

The Role of Cities in Post-Growth

Exploring relations between post-growth and Almere's Housing and spatial policies



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Abstract

This research is about the role cities can have in the context of post-growth. In the academic literature, there is no study that found a clear post-growth focus of cities. This research aims to shed new light on what cities can do in a post-growth context by examining housing and spatial policies from the city of Almere from a post-growth perspective. A single case study was performed with select housing- and spatial planning policies being the units of analysis. The study assessed theoretical aspects of post-growth in relation to policies. Additionally, the research explained a lack of policy effects with the use of a policy typology. Overall, the study found that while there are post-growth adjacent objectives and actions in the policies, Almere does not have a clear post-growth focus. The study concluded that if cities were to have a role in stimulating post-growth, it needs to be a central objective of policy. In addition, the research concluded that if the policy-making process would be more integral and dynamic, it would lead to more effective policies that could stimulate post-growth. Further research is needed on how post-growth could be made more of a central objective and on how the role of the city in actively stimulating post-growth would look like.

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1 Introduction

Since the industrialisation in the 19th century and the foundation of planning as a discipline, spatial planning instruments/tools have been created to organise, cope with and to foster growth (Durrant et al., 2023). Since the beginning of the 2010s, policy instruments and tools have been used to facilitate urban/economic development as a way to make progression towards other policy goals by using direct benefits from these developments (Rydin, 2013). Because of this, success in planning, in most cases, is expressed in monetary terms instead of attempts to grasp a broader view of value, like through impact assessment tools or environmental/social valuations (Durrant et al., 2023). Planning has thus connected itself to a pro-growth agenda that is difficult to deal with, mentally as well as institutionally (Durrant et al., 2023; Lamker & Schulze Dieckhoff, 2022).

Planning has thus always been focused on growth (Durrant et al., 2023; Lamker & Schulze Dieckhoff, 2022). Recently the concept of 'Post-Growth' has become more important in the academic literature. Debates revolving around post-growth are about reducing unsustainable resource consumption and the decrease of greenhouse gas emission (Durrant et al., 2023). More concretely, the concept of post-growth has been described as "an interdisciplinary and pragmatic search for radical alternatives focusing on what is achievable within existing structures" (Lamker & Schulze Dieckhoff, 2022, as cited in Durrant et al. 2023, p. 289). Especially in Germany (Brokow -Loga & Eckardt, 2020), wider Europe (Barry, 2020; Ferreira & Von Schönfeld, 2020), and the global south (Nelson & Schneider, 2019), the way of post-growth thinking is increasingly growing as a field of interest in the academic literature.

1.1 The role of cities in post-growth

While post-growth is growing as a field of interest in the literature, there are no publications that identify a clear post-growth focus of cities (Schmid, 2022). Cities are deeply intertwined with growth-based economic systems (Blázquez-Salom et al., 2019; Navarro-Jurado et al., 2019). Hence, economic performance determines a city's financial ability to manoeuvre, including its possibility to support organizations and projects that align with post-growth objectives (Schmid, 2022). Cities with progressive governments could have a promising influence on developing transformative politics that are focused on embracing post-growth ideas, bucking the trend of political hesitance towards embracing these post-growth ideas (Barcelona en Comú et al., 2019; Thompson, 2021). Aside from pressures that come from outside urban areas (for example the energy transition or a residential crisis), growth dependencies also emerge in cities. This is caused by the way they act (for example cities following and stimulating economic development that focuses on growth) and the way they are set up (the extend to which cities work rely on investors that focus on profit) (Schmid, 2022). This, in turn, means that urban positioning does not entirely have to work within the parameters of profit-based markets by integrating other ways of exchange, surplus and remuneration (Taylor, 2017). For example, multiple forms of volunteering are very important for urban life and flourishing (Gabriel, 2020; Petrescu et al., 2021).

1.2 Why this research?

Considering all this, urban post-growth research can offer a large contribution to existing academic or political debates on post-growth, highlighting the conflict and paradoxes inherent in striving for sustainable development within an economy that relies on growth (Eckersley, 2021; Kenis & Lievens, 2015). For the emergence of a systematic and identifiable field of urban post-growth, however, clarity about what cities are and do from the point of view of post growth, is needed (Schmid, 2022). Schmid's work showed that there are no studies that identify a clear post-growth focus of cities. This can be related to the observation that post-growth approaches aren't taken up by practice yet and therefore remain in a niche position (Lamker & Schulze Dieckhoff, 2022). Partly because of this, there is not much

clarity on what cities can do in the context of post-growth (Schmid, 2022). Schmid's (2022) shows that clarity on this is needed for the emergence of a systematic and identifiable field of urban post-growth. Adding to this, there is no default framework about what cities can do in a post-growth transformational context (Schmid, 2022). As can be concluded from Schmid's study (2022), case studies related to post-growth planning are yet to have a focus on a Dutch city. A more specific geographic approach in the context of a city could therefore potentially shed new light on what role cities have in the context of post-growth. Focusing on what in this case is a Dutch city, will serve as an unexplored example situation. In addition, the Netherlands are known for their progressive urban planning and housing policies. Because of this, the Netherlands is influential in international urban planning circles. As a cause of this, Dutch cities often serve as pioneers in urban development (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2023). Examining a Dutch city in a post-growth context, can therefore have a strong influence on the adaptation of post-growth in other countries. Additionally, a focus on Almere is applied, because it is a relatively new city with a history of innovative urban development (Stuurgroep Handelingsperspectief et al., 2021). Such innovative urban development tactics are expected to align well with post-growth, as post-growth requires a new, innovative approach to development. Hence, the choice is made to focus on the municipality of Almere.

Considering the above, the aim of this research is to close the research gap about what cities can do in the context of post growth, by assessing how post-growth can be stimulated by urban planning and housing policies in the Dutch city of Almere.

The central question this research focuses on is as follows:

"How can post-growth be stimulated by spatial planning and housing policies in the city of Almere?"

The following sub-questions are defined to answer the central question:

1. What are the goals of the housing and spatial policies and how post-growth-oriented are they?
2. What are the post-growth-related spatial effects of the policies in terms of achieving post-growth goals?
3. What are explanations of the absence of effects of the policies?

With the first sub-question, a focus is applied to spatial planning and housing policies, because these policy fields were expected to have the most effects in terms of achieving post-growth objectives. To operationalize 'policies', a distinction is made between policy goals and instruments (see 2.2). With the second sub-question, the post-growth-related effects of the policies are assessed. The third sub-question describes explanations for the absence of effects from the policies. Knowing how post-growth-oriented current policies are, what the effects of the policies are and what hinders effects from happening, provides information that can be used to answer the central question.

1.3 Reading guide

After this introduction, section 2 describes the relevant theoretical concepts and definitions that were used for the empirical study. In section 3, the used academic methods are explained, as well as data management and ethical measures. Following the methodology, the results of the research are explained with different subsections. After this, a conclusion and discussion follows. Lastly, a reference list and the appendices of the thesis follow.

2 Theoretical Framework

Looking at the research question, the theoretical framework will first be used to operationalize what post-growth is and what characteristics it has. After that, the concept of policy is defined with the use of different types of policies. After this, the conceptual model illustrates all the relevant theory in a visual overview.

2.1 Post-growth

According to Lamker & Schulze Dieckhoff (2022), post-growth is “a pragmatic and interdisciplinary way to explore radical alternatives concentrating on what is possible within currently existing structures”. Looking at this, post-growth development requires a pragmatic and interdisciplinary approach. Adding to this, Schmelzer and Vetter (2019) identify three central goals of post-growth:

1. “Global ecological justice
2. Good life
3. Growth independence” (Schmelzer & Vetter, 2019, as cited in Schmid, 2021, P. 65).

‘Global ecological justice’ is about post-growth not focusing on shrinking the economy, but on restructuring economic connections, with the intent to create an equitable/sustainable lifestyle for everyone (Schmid, 2021). ‘Good life’ is about “material and social well-being” (Schmid, 2021). This objective also focusses on significantly redistributing resources and wealth, ensuring accessible and comprehensive basic services for everyone, and rethinking economic goals (Schmelzer & Vetter, 2019). The last objective, ‘growth independence’, is about the need for economic organizations and systems to become independent from growth. In this sense, post-growth aims to restructure social, political, cultural and economic connections that are currently tied to ecological sustainability and social justice (Schmid, 2021). Aspects like well-being, sustainability and quality of life are connected to ecological sustainability and social justice, as they have proven to be related to post-growth (Büchs & Koch, 2017; Durrant et al., 2023; Eversberg & Schmelzer, 2018; Kallis et al., 2018). These aspects also fit into the post-growth objectives defined by Schmelzer and Vetter (2019), as well-being and quality of life correlate to ‘good life’. This because good life is about social and materialistic well-being of people, as well as the quality of life. At last, sustainability fits into global ecological justice, as this post-growth objective aims to provide a sustainable lifestyle for all (Schmelzer & Vetter, 2019).

According to Schulz (2017), urban development can incorporate a range of different post-growth-oriented approaches. These include solidarity economies, such as neighbourhood shops, swap shops, and local currencies, as well as alternative energy concepts illustrated by energy cooperatives operating for the collective benefit. Additionally, Schulz (2017) shows that urban development can embrace community food production through practices like urban farming and gardening. Moreover, shared offices in the form of co-working spaces facilitating the sharing economy, show further examples of such approaches.

To further illustrate what post-growth is in the realm of urban development, the criteria for post-growth housing defined by Wohlgemuth & Pütz (2021) can be used. The criteria were developed with a focus on housing. However, in combination with the other theoretical insights from the previous paragraphs, these criteria be used as a measurement for post-growth development. For example, the criteria of green spaces, land consumption or user density from Wohlgemuth & Pütz (2021), all focus on better social/materialistic well-being of people. Because of this, these criteria are used to operationalize the post-growth objective of ‘Good life’ by Schmelzer & Vetter (2019). In Table 1, post-growth principles are visualized and explained, based on the previously described theories. The different insights from theory are integrated into one framework of post-growth related principles.

