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An institutional analysis of Organic Development Strategies: The case of Woldwijk, Ten Boer, the Netherlands

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Sandra Knoop	S2562057	
Supervisor	Ward Rauws	

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
Faculty of Spatial Sciences
Environmental and Infrastructure Planning

Key concepts

Organic development; ODS; civic initiatives; peri-urban area; complexity; bottom-up development; institutions; IAD framework; tensions

Preface

In front of you, you can find my master thesis “*An institutional analysis of Organic Development Strategies: the case of Woldwijk, Ten Boer, the Netherlands*”. This thesis is written in the context of my graduation from the master’s program Environmental and Infrastructure Planning, at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. This thesis was written during my internship at the Woldwijk case, in which I was offered the chance to experience spatial planning in practice and follow the turbulent developments from a bottom-up approach from a unique perspective.

When I saw the announcement of an internship at this project, I knew this was a unique opportunity for my student career as it would offer me with a different perspective on spatial planning. This chance offered me the opportunity to follow the process leading to the implementation of a bottom-up project. Woldwijk proved to be a very special and unique project to follow, as it is an experiment in different ways and as such challenges current ways of working for many parties involved. Following and investigating this project showed not only the challenges spatial planners are facing but also the creativity, enthusiasm, and ingenuity of the cooperating parties. During the writing of this thesis, I have learned that citizens are able to contribute significantly to their environment with creative, sustainable ideas involving alternative ways of working and living. It also showed that this shift of spatial planning from governmental organizations to citizens comes with many challenges. It was very interesting to investigate current processes and upcoming challenges. Therefore, I am thankful that this opportunity of doing an internship at Woldwijk was offered to me.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Ward Rauws, for guiding me through the process and challenging me to improve my work. Also, I would like to thank Piet Pellenbarg, who also has shined his light upon the progress of my thesis and enriched this with his different perspective on the case. Furthermore, I would like to thank my friends and family for their support and interest. And last, special thanks to the interviewees who participated in this project and provided me with the essential data, leading to the results of this thesis. I hope you will enjoy reading this thesis.

Sandra Knoop
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Groningen

Summary

A new, more adaptive approach to spatial planning is developing in the Netherlands, being organic area development, or Organic Development Strategies (ODSs). ODSs involve the stepwise development of small-scale initiatives, involving an open future and a facilitating role for the government, which is contradicting with the commonly used traditional approach, in which detailed blueprint plans and strong governmental control are involved. The implementation of ODSs leads to institutional tensions since this new and innovative approach comes with another way of working, with new roles for the involved parties. In the case of Woldwijk, Ten Boer, the Netherlands, where the idea of organic development is applied, difficulties and tensions can be seen as a result of the contradiction between the traditional, top-down planning culture and the initiators who have the desire to develop their ambitions from the bottom-up. Some of these tensions have to do with existing rules in the field of spatial planning, but many can be referred to the new way of working and unclear rules or positions within the field. But where can tensions be found, and how to deal with these tensions and resultant difficulties? An analysis is made based on the Institutional Analysis Development Framework (Ostrom, 2011). This framework is useful in understanding the current institutional situation, by investigating a so-called action situation. This research shows that the focus on arranging everything in a legal sense instead of the focus on physical action, ambiguities regarding positions, roles and responsibilities and the different ambitions and perspectives of the involved parties lead to tensions, which are constraining the process of the operationalizing an ODS in Woldwijk. As this research will show, it is essential to realize these tensions in the turbulent environment of ODSs and make these tensions workable, as this will make or break the project.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background and problem statement

A key challenge of spatial planning is to address the collective concerns about the quality of our environment. This can be done by focusing policy attention on the social and natural forces that lead to change in the quality of places, but also by offering ideas about the processes of governance through which stakeholders work out what to do and how to act (Healey, 2006). In this matter, planning is traditionally aimed at managing co-existence of the many interests in shared spaces and has generally been associated with what governments do (van der Stoep, 2014). The Dutch planning system has got a long history of which the well-known large-scale land reclamations are an example (Cozzolino et al., 2017). It can be seen as *active* land-use planning, in which Dutch public bodies have relatively strong steering ambitions and traditionally are involved in regulating, financing, organizing and constructing integrated developments. The Dutch planning system is, therefore, an integrated, comprehensive approach which is a distinctive feature of the Dutch style of spatial planning (Nadin et al., 1997; Buitelaar & Sorel, 2010; Buitelaar et al., 2014; Cozzolino et al., 2017).

However, this comprehensive large-scale planning approach is under pressure since it seems to be unable to address the fragmented, heterogeneous and changing environment. Civic initiatives came up as a response to this inability of the contemporary approach, proposing alternatives for spatial interventions and confronting governmental planners with serious questions about their role (Boonstra, 2015). Entrepreneurs, citizens and other stakeholders come up with initiatives in order to make an important contribution to improving the quality of their local environment. These civic, bottom-up initiatives can be seen as a significant trend in spatial planning which is breaking with the traditional view of spatial development in which the government, municipalities, housing corporations and developers are taking the lead (Boonstra et al., 2014).

Complex environment and organic development

The trend of citizens coming up with initiatives is a feature of dealing with the increasingly complex world planners have to operate in. This complexity challenges planners at many levels, since the past technical rational, straightforward judgments and approaches which were applied to spatial planning did not include this complexity. As Duit & Galaz argue (2008, p. 328):

“Contrary to what is often assumed by policy scholars and policymakers, large parts of the world are not characterized by linear and predictable social, economic, or ecological processes. Instead, shocks and disturbances are much more common features than previously acknowledged”.

Thus, we live in an enormously dynamic world in which nothing is certain, therefore more adaptive approaches are needed (Wall et al., 2015). One example of a shock or disturbance is the economic crisis of 2008, which has revealed that the comprehensive and integrated nature of the contemporary Dutch planning system is amenable to external developments and shocks, and has created a tightly coupled system which has as a result that the interconnectedness causes other parts to be hit as well by events like crises (Buitelaar et al., 2012; Buitelaar et al., 2014). Many Dutch large-scale development projects were interrupted for economic feasibility issues (Buitelaar, 2010). As such, the active land-use policy sketched earlier is under

pressure because of its urge to control and its lack of flexibility in times of shocks (Buitelaar, 2010). Therefore, the current system might need an alternative approach, which is more functional in responding to uncertain and changing demands and circumstances, can absorb shocks and is, as such, more flexible and adaptive (Buitelaar et al., 2014).

Organic area development is an example of a more adaptive approach which adheres more to the idea of a loosely coupled system, instead of the tightly coupled traditional planning system mentioned before. This approach involves small-scale, bottom-up developments, including an open-end process without blueprint and in which there is a dominant role for its end-users instead of the government (Buitelaar et al., 2012). Organic area development is seen as a possible solution for jammed area development caused by the economic crisis as it is more small-scale oriented than the well-known large-scale, integral area development approach. As such, the concept of organic development is more functional in responding to uncertain and changing demands and circumstances, and is, therefore, more flexible (Buitelaar et al., 2014). However, it has to be noted that the comprehensive, large-scale, and integrative approach, nor the organic development approach is *the* answer to all planning issues. Many large-scale development projects are still realized by making use of the traditional approach. Both approaches have their benefits, depending on the situation, such as the scale of the project, the timeframe, the goals and desires of a particular area.

Considering the traditional way of planning, facilitating organic area development mainly entails a cultural challenge for institutions, like municipalities, since they are used to having strong steering ambitions. According to Buitelaar et al. (2012), organic area development means changing the unwritten rules and working methods of municipal officials, being the informal institutions rather than legal rules and acts, which are the formal institutions. Therefore this thesis lays its focus on the informal institutions, being the planning culture at the local level, rather than normative rules and regulations. Organic area development is an open-ended and indivisible process, in which it is not clear if, when, where and what kind of initiatives will emerge. Holding on to certainties does not work any longer with this approach, and may even work counteractive by reducing the influence of planners (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Hence, this form of area development requires a different governmental attitude compared to the traditional approach. It means letting go of control; taking on a more modest and patient attitude, both in regard to steering the process and towards initiators. Municipalities that choose to facilitate organic area development area are thus needed to depart from their comfort zone and embrace uncertainty in their organizations.

An example of a civic initiative involving the idea of organic development can be found in the Woldwijk project in Ten Boer, the Netherlands. This thesis uses this case to investigate the process of realizing an organic development approach in practice. Woldwijk is an area in a peri-urban zone and involves several civic initiatives which are to be developed using an organic approach. However, during the process of organizing and implementing these initiatives, it became clear that starting something from the bottom-up was more difficult than expected. Difficulties are mainly due to the fact that this approach is quite new; Woldwijk itself can be seen as an experiment and it is still a search for how the new, different roles have to be fulfilled, and how this works in practice. The question arises to what extent civic-led initiatives, with the desire to use an organic approach, can be realized without facing too many difficulties in the current institutional landscape. Also, what tensions can be seen in the realization of the process of implementation in an organic area development approach, and how did the Woldwijk project handle difficulties and tensions in this process? In this thesis we explore these questions by analyzing the implications from the current informal institutional framework for guiding civic initiatives, focusing in particular on the peri-urban area.

The focus on the peri-urban context is one aspect that makes this research scientifically and societally relevant and interesting since many scholars and researchers so far particularly have focused on organic development in the urban area only (Cozzolino, 2017; Rauws & de Roo, 2016; Buitelaar et al., 2012). Woldwijk is an example of a peri-urban area, being a rural area of origin, slowly transforming to a more urban area. The peri-urban area can be characterized as unique, being a very dynamic zone in which new spatial functions and land-use types arise (Rauws & de Roo, 2011). To deal with these dynamics, using an organic approach might be more beneficial than the large-scale and integrated approach which we have seen mostly in the Netherlands so far, since the organic approach is able to take non-linearity, flexibility, and adaptability into account, and as such the dynamics belonging to a peri-urban area.

