two case-studies both show the fact that

the criteria of quality of space can be recognized on a local level. The specific words of the separate criteria were, however, rarely mentioned (see appendix B). The recognition of the criteria within the local process of the case-studies was mainly done by the description of the criteria (as presented in 2.1.3). This is a weakness of the criteria and the matrix, as also shown by the presentation of the empty matrix to the respondents: it is necessary to have an explanation of the criteria before these can be fully understood. This does however not change the fact that the criteria were recognizable on a local level. A clear distinction can be made about the criteria that were recognized within the different case-studies: it showed that within a case-study the variation of criteria that come up depends on the issues at hand (see chapter 4.3).

Recognizing the criteria of spatial quality links directly back to the conceptual model. The conceptual model showed in 2.3.1 showed the relations between public space, quality of space and the planning process (plan-formation process). The way public space is produced and producing social relations and considered as 'own', leads to a certain way quality of space is seen and talked about: this is taken up in the plan-formation process, which through implementation in the planning process influences the way public space is thought about. The cases show that the case-study of Duckpond neighbourhood is actively busy in their developed neighbourhood to ever improve the spatial quality of their 'own' space. The Town of Tioga, being a new development, can be seen in a broader way: the quality of space transformed to a higher quality by developing the whole new area. Interventions in the latter nowadays are also 'smaller' improvements to improve the quality (e.g. creating speed bumps). These case studies show the way the conceptual model is right in the development of quality of space and the relations with the (ongoing) process and public space.

The recognition of the criteria of spatial quality on a local level is thus possible. And, as shown in the research, even helpful to see where the focus lays in an area. Pointing out if the focus lays more on utility values and economy, for example, not only indicates that there are the issues that are addressed within an area. It also gives the insight for the agents working in the area that other parts of the matrix are neglected. As an outsider of the neighbourhoods and the processes,

the matrix helped the researcher a lot to see the differences between the two case-studies and to give an answer to which issues were at hand. The matrix even answered "why-" questions, which were not relevant for this research in particular. The recognition of these criteria is not strange, because it is in line with the fact that (higher) quality is always a goal in what spatial planners want to achieve. What is special, however, is that the matrix shows a set of criteria which are useful to recognize this quality on the local scale.

5.3 Adjusting the matrix

As mentioned in 5.1 and 5.2 the criteria of quality of space itself need adjustment before being broadly used. The main findings are that the criteria need a more, and better, explanation per criterion and some of the criteria might need to be changed in general. This research did not show the need for adding criteria in the matrix, in the use of recognizing spatial quality on a local scale there were no issues which could not be placed in the matrix.

The results show that the criteria itself might need adjustment, in a way of more generalization, to fit better to other local scales than just the Dutch. It also explains why some of the criteria were not addressed in the case studies that were used in this study (i.e. *drying out (of grounds)*). This shows that the matrix is not ready yet to be used on a bigger scale. This study shows that a careful re-consideration of the criteria is needed. This is not deteriorating this particular study, simply because it is found out by doing this study. Especially by offering the empty the matrix to the respondents without much extra information, the insight in use of the matrix became better. The method to not further inform the respondents about the criteria made it possible to really see how unfamiliar the respondents were with the criteria. It would have made it possible to guess better when they had more information. By the focus on the in-depth interviews and not so much on the empty matrix, it was only possible to get 4 respondents to answer this question. This made it possible to get an insight, but it was not possible to make any significant notions on this account.

Several criteria which need careful consideration before further use of the matrix are already pointed out in the 5.1, but the specific choice is made to not focus too much on these few criteria. This choice is made because the results about the criteria are not significant and the group on which these ideas are based is really small (4 respondents, appendix B). Another reason to not do an attempt to adjust the matrix within this research is because the main question focuses on the question if and to what extent quality of space can be recognized on a local level. An answer is given to this question and the fact that this study also points out that the way spatial quality is split out right now needs adjustment is good. It is however good to realize that no specific adjustments can be pointed out just yet.

Although this research is the reason it can be pointed out that the matrix needs adjustment, it is not strange that the matrix does need adjustments. The matrix is developed in the Dutch planning context, using mainly Dutch policy documents and literature. This study is the first attempt to transfer the concept of quality of space to another context than the Dutch. It is therefore good that the matrix is not only transferred and used, but that it also possible to indicate several points of attention in using the matrix in another context.

5.4 Conclusion

This study argues that there is a better way to point out what planners and others involved in space want in the space they address: quality of space. By using the criteria of quality of space in a context where the concept is not actively addressed it showed an innovative way to tackle one of the problems within planning: to be more effective, by understanding better what is (being) done. Although the criteria need adjustment by further use outside the context, the criteria of spatial quality which are developed right now are a good base to start working from.