Table 1: Criteria for post-growth development)

Post-growth principle	Explanation
Good life:	Post-growth is about good life/ the quality of life. (Büchs & Koch, 2017; Durrant et al., 2023; Eversberg & Schmelzer, 2018; Kallis et al., 2018). This is about “material and social well-being” (Schmid, 2021).
• <i>Diversity</i>	“Mixed population (lifecycle, lifestyle, income profession etc...)” (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021, p. 145).
• <i>Green spaces</i>	“Extend and protect green spaces for a good microclimate” (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021, p. 145). Besides, green spaces make residential areas and the quality of housing more attractive (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021).
• <i>High density of interactions</i>	According to Wohlgemuth and Pütz (2021), it is important to “promote high levels of interaction through architectural and organisational measures with post-growth developments” (p. 145).
• <i>User density</i>	According to Wohlgemuth and Pütz (2021), post-growth development should ‘strive for high social density’ (p. 145). This is about the amount of people that spend time in space (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021).
• <i>Land consumption</i>	‘Limit individual living space’ (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021, p. 145). It also means better exploitation of space (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021).
• <i>Spatial quality</i>	Spatial quality can be used to better the quality of a place and thereby stimulate the objective of ‘good life’ (Schmid, 2022).
Sustainability:	Post-growth for a big part is about sustainability. (Büchs & Koch, 2017; Durrant et al., 2023; Eversberg & Schmelzer, 2018; Kallis et al., 2018).
• <i>Energy sufficiency</i>	“Reduce energy consumption and use energy from renewal sources; save resources in construction and utilisation” (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021, p.145).
• <i>Sustainable development</i>	In a post-growth context, new development and the built environment has to be resource efficient and circular (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021). Besides, the rate and distribution of development is slower (Durrant et al., 2023).
• <i>Sustainable lifestyle, equitable lifestyle</i>	Restructuring economic connections with the intent to create an equitable/sustainable lifestyle for everyone (Schmid, 2021)
Other:	
Affordable housing	“Affordable housing for all population strata”(Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021, p. 145)
Growth independence	The need for economic organizations/systems to become independent on growth (Schmelzer & Vetter, 2019).
Inner urban developments	Making “compact structures” (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021, p. 145) and also looking at what is achievable within existing structures (Lamker & Schulze Dieckhoff, 2022).
Mixed land use/multi-functional land use	“Interlink housing, work, retail and recreation to guarantee short distances” (Wohlgemuth & Pütz, 2021, p. 145).
Appropriation areas	According to Wohlgemuth & Pütz (2021), it is important to “Ensure areas are available that can be freely designed and managed” (p. 145)
Participation	According to Wohlgemuth & Pütz (2021) it is important to “Involve those who are affected in the planning process and in design” (p. 145) with post growth development.

Community food production	Schulz (2017) states that urban development embracing community food production is an example of a post-growth-oriented approach.
Urban farming	Urban farming is an example of community food production that can be considered as a post-growth oriented approach (Schulz, 2017).
Urban gardening	Urban gardening is an example of community food production that can be considered as a post-growth oriented approach (Schulz, 2017).
Solidarity economics	Economic activities that try to have social profits as a priority instead of financial profit (Utting, 2015). Examples are neighbourhood shops, swap shops, and local currencies (Schulz, 2017).
Sharing economy	Co-working spaces, for example in the form of shared offices (Schulz, 2017).

In Table 1 it can be seen that different sources suggested that post-growth has a connection to sustainability. However, sustainability is a very broad concept with different aspects. Because of this, in a post-growth context, sustainability is operationalized with the use of energy sufficiency, sustainable development and a sustainable lifestyle. These three concepts have proven to be useful criteria for post-growth development according to Wohlgemuth & Pütz (2021). Table 1 will be used to analyse different policies, which will be defined in the following section.

2.2 Policies

To be able to draw conclusions on how post-growth can be stimulated by policy, the concepts of policy will be defined and operationalized. According to Howlett et al. (2015), policy design can be defined as “the deliberate and conscious attempt to define goals and to connect them to instruments or tools expected to realize those objectives” (P. 292). From this description, it is still not completely clear what policy design is, since the terms policy goals and policy instruments are not defined yet. For this study, policy goals are defined as “statements of government objectives in a specific policy area” (Howlett, 2014; Howlett & Rayner, 2007, as cited in Van Geet et al. 2019, p. 326). Policy instruments are defined as the “arrangement of the means used throughout the policy process to attain these objectives and ambitions” (Howlett, 2014; Howlett & Rayner, 2007, as cited in Van Geet et al. 2019, p. 326). With policy instruments however, a distinction can be made between substantive and procedural instruments. Substantive instruments aim to enhance the production of goods and services, as well as services in society itself. Procedural instruments are focused on altering policy processes (Howlett & Rayner, 2007). This research focuses on substantive policy instruments.

2.2.1 Typology of new governance arrangements

Besides the types of policies, it is important for the research to define concepts about the dynamics between policy goals and instruments. In the 1990s, a new wave of “New Governance Arrangements” (NGA’s) emerged, in which policy makers started to acknowledge that experimenting with other instrument mixes in different sectors was becoming important (Howlett & Rayner, 2007). With this, attempts were made to justify or merge older instrument mixes. Adding to this, Howlett & Rayner (2007) developed a typology of NGA’s that defines dynamics between policy goals and instruments (see Table 2).

Table 2: typology of NGAs relating to their connection with current policies. Adopted from Howlett & Rayner (2006).

		Instrument mixes are	
		<i>Consistent</i>	<i>Inconsistent</i>
Multiple goals are	<i>Coherent</i>	Integration (outcomes are expected to be optimal)	Drift (outcomes are ineffective in terms of original goals)

	<u>Incoherent</u>	Conversion (outcomes are misdirected from original goals)	Layering (Outcomes are accidental or otherwise sub-optimal)
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Table 2 shows the typology of NGA's. The x-axis gives information about the consistency of the policy instruments mixes. This is about the extent to which the policy instruments are consistent in relation to each other. NGA's combine policy instruments and their settings in innovative ways, with the idea that instruments contribute to each other when pursuing policy goals (Howlett & Rayner, 2006).

The y-axis provides information about the coherency of the policy goals. This is about the alignment of policy goals. In an ideal situation, policy goals are coherent: the goals align well with each other and do not hinder each other (Howlett & Rayner, 2006).

Layering is the least successful way in which an NGA can emerge. With this phenomenon, new goals and instruments are added, while previous ones are not abandoned. This leads to incoherence with the goals and inconsistency with the instruments (Howlett & Rayner, 2007).

With drift, the goals of the policy change, while the instruments do not. In this case, instruments do not align with the original objectives, likely resulting in ineffective policies (Howlett & Rayner, 2007).

According to Howlett & Rayner (2007), conversion can in a way be seen as the opposite of drift. It can be defined as "the attempt to change the instrument mix in a more tractable policy domain in order to meet new goals in a domain where change is blocked" (Howlett & Rayner, 2007, p. 9).

Policy integration can be seen as the most optimal way of forming an NGA. With this, policy goals are coherent and the instrument mixes are consistent. Most likely leading to the most optimal effect of a policy (Howlett & Rayner, 2007).

2.3 Conceptual model

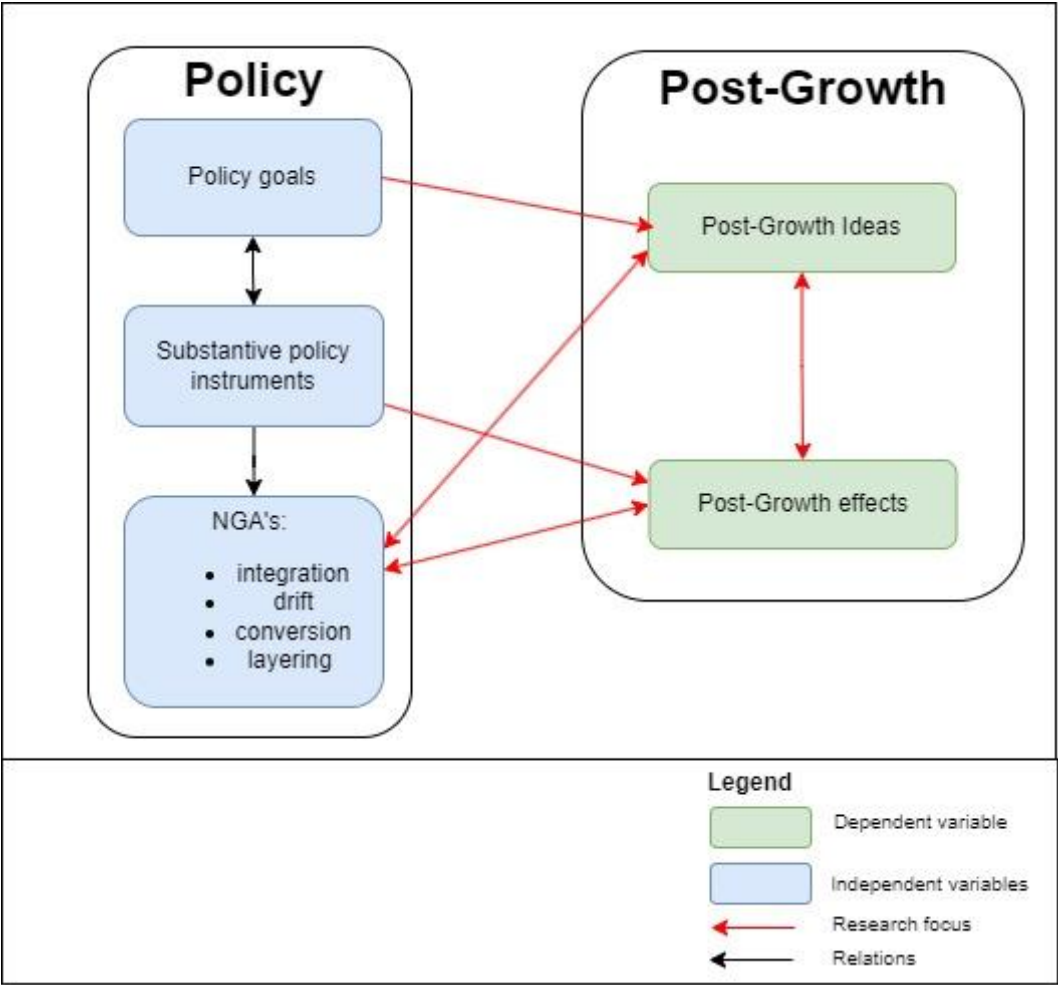


Figure 1: Conceptual model.