The operationalization of an organic development approach requires a fundamental change in the organization of the planning process for governmental actors and informal institutions in the field of spatial planning. Considering the current institutional landscape, this leads to a situation in which tensions can be experienced now that civic initiatives are emerging since this is another way of working for the parties involved. Therefore, this thesis investigates which institutional tensions can be seen in operationalizing an organic development approach and whether the current institutional landscape has to adapt to the changing circumstances. By looking at the concepts of institutions, complexity, civic initiatives and organic development, and by looking at the case of Woldwijk and its peri-urban context, this research aims to draw lessons for similar future projects. This is done by investigating what tensions can be seen in the field and how resultant difficulties can be handled, and by looking at the interaction patterns and experiences of involved actors at the case.

1.2 Research question

The main research question is formulated as followed:

How are current rules in the field of spatial planning facilitating or constraining organic development in Woldwijk, and what institutional tensions are experienced by initiators and governmental actors in the operationalization of the organic development approach?

This research question will be answered by looking at a few sub-questions:

- 1) Why is there an increasing emphasis on organic area development, and how does this approach connect to complexity and the peri-urban area?
- 2) How can the Institutional Analysis Development Framework of Ostrom (2011) offer an analytical view for exploring the enabling and constraining effects of spatial planning rules on organic area development?
- 3) The case of Woldwijk: what difficulties can be seen in the operationalization of an organic development approach, and how did the involved actors handle these?
- 4) Which lessons can be drawn from the Woldwijk project for initiators, organizations and other governmental actors in future similar projects?

1.3 Case description: Woldwijk, Ten Boer, the Netherlands



Figure 1: Location of Ten Boer, Groningen, The Netherlands

One example of a civic initiative using an organic development approach is Woldwijk. This is an area of approximately 40 hectares, north-east of the village of Ten Boer, Groningen, the Netherlands (Figure 1). In providing an image of the Woldwijk area, the next page offers some pictures. In Figure 2 the location of Woldwijk as opposed to the village Ten Boer can be seen. Concerning the appearance of the area, Woldwijk can be characterized as an area with an open, typical “Groningers” characteristic landscape, containing meadows with a wide view, some agriculture, farms and small and historical watercourses. In Figure 3 a photo of the area itself can be found, and in Figure 4 the old farmhouse with a barn which also belongs to the Woldwijk area.

Once, Woldwijk was meant for the development of new houses to expand the village, and the municipality of Ten Boer bought this ground to anticipate on the expansion of Ten Boer. However, the economic crisis hit in 2008, resulting in the cancellation of these plans. The municipality was left with a huge debt, and with a piece of land where no developments were going on, instead of the planned large-scale housing development. To do more with this area, the municipality of Ten Boer invited citizens of Ten Boer to come up with ideas to do something with this vacant area on a temporary basis. Ideas that would benefit the needs of the citizens of the area, something that adds value to the municipality, something that is sustainable and also something that could release the municipality from its financial debt. The essence of this idea was to be able to quickly and flexibly respond to changing dynamics within the area.

As such, many citizens and stakeholders came up with ideas (\pm 25 initiatives at first) which eventually led to a few serious initiatives. The Cooperative Association Woldwijk (Coöperatieve Vereniging Woldwijk; CV Woldwijk) was founded as an encompassing organization under which the several initiatives could be realized in a sustainable and cooperative way. Initiatives such as Tiny Housing, eco-building, the development of sustainable energy, educational agricultural management and a collective garden for the local inhabitants, signed up to realize their ambitions for a period of maximum 20 years. Next to these initiatives, new, as yet unknown initiatives are also invited to settle on Woldwijk in the future, but when, where and how many is unknown. Therefore, Woldwijk plans on developing these initiatives in an organic way. However, as enthusiastic as these plans started, it became clear that starting up something like this from the bottom-up is not that easy as this approach involves a new way of working for many people involved, like the municipality and the initiators. Responsibilities have shifted. Also, many things take time, agreements have to be secured and authorization for the activities in this area must be granted. Woldwijk can be seen as a unique case, as an experiment, in dealing with space in a different way, and this does not always go smoothly. The case of Woldwijk shows difficulties or tensions in implementing small-scale initiatives with an organic development approach. But where can we find these tensions and why is a process like this so difficult?

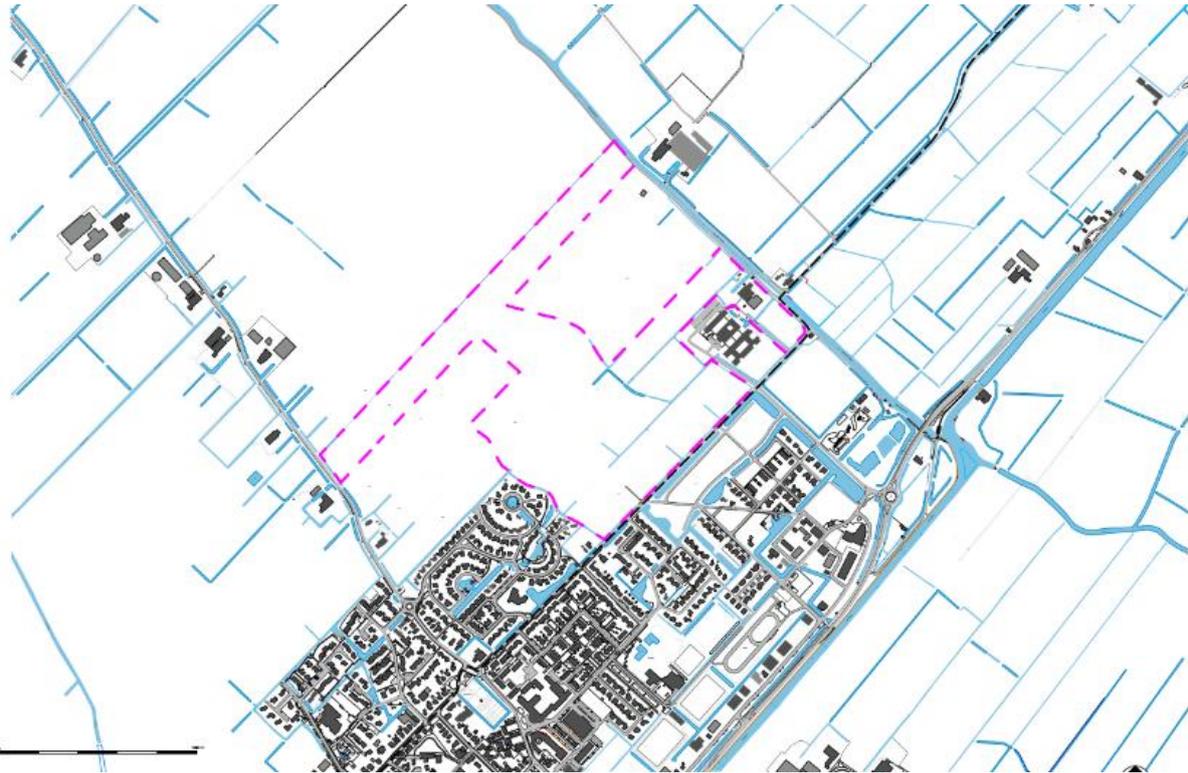


Figure 2: Woldwijk area (purple lines) and the village of Ten Boer



Figure 3: The characteristic landscape of Woldwijk



Figure 4: The old farmhouse with barn located at Woldwijk

1.4 Reading guide

To research these questions at hand, this thesis is structured as follows. First, there will be elaborated on the theoretical aspects in Chapter 2, involving the peri-urban context Woldwijk is in and its complexity, the shift from the contemporary approach in spatial planning to the organic area development approach, tensions in the field of spatial planning, institutions, and the Institutional Analysis Development Framework developed by Ostrom, which is a very important aspect of this research in analyzing the institutional landscape of Woldwijk. The IAD Framework is also an important aspect of Chapter 3, in which there will be accounted for used methods. Regarding methodology, semi-structured interviews will provide this research with the data needed to answer the main research question. In Chapter 4, the findings will be presented, after which the research questions will be answered in Chapter 5, resulting in a conclusion. In Chapter 6, reflections on this research and recommendations for future research and practices can be found.

2 Theory: the institutional landscape of ODSs

2.1 Something new in the Netherlands

The Netherlands, once described as a planner's paradise by Faludi and Van de Valk (1994), has a strong tradition of blueprint planning as well as more communicative practices, supported by a well-developed planning system and detailed planning procedures and regulations to guide urban developments towards agreed outcomes (Gerrits et al., 2012). Recently, we can observe an increased emphasis on an alternative approach in the Netherlands, the organic development approach (or Organic Development Strategy; ODS), which is quite the opposite of the common used comprehensive and large-scale integrated development approach. Therefore, the organic development approach involves another way of working. This logically leads to difficulties in implementing the organic development approach, since the institutional landscape is still characterized by the contemporary approach. This chapter will elaborate on both approaches and their differences.

However, first, we will elaborate on the peri-urban area, since this is the context Woldwijk finds itself in. This is an area characterized by great dynamics and uncertainties, which therefore can be seen as very complex. It is important to understand this context in relation to the organic development approach since this approach might be well suited to deal with these dynamics. Second, in order to understand the tensions which can be experienced at the operational level of an organic development approach, it is important to understand the contemporary approach mostly used in the Netherlands. Therefore, the contemporary large-scale integrated approach will be highlighted and compared briefly to the organic development approach. In addition, the tensions that can arise in the field of spatial planning, and - more relevant for this research - in the implementation of an organic approach, will be highlighted. Yet, even though the tensions which are highlighted by Savini et al. (2015) are very useful, it solely gives a general insight in the difficulties and tensions that can be seen in the field of spatial planning. Therefore, this chapter will elaborate more on the tensions which can be expected in the field of organic development, by making use of the IAD Framework which is developed by Elinor Ostrom. The last paragraph of this chapter will elaborate further on this framework, and conceptualize this for organic development, making use of the concepts used in the IAD framework.