This study thus shows that quality of space is something that is actively sought for in planning. The criteria set up to define quality of space need adjustment, but at the same time are a good starting point. The criteria which are

made and recognized within the Dutch literature are recognizable within the planning process on a local level within the case-studies of Gainesville and Alachua County, Florida (USA). Since the criteria are not mentioned in itself, the descriptions of the criteria helped to define which criteria were issues on the local scale. Not every criterion was actively addressed on a local scale, which is explained by the issues at hand in the area. The next chapter will further explain the implications of these results for spatial planning.

"Authentic knowledge of space must address the question of its production"

– Henri Lefebvre

This conclusion starts with the main statement of this research: that the aspects of quality of space can be recognized on local level. This is important for several reasons, and within this chapter the first aspect discussed is the context-dependent aspect of quality of space, which relates back to broad scholarly discussions. After that, the implications for this research in especially planning interventions (policy and practice) are discussed. The last part of this chapter is about further research and the recommendations that can be made to undertake further research.

6.1 Context

The background of this study lays in the recognition of the researcher that quality (of space), although only actively addressed in the Netherlands, is something that is sought for in spatial planning worldwide. Every agent who addresses the space that surrounds them wants to achieve something more, something better than 'what is now'. The quest was raised that when other planners also can come to a high spatial quality, or a 'good city', there must be some overlap between the areas where the concept of quality of space is used and where it is not. This turned in to the main research question: to what extend are the aspects of quality of space expressed during the planning process on local level? This research showed that quality of space not only has aspects, but even can be broken apart into criteria.

As Amin (2006) already pointed out: it is highly problematic to make a model of the 'good city' which can be projected through 'time' and 'space'. The criteria are and should be a point of discussion by further use of the concept. These criteria do give a better insight in what quality of space actually is, and as shown in the case-studies can be recognized on a local level. The basics of the

model of spatial quality, sustainable development, culture and utility, perceived and future values are not only important now but certainly for the years to come. Another aspect that is important, is that the matrix about spatial quality in itself gives an insight in the different contexts in which it is used. This means that the concept of quality of space is context dependent for its outcomes, which the matrix allows. Flyvbjerg (2001, pp. 38-49) already mentioned that theory in science, especially social sciences, should be context-dependent. A theory should pay attention to human activity, which cannot be reduced to a set of rules (Flyvbjerg, 2001, pp. 38-49).

The roots of quality of space lay in the urge of people to improve their surroundings (Rapoport, 1970). This can be from the basics as having drinking water and electricity, to beautifying the park or adding parking spots. As early as for example Mishler (1979) the warning already was that contextual knowledge is actually the only knowledge there is in social planning. Goldman & Boddy (1996) add to this that one of the three pillars of classical planning is context-dependent action. The concept of quality of space helps with this idea of the need for context-dependent knowledge and theory: the mix of criteria of spatial tells about the context. The context is therefore not made or molded into the concept of spatial quality, but the concept is 'free' enough to allow these different contexts to exist. This means that the concept can give a better understanding of the context and the issues at hand within the planning process, as further shown in the next part of this chapter.

6.2 Implications

Quality of space, being split out in its criteria, has great potential for the planning profession. Both within science and practice this concept can give a better understanding of the issues at hand, which parts of the matrix get attention and which not and why. This concept of spatial quality is therefore way more concrete than other concepts, i.e. quality of life, that are used now. For   science this means that further extension of the concept can give a better understanding of the following questions: "what do we want to achieve in planning" and "how is this done".

Giving a better understanding of the planning interventions that take place, the concept is not only helpful for the science of spatial planning. Planning interventions mean planning practice; process and policy making. The idea about planning is that when people have a better understanding of why certain things should be done, or why certain things come up or why they feel a certain way about a certain place, planning in itself can be more effective (Lynch, 1982, p. 1). Having a better idea of what people want to do with their space is a plus, since spatial planning often addresses issues that are broad and have broad implications, even on a local scale. The matrix is an answer to this in a flexible way.

The flexibility of the matrix allows the concept of spatial quality to be connected to the planning process: during the planning process, or after the process has ended (as done in this research). During the process the matrix can be used by 'outsiders' of the process to give a better insight in which issues they think are at hand, but the matrix could also be used between agents to see which issues in the area are seen as important. This means that the matrix is a tool that con not only be used by scholars to assess the (use of) quality of space, but that in practice the matrix can be used as well. Since the matrix does show what can be seen as quality of space, but does not show when quality of space IS high, the matrix shows the flexibility to assess this within every case. It is therefore not that much about giving a judgement about quality of space, but more about assessing and understanding quality of space in a certain area.

6.3 Recommendations

Further research is needed, since this tool has a lot of potential in planning practice. Especially since planning is context-dependent a clear normative theory by connecting values to form is needed and helpful. It can help making plans more effective. On the one hand, further research should be into the criteria itself: how can they be changed so that they are globally applicable? On the other hand the research should focus on the use of the matrix, how and when in the planning process are these criteria, and the insight in quality of space of an area useful? It

might turn out that this matrix could be used not only to assess a process or a plan after it is made, but also to give people insight in what they want during the process. The spatial quality matrix could develop itself to be more a method, as a SWOT-matrix, than just an identification tool.

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