Looking at the research gap highlighted in section 1 and the theories/concepts explained in section 2, this study builds upon the conceptual model shown in Figure 1. The different theories and concepts are shown here. This study specifically focuses on how different types of policies are and can be used to foster post-growth ideas, and eventually, post-growth effects. In this way, it becomes possible to make interpretations about what cities can do in a post-growth context.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research design

This research used a flexible research design that used a single case study approach. The goal of the study is to receive insight into how post-growth can be stimulated by urban planning and housing policies in the municipality of Almere. This requires specific situational information about policies and the effects of them in the municipality of Almere. A single case study approach is a method that can provide such information, because it allows for in-depth understanding of specific phenomena on a certain scale. In this case that would be detailed insights of policies that broader studies like Schmid's (2022) study, did not assess. In this way, a single case study assesses a unique context that has not been investigated earlier in the academic literature, providing unique insights towards the research gap this study assesses.

3.2 Case selection

This research used the municipality of Almere as a case study. The unit of analysis consisted of two policy fields:

- Spatial policy and
- Housing policy (Municipality of Almere, n.d.).

The choice to focus on these two policy fields was made because these policy fields were expected to have the most effects in terms of achieving post-growth objectives. A first orientation of the policies already showed a post-growth focus of some objectives. This already gave an impression towards the policies being useful for this research. The selection of policy fields was based on an overview of the policy fields on the website of the municipality of Almere. (*Gemeentelijk beleid, Beleid per rubriek | Almere*, n.d.). Per policy field, two strategic policies and a set of spatial plans/motivations for environmental permits were assessed. Two strategic policies were assessed to get a wide overview of current policy goals. The selection of spatial plans/motivations was done to get a grip of current policy instruments that have the most effects in terms of achieving post-growth goals. The selection was based on the timeframe of the strategic policies, as well as the characteristics of the plans (see also 3.3, under policy document analysis). Additionally, these two policy fields were assessed to be able to compare them to each other.

3.3 Data collection methodology

Data was collected by a mixed method approach that combined data collection of policy documents with semi-structured interviews.

Data from policy documents

Within the selected policy fields, the policies that account to the current and former term of municipal council, were assessed. The current term of municipal council is from 2022 until 2026. The term of council before that was from 2018-2022. Focusing on policies that are made within this timeframe (in total 2018-2024), makes sure that the analysis is of proper size, since a lot of policies for the current term of council are still in development or have not been developed yet. Furthermore, including the current term of council, provides an actual, up-to-date view of the policies, allowing more insight in current trends.

In Table 3, the strategic policies along with their associated instruments, are shown. Like mentioned earlier, the policies are selected based on (*Gemeentelijk beleid, Beleid per rubriek | Almere*, n.d.). All of the selected zoning plans/environmental permits are irrevocably confirmed and thus have legal status. A focus was applied towards the plans that caused spatial changes. Because of this a few plans were excluded. An example of such is a plan that aimed to align the height of existing buildings in

spatial/legal sense, as well as align a residential zone with the actual situation. These are juridical and administrative changes that do not aim to stimulate (post-growth-related) policy goals or spatial effects. Because of this, they were excluded. The selection of plans was based on the dates of legalization of the strategic policies. In this way, the policy instruments that had legal status within the timeframe of the strategic policies, were examined. This provided an up-to-date insight into the cities' current housing- and spatial policies.

The study focused on spatial plans that were confirmed between June 1st 2020 and April 1st 2024. The rationale behind this is that the earliest policy (residential vision 2020-2030) was confirmed on June 1st 2020. Additionally, the data collection process started April 1st 2024. The end date of the collection process was May 3rd 2024.

Table 3: policies per policy field

Policy field	Sub-focus Research	Visions/strategic policy documents	Associated instruments
Space and housing	Spatial planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Almere, Stad met Toekomst (handelingsperspectief) Uitvoeringsagenda Almere, Stad met toekomst 2022-2024 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Uitvoeringsagenda Almere, Stad met toekomst 2022-2024 Selection of 17 zoning plans/motivations for environmental permits between June 1st 2020 and April 1st 2024
	Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Woonvisie 2020-2030 Stedelijk woningbouwprogramma 2021-2024 	Selection of 17 zoning plans/motivations for environmental permits between June 1 st 2020 and April 1 st 2024

The policies were analysed with a deductive coding scheme (see Table 1). With strategic policy documents, all main objectives and corresponding sub-ambitions were coded, as these describe the policy goals. With the policy instruments, the spatial motivation of the spatial plan or environmental permit was coded, as these documents give adequate information about the intention/rationale of the spatial development.

Semi-structured interviews

To answer research questions 2 and 3, two semi-structured interviews were conducted. The rationale behind semi-structured interviews is that specific information is required about the intention, purpose and background of specific policies. This requires a setting in which there is enough room for the respondent to answer from their own perspective, as well as the possibility to keep asking questions on a specific answer a respondent gave. In addition, some structure in terms of questions is needed, since the interviews have a specific purpose that is based on the policy analysis. A semi-structured interview fits well into this setting, because it combines a pre-defined set of open questions with the possibility to explore particular themes or responses further. The interviews were used to gather information about the effects of policies and how instruments contribute to policy goals.

Semi-structured interviews were held with two municipal practitioners:

- A programme manager from the department of space and housing, and
- A residential development director from the department of space and housing.

These specific participants were selected because they have a broad helicopter view of what policies have been implemented in Almere and what their effects are. They are both experienced in practice and have experienced multiple political changes. Moreover, they were involved with the definition of policy goals and making of policy instruments.

3.4 Data analysis method

Policy document analysis

From all the policy documents in Table 3, overall objectives, as well as the purpose of instruments towards those goals, were collected. To determine if the policies are post-growth-oriented, the policies were then analysed with a deductive coding scheme (Table 1). This scheme consists of codes relating to post-growth (post-growth criteria). The policies were coded with the use of this scheme in an analysis table. When terms overlapped with one of the post-growth criteria, they were coded. Additionally, text passages that related to the criteria were coded.

Comparative analysis

The policy goals, as well as the instruments from both policy fields were compared against each other. The purpose of this was to look at where the policy fields could strengthen each other and to highlight possible conflicts between both policies. This gave valuable analytical insights towards the research gap.

Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews were analysed with the use of the same deductive coding scheme (criteria from *Table 1*) that was used with the document analysis, allowing for triangulation. Besides the post-growth deductive coding scheme, they were coded with an inductive coding scheme that focused more on policies and policy typologies. These codes were created while actively reading the transcripts. The codes are attached in Appendix 1.

3.5 Ethical and data management measures

Informed consent was obtained from every participant before they took part in the research. The purpose of the research, the role of the respondent, and voluntary nature of participation was explained thoroughly to the participants. This was done by telling the participants about how data will be secured safely, for example by storage of interview recordings and transcripts behind password restrictions. Additionally, the participants were informed about the fact that their identities and responses would be kept confidential. This was done by telling them that an acronym for their name was going to be used. Moreover, the choice was given if their function could be used or not. In addition, the respondents were told that the transcripts of their interviews would not be included in the final thesis. For transparency reasons, the transcripts were sent to the respondents to spot potential misinterpretations based on their responses. After the research the data will be archived and securely disposed, after the final assessment of the thesis. The interviews were conducted in Dutch. The analysis was done in English. Direct interview quotes were translated into English. The same accounts for the policy document analysis. The policy documents themselves were in Dutch, but the analysis was done in English.

4 Results

In Appendix 0, the results of the policy analysis are presented. During the analysis, the post-growth criteria from Table 1 are used. The results are described per policy type in the sections below.

4.1 Post-growth in the current policy goals

4.1.1 Spatial policy

In Table 4, the goals from Almeres ‘Perspective of Action 2021-2030’ are shown. Using the post-growth principles from Table 1. In Appendices 1 and 2, a more detailed version of the table can be found. For easier navigation and readability, a summarized version of the table is used in the form of Table 4.

Table 4: post-growth in spatial policies

Main objectives perspective of action Almere, 2021	Relation to post-growth criteria
<u>Providing enough houses and varied residential areas</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Densification of the city centre 2. Stimulating health, inclusiveness and social cohesion with every living environment, supporting a balanced population structure. 3. Building by and for the neighbourhood 4. Keeping and strengthening the identity of current city districts: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Strengthening the green and sustainable character of Oosterwold. Also providing space for city gardening; b. Densification, greenifying and growth of Almere central c. Stimulating the landscape qualities and city power of Almere Pampus 	1 – Inner urban development 2 – Diversity 3 - Participation 4a - Urban gardening, sustainable development 4b – inner urban development, green spaces 4c – spatial quality
<u>Giving an impulse to the business climate and amenities</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. A higher level of amenities, including strengthening higher education 6. Substantial and circular business parks 7. Stimulating interaction environments by mixed land use. 8. Continuous growth of current touristic and recreational areas 9. Facilitating higher education to strengthen the connection between knowledge and businesses 10. Facilitating space for artists and creative industry 11. Strengthening the connection between private-public partnerships, knowledge, and education organisations 	5 – X 6 – Sustainable development 7 – mixed land use 8 – X 9 – X 10 – X 11 – Sustainable lifestyle
<u>Creating a strong and robust society</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Urban renewal of existing residential areas 13. Keeping the residential areas functional for the residents and their well-being. 14. Qualitative development of education 15. Creating adequate job opportunities 16. Affordable housing 17. Stimulating participation 18. Improving neighbourhood- and residential amenities 	12 – sustainable development, inner urban development 13 – User density 14 - X 15 - X 16 – Affordable housing 17 - Participation 18 – high density of interactions, user/social density
<u>Excellent accessibility</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. Expansion of the regional network 20. Using Amsterdam’s metro network to solve congestion on the rail network. 21. Good design of the accessibility of Almere’s new city districts 22. Continuing with the ‘low-traffic’ development of the centre of Almere 23. Stimulating walking, biking and zero-emission public transport 24. Good car mobility 	19 – X 20 – Inner urban development, growth independence 21 – Spatial quality 22 – sustainable lifestyle, sustainable development 23 –sustainable lifestyle 24 - X
<u>High-quality landscapes with appeal</u>	25 – Green spaces