2.2 Dynamics and complexity in the peri-urban area

2.2.1 *Woldwijk - an area in the peri-urban*

While traditionally the urban-rural divide can be seen very clearly in the Netherlands, a transition is going on in which the clear distinction between urban and rural zones is shifting towards a more integrated area, in which both urban and rural identities can be seen. This is called the peri-urban area, a third type of landscape in addition to the urban and the rural, and therefore a transitional zone between the city and its hinterland (Rauws & de Roo, 2011). The peri-urban area is a dynamic zone, where because of the interactions between its urban and rural functions or elements, new spatial functions, and land-use types arise (Rauws & de Roo, 2011).

Even though the definition of the peri-urban area has not reached full consensus because of its fuzzy mix of rural and urban attributes, the peri-urban area consists out of a few general characteristics of which the dynamic character becomes clear (Allen, 2003). First, because of the many services and public utilities are provided by the city nearby, the peri-urban area is under strong urban influence. This can also be seen in the case of Ten Boer, and as such, in Woldwijk, where many activities have been outsourced or replaced from the municipality of Ten Boer to the municipality of Groningen. These municipalities will fuse by 2019, and become one large municipality. Second, the in-flowing urban population causes a significant socioeconomic and cultural effect in the area, which causes the peri-urban social composition being diverse and which changes over time (Rauws & de Roo, 2011). Not only the social composition is dynamic, also the land occupancy can be seen as a dynamic one, having an ongoing and rapidly changing pattern because of the many interests coming together. These perceptions and interests are to be perceived rather as fluid than as static, linear or predictable. This, because of the ongoing interplay of contextual trends and location-specific changes in the peri-urban area (Rauws & van Dijk, 2015). Because of their dynamic character, peri-urban areas can be seen as zones of innovation (Foot, 2001). According to Rauws & de Roo (2011), peri-urban areas have fast-growing infrastructure facilities, green areas, and lower land prices compared to the near-located city, creating potential for future multifunctional development.

“In sum, a peri-urban area is not only a fluid zone where the urban and the rural meet, but can increasingly be distinguished in terms of its own specific dynamics and characteristics. In other words, the peri-urban area can be seen as a spatial system in its own right.”

(Rauws & de Roo, 2011, p. 27)

2.2.2 *The peri-urban as a complex adaptive system*

The aim of spatial planning is to support the making of better future places. In this aim, most development plans are designed in the light of knowledge at that specific moment rather than in the light of how things may become (Rauws et al., 2014). However, Duit & Galaz (2008) acknowledge that we often fail to recognize that drivers of change do not add up in a linear and predictable manner. This can result in insufficiently responsive development plans (Rauws et al., 2014). In the peri-urban area, which is perceived as very dynamic, non-linear and unpredictable and therefore as very complex, the difficulty lies in not knowing exactly how such an area will develop over time, which makes it hard to plan for. To account for “*the becoming*” in spatial planning, there is the study of Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS). CAS involve the idea of discontinuous and unexpected transformations in development processes, and therefore might fit better in our non-linear and dynamic world. CAS are characterized by their continuous evolution towards an optimal ‘fit’ with their dynamic environment (Heylighen, 2001). Unexpected situations lie at the heart of spatial sciences, and in CAS these discontinuities and unexpected events are recognized as a normal part of development processes rather than being viewed as exceptions or failures (Rauws et al., 2014). Rauws et al. (2014) elaborated in their article on how the adaptive capacity of urban development areas can be strengthened by incorporating flexibility in the design of development plans, and therefore have a better chance of success when responses to changes are required. There is a need for adaptation and flexibility in order to reduce vulnerability (Duit & Galaz, 2008). Byrne (2003) implies the crucial thing complexity offers in terms of modeling, is the idea of alternatives – a set of more than one future. CAS can offer important insights in including multiple futures in spatial planning.

The peri-urban area is, as argued before, a very dynamic area in which there are many conflicts of interests, competing demands, and the fragmented expansion of the urban fabric, and all these components need to be balanced and require ongoing planning efforts (Rauws & de Roo, 2011). The increasing complexity of urban-rural relationships results in a situation in which policymakers seem to be insufficiently equipped to understand the increasingly complex processes in peri-urban areas (Allen 2003). One difficulty in particular lies in the overlapping institutional landscape of the peri-urban area, with different spatial and physical remits, leading to the problem of institutional fragmentation (Allen, 2003). Peri-urban areas, therefore, face the risk of a generally lacking coherent spatial strategy. However, the absence of a uniform institutional framework can also leave niches for creative innovations (Mattingly, 1999). This often characterizes the peri-urban area, and in Woldwijk a similar character can be seen as Woldwijk is an example of a creative spatial innovation.

The peri-urban area is seen as a complex adaptive system (CAS), open to external influence and consisting of temporary structures and relationships that co-evolve over time (Portugali, 2006). Therefore, it connects to emerging debates within contemporary planning, concerning the fluidity of relations and interactions in planning processes, and the ways these processes influence future developments (Healey, 2009; Hillier, 2007). According to Rauws & van Dijk (2015), the peri-urban area inhabits a changing character and therefore requires a non-linear perspective. The contemporary approach in the Netherlands involves a more linear way of doing and therefore is not well suited to deal with the peri-urban dynamics. Organic area development, on the other hand, is a more adaptive planning approach which is able to co-evolve with the dynamics of a certain area (Rauws, 2016).

Woldwijk can be seen as an interesting example, as it has experienced the economic crisis and the cancellation of large-scale housing development projects, therefore looking for alternative strategies like the organic development approach. As its location lies in the peri-urban area, organic development can be of great importance since this approach accounts for non-linearity, adaptability, and flexibility. The next paragraph will elaborate on the contemporary and the organic development approach.

2.3 From integral area development to the idea of organic development

2.3.1 *Comprehensive integrated approach and its limitations*

The Dutch planning system has got a long history of actively steering and coordinating land use by public bodies in cooperation with private parties (Cozzolino, 2017). The Dutch planning system is as such labeled by the EU Commission as a 'comprehensive integrated approach' (CEC, 1997). This approach to planning is based on modernist principles and developed throughout the 20th century, mainly because of the immense efforts that were needed to rebuild the Netherlands after the Second World War, and is known for its large-scale and integral character and is predominantly based on continuous demographic and economic growth (Gerrits et al., 2012; Buitelaar et al., 2014; Buitelaar et al., 2012). This approach can be seen as a legislative system with an active land-use policy and high detail in land-use plans, with a clear predicted end stage, in order to provide protection, certainty and legal security (Rauws & de Roo, 2011; Janssen-Jansen & Woltjer, 2010). In this approach, governmental action is often based on creating spatial order and quality (Buitelaar & Sorel, 2010). Public bodies are involved in regulating, financing, organizing and constructing integrated and comprehensive developments, resulting in strong governmental control (Buitelaar et al., 2014). In this

matter, also local governments like Dutch municipalities play an important role in spatial planning and area development since they are developing areas in cooperation with large, professional parties, like big housing corporations and land developers, and have a very active role in area development by buying land.

However, this approach has some limitations, such as the lack of flexibility, problems, and costs regarding complex rules, and the impossibility to forecast future emergent opportunities with detailed land-use plans (Cozzolino, 2017). These limitations particularly became clear after the economic crisis of 2008, which showed that the contemporary planning system in the Netherlands is amenable to external developments and shocks (Buitelaar et al., 2012). Our world is not linear or predictable, as was acknowledged in traditional approaches regarding spatial planning, but is instead a place in which shocks, disturbances, and events “happen”, being therefore unpredictable and non-linear (Duit & Galaz, 2008). This has led to the active land-use policy being under pressure, and a search for alternative strategies (Buitelaar & Sorel, 2010).

The economic crisis and its resultant recessions had great effects on (re)development plans at the local level and caused many large-scale developments to be canceled. Municipalities were left with undeveloped land and growing interest costs (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2016). In the case of Woldwijk, these limitations regarding this approach can also be seen, since the large-scale development plans which were meant for this area could not proceed because of the economic crisis. The municipality of Ten Boer was left with a large area, in which the planned developments could not take place.

2.3.2 *The shift towards the idea of organic development*

Experiencing the limitations of the comprehensive, large-scale approach, it became clear that it is unrealistic to approach a changing environment with linear thinking and instrumental-rational methods. As a result of the large-scale area development approach being less favorable, and as such a growing resistance to modernist planning approaches, a growing diversity of demands and the present-day economic crisis, we can see a search for alternative development strategies (Gerrits et al., 2012). Planning scholars and planning practitioners are searching for planning approaches which are able to coevolve with the cities' dynamics. In this matter, it is important to make our environment more responsive in dealing with uncertainties (Rauws & de Roo, 2016). One of these alternative approaches is an organic development approach, which is seen as a feasible alternative (Cozzolino et al, 2017). Organic area development can be defined as:

“the sum of relatively small-scale (re)developments, with an open-end process without blueprint, with a dominant role for its end-users and a facilitating role for the government”

(Buitelaar et al., 2012, p. 8).

In organic area development or ODSs, the focus is on small-scale developments, with a rough master plan and a long time horizon. The role of the municipality is enabling instead of active, the focus is more on the process than on the project itself, and this approach allows for a more stepwise development of projects or initiatives (Buitelaar et al., 2012; Buitelaar et al., 2014; Cozzolino et al., 2017). Organic area development is an approach which does not include a prescriptive blueprint of what should be where (Rauws & de Roo, 2016). It entails an open program for a certain development area, in which different kind of initiatives can be realized gradually. The organic development approach, therefore, allows for more flexibility and makes it possible to respond to changing market circumstances more quickly. The concept of organic development can also be referred to as the idea of planning-by-invitation, or invitation planning, in which the

government, often the municipality, invites other players to put their ideas forward (Korthals Altes, 2016). Individuals or non-traditional coalitions of actors are invited to start an initiative, of which future inhabitants and end-users of an area often are the first people responsible for designing the living environment, thus creating a demand-driven development process (Rauws & de Roo, 2016). Therefore, this approach asks for a change of roles for local authorities.