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 25. Maintaining the green and water in the cities' urban structure with new developments 26. Giving an impulse to biodiversity in the city 27. Striving for and working on a dynamic and robust blue-green structure of the city 28. Providing room for urban food production 29. Increasing ecological values 30. Development of the art of landscapes 31. Innovative development of new, sustainable living environments that have a connection to the surrounding landscape 32. Creating attractive living environments and healthy lifestyles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 26 – Green spaces 27 – Green spaces 28 – Community food production, urban farming, urban gardening 29 – Green spaces 30 - X 31 – sustainable development, spatial quality 32 – sustainable lifestyle, sustainable development
<p><u>Climate resilient, circular and energy neutral</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 33. Adding capacity to the energy system 34. More large-scale generation of renewable energy 35. Speeding up the process of making real estate more sustainable. 36. Climate neutral building 37. Development of the circular economy in Almere. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 33 – energy sufficiency 34 - energy sufficiency, sustainable development 35 – sustainable development, energy sufficiency 36 – sustainable development, energy sufficiency 37 – Sustainable development
<p>Main objectives Realization Agenda Perspective of Action Almere, 2021</p>	<p>Connection with post-growth criteria</p>
<p><u>Providing enough houses and varied residential areas</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Qualitative impulse to the city and finishing existing areas that are being developed into residential areas. 2. Development of high urban Central Almere that provides space for new amenities, informal working environments and a further densification with houses. 3. Densification around nodes of public transport 4. Continuing to finish the green living/working environment of the cities' eastern side, by continuing phase 1 of Oosterwold and preparing for phase 2. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 – sustainable development 2 – Inner urban development 3 – Inner urban development, user density 4 – Green space, inner urban development
<p><u>Giving an impulse to the business climate and amenities</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Development of Almere contributes to a robust economic growth of both the city and the surrounding region, enhancing the work-life balance in the process. 6. Efforts are directed towards fortifying the economic landscape, particularly focusing on promising sectors such as ICT-Tech, energy transition and circular economy 7. Emphasizing on fostering informal workspaces within urban settings, promoting a blend of housing, amenities and employment opportunities. 8. Pampus is the key economic driver for Almere, with collaborations with Amsterdam to identify and nurture promising sectors. 9. Concerted push is made to enhance the range of amenities in Almere, including tourism and recreation offerings. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5 - X 6 – energy sufficiency, circularity 7 – mixed land use 8 - X 9 - X
<p><u>Creating a strong and robust society</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Focusing on strengthening the entire educational landscape, from early childhood education, primary and secondary schools to vocational education and higher education 11. Emphasizing measures to enhance the socio-economic status of city residents, which are integrated with spatial interventions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10 – sustainable lifestyle, good life 11 –diversity, high density of interactions, user density
<p><u>Excellent accessibility</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. New neighbourhoods become accessible for all modes of transport 13. Development of a city centre in which cars are less visible 14. Regional accessibility will be ensured by new connections to nodes, and MIRT-investigations (multi-year programme for space and infrastructure). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12 – X 13 – inner urban development, Sustainable development 14 – sustainable development
<p><u>High-quality landscapes with appeal</u></p>	

15. Keeping the green structure	15 – Green space
16. City becomes more connected to the surrounding landscapes, big forest areas and nature areas. The northwestern coast of Almere will be developed into ecologically valuable islands.	16 – good life, Green space
17. Efforts towards a climate resilient, circular and energy neutral city.	17 – energy sufficiency, circularity
18. The energy transition and climate resilience are always integrated into developments within the city and development of new areas.	18 – sustainable development, energy sufficiency
19. Existing neighborhoods become climate adaptive and energy neutral. Measures are taken on aerial- and building level	19 – energy sufficiency, sustainability
20. New developments become climate adaptive, energy neutral and circular	20 – sustainable development, energy sufficiency

Notably, many of the goals have a relation to the post-growth principles. All main objectives of the ‘handelingsperspectief’ (in English: scope for action) have a focus on at least one of the post-growth criteria from Appendix 1. However, the objectives that have a connection to post-growth often emerge more from external factors than them being consciously shaped to be focused on post-growth. These external factors are often big societal challenges like the housing crisis, energy transition or economic interests. The goals emerge from such crises, and then ‘coincidentally’ have a post-growth focus. Coincidentally, because post-growth is nowhere described as a central objective in the policies. The relations between policy goals and post-growth principles are thus often a byproduct of a bigger societal/political ambition, rather than a specific political or societal focus on post-growth ambitions.

4.1.2 Housing policies

In Appendices 1 and 2, the analysis of the housing policies is displayed. For easier readability and navigation, a summarized version of the analysis tables is displayed in Table 5.

Table 5: post-growth in housing policies

Main objectives Residential Vision Almere	Relation to post-growth principles
1. Increase of housing stock with 24.500 houses.	X
2. Working on a varied offering of residential locations, with special attention towards unique neighbourhoods.	Diversity, appropriation areas
3. Densification in neighbourhoods in the centre, around nodes of public transport.	Inner urban development
4. Providing more relaxed and tranquil residential areas further away from the city centre.	Sustainable development
5. Development of new ways of building and living in Almere	Sustainable development
6. Providing a mix of different income groups with plans of existing- and new neighbourhoods.	Diversity
7. Transformation of small-scale development of new residential areas to accommodate flow (doorstroming) with the housing stock.	Affordable housing, sustainable development
8. Keeping the green and spacious character of Almere intact.	Green spaces
9. Investment in the center of Almere Haven and Almere Buiten for the future. These can be socio-economic investments, but also in public space and housing.	Inner urban development
10. Preventing concentration of vulnerable residents within neighbourhoods.	Sustainable lifestyle
11. Vulnerable people get their own place in society with their own house. With this, there is attention to the residential area and other residents in the neighbourhood.	Sustainable lifestyle
12. Adding 1.000 houses for seniors, as a part of the ambition to realize 24.500 houses.	X
13. Almere connects to the national climate ambitions for reducing CO ₂ emissions with 49% in 2030.	Energy sufficiency, sustainable development
14. Working on circularity when building new houses	Sustainable development
Main objectives Urban Residential Programme Almere	Relation to post-growth principles

15. Keeping the strategy per area for development of residential areas that is defined in the 'SWPA'. This strategy is about: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finishing current residential development plans • Providing different residential areas with variations in residential qualities. 	Spatial quality
16. Continuing with 130% plan capacity to be able to realize 2.225 houses	X
17. Accepting a greater amount of apartments in the SWPA than originally adopted in the residential vision.	Land consumption, sustainable development, inner urban development
18. Accepting the current market conditions in which there are more regulated and liberated houses for rental than there were adopted in the residential vision.	Affordable housing
19. More steering with residential development by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of a residential development director (woningbouwregisseur) • Monitoring of the residential challenge twice a year • Dialogue with residential partners from the town 	X
20. Monitoring the residential challenge	Affordable housing
21. Fastening the production of residential development	Sustainable development
22. Paying space (betaalruimte) to provide affordable housing for multiple income groups.	Affordable housing
23. Adding apartments concentrated at locations where it strengthens other functions. For example in a city centre.	Mixed land use, inner urban development, land consumption
24. Providing houses for specific target groups, like seniors, younger people and students.	Affordable housing
25. Realizing houses with attention to the core qualities of Almere: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green/spacious character of the city • The big variance of residential areas • A good balance between income groups within neighbourhoods • Active dialogue and steering with projects that have a connection to the residential building programme. • Organizing a 'versnellingsstafel woningbouw Almere'. This is a form of dialogue in which different policy makers from different policy fields talk with each other about residential developments in Almere. 	Spatial quality, green space, diversity
26. Defining development directions per area/city district.	Inner urban development
27. Bouwen voor de buurt: small-scale 'infill development' in existing neighbourhoods.	Inner urban development, sustainable development, land consumption

The analysis showed that a good amount of the housing policy goals are related to the post-growth principles. Although, less than in the spatial policies. This could be due to the fact that the housing policies also have goals that are more abstract and focus less on spatial effects. Just like with the spatial abstract policies, the post-growth focus seems to be more coincidental than conscious. With the housing policies it often is the current housing crisis that causes the objectives. Their having a connection to post-growth is thus a sidenote to a bigger societal problem.

4.1.3 Comparative analysis

In this section, the results from the comparative analysis between the policy goals of the housing and spatial policies, are described (see Appendix 3). With the analysis, only the policy goals from both policy fields that turned out to have a relation to one or more post-growth principles, were analysed.

The analysis showed that many goals from the housing and spatial policies can influence each other in a positive way. This means that synergies could be created if the policy fields work together more. Especially with relations between the spatial policies that focus on residential developments and the housing policies. An example is the spatial ambition to densify the city centre and the housing ambition of densification in neighbourhoods in the centre, around nodes of public transport. These goals strengthen each other, looking at their similar focus on densification. There are also spatial ambitions that focus on other spatial functions, like neighbourhood amenities. An ambition like this can strengthen many of the housing ambitions that focus on residential development and the well-being of existing neighbourhoods (for example goal 2 from Table 5), as neighbourhoods also need good amenities. What can be concluded from this, is that spatial and housing policies need each other to work in an optimal way. Spatial instruments are needed to realize houses, while other housing instruments are needed to utilize spatial development of residential areas well.

Furthermore, there are goals from both policies that could hinder each other from achieving one another. An example of this is the contradiction between the spatial ambition to strive for and work on a dynamic and robust blue-green structure and the housing ambition to densify in neighbourhoods in the city centre. Densification might lead to a loss of green spaces or the potential to realize new blue-green spaces. In this sense, the policy fields hinder each other. This too shows that when the two policy fields work together more, it could lead to more effective policies.

4.2 Post-growth in policy instruments

For the assessment of policy instruments, different zoning plans and environmental permits were analysed. Looking at their characteristics as a spatial instrument, all of these instruments had a spatial focus. However, there were also many plans that focused on housing ambitions. Because of this, a distinction was made between spatial and housing intentions of these instruments.

4.2.1 Spatial instruments

In Table 6, the assessed spatial plans and spatial motivations are displayed, as well as the connection of their main objectives to the post-growth principles from Table 1.

Table 6: spatial instruments

Spatial plan/environmental permit	Main objectives	Connection with post-growth criteria
De Velden, Gooimeer en Kromslootpark	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. New paths, bridges and better accessibility in the 'Kromslootpark' 2. Realisation of a transmission tower within the existing urban structure 3. Integrating effects of infrastructure developments outside of the plan-area 4. Conserving the existing, factual situation (Municipality of Almere, 2024). 	1 – Spatial quality 2 – inner urban development 3 – X 4 – X
Chw bestemmings plan Oosterwold, 1e partiële herziening	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Revising the Chw zoning plan 'Oosterwold' 6. Providing rules for mixed land use 7. Ruling the permitted initiatives in the plan area 8. Regulating changes in the parcel layout. 9. Providing more possibilities to realize water 10. Realizing a more even spread of shops in the city by setting specific rules for what is (not) possible. 11. Broadening the building possibilities of urban gardening 12. Clustering the public space with smaller parcels in the project area (Municipality of Almere, 2023d) 	5 - X 6 – Mixed land use 7 - X 8 - X 9 – Green spaces 10 – mixed land use, diversity, sustainable development, land consumption

		11 – urban gardening 12 – land consumption, user density, high density of interactions
Bedrijfspannd Koperstraat 7	13. Realizing a physiotherapy practice in the existing urban structure of Almere 14. Providing sustainability measures with the building plan, like a warmth pump and solar panels (Van Riezen & Partners, 2023).	13 - Inner urban development 14 – Energy sufficiency
Wooncluster Jacques Tatilaan, Almere	15. Demolishing a current tenniscomplex and building houses instead of it (within the existing urban structure of Almere). 16. Realizing 60 houses maximum, consisting of a maximum of 15 groundbounded houses and 40-45 apartments in three so called ‘urban villas’. 17. Connecting the new neighbourhood to the existing park. 18. Stimulating biodiversity with herb vegetation, insect hotels and green propertyborders 19. Compensating lost trees as a cause of the development within the plan-area (IDDS, 2023)	15 – inner urban development, land consumption, sustainable development, spatial quality 16 – X 17 – Green space 18 – Green space 19 – Green space
Muiderbos	20. Realizing new houses in the existing urban structure of Almere. 21. Providing developmentfields for ‘self-build parcels’ where people can develop their own house with the help of the municipality 22. Connection between the residential clusters and the surrounding landscape 23. Sustainable building 24. Extensive energy use, low environmental damage 25. Spatial quality of the development 26. Providing city warmth and solar panels, limiting the CO ₂ -reduction. 27. Energy efficiency (Municipality of Almere, 2023c).	20 –inner urban development 21 – appropriation areas, participation, sustainable lifestyle 22 – Green spaces, spatial quality 23 – sustainable development 24 – energy sufficiency 25 – spatial quality 26 – energy sufficiency 27 – energy sufficiency
Wijzigingsplan J. Huydecoperweg 22	28. Ending existing agricultural business activities and legalizing a former business residence into a regular rural house. 29. Changing the spatial function to legalize regular residing (Municipality of Almere, 2023b).	28 – sustainable development 29 – sustainable development
Wijzigingsplan Almere Centrum Weerwater Floriade Veiligheidszone Propaantanks	30. Dissolving multiple external safety contours, providing more possibilities to realize more spatial functions in the designated area (Municipality of Almere, 2023a)	30 -sustainable development, appropriation areas

Transformatorstation De Strubbenweg 37	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 31. Expansion of an existing transformer station within the urban structure 32. Realisation of 7 lightning rods 33. Expansion of the electric capacity of the transformer station (Municipality of Almere, 2022d). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 31 – inner urban development, land consumption 32 – X 33 -energy sufficiency
Wijzigingsplan Almere Hout Noord, De Werf	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 34. Development of a new residential area (140 houses maximum) that also includes space for food service industry (Dutch: horeca). The projected area for food service industry consists of 300 m². 35. Nature compensation (Municipality of Almere, 2022c) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 34 – mixed land use, sustainable development 35 – Green spaces
Barracudastraat - Snoekstraat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 36. Inner urban development that provides spatial-legal possibilities for an apartment complex 37. Providing houses in the social housing segment (Municipality of Almere, 2022b) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 36 – inner urban development, land consumption 37 – affordable housing
Appartementen Sluis Almere Haven	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 38. Inner urban development of 32 apartments in a building of maximum six building layers 39. Transformation of an existing parking lot into apartments (Municipality of Almere, 2021h). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 38 – inner urban developments 39 – sustainable development, land consumption
Zonnepark A27 - Kluutweg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 40. Realisation of a new solar park near the National road A28 (Municipality of Almere, 2021g). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 40 – energy sufficiency, sustainability
Distributiecentrum Stichtsekanal 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 41. Realisation of a distribution centre on an existing business park, consisting of 5 warehouses. The warehouses consist of a company hall, office rooms and rooms for supportive amenities (Municipality of Almere, 2021f). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 41 – sustainable development
Uitbreiding AZC Sportpark Fanny Blankers-Koen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 42. Providing spatial/legal frameworks for the expansion of an existing asylum seekers centre, within the urban structure of Almere. 43. Increasing employees with 30 to 45 fte, providing more jobs. 44. No new space consumption (Municipality of Almere, 2021e). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 42 – inner urban development 43 – X 44 – land consumption, sustainable development
Wijzigingsplan Leemwierde	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 45. Providing spatial/legal frameworks for the development of a maximum of 40 houses in two smaller apartment buildings and the realisation of a care facility. Development takes place in the existing urban structure of Almere 46. Gasless buildings (Municipality of Almere, 2021d). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 45 – inner urban development, land consumption, sustainable development 46 – energy sufficiency
Kruisstraat Almere Haven	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 47. Giving spatial/legal frameworks to realize 23 apartments in the urban centre of Almere Haven 48. Providing mixed land use by creating a new residential function on top of an existing supermarket. 49. Expansion of the supermarket from 376 m² to 1.700 m², conform the current building possibilities within the spatial zone: 'Centrum' (Municipality of Almere, 2021c). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 47 – inner urban development 48 – mixed land use, land consumption 49 – inner urban development, land consumption

Stichtsekant Noord, 1e partiële herziening	<p>50. Providing spatial-legal frameworks for the establishment of a new datacenter, within the existing urban structure)</p> <p>51. Providing a new acoustic zone for the datacenter because of requirements in the Dutch noise pollution law (Municipality of Almere, 2021b).</p>	<p>50 – Inner urban development</p> <p>51 – sustainable lifestyle, spatial quality</p>
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In the assessed spatial plans/spatial motivations, there is a relation between their goals and intentions and the post-growth principles. However, just like with the abstract policies, the instruments that have a connection to post-growth often emerge more from external factors than them being consciously shaped to be focused on post-growth. These external factors are often big societal challenges like the housing crisis, energy transition or economic growth. The instruments emerge from such crises, and then ‘accidentally’ have a post-growth focus. It often is a byproduct of a bigger (economic) interest. An example of this is ‘Wooncluster Jacques Tatilaan, Almere’. A residential complex is realized, which has a spatial connection to a nearby park. This improves spatial quality and green space, which correlate to post-growth. However, the economic and residential development of the complex were the first priority.

4.2.2 Comparative analysis policy instruments

To gather more insights about the data, the analysis of the related post-growth principles is split into the housing intentions and the spatial intentions. With both intentions, the relation with post-growth principles is displayed.

Table 7: comparative analysis housing and spatial policy instruments

Spatial plan/motivation	Housing intentions	Connection to the post-growth principles	Spatial intention	Connection the post-growth principles
Chw bestemmingsplan Oosterwold, 1e partiële herziening	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Adding new permitted houses to easier monitor the housing challenge. 2 Improving the residential quality by changing parcel layout. 3 Broadening possibilities for urban gardening to improve self sufficiency and residential quality 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2 – high density of interactions, user density 3 – urban gardening 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mixed land use and regulating changes in parcel layout to improve the quality of the area 2. Giving more possibilities to realize water to improve the spatial quality of the area. 3. Providing more even spread of shops 4. Clustering public space to improve spatial quality 	<p>green space, mixed land use, diversity, sustainable development, land consumption</p> <p>land consumption, high density of interactions, user density, urban gardening</p>
Wooncluster Jacques Tatilaan, Almere	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4 Solving the housing crisis by realizing more houses. 5 Connecting the new neighbourhood to a surrounding park to improve the residential quality. 	5 Green space	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2 Making the newly built area attractive and providing spatial quality. 3 Using existing spaces for development 	<p>Inner urban development</p> <p>Energy sufficiency</p> <p>inner urban development, land consumption, sustainable development</p> <p>Green space</p>
Muiderbos	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6 Realizing new houses to make contributions to the residential challenge/housing crisis. 	x	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4 Making an attractive residential area. Partly by connecting it to surrounding landscape 	<p>inner urban development</p> <p>appropriation areas, participation, sustainable lifestyle</p> <p>Green spaces</p> <p>sustainable development</p> <p>spatial quality</p> <p>energy sufficiency</p>
Wijzigingsplan J. Huydecoperweg 22	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7 Addition of a new house in the municipality. This 	x	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5 Legalizing a changed spatial-juridical situation 	<p>sustainable development</p>

	contributes to the housing crisis.			
Wijzigingsplan Almere Centrum Weerwater Floriade Veiligheidszone Propaantanks	8 Possibilities to realize more houses in this area, contributing to solving the housing crisis.	x	6 Providing more development options in the designated area. This could be multiple functions.	sustainable development, appropriation areas
Wijzigingsplan Almere Hout Noord, De Werf	9 Creating an attractive new residential area for multiple income groups. 10 Solving the housing crisis	9 affordable housing	7 Creating an attractive residential area that fits into existing structures. The addition of food service industry strengthens the new residential area	mixed land use, sustainable development Green spaces
Barracudastraat - Snoekstraat	11 Providing houses in the social housing segment to accommodate social housing objectives. 12 Contributing to solving the housing crisis.	11 – affordable housing	8 Creating an attractive residential area that fits into the existing urban structure.	inner urban development, land consumption
Appartementen Sluis Almere Haven	13 Contributing to solving the housing crisis. Specifically in the apartment segment.	11 – affordable housing	9 Creating an attractive apartment complex that fits into the existing urban structure. 10 Changing an existing function in a function that flows from big societal interests (housing crisis).	inner urban developments sustainable development, land consumption
Uitbreiding AZC Sportpark Fanny Blankers-Koen	14 Providing residence for asylum seekers from other countries. 15 Contributing to ambitions that focus on asylum seekers.	X	11 Expanding the asylum seekers centre in a spatially qualitative way (the area has to look nice). 12 Limiting space consumption 13 Increasing job opportunities.	inner urban development land consumption, sustainable development
Wijzigingsplan Leemwierde	16 Contributing to solving the housing crisis. 17 Providing energy measures in new buildings.	17 – energy sufficiency	14 Creating a new residential area with two apartment buildings.	inner urban development, land consumption, sustainable development energy sufficiency

			15 Limiting space consumption by developing within the inner city	
Kruisstraat Almere Haven	18 Contributing to solving the housing crisis.	x	16 Using existing space consciously. 17 Realizing 23 apartments within an existing urban structure. 18 Combining functions so they strengthen each other.	inner urban development mixed land use, land consumption inner urban development, land consumption

The comparison shows that the connection to post-growth principles is mainly present in the spatial intention of the policy instruments. When looking at the housing intention, the objectives of the instruments are much more abstract and related to numbers of houses and residential quality, while with the spatial intention of the instruments this becomes much more concrete. This is likely to be due to the fact that zoning plans are spatial instruments that aim to have spatial effects. When looking at housing objectives, goals are focused more on providing more houses to solve the housing crisis. Sometimes in specific segments, which shows a relation to the post-growth principle 'affordable housing'. This is a post-growth principle that has less to do with actual spatial effects. This too explains why most of the post-growth principles are connected to the spatial intention of the instruments rather than the housing intention.