To be clear, the comprehensive, large-scale, and integrative approach, nor the organic development approach is *the* answer to all planning issues. Planning issues which are pretty straightforward with low dynamics can be solved with a linear approach. And still, many large-scale development projects in the Netherlands can be found in the traditional approach. It depends on the situation, goals, and desires of developers whether an organic development approach or the contemporary one is suitable. However, in dealing with dynamics and complex situations, organic development includes a few benefits compared to the traditional approach. For example, end-users are more involved in the development of their environment, which can lead to more diversity, since civic ambitions and desires which correspond to their lifestyles can be realized. Also, the gradual development of initiatives provides more room in dealing with uncertainties and the risks that come with this (Buitelaar et al., 2012). The concept of organic development adheres more to the ideal of a loosely coupled system, which is more functional in responding to uncertain and changing demands and circumstances, takes non-linearity into account, and therefore can be more adaptable to change (Buitelaar et al., 2012; Buitelaar et al., 2014). Such an approach allows for more flexibility and makes it possible to quickly respond to changing market circumstances.

As this thesis is about the peri-urban context, organic development is an approach which seems to fit within this context since it provides room in dealing with the uncertainties and dynamics belonging to the peri-urban area in general. Crucial for organic development is the involvement of new actors and a change of roles for the local authorities. In *Figure 5* we can see a comparison between the two approaches discussed above, in which the opposite ends of both practices become clear.

The fundamental difference between the two approaches is the fact that ODSs generate open and flexible development paths, giving rise to spontaneity instead of the predefined spatio-functional configurations found in the traditional approach (Rauws & de Roo, 2016). In contrast, the contemporary institutional design in the Netherlands is mostly based on integral area development, in which present governance models are conflicting with ODSs. Organic development sometimes involves freedom to ignore all the conditions which are commonly set by public authorities for ordinary housing and real estate developments (Rauws & de Roo, 2016).

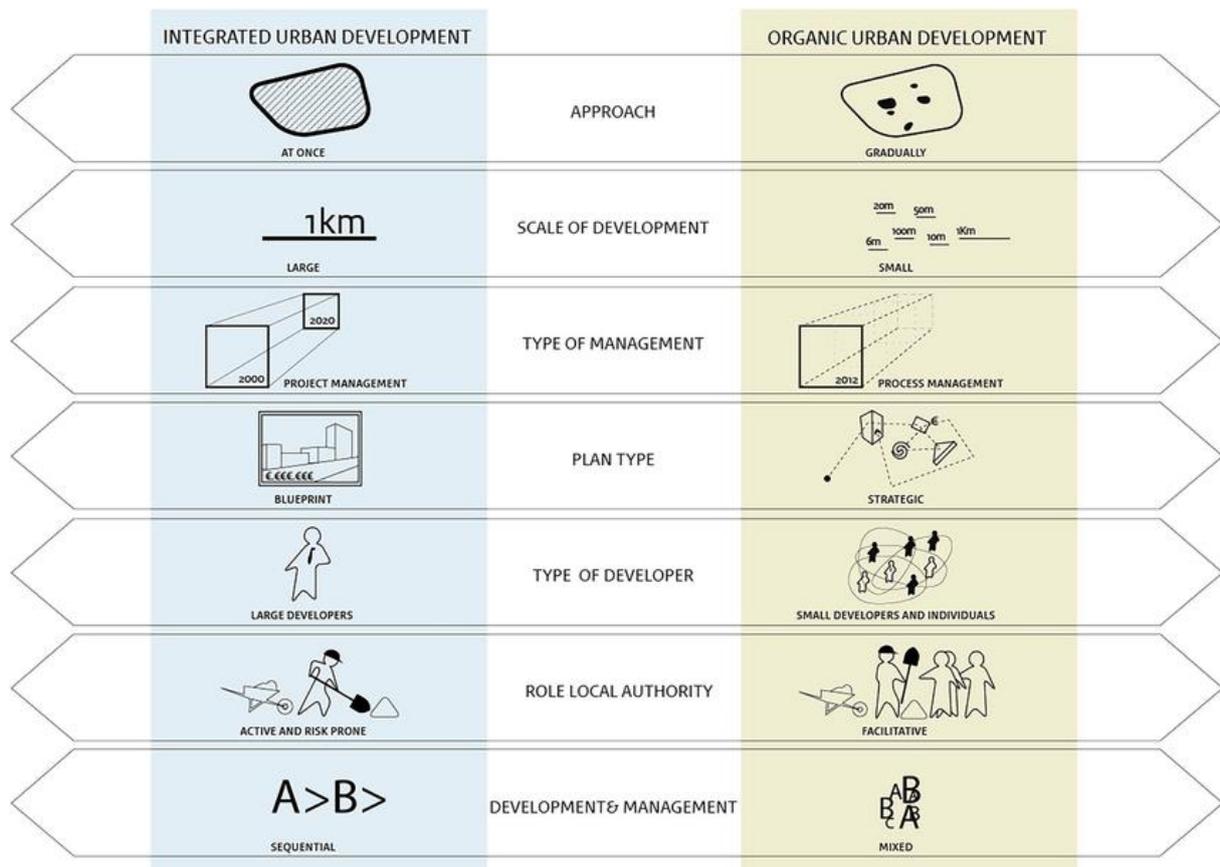


Figure 5: Integrated vs. organic area development (Buitelaar, 2012; Buitelaar & Bregman, 2016)

As such, organic development is an approach which can be very useful in the peri-urban area, since it involves adaptability and non-linearity and therefore can deal with the unique dynamics belonging to the peri-urban. Savini (2014) argues the uniqueness of the peri-urban as well, with using the concept “urban periphery”. Because of the fuzzy borders of the peri-urban, this area can be a place for political experiments, in which new planning concepts and instruments can be used in practice, such as the idea of demand-led planning (organic development) or making use of contextualized planning rules (Savini, 2014). Woldwijk is an example of an experiment in such an area, where many interests, demands, and desires come together and where an alternative planning approach is used in order to deal with dynamics and uncertainties. However, as Savini (2014) argues, and as the next paragraph will explain, experiments like the one in Woldwijk are not possible without confrontations, since experiments are about pushing boundaries, which logically leads to tensions since it is not the way of working planning agents are used to.

2.4 Dilemmas in the field of spatial planning

As argued before, upcoming bottom-up and more adaptive planning practices require another way of working, since society is seen as the source of change rather than the government, which is a quite radical change as there is a strong history of government-controlled planning (Savini et al., 2015). Governmental

actors are used to having goal-specific tasks and outcomes, while there is also an increasing emphasis on the idea that planning should enlarge possibilities for social change rather than constrain them. This is also the case in Woldwijk and in general with ODSs, since this approach is geared to flexibly addressing the uncertainty in developments. This leads to tensions since contemporary planning approaches are more about predictability and control. Today's practices of spatial development and planning are facing larger uncertainties, in which adaptability is important. However, in planning practice predictability is still an important factor, while in many theories the complexity in urban or social systems creates an unpredictable situation, as they are being non-linear systems (Portugali, 2006; Savini et al., 2015). Thus, the current institutional landscape in the field of spatial planning is not well equipped yet for dealing with uncertainties, while society is. This logically leads to difficulties, which is in turn leading to planners rethinking the space and time boundaries of development projects.

Savini et al. (2015) highlighted various dilemmas that planners can face in practice. With a dilemma they refer to a confronting situation, in which there are some extreme situations or approaches, one of which is not per se the better one, between which a decision has to be made. It is about a relationship between two poles, in which tensions exist. These tensions should be the point of departure to find fertile ground for a synthesis, or compromise between these two poles (Savini et al., 2015). This connection between two poles or extremes is found in daily planning practice, as will be shown in the analysis of Woldwijk. Tensions are therefore not considered negative in this research, as it is an unavoidable aspect of organizations and collaboration. The challenge is to make them workable.

Savini et al. (2015) delineate between intervention, regulation, and investment dilemmas, as being at the core of daily planning innovation, and the dilemmas planners are facing on a daily basis. In intervention dilemmas, it is about the balance between defined and undefined spatial boundaries. Regarding the regulation dilemmas, the tension lies between precise and general rules of using space, and the investment dilemma entails the tension between supply- and demand-led development logics (or the balance between the allocated and non-allocated resources) to promote certain spatial usages (Savini et al., 2015).

2.4.1 The intervention dilemma

The intervention dilemma entails the friction between control and spontaneity. Spatial planning is about improving the quality of the environment we live in, thus, spatial planning is above all about intervention in our environment. This can, for example, be the government who is intervening, companies or citizens. As discussed before, the government is assumed to have a lot of control regarding spatial planning, intervening in a world with many certainties. In new approaches, such as bottom-up ways of planning, the control is more drawn to the citizens and to societal or local trends and needs, resulting in increased uncertainty, spontaneity, and non-linearity. This is the tension that the intervention dilemma is about: the dilemma between control of the planning activities and outcomes, and the emphasis on organic development in which outcomes are uncertain, and developments are driven by spontaneous forms of land-use (Savini, 2013; Savini et al., 2015). As such, it is about the balance between the desire to guide spatial developments towards desirable future scenarios and the belief that our environment cannot be planned but has to co-evolve with changing demands and needs, therefore has to be adaptive, resulting in uncertain outcomes (Savini et al., 2015).