4.3 Concrete effects of the policies

The analysis showed that there are effects of the policies in the form of inner urban development. For example in Almere Centrum, Almere Haven and/or Almere Havenkwartier. The interview with the expert on spatial policy mentioned that in these areas, the municipality has a big densification ambition. This comes into effect in form of a few densification-oriented spatial plans, like the zoning plan 'Appartementen Sluis Almere Haven' and 'Wijzigingsplan Leemwierde'. These plans are confirmed and the building process has already begun, looking at aerial photographs (Municipality of Almere, 2021d, 2021h). These plans are thus examples of concrete spatial effects.

Additionally, the interview with the expert on housing policy showed a concrete effect of spatial- and housing policies with the development of the 'Pasar Malamstraat' in Almere. This was about the development of temporary residential units for Ukrainian refugees. The parcel was already zoned for housing and was empty at the time. The specific circumstances in this case lead to a fast development of the units. Additionally, the instrument that was used to realize the units (environmental permit), had a connection to the urban residential programme. This made the development of the Pasar Malamstraat an example of a concrete effect of housing and spatial policy.

4.4 Absence of policy effects

Besides the described effects in 4.3, the interviews showed that it is difficult to measure effects. This can be related to the observation that there often is no clear connection between policy goals and policy instruments. Policy instruments are often made from scratch, not relating to policy goals that are stated in strategic policies. The policy instruments thus do not emerge from policy goals higher up, but more in an ad-hoc way that relates to specific ambitions an executive board has at the time. The previous statements are supported by the following quote: "it is not a very specific operation to go from abstract vision to concrete plan and then to the realization or something. In many cases it just emerged, spontaneously in the field itself". As a result, not all instruments relate to abstract policies. This can be related to the concepts of conversion and layering. In some cases, instrument mixes are changed in order to achieve new goals that were not defined in existing policies (conversion). In other situations, new goals and instruments are added, while previous ones are not abandoned. This leads to 'accidental' outcomes of the policies. An example of layering is the development of the Pasar Malamstraat: the development started from scratch, but turned out to be 'accidentally' connected to the municipalities' urban residential programme.

The presence of layering can also be related to the runtime of policies and political changes. The runtime of a policy is very short relative to what can be achieved in a spatial sense, because of political changes. The municipal term of council for example changes every four years, but the executive board of the municipality can change more abruptly. A board member can at any moment in time decide to quit. In such cases, a substitution has to be made. This leads to other views and ambitions. This while the runtime of for example a spatial development project can easily be four or five years. Hence, policies become outdated and fail to be implemented. Both interviewees mentioned this about the in this study assessed abstract policies, of their respective policy domain. For the housing policies this can be illustrated by the following quote: "the alderman that currently resigns, comes from the VVD side. Thus, there will be a whole other approach towards the (housing) task. Because of this, the policy then also changes". This shows evidence for the presence of layering in the policy landscape of Almere. New goals and instruments are added, while older ones are not abandoned, resulting in ineffective policies. In conclusion, the study did not find evidence of cases where policy goals were coherent and instrument mixes were consistent.

Conclusions

The central question of this research was “how can post-growth be stimulated by spatial planning and housing policies in the city of Almere?” The answer to this question consists of multiple elements. Firstly, post-growth can be stimulated by spatial planning and housing policies by making post-growth more of a central objective within the municipalities’ policies. In the current state, it is not actively focused on. If this is the case, policies can be made to achieve post-growth objectives. Secondly, policy goals and instruments to achieve those goals, need to be well-aligned with each other. The study showed that in the current state, this is not the case yet. Setting post-growth-oriented goals and connecting instruments to them, could lead to concrete post-growth effects. Aligning goals and instruments could be done by making the policy-making processes more integral, for example by having dialogue with all the policy fields together. Additionally, it could be done by making the policies more dynamic. This means that the municipality should constantly alter goals and adjust instruments to align them with changing ambitions. This would make it easier to measure effects, as well as make the policy-making process more robust towards political change.

Regarding Schmid’s (2022) research gap about there not being a default framework about what cities are and can do in a post-growth transformational context, it can be concluded that this study added evidence towards that gap. The city of Almere currently does not have a post-growth focus. However, there is potential to make it more of a focus. Making the policy-making processes more integral and dynamic, could contribute to making it more of a focus. With that being said, a city like Almere can have a big role in a post-growth transformational context. This can also be related to the works of Barcelona en Comú et al. (2019) and Thompson (2021). They state that cities with progressive governments could have a promising influence on developing transformative politics that are focused on embracing post-growth ideas. This study showed that Almere has potential for that, if post-growth would be more of a central objective. For post-growth to become a central objective, developments and initiatives that stimulate post-growth principles should in one way or another, lead to more profit for them to become attractive to be adopted by the market. More research is needed on how post-growth development could be made more profitable. Additionally, policy-making needs to be more dynamic and integral. This means: more interdisciplinary as well as more room for adjustments to political change. more research is needed on how the role of the city in actively stimulating post-growth would actually look like.

Moreover, there are a few limitations of this research. Firstly, two experts were interviewed, which both work in a specific policy domain of the municipality. Interviewing other experts from the same domains could potentially lead to different outcomes, since different civil servants have different perceptions. Further interviews fell out of the scope of the research, but it could be beneficial for further research towards what cities can do in a post-growth context. Another limitation of the study is that for analysis of policy instruments, only spatial plans and spatial motivations were assessed. This turned out to lead to a light skew in data, because spatial instruments lead to spatial effects. This while housing policies are not always focused on spatial effects. Including other policy instruments in the analysis and comparing them to other instruments could therefore lead to different insights regarding the research gap. In retrospect, the research process showed that the making of policies is very dynamic and that the measurement of effects can be difficult for municipalities. At last, this research lead to valuable insights regarding what cities can do in a post-growth context.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Inductive coding scheme policy dynamics

Table 8: Inductive coding scheme policy dynamics

Code	Explanation
Ad-hoc creation of policy instruments	Both interviews showed that policy instruments are often created in an ad-hoc manner, unrelated to policy goals.
Conversion	“the attempt to change the instruments mix in a more tractable policy domain in order to meet new goals in a domain where change is blocked” (Howlett & Rayner, 2007, p. 9). The interviews showed situations that can be related to this process.
Drift	The goals of the policy change, while the instruments do not (Howlett & Rayner, 2007). The interviews showed situations that can be related to this process.
Policy integration	Policy goals are coherent and the instrument mixes are consistent. Most likely leading to the most optimal effect of a policy (Howlett & Rayner, 2007). The interviews showed situations that can be related to this process.
Layering	New goals and instruments are added, while previous ones are not abandoned. This leads to incoherence with the goals and inconsistency with the instruments (Howlett & Rayner, 2007). The interviews showed situations that can be related to this process.
No relation between goals and instruments	The interviews showed that, in many cases, there is no relation between policy goals and instruments
Political changes	The interviews showed that Almere’s policy landscape is very sensitive to political changes.
Sectoral	In the interviews, it was mentioned multiple times that the policy landscape was organized in a sectoral way.

Appendix 2: policy document analysis

Table 9: Analysis table strategic policy documents (Stuurgroep Handelingsperspectief et al., 2021)

Policy focus	Strategic policy document	Main objectives	Relation to post-growth criteria
Spatial planning	Almere, Stad met Toekomst (handelingsperspectief) (Stuurgroep Handelingsperspectief et al., 2021)	<u>Providing enough houses and varied residential areas</u> 38. Densification of the city centre 39. Stimulating health, inclusiveness and social cohesion with every living environment, supporting a balanced population structure. 40. Building by and for the neighbourhood 41. Keeping and strengthening the identity of current city districts: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening the green and sustainable character of Oosterwold. Also providing space for city gardening; Densification, greenifying and growth of Almere central Stimulating the landscape qualities and city power of Almere Pampus 	1 – Inner urban development 2 – Diversity 3 - X 4a - Urban gardening, sustainable development 4b – inner urban development, green spaces 4c – spatial quality
		<u>Giving an impulse to the business climate and amenities</u> 42. A higher level of amenities, including strengthening higher education 43. Substantial and circular business parks 44. Stimulating interaction environments by mixed land use. 45. Continuous growth of current touristic and recreational areas 46. Facilitating higher education to strengthen the connection between knowledge and businesses 47. Facilitating space for artists and creative industry 48. Strengthening the connection between private-public partnerships, knowledge, and education organisations	5 – X 6 – Sustainable development 7 – mixed land use 8 – X 9 – X 10 – X 11 – Sustainable lifestyle
		<u>Creating a strong and robust society</u> 49. Urban renewal of existing residential areas 50. Keeping the residential areas functional for the residents and their well-being.	

		<p>51. Qualitative development of education 52. Creating adequate job opportunities 53. Affordable housing 54. Stimulating participation 55. Improving neighbourhood- and residential amenities</p>	<p>12 – sustainable development, inner urban development 13 – User density 14 - X 15 - X 16 – Affordable housing 17 - Participation 18 – high density of interactions, user/social density</p>
		<p><u>Excellent accessibility</u></p> <p>56. Expansion of the regional network 57. Using Amsterdam’s metro network to solve congestion on the rail network. 58. Good design of the accessibility of Almere’s new city districts 59. Continuing with the ‘low-traffic’ development of the centre of Almere 60. Stimulating walking, biking and zero-emission public transport 61. Good car mobility</p>	<p>19 – X 20 – Inner urban development, growth independence 21 – Spatial quality 22 – sustainable lifestyle, sustainable development 23 –sustainable lifestyle 24 - X</p>
		<p><u>High-quality landscapes with appeal</u></p> <p>62. Maintaining the green and water in the cities’ urban structure with new developments 63. Giving an impulse to biodiversity in the city 64. Striving for and working on a dynamic and robust blue-green structure of the city 65. Providing room for urban food production</p>	<p>25 – Green spaces 26 – Green spaces 27 – Green spaces 28 – Community food production,</p>

		<p>66. Increasing ecological values 67. Development of the art of landscapes 68. Innovative development of new, sustainable living environments that have a connection to the surrounding landscape 69. Creating attractive living environments and healthy lifestyles</p>	<p>urban farming, urban gardening 29 – Green spaces 30 - X 31 – sustainable development, spatial quality 32 – sustainable lifestyle, sustainable development</p>
		<p><u>Climate resilient, circular and energy neutral</u> 70. Adding capacity to the energy system 71. More large-scale generation of renewable energy 72. Speeding up the process of making real estate more sustainable. 73. Climate neutral building 74. Development of the circular economy in Almere.</p>	<p>33 – energy sufficiency 34 - energy sufficiency, sustainable development 35 – sustainable development, energy sufficiency 36 – sustainable development, energy sufficiency 37 – Sustainable development</p>
Housing	Woonvisie Almere 2020-2030 (Municipality of Almere, 2020)		
		1. Increase of housing stock with 24.500 houses.	X
		2. Working on a varied offering of residential locations, with special attention towards unique neighbourhoods.	Diversity, appropriation areas
		3. Densification in neighbourhoods in the centre, around nodes of public transport.	Inner urban development

		4. Providing more relaxed and tranquil residential areas further away from the city centre.	Sustainable development
		5. Development of new ways of building and living in Almere	Sustainable development
		6. Providing a mix of different income groups with plans of existing- and new neighbourhoods.	Diversity
		7. Transformation of small-scale development of new residential areas to accommodate flow (doorstroming) with the housing stock.	Affordable housing, sustainable development
		8. Keeping the green and spacious character of Almere intact.	Green spaces
		9. Investment in the center of Almere Haven and Almere Buiten for the future. These can be socio-economic investments, but also in public space and housing.	Inner urban development
		10. Preventing concentration of vulnerable residents within neighbourhoods.	Sustainable lifestyle
		11. Vulnerable people get their own place in society with their own house. With this, there is attention to the residential area and other residents in the neighbourhood.	Sustainable lifestyle
		12. Adding 1.000 houses for seniors, as a part of the ambition to realize 24.500 houses.	X
		13. Almere connects to the national climate ambitions for reducing CO ₂ emissions with 49% in 2030.	Energy sufficiency, sustainable development
		14. Working on circularity when building new houses	Sustainable development

Table 10: strategic policies in the form of policy programmes¹.

Policy field	Policy programme	Main objectives	Connection with post-growth criteria
Spatial planning	Uitvoeringsagenda Almere, Stad met toekomst 2022-2024 (Municipality of Almere, 2022a)	<u>Providing enough houses and varied residential areas</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 21. Qualitative impulse to the city and finishing existing areas that are being developed into residential areas. 22. Development of high urban Central Almere that provides space for new amenities, informal working environments and a further densification with houses. 23. Densification around nodes of public transport 24. Continuing to finish the green living/working environment of the cities' eastern side, by continuing phase 1 of Oosterwold and preparing for phase 2. 	1 – sustainable development 2 – Inner urban development 3 – Inner urban development, user density 4 – Green space, inner urban development
		<u>Giving an impulse to the business climate and amenities</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 25. Development of Almere contributes to a robust economic growth of both the city and the surrounding region, enhancing the work-life balance in the process. 26. Efforts are directed towards fortifying the economic landscape, particularly focusing on promising sectors such as ICT-Tech, energy transition and circular economy 27. Emphasizing on fostering informal workspaces within urban settings, promoting a blend of housing, amenities and employment opportunities. 28. Pampus is the key economic driver for Almere, with collaborations with Amsterdam to identify and nurture promising sectors. 29. Concerted push is made to enhance the range of amenities in Almere, including tourism and recreation offerings. 	5 - X 6 – energy sufficiency, circularity 7 – mixed land use 8 - X 9 - X
		<u>Creating a strong and robust society</u>	

¹ Note: The main objectives are related to the main objectives in the 'handelingsperspectief'.

		<p>30. Focusing on strengthening the entire educational landscape, from early childhood education, primary and secondary schools to vocational education and higher education</p> <p>31. Emphasizing measures to enhance the socio-economic status of city residents, which are integrated with spatial interventions.</p>	<p>10 – sustainable lifestyle, good life</p> <p>11 –diversity, high density of interactions, user density</p>
		<p><u>Excellent accessibility</u></p> <p>32. New neighbourhoods become accessible for all modes of transport</p> <p>33. Development of a city centre in which cars are less visible</p> <p>34. Regional accessibility will be ensured by new connections to nodes, and MIRT-investigations (multi-year programme for space and infrastructure).</p>	<p>12 – X</p> <p>13 – inner urban development, Sustainable development</p> <p>14 – sustainable development</p>
		<p><u>High-quality landscapes with appeal</u></p> <p>35. Keeping the green structure</p> <p>36. City becomes more connected to the surrounding landscapes, big forest areas and nature areas. The northwestern coast of Almere will be developed into ecologically valuable islands.</p> <p>37. Efforts towards a climate resilient, circular and energy neutral city.</p> <p>38. The energy transition and climate resilience are always integrated into developments within the city and development of new areas.</p> <p>39. Existing neighborhoods become climate adaptive and energy neutral. Measures are taken on aerial- and building level</p> <p>40. New developments become climate adaptive, energy neutral and circular</p>	<p>15 – Green space</p> <p>16 –good life, Green space</p> <p>17 – energy sufficiency, circularity</p> <p>18 – sustainable development, energy sufficiency</p> <p>19 – energy sufficiency, sustainability</p> <p>20 – sustainable development, energy sufficiency</p>
Housing	Stedelijk woningbouwprogramma	41. Keeping the strategy per area for development of residential areas that is defined in the 'SWPA'. This strategy is about:	Spatial quality

2021 – 2024 (SWPA) (Municipality of Almere, 2021a)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finishing current residential development plans • Providing different residential areas with variations in residential qualities. 	
	42. Continuing with 130% plan capacity to be able to realize 2.225 houses	X
	43. Accepting a greater amount of apartments in the SWPA than originally adopted in the residential vision.	Land consumption, sustainable development, inner urban development
	44. Accepting the current market conditions in which there are more regulated and liberated houses for rental than there were adopted in the residential vision.	Affordable housing
	45. More steering with residential development by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of a residential development director (woningbouwregisseur) • Monitoring of the residential challenge twice a year • Dialogue with residential partners from the town 	X
	46. Monitoring the residential challenge	Affordable housing
	47. Fastening the production of residential development	Sustainable development
	48. Paying space (betaalruimte) to provide affordable housing for multiple income groups.	Affordable housing
	49. Adding apartments concentrated at locations where it strengthens other functions. For example in a city centre.	Mixed land use, inner urban development, land consumption
	50. Providing houses for specific target groups, like seniors, younger people and students.	Affordable housing

		<p>51. Realizing houses with attention to the core qualities of Almere:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green/spacious character of the city • The big variance of residential areas • A good balance between income groups within neighbourhoods • Active dialogue and steering with projects that have a connection to the residential building programme. • Organizing a 'versnellingstafel woningbouw Almere'. This is a form of dialogue in which different policy makers from different policy fields talk with each other about residential developments in Almere. 	Spatial quality, green space, diversity
		52. Defining development directions per area/city district.	Inner urban development
		53. Bouwen voor de buurt: small-scale 'infill development' in existing neighbourhoods.	Inner urban development, sustainable development, land consumption

Table 11: analysis of the policy instruments

Spatial plan/spatial motivation	Main objectives	Connection with post-growth criteria	Spatial intentions	Housing intentions
De Velden, Gooimeer en Kromslootpark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 52. New paths, bridges and better accessibility in the ‘Kromslootpark’ 53. Realisation of a transmission tower within the existing urban structure 54. Integrating effects of infrastructure developments outside of the plan-area 55. Conserving the existing, factual situation (Municipality of Almere, 2024). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 – Spatial quality 2 – inner urban development 3 – X 4 – X 	See column 2	Irrelevant
Chw bestemmingsplan Oosterwold, 1e partiële herziening	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 56. Revising the Chw zoning plan ‘Oosterwold’ 57. Providing rules for mixed land use 58. Ruling the permitted initiatives in the plan area 59. Regulating changes in the parcel layout. 60. Providing more possibilities to realize water 61. Realizing a more even spread of shops in the city by setting specific rules for what is (not) possible. 62. Broadening the building possibilities of urban gardening 63. Clustering the public space with smaller parcels in the project area (Municipality of Almere, 2023d) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5 - X 6 – Mixed land use 7 - X 8 - X 9 – Green spaces 10 – mixed land use, diversity, sustainable development, land consumption 11 – urban gardening 12 – land consumption, user density, high density of interactions 	<p>Mixed land use and regulating changes in parcel layout to improve the quality of the area</p> <p>Giving more possibilities to realize water to improve the spatial quality of the area.</p> <p>Clustering public space to improve spatial quality</p>	<p>Adding new permitted houses to easier monitor the housing challenge.</p> <p>Improving the residential quality by changing parcel layout.</p> <p>Broadening possibilities for urban gardening to improve self sufficiency and residential quality</p>
Bedrijfspannd Koperstraat 7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 64. Realizing a physiotherapy practice in the existing urban structure of Almere 65. Providing sustainability measures with the building plan, like a warmth pump 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 13 - Inner urban development 14 – Energy sufficiency 	See column 2	Irrelevant

	and solar panels (Van Riezen & Partners, 2023).			
Wooncluster Jacques Tatilaan, Almere	<p>66. Demolishing a current tenniscomplex and building houses instead of it (within the existing urban structure of Almere).</p> <p>67. Realizing 60 houses maximum, consisting of a maximum of 15 groundbounded houses and 40-45 appartments in three so called 'urban villas'.</p> <p>68. Connecting the new neighbourhood to the existing park.</p> <p>69. Stimulating biodiversity with herb vegetation, insect hotels and green propertyborders</p> <p>70. Compensating lost trees as a cause of the development within the plan-area (IDDS, 2023)</p>	<p>15 – inner urban development, land consumption, sustainable development</p> <p>16 – X</p> <p>17 – Green space, Good life</p> <p>18 – Green space</p> <p>19 – Green space</p>	<p>Making the newly built area attractive and providing spatial quality.</p> <p>Using existing spaces for development</p>	<p>Solving the housing crisis by realizing more houses.</p> <p>Connecting the new neighbourhood to a surrounding park to improve the residential quality.</p>
Muiderbos	<p>71. Realizing new houses in the existing urban structure of Almere.</p> <p>72. Providing developmentfields for 'self-build parcels' where people can develop their own house with the help of the municipality</p> <p>73. Connection between the residential clusters and the surrounding landscape</p> <p>74. Sustainable building</p> <p>75. Extensive energy use, low environmental damage</p> <p>76. Spatial quality of the development</p> <p>77. Providing city warmth and solar panels, limiting the CO₂-reduction.</p>	<p>20 –inner urban development</p> <p>21 – appropriation areas, participation, sustainable lifestyle</p> <p>22 – Green spaces</p> <p>23 – sustainable development</p> <p>24 – energy sufficiency</p> <p>25 – spatial quality</p> <p>26 – energy sufficiency</p> <p>27 – energy sufficiency</p>	<p>Making an attractive residential area. Partly by connecting it to surrounding landscape</p>	<p>Realizing new houses to make contributions to the residential challenge/housing crisis.</p>