2.4.2 *The regulation dilemma*

The regulation dilemma entails the dilemma between protection and adaptation. Regulations are the regulative frameworks that condition and bind implementation of policies, and can also be found in spatial planning. Spatial plans are designed to reach a certain goal, to work towards the future, by making our world a better place to live in. In the practice of contemporary planning, these spatial regulations have to account for legal certainty to avoid undesirable outputs and to define desirable usages of land (Savini et al., 2015). In the Netherlands we can see these regulations in contemporary planning for example in the high degree that land-use plans entail, aiming for a high level of control and legal certainty, but this also comes with a lot of restrictions. The idea of organic development, on the other hand, is an open-ended process without many details in land-use plans, providing more room for unplanned innovation. The discrepancy between established legal institutions of (peri-)urban change and the dynamics of our environment, and in this case especially the dynamic environment of the peri-urban area, is leading to tensions. This is also acknowledged by Buitelaar et al. (2012), who argue that there is a tension field between bottom-up developers who are trying to stimulate initiatives in a certain area, in which they are trying to be flexible and the governmental organizations which are focused more on maintaining existing regulations and policies. The tension in this regulation dilemma can, therefore, be found in the desire to protect our environment from undesired outcomes, and the upcoming desire for unplanned intervention (Savini et al., 2015).

2.4.3 *The investment dilemma*

The investment dilemma entails the tension between supply- and demand-led development logics, and relates to particular understandings of two notions of policymaking, being risk and income (Savini et al., 2015). This dilemma emerges from the fuzziness of growth expectations and unresponsive investors, such as real estate markets (Savini, 2013). Where in the past the supply-led approach was generally used, looking at development projects as an investment in the future condition of the whole city, the 2008 global economic crisis was a turning point for this model (Savini et al., 2015). Uncertainty became a factor in investing in development projects and led to more risk, as well as a shift in the owner of the risks: from the developers to the municipality, and eventually to citizens in the organic development approach. This turning point also can be seen in ODSs, where the end-users are practicing a more dominant role in developing the area.

In *Table 1* the different dilemmas and its paradoxes are summarized. According to Savini et al. (2015), it is important to find a synthesis between those paradoxes, since it reveals the practice of dealing with complexity because this paradox is always temporary, site-specific and in continuous tension.

Table 1: The dilemmas as laid out by Savini et al. (2015)

Tension	Balance
Intervention dilemma	Control and spontaneity
Regulation dilemma	Protection and adaptation
Investment dilemma	Income and risk

2.5 The Institutional Analysis Development Framework by Ostrom

This paragraph elaborates on an institutional analysis, by making use of the Institutional Analysis Development Framework by Ostrom. First, the concept of institutions will be explained, after which the IAD framework will be explained in general, in which the importance of the action situation and variables influencing this action situation will become clear. Second, we will use the IAD framework in order to give an overview of the institutional framework for organic development in general. In the empirical part of this research, the IAD framework will be used in the case of Woldwijk.

2.5.1 Institutions

According to Buitelaar et al. (2012), organic area development means changing the unwritten rules and working methods of municipal officials, so the informal institutions, rather than legal rules and acts, which are the formal institutions. Therefore, this thesis lays its focus on the informal institutions, being the planning culture at the local level, rather than normative rules and regulations. Thus, to investigate to what extent the current system in spatial planning is facilitating or constraining organic development, where the tensions are and how these might be eased, we have to look at the institutional landscape Woldwijk is in. And when we talk about planning, we also have to talk about institutions, since institutions entail a great part of the domain of spatial planning. According to Alexander (2005), institutions can be defined as “almost anything”, which is understandable as will be explained, but several authors luckily succeeded in defining this term:

Institutions are “*humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction* (Kim, 2011, p. 330); “*... the more enduring features of social life. In speaking of the structural properties of social systems, (...) their institutionalized features, giving "solidity" across time and space*” (Giddens 1984, p. 24); “*.. systems of formal and informal rules, norms and practices in politics or political economies*” (Alexander, 2005, p. 212). When we talk about institutions, we can distinguish between formal and informal institutions. Formal institutions, or the regulatory regime, are the more “public” institutions and can be seen as governmental rules which are enforced by the legal system, such as laws, rules and regulations, standards, governments and local land-use plans. Informal institutions are more tacit of nature and can be seen as less explicit rules, which emerge as a result of repetition and solidification of behavior, like events, norms, habits, traditions and social networks. Hence, informal institutions are more explicitly about culture, and in this research, the planning culture, which the focus in this thesis will be (Buitelaar et al., 2011; Alexander, 2005; Evers, 2015).

The importance of institutions regarding planning practice is acknowledged by for example Alexander (2005, p. 210): “*If planning is the translation of ideas into action, and the planner’s goal is the transformation of society, then institutional transformation must be a critical aspect of planning*”. As he argues, this is because there is one way to effect social change: by changing the people who make up society. This can be done by changing individuals and changing institutions. Alexander (2005) recognized the complexity in changing institutions. To change institutions, we have to change the institutional design (Alexander, 2005). Also, Kim (2011) focuses on institutional change as being the core of planning. She argues that planners have to understand social phenomena, the interactions, and transactions between people, to bring effective, fundamental change.

However, before institutional design can be changed, and interactions and transactions between people can become clear, the current institutional framework has to be analyzed. In ODSs it can be very important to understand the institutional framework in order to understand why things are done the way they are, why people or parties interact the way they do, where difficulties or struggles arise, or to see what is working. However, according to Ostrom & Polski (1999), it is difficult to analyze institutions, because institutions are highly abstract and frequently invisible elements of our environment, as they are being widely understood rules, norms or strategies, which are creating incentives for behavior in repetitive situations (Crawford & Ostrom, 1995). Because institutions are often fundamentally invisible, an institutional analysis must include a careful survey of how participants actually are doing things, and why (Polksi & Ostrom 1999). They also argue the complexity in institutional analysis, because most of the situations involve knowledge from many different perspectives and at multiple levels. There is no single discipline which addresses all the issues that humans address when they interact in complex situations (Polksi & Ostrom, 1999). To undertake an institutional analysis, Elinor Ostrom designed the Institutional Analysis Development Framework, which will be explained in the next paragraph.

2.5.2 The IAD Framework

To structure and understand the institutions involved in Woldwijk, and therefore determine whether they are constraining or facilitating organic development and how this eventually could be improved, this research makes use of the Institutional Analysis Development (IAD) Framework. The IAD framework is a general language for analyzing behavior of individuals in collective action arrangements at multiple levels of analysis, and concerns how three variables; rules in use, physical and material conditions and attributes of the community, affect the structure of the action situation (or action arena)¹, which can be explained shortly as the incentives individuals face and the resulting outcomes (Ostrom, 2010). In this framework, there is a theoretical focus on the impact of rules and norms on individual incentives. The framework aims to explain human behavior and analyze policy processes and their outcomes (Ostrom, 2011). In *Figure 6* we can see the IAD framework with these variables, leading to the action situation, which results in certain interactions and outcomes.

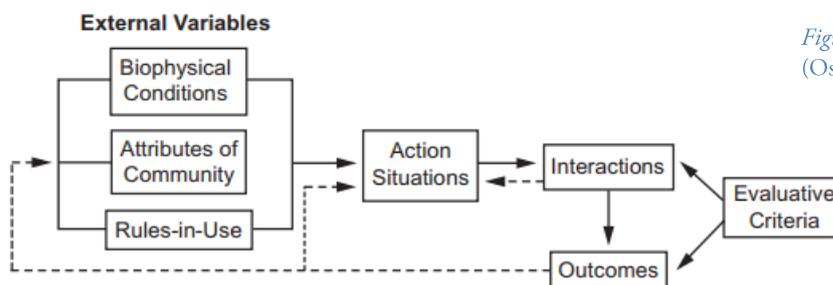


Figure 6: The IAD Framework (Ostrom, 2011)

¹ Originally the action situation was enclosed within an action arena, which also included the set of actors as a separate component. However, since the capabilities of actions can be attributed to the effect of the position rules defined below, Ostrom (2010) recommends abandoning this distinction between action situation and arena (McGinnis, 2011).

2.5.3 Action situation

A key part of the framework is the identification of an action situation and the resulting patterns of interactions and outcomes and evaluating these outcomes. The action situation, defined by Ostrom (2011, p. 11) as “*the social spaces where individuals interact, exchange goods and services, solve problems, dominate one another, or fight*”, is the particular setting within which actors are trying to reach their goal, so in which its rules are used and also analyzed. The IAD framework describes how an action situation is influenced by three external variables: biophysical conditions, attributes of the community and rules-in-use (Ostrom, 2011).

Before explaining these variables, the level of analysis in identifying and analyzing the action situation is also an important factor. In this identification of the action situation, problems can be at three different levels: The *constitutional level*, which refers to the fundamental foundations of, for example, a state, where decisions are made about who is eligible to participate in policymaking, and about the rules that will be used to undertake policy making. The *collective-choice (or policy) level* refers to collective decision-making, where decision makers repeatedly have to make policy decisions within the constraints of a set of collective-choice rules. The policy decisions then affect the structure of situations, or at a constitutional tier that affects who participates in policymaking. The operational level refers to the level people make choices on, on a day-to-day basis, where actors interact in light of the incentives they face to generate outcomes directly in the world (Ostrom, 2011). The problems of the case used in this research, Woldwijk, can be seen at the operational level, as it is about the implementation of practical decisions by those individuals who are allowed to take these actions as a consequence of collective choice processes (McGinnis, 2011). As such, at the operational level, decisions can be taken within the constraints of the collective-choice level. This can lead to tensions since the initiators at the operational level are ambitious to do many things but are constrained by the rules set within the collective choice level. This tension field can be seen as the object of study in this research since organic development is about freedom, but the collective-choice level possibly finds itself in the institutional landscape of detailed land-use plans and regulations.

2.5.4 Biophysical conditions and community attributes

Even though the greatest part of this research is about the rules-in-use, and a rule configuration affects all the elements of an action situation (Ostrom, 2007), the biophysical conditions and community attributes are also important to analyze in order to understand the physical and socio-cultural context. The biophysical conditions are involving the attributes of the physical and material world, and determine “*what actions are physically possible, what outcomes can be produced, how actions are linked to outcomes, and what is contained in the actors’ information sets*” (Ostrom, 2007, p. 39). These aspects are affected by the world being acted upon in an action situation, and therefore are important for an institutional analysis. To be effective, the rules governing a resource must be compatible with the underlying physical setting and the nature of the resource being managed (Ostrom et al. 1994). Biophysical attributes can among other factors involve the economic or financial situation, natural or human resources, and space. The term community attributes is used to encompass relevant aspects of the social and cultural domain of a certain area and includes the norms and behavior generally accepted in a particular community (McGinnis, 2011). These norms and behavior can also influence the outcomes of an action situation (Ostrom, 2007). Community attributes can include demographical aspects, generally accepted norms and values, trust, reciprocity, the presence of a common

understanding and the extent to which values, beliefs, and preferences of participants are homogenous (Polski & Ostrom, 1999).

2.5.5 *Rules-in-use*

The remaining variable, being the rules-in-use, designate all relevant aspects of the institutional context within which an action situation is located (McGinnis, 2011). Ostrom (1999) defines institutions as the “rules-in-use”, meaning the rules that actors rely on and that shape actors’ possibilities in trying to reach their goal. Thus, institutions and rules-in-use are about the possibilities in reaching the actors’ goals. As such, rules-in-use directly affect choices, behaviors, and attitudes of the involved actors, and assist with the construction of an action situation, which make rules essential to an institutional analysis since they structure the action situation in some sort of way (Li et al., 2016). Rules are also very important in the case of Woldwijk since the rules-in-use give shape to the involved initiatives and their patterns of interaction, and the ability to realize these initiatives. As is argued by Ostrom & Hess (2007, p. 50), the rules-in-use are “*generally known and enforced and generate opportunities and constraints for those interacting*”. Therefore, since this research is about the constraining and enabling elements of organic development, this thesis will analyze the rules-in-use within the action situation while taking into account the other two variables, since that is the context the study finds itself in. Rules-in-use are fundamental to an institutional analysis since they bring structure to the interaction patterns seen in the operational field. As Ostrom, E. & Ostrom, V. (2014) argue: “*To change the situation, one must know which set of rules produce the situation*” (p. 114). The focus on rules helps to understand the constraints and opportunities of individuals in an action situation (Busarto et al., 2009), and therefore in this thesis, it can provide us an answer to the question to what extent current rules are facilitating or constraining organic development.

In the case of Woldwijk, the action situation is the process of initiators which are trying to realize their projects, making use of an organic approach in the peri-urban area, therefore they are active at the operational level. In this action situation, the rules in use structure the interaction of actors by enabling or constraining their actions (Tennekes et al., 2015). To be clear, the rules-in-use are in this thesis perceived as more descriptive than normative, structuring the interaction patterns between the working components of an action situation. The action situation consists out of seven working components, or characterizing variables, and according rules, as we can see *in Figure 7*. The working components are, as explained by Ostrom (2011, p. 12):

- (1) The set of participants
- (2) The specific positions to be filled by participants
- (3) The set of allowable actions and their linkages to outcomes
- (4) The potential outcomes
- (5) The level of control over choice
- (6) The available information
- (7) The costs and benefits of actions and outcomes

According to Ostrom, (2011, p. 17) rules are “*shared understandings among those involved that refer to enforced prescriptions about what actions (or states of the world) are required, prohibited, or permitted.*” Seven types of rules can be distinguished for the IAD framework which can influence the elements of an action situation.

The cumulative effect of these seven types of rules affects the seven elements of an action situation which are listed above. These rules are as followed, given and explained by Ostrom (2011, p. 19-20) and McGinnis (2011, p. 174):

- (1) *Boundary rules*: specify the number of participants, their attributes and resources, whether they can enter freely, and the conditions they face for leaving
- (2) *Position rules*: specify a set of positions or roles, each of which has a unique combination of resources, opportunities, preferences, and responsibilities, and are held by different types of participants in the action situation
- (3) *Choice rules*: specify which set of actions is assigned to which position, directly determining responsibilities, rights, and freedom
- (4) *Aggregation rules*: specify the transformation function from actions to intermediate or final outcomes, determining how decisions are made in an action situation (Polski & Ostrom, 1999)
- (5) *Scope rules*: delimit the potential outcomes that can be affected and, working backward, the actions linked to specific outcomes
- (6) *Information rules*: specify the information available to each position, affecting the channels of communication among participants (Ostrom, 2010)
- (7) *Payoff rules*: affect the benefits and costs that will be assigned to particular combinations of actions and outcomes, establishing the incentives and deterrents for action

In *Figure 7* we can see the internal structure of the action situation, being directly affected by the rules-in-use. The seven variables characterizing the action situation correspond to the rules given above. This makes sense since the focus of an institutional analysis is to understand the formal and informal rules that affect behavior in the action situation (Polski & Ostrom, 1999).

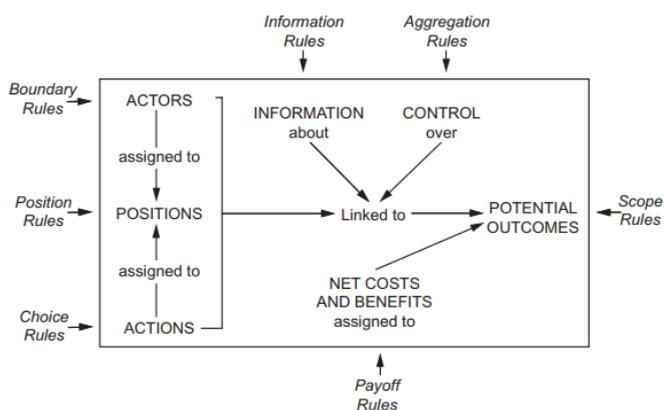


Figure 7: Internal structure of an action situation and rules in use (Ostrom, 2011, p. 20)

2.5.6 The rules-in-use for organic development

The rules-in-use of the IAD framework have been applied to the organic development approach. Based on literature and the information about organic development, some general examples of the rules can be given, including some questions which are to be asked.

Boundary rules

These rules specify the number of participants, their attributes, and resources, whether they can enter freely, and the conditions they face for leaving (Ostrom, 2011). As such, it is about the entry- and exit rules and therefore the decision-making process concerning these entry- and exit rules. According to the literature, organic development is about an open-end process, involving small-scale initiatives (Buitelaar et al., 2012). So, for example, an entry-rule can be that one can join the project, provided that they value the historical value of a certain area, or have to pay rent.

Position rules

These rules specify a set of positions or roles which are held by different types of participants in the action situation. It is about the involved actors in the action situation, each of which has a unique combination of resources, opportunities, preferences, and responsibilities (Ostrom, 2011; McGinnis, 2011). In organic development, we can think of positions like initiators, a directing or managing function, the municipality, the province, water boards, or other organizations which are involved in the area in which the organic area development approach is used. Position rules also involve the question how certain positions can be changed, or improved (Ostrom, 2011). For example, how can an initiator, as being just a “member” of a group, move towards another position such as a managing role? In organic development initiators are expected to take many resources and responsibilities, therefore the position of involved members or actors, matters. Tensions regarding position rules in organic development can lie in unclear roles or positions.

Choice rules

Choice rules determine which set of actions is assigned to which position, directly determining responsibilities, rights, and freedom. What actions are mandatory, authorized or forbidden in which position (Ostrom, 2011; McGinnis, 2011)? As such, it is about the decisions a specific position, such as an initiator, can take by itself, and which decisions have to be made by other positions. For example, initiators themselves are responsible for their own project, where the municipality is in the position to be responsible for and make decisions about environmental quality. This rule is in particular interesting since in ODSs the actions assigned to a certain position can change, therefore sometimes it is fuzzy who can undertake which action. This is one aspect that can lead to some tensions in the field of organic development.

Scope rules

Scope rules delimit the potential outcomes that can be affected and, working backward, the actions linked to specific outcomes (Ostrom, 2011). It is about the understandings of the actors about what is possible, what is or is not allowed, *where* actions are or are not allowed, and *when*. Therefore, it is about the possible outcomes or results and what limitations these results may or may not have. For example, which area belongs to the action situation? Where are initiatives allowed? Are there rules about how it has to look, or about environmental aspects such as nature or noise? Within which framework can the project with the organic development approach take place? Also, *time* can be an element in this. For how long can a certain area be developed? In organic development, it sometimes is the case (as we will also see in Woldwijk), that a temporary vacant area is used for realizing small-scale initiatives. This temporary aspect limits the scope of a project as a whole. Difficulties regarding scope rules can be referred to the regulation dilemma described earlier by Savini et al. (2015), since it is often experienced as difficult to account for an approach like this in existing regulations, which are not that flexible or adaptive.

Aggregation rules

According to Polski & Ostrom (1999), aggregation rules specify the transformation function from actions to intermediate or final outcomes, determining how decisions are made in an action situation. So, these rules determine if permission from one or several actors is needed before undertaking or allowing a specific action. Therefore, it is about the level of control that participants in the action situation exercise, and the decision-making process that comes with it (Ostrom, 2011). It is about the question if certain actions require prior permission from, or agreement of others (Ostrom, 2011). For example, in organic development, we can think of a situation in which new initiatives want to collaborate within an existing project. To what extent is permission needed from the already involved actors?