	78. Energy efficiency (Municipality of Almere, 2023c).			
Wijzigingsplan J. Huydecoperweg 22	79. Ending existing agricultural business activities and legalizing a former business residence into a regular rural house. 80. Changing the spatial function to legalize regular residing (Municipality of Almere, 2023b).	28 – sustainable development 29 – sustainable development	Legalizing a changed spatial-juridical situation	Addition of a new house in the municipality. This contributes to the housing crisis.
Wijzigingsplan Almere Centrum Weerwater Floriade Veiligheidszone Propaantanks	81. Dissolving multiple external safety contours, providing more possibilities to realize more spatial functions in the designated area (Municipality of Almere, 2023a)	30 -sustainable development, appropriation areas	Providing more development options in the designated area. This could be multiple functions.	Possibilities to realize more houses in this area, contributing to solving the housing crisis.
Transformatorstation De Strubbenweg 37	82. Expansion of an existing transformer station within the urban structure 83. Realisation of 7 lightning rods 84. Expansion of the electric capacity of the transformer station (Municipality of Almere, 2022d).	31 – inner urban development, land consumption 32 – X 33 -energy sufficiency	See column 2	Irrelevant
Wijzigingsplan Almere Hout Noord, De Werf	85. Development of a new residential area (140 houses maximum) that also includes space for food service industry (Dutch: horeca). The projected area for food service industry consists of 300 m ² . 86. Nature compensation (Municipality of Almere, 2022c)	34 – mixed land use, sustainable development 35 – Green spaces	Creating an attractive residential area that fits into existing structures. The addition of food service industry strengthens the new residential area	Creating an attractive new residential area for multiple income groups. Solving the housing crisis
Barracudastraat - Snoekstraat	87. Inner urban development that provides spatial-legal possibilities for an apartment complex	36 – inner urban development, land consumption	Creating an attractive residential area that fits into the existing urban structure.	Providing houses in the social housing segment to accommodate social housing objectives.

	88. Providing houses in the social housing segment (Municipality of Almere, 2022b)	37 – affordable housing		Contributing to solving the housing crisis.
Appartementen Sluis Almere Haven	89. Inner urban development of 32 apartments in a building of maximum six building layers 90. Transformation of an existing parking lot into apartments (Municipality of Almere, 2021h).	38 – inner urban developments 39 – sustainable development, land consumption	Creating an attractive apartment complex that fits into the existing urban structure. Changing an existing function in a function that flows from big societal interests (housing crisis).	Contributing to solving the housing crisis. Specifically in the apartment segment.
Zonnepark A27 - Kluutweg	91. Realisation of a new solar park near the National road A28 (Municipality of Almere, 2021g).	40 – energy sufficiency, sustainability	See column 2	Irrelevant
Distributiecentrum Stichtsekan 2	92. Realisation of a distribution centre on an existing business park, consisting of 5 warehouses. The warehouses consist of a company hall, office rooms and rooms for supportive amenities (Municipality of Almere, 2021f).	41 – sustainable development	See column 2	Irrelevant
Uitbreiding AZC Sportpark Fanny Blankers-Koen	93. Providing spatial/legal frameworks for the expansion of an existing asylum seekers centre, within the urban structure of Almere. 94. Increasing employees with 30 to 45 fte, providing more jobs. 95. No new space consumption (Municipality of Almere, 2021e).	42 – inner urban development 43 – X 44 – land consumption, sustainable development	Expanding the asylum seekers centre in a spatially qualitative way (the area has to look nice). Limiting space consumption Increasing job opportunities.	Providing residence for asylum seekers from other countries. Contributing to ambitions that focus on asylum seekers.
Wijzigingsplan Leemwierde	96. Providing spatial/legal frameworks for the development of a maximum of 40 houses in two smaller apartment	45 – inner urban development, land consumption,	Creating a new residential area with two apartment buildings.	Contributing to solving the housing crisis.

	<p>buildings and the realisation of a care facility. Development takes place in the existing urban structure of Almere</p> <p>97. Gasless buildings (Municipality of Almere, 2021d).</p>	<p>sustainable development</p> <p>46 – energy sufficiency</p>	<p>Limiting space consumption by developing within the inner city</p>	<p>Providing energy measures in new buildings.</p>
<p>Kruisstraat Almere Haven</p>	<p>98. Giving spatial/legal frameworks to realize 23 apartments in the urban centre of Almere Haven</p> <p>99. Providing mixed land use by creating a new residential function on top of an existing supermarket.</p> <p>100. Expansion of the supermarket from 376 m² to 1.700 m², conform the current building possibilities within the spatial zone: 'Centrum' (Municipality of Almere, 2021c).</p>	<p>47 – inner urban development</p> <p>48 – mixed land use, land consumption</p> <p>49 – inner urban development, land consumption</p>	<p>Using existing space consciously.</p> <p>Realizing 23 apartments within an existing urban structure.</p> <p>Combining functions so they strengthen each other.</p>	<p>Contributing to solving the housing crisis.</p>
<p>Stichtsekant Noord, 1e partiële herziening</p>	<p>101. Providing spatial-legal frameworks for the establishment of a new datacenter, within the existing urban structure)</p> <p>102. Providing a new acoustic zone for the datacenter because of requirements in the Dutch noise pollution law (Municipality of Almere, 2021b).</p>	<p>50 – Inner urban development</p> <p>51 – sustainable lifestyle, spatial quality</p>	<p>See column 2</p>	<p>Irrelevant</p>

Appendix 3: analysis table comparative analysis policy goals housing and spatial policies
Due to readability reasons, the analysis table could not be added to the thesis. Requests for the separate appendix can be emailed to m.f.van.dam.1@student.rug.nl

Appendix 4: interview guide housing director / programme manager spatial planning

This appendix shows the interview guides for both semi-structured interviews². Due to research ethics and data management efforts, the transcripts are not provided here. If legitimate need arises, the author can be contacted for the full transcripts via: m.f.van.dam.1@student.rug.nl

Interview guide housing director

Introduction

- Brief round of introductions
- Thank you for participating in this interview. Before we begin, I would like to confirm your consent to participate in this interview. Is it okay if I record this interview for accurate transcription and analysis purposes?
- Explanation: you will be anonymized. Information about publication database of the thesis.
- I would now like to explain the purpose of my research and your role as a participant. Do you have any questions beforehand?
- Research on Almere's policy in the field of space and housing. Focus on the previous and current council period.

Policy Cycle Bridge

In policy development in the Netherlands, a distinction can be made between policy goals at the vision level and more operational 'policy instruments' that are more concrete (programs, plans). These instruments aim to achieve the more abstract objectives set out in the visions.

For example, there is →

The Housing Vision

- This policy sets many abstract goals/ambitions. Can you describe the effects of this policy? Perhaps with examples?

Urban Housing Program

- Still objectives, but more concrete:
 - 130% plan capacity
 - Area-focused strategy for housing development
 - More apartments
 - Building for the neighborhood
 - Taking into account Almere's core qualities in developments
 - Monitoring the housing task
- What have been the effects of this policy so far and (how) is this measured? Can you provide examples that illustrate this?
 - Space for probing questions

Policy Instruments

- Which policy instruments so far have contributed to achieving the goals within the housing vision and the urban housing program? Looking at the period since the policy was established (2020 for vision, 2021 for the urban housing program)
- Ask for examples/evidence

Examples of Housing Plans with Impact?

² The interviews were conducted in Dutch and thus also the interview guides. Both interview guides were translated to English with the use of AI (ChatGPT-3.5). A grammar/language check was done for extra quality purposes.

- Do you have examples of spatial plans that affect the objectives in the housing vision or the urban housing program?
- How do these plans contribute to the policy goals in the action perspective?

Conclusion

- Is there anything else you would like to add or discuss?
- I would like to thank you again for your valuable input and time. Your perspectives will make a valuable contribution to my research.

Interview guide programme manager spatial planning

Introduction

- Brief round of introductions
- Thank you for participating in this interview. Before we begin, I would like to confirm your consent to participate in this interview. Is it okay if I record this interview for accurate transcription and analysis purposes?
- Explanation: you will be anonymized. Information about publication database of the thesis. I would now like to explain the purpose of my research and your role as a participant. Do you have any questions beforehand?
- Research on Almere's policy in the field of space and housing. Focus on the previous and current council period.

Policy Cycle Bridge

In policy development in the Netherlands, a distinction can be made between policy goals at the vision level and more operational 'policy instruments' that are more concrete (programs, plans). These instruments aim to achieve the more abstract objectives set out in the visions.

For example, there is →

The 'Scope of Action'

- This policy sets many abstract goals/ambitions. Can you describe the effects of this policy? Perhaps with examples?

The execution programme of the 'Scope of Action'

- Still objectives, but a bit more concrete:
 - Providing enough houses and varied residential areas
 - Giving an impulse to the business climate and amenities
 - Creating a strong and robust society
- What have been the effects of this policy so far and (how) is this measured? Can you provide examples that illustrate this?
 - Space for robing questions

Policy Instruments

- Which more executive policy instruments have so far contributed to achieving the goals within the Scope of Action and the execution programme of the Scope of Action? Looking at the period since the policy was established.
- Ask for examples/evidence

Examples of Housing Plans with Impact?

- Do you have examples of spatial plans that affect the objectives in the housing vision or the urban housing program?
- How do these plans contribute to the policy goals in the action perspective?

Conclusion

- Is there anything else you would like to add or discuss?
- I would like to thank you again for your valuable input and time. Your perspectives will make a valuable contribution to my research.