Information rules

These rules specify the information available to each position, affecting the channels of communication among participants (Ostrom, 2011; McGinnis, 2011). In this matter, it is important to know what information must be made public and shared among actors (Ostrom, 2011, Hijdra, 2015). In organic development, an open process is seen as one of the important aspects (Buitelaar et al., 2012). As such, regarding information rules and organic development, information should be accessible and transparent among all actors and stakeholders. As such, regarding information rules, questions can be asked whether initiators are aware of what is or is not allowed in the field, and why. Or, if new initiators want to develop a new project, if they have to be informed and/or agree upon a new project. Or if they know exactly what their responsibilities are, or not. This rule, therefore, can be linked closely to many other rules, as information and communication can be seen as a key factor in understanding roles, positions, responsibilities and allowable outcomes.

Pay-off rules

Pay-off rules affect the benefits and costs that will be assigned to particular combinations of actions and outcomes, establishing the incentives and deterrents for action (Ostrom, 2011). These rules determine rewards and sanctions for certain actions. For example, what if an actor in a certain position breaks the “rules”? What are the consequences? In organic development, there are often various small-scale initiatives, of which initiators are responsible for their own project, and therefore also for their own payoff. However, in organic development it is also about the sum of all these small initiatives, and sometimes even more than the sum of the parts, which therefore can pay off at a higher level as well. On the other hand, a sustainable organic development project as a whole might receive subsidies from a bank to support the development of the project. Or the rent, mortgage or taxes that have to be paid for the area.

In *Table 2* an overview is provided of the different rules, with some examples regarding the operationalization of ODSs.

Table 2: Working components and rules-in-use of an action situation, with examples regarding organic development

Working components	Rules in use	ODS operationalization
Set of participants	Boundary rules	Who can be involved The entry process for initiators
Specific positions to be filled by participants	Position rules	Citizens realizing initiatives, more dominant role Facilitating government Governing organization Supporting party
Set of allowable actions and their linkages to outcomes	Choice rules	Determine who is responsible for what What actions are forbidden and what actions are mandatory per position?
The potential outcomes	Scope rules	A license which determines what is physically possible Often temporary time frame
The level of control over choice	Aggregation rules	Initiators more involved in decision-making processes regarding the physical environment, as such exercising more control
Available information	Information rules	Transparent information Open communication
Costs and benefits of actions and outcomes	Pay-off rules	Rental agreement Costs and profits of individual initiators Value creation for the area Subsidy arrangements

2.6 Conceptual model

So, what is explained so far mainly entails a challenge in balancing collective and individual needs, and that the current institutional design might not provide enough room for (successful) organic development. Therefore, this thesis aims to analyze the institutional design and investigates where the struggles or difficulties are. To analyze this, the IAD Framework will be used, with a particular focus on the rules-in-use to understand the interactions and transactions between the involved actors, in order to get an understanding of the informal rules and planning culture. In *Figure 8* the conceptual model is presented, which is based on the IAD Framework, and shows how Woldwijk will be analyzed. The effects of the rules-in-use, biophysical conditions and community attributes on the action situation will be investigated, resulting in the patterns of interaction. This will result in certain outcomes, outcomes involving certain difficulties or tensions in the current way of doing, which can serve as feedback for the rules-in-use at the collective choice level as well as on the rules-in-use at the operational level.

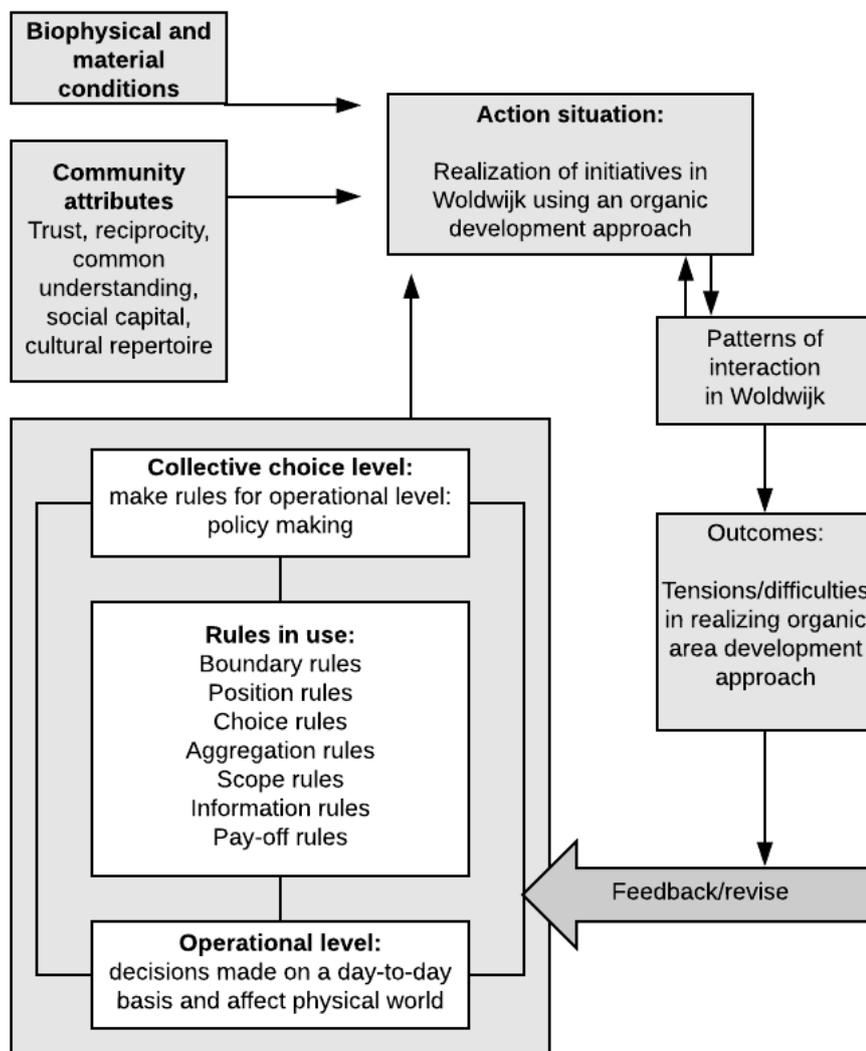


Figure 8: Conceptual model: the use of rules in organic development. Modified from the IAD Framework

3 Methodology

3.1 Woldwijk as an extreme case

In order to answer the research question at hand, this thesis will take form in a single-case study design. Woldwijk can be seen as a *deviant* or an *extreme* case, which is explained by Flyvbjerg (2006) as a case which is known to deviate from well-established generalizations, or as outliers. An atypical case is, compared to the average case, a rich source of information since they activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This type of case enables a situation in which deeper causes behind a given problem can be studied, providing room for qualitative research (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Woldwijk is unique in its sense, first because it is new and can be seen as an experiment, and as such the case studied is not a pre-existing object. Second, Woldwijk is an organic development project being realized in a peri-urban area in the Netherlands, which is quite uncommon. Since Woldwijk can be seen as an extreme case, it lends oneself for deep exploration, investigating the causes of dilemmas and tensions in the field of organic development, why they exist and where. As such, in investigating deeper causes behind a given problem, qualitative analysis fits within this thesis.

3.2 Research approach: a single case study

This research will make use of the single case study strategy, involving a detailed examination of a single example, being in this case Woldwijk (Flyvbjerg, 2006). According to Rice (2010), the principal aim of most geographical research is about trying to understand the physical and human world around us by making useful generalizations. A single case study is a way to learn about physical and human phenomena on a very small scale, providing very detailed information. Since the research question in this thesis involves a “how”, the researcher has no possibility to control the events and the fact that contemporary phenomena in the real-life context of Woldwijk are studied, a case study fits in the examination of Woldwijk (Yin, 2006). Furthermore, a case study is useful for this study because of its intensive way of research in which elements of a more fundamental, causal nature are sought, rather than patterns and regularity of data which are seen in more quantitative research (Clifford et al., 2010).

Even though a single case study can contain some limitations as being difficult to generalize, it does provide us with a lot of detailed information. Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that it is a misunderstanding that one cannot provide insights from a single case study, as practical context-dependent knowledge *is* very valuable, especially in social sciences. And, as Woldwijk can be seen as an atypical or extreme case, Woldwijk can reveal more information since this case activates more actors and mechanisms in the situation studied (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In this research, the causes of difficulties and tensions seen in the realization of an organic area development are investigated. To investigate the way the rules-in-use are influencing the operationalization of organic development at Woldwijk, an intensive and detailed research is desired in order to find the underlying causes, processes, and outcomes.

This case-study consists out of several steps in doing research, beginning with a theoretical analysis regarding the peri-urban area and its complexity, organic development and the IAD Framework, which can be found in chapter two. The IAD Framework is an important aspect of this research since this framework enables

the researcher to structure the institutions in Woldwijk and investigate where difficulties exist. Furthermore, concerning data collection methods, the case is studied in depth, using qualitative methods, like semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis. These methods are helpful in conducting an answer to the main research question.

During the time of this research, the researcher was doing an internship at the Woldwijk case as a project assistant, performing mostly in administrative tasks to support the board and staff of CV Woldwijk. She started this internship in April 2017. She was in a unique position in this case. Because of her attendance in many meetings with all the parties involved, and her involvement in the project for ten months, this internship enabled her to set eyes on the development of Woldwijk and to follow the processes and all the steps leading to the actual implementation of the initiatives. Even though she attended many meetings, not only with the board of the CV Woldwijk but also with the initiators, she was able to find herself in a distant position compared to the board of the CV Woldwijk, as she was only supporting them with administrative and communicative tasks. Therefore, she was not involved in making important decisions.

3.3 Data collection and analysis

According to Marshall (2006), qualitative researchers often rely on four methods for gathering information, being 1) participating in the setting, 2) observing directly, 3) interviewing in depth and 4) analyzing documents. All these methods will be used in this research, being therefore a qualitative way of collecting data. Next to these methods, a literature review was also of importance, and in addition, this thesis makes use of the IAD Framework. This paragraph provides an explanation of all methods. In *Table 3* an overview of the methods and how it contributes to answering the research questions of this research is provided.

3.3.1 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis is important in defining what the “case” is, in which the limits of the data collection and analysis are determined. The unit of analysis is determined by defining the spatial boundary, theoretical scope, and the timeframe (Yin, 2003). The spatial boundary of this case is Woldwijk, which contains almost 40 ha of land (see *Figure 2 + 12*). The theoretical scope is defined based on a literature study, in which key concepts like organic development, the peri-urban area, complexity, dilemmas, the IAD framework, and institutions are theoretically embedding this study. Regarding the timeframe of this study, this research took place from 05-2017 until 02-2018. Data collection has occurred between 10-2017 and 01-2018. Results are based on the perceptions and experiences of the respondents during this period. Regarding document analysis, these sources were developed earlier (in 2015, 2016 and 2017) and were therefore already available at the beginning of this research.

Table 3: Research design

How are current rules in the field of spatial planning facilitating or constraining organic development in Woldwijk, and what institutional tensions are experienced by initiators and governmental actors in the operationalization of the organic development approach?

Question	Which information	Moment of retrieval	Source	How to obtain the data	Documentation method	How to analyze the data
1: Why is there an increasing emphasis on organic area development, and how does this approach connect to complexity and the peri-urban area?	Insights from existing literature about organic area development, complexity and peri-urban area	May – October 2017	Electronic academic database Books	Academic search engines	Document archive	Literature review
2: How can the Institutional Analysis Development Framework of Ostrom (2011) offer an analytical view for exploring the enabling and constraining effects of spatial planning rules on organic area development?	Insights from literature about IAD Framework.	September, October 2017	Electronic academic database Articles from Ostrom (2005; 2009; 2011)	Academic search engines	Document archive	Literature review
	Responses from interviewees	December 2017, January 2018	Involved parties in Woldwijk	Semi-structured interviews	Transcript	Transcript and coding
3: The case of Woldwijk: what tensions can be seen in the operationalization of an organic development approach, and how did the involved actors handle these?	Insights from existing literature about tensions in the field of spatial planning	October, November 2017	Electronic academic database; Savini et al., (2015)	Academic search engines	Document archive	Literature review
	Insights from involved parties Woldwijk regarding experienced tensions and difficulties	December 2017, January 2018	Involved parties in Woldwijk	Semi-structured interviews	Transcript	Transcript and coding
	Information about rules-in-use as laid out in documents by CV Woldwijk	November 2017 – January 2018	Documents CV Woldwijk	The researcher was in possession of relevant documents	Document archive	Content analysis
	The overall image of researchers' observations	April 2017 – January 2018	Attended meetings and resultant notes	Researcher attended meetings and had notes of these meetings	Document archive	Content analysis
4: Which lessons can be drawn from the Woldwijk project for initiators, organizations and other governmental actors in future similar projects?	Lessons learned by involved parties in Woldwijk	December 2017, January 2018	Involved parties in Woldwijk	Semi-structured interviews	Transcript	Transcript and coding
	Information about rules-in-use as laid out in documents by CV Woldwijk	November 2017 – January 2018	Documents CV Woldwijk	The researcher was in possession of relevant documents	Document archive	Content analysis

3.3.2 Literature review

To understand the topic and related concepts, a literature review has been conducted at first, in which scientific literature about this topic was explored in order to contribute to the scientific debate regarding organic development, but also to provide a solid foundation for the empirical analysis of this thesis. In textbooks and online search engines such as SmartCat, information about the topic and context of this thesis was found. Hereby, different terms were used in order to find related articles, such as: '*organic (area) development*', '*peri-urban area*', '*complexity*' and the '*IAD Framework*'. Also, academic literature for the methodology justification has been used, such as information about case studies and semi-structured interviews. The book '*Key Methods in Geography*' by Clifford et al. (2010) proved itself to be very useful. The literature research can be seen as a solid base for the empirical, as can be seen in *Figure 9*. In addition, the literature research provides us an answer to the first sub-question.

3.3.3 IAD Framework

The IAD Framework is used to analyze the institutional framework Woldwijk is in, by analyzing the rules-in-use and investigate where tensions can be found. The main purpose of this framework is analyzing how the exogenous variables influence an action situation. In chapter 2.5 an extended description of this framework is provided. In short, the action situation is the particular setting within which actors are trying to reach their goal. In this research, the action situation involves the operationalization of the organic development approach in Woldwijk, as such the realization of the civic initiatives. The action situation conceptualizes the arena in which initiators can develop their initiatives, allowing us to observe how this action situation is involved by other variables.

In analyzing institutions and interaction patterns, the IAD Framework is one of the most comprehensive and recognized tools to do this, since it provides a clear definition for institutions and takes external variables into account. According to Li et al. (2016), this framework is able to structurally detail the action situation, following a systematic set of rules. The rules-in-use enable us to structure the action situation, therefore the focus mainly lies on this variable. The action situation is, however, also influenced by the other two variables which are also included in the analysis.

Adopting the principles of the IAD Framework in this research, and therefore search for the rules-in-use in Woldwijk and how they affect the action situation, this framework allows to provide an answer to sub-question 2. However, this framework also helps to structure the interview guide for the interviews, as well as the analysis of these interviews, which are important for answering sub-questions 3 and 4. Therefore, the IAD is at the core of this research.

3.3.4 Semi-structured interviews

In this case study, interviews also have been conducted. Many parties which are involved in the Woldwijk project have been involved in the interviews, to gain insight into their experiences with Woldwijk. By interviewing various parties, the different perspectives can be investigated as well as the interactions between the different parties. Because of the researchers' internship at the project case, she had the luxury position to be at a close distance with possible interviewees and freedom of choice in choosing whom she would like to interview. Any party involved closely in Woldwijk has been interviewed, being the municipality, the board

of the CV Woldwijk, an external supporting party, initiators, licensors (the environmental team) and the chairman of the reflection team, which is an inhabitant of the village as well. Therefore, public as well as private parties have been interviewed. All the involved parties have different roles, goals, and perspectives regarding Woldwijk, which makes them all very interesting and useful in providing a good overview of interaction patterns and difficulties or tensions between parties or informal institutions in the case of Woldwijk. The researcher made the decision to handle all interviews confidentially and anonymously, as the interviews are about experiences with other parties and opinions about the role of other parties, not always necessarily resulting in positive outcomes. Therefore, the names of the interviewees will not be mentioned in this thesis. In *Table 4* can be found which actors are interviewed for this research and when these conversations took place.

The interviews will have a semi-structured format. This means that the questions in the interviews are not fully fixed, nor are they fully free, involving a flexible list of questions which leaves room for asking other questions which might pop up during the interview. Semi-structured interviews often start with a defined questioning plan but pursue a conversational style of interviewing, resulting in a more natural flow of conversation, ready to pursue any interesting relevant subjects that may develop (O’leary, 2010).

The questions are following the structure of the research questions as well as the rules-in-use developed by Ostrom. First, introducing questions will be asked, in which the interviewee is asked to introduce her/himself. Next, their overall experience with the project Woldwijk is asked. Third, questions regarding the rules-in-use developed by Ostrom in the IAD Framework will be asked, to understand the patterns of interaction between the involved parties, and therefore aims to find the tensions which are experienced by the involved parties. A list of the most important questions can be seen in *Appendix 1*. These interviews are (in combination with other methods) helpful to answer sub-questions 3 and 4, and of course as the empirical data to answer the main research question.

Table 4: List of interviewees

Who	When	Appendix coding scheme (simplified)
Aldermen, municipality of Ten Boer	07-12-2017	4a
Policy director Space & Wellbeing, municipality of Ten Boer	12-12-2017	4b
Board of CV Woldwijk	14-12-2017	4c
Supporting external party	14-12-2017	4d
Chairman of the environment team	21-12-2017	4e
Chairman of the reflection team	04-01-2018	4f
Initiator 1	16-01-2018	4g
Initiator 2	16-01-2018	4h

To analyze the interviews, all interviews have been recorded, transcribed and coded. According to Cope (2010, p. 441), “coding is basically a way of evaluating and organizing data in an effort to understand meanings in a text”. In *Appendix 2* the coding-scheme for analyzing the conducted interviews is provided. Also, a letter of consent is sent to all interview participants with information about the interview regarding the recording

of interviews, and privacy-related information. See *Appendix 3* for the letter of consent. In *Appendix 4* a simplified reproduction of the completed coding schemes are added.

3.3.4 Secondary data and document analysis

Secondary data is data which is already collected by somebody else, for another purpose, but can be used by others (White, 2010). In using the IAD Framework, some variables or formal rules-in-use can be found in documents regarding Woldwijk. Boundary rules, for example, with its entry- and exit-rules and information about existing initiatives can be found in several documents. Also, information regarding licenses can be found in provided documents, to analyze the scope rules. In addition, more information about several roles and their responsibilities *in theory* – as written down and how it should be – can be found in secondary data. It is very interesting and useful to compare this information to practice, which will become clear while conducting the interviews, to understand the position rules, choice rules, and aggregation rules. By going through the documents and looking for information about these rules, some outcomes can be strengthened. Because of the researchers' internship at Woldwijk, she had the advantage to possess relevant documents about the project. In combination with the interviews, the documentary analysis helps to develop an answer to sub-questions 3 and 4. In *Table 5* an overview of the used documents and its contents can be found.

Table 5: Documents used in this research

Document	Provides information about	Referenced as
Beleidskader Woldwijk (2015) Toetsingsleidraad	Policy framework Woldwijk. The story of Woldwijk and its vision (written by the municipality)	CV Woldwijk, 2015
Oprichting Coöperatieve Vereniging (2016) Report number: 15519	Official document regarding the establishment of the CV Woldwijk (Cooperative Agency Woldwijk), in which the goals and responsibilities of this organization are laid out as well as the rights, responsibilities, norms, and values of the board and members.	CV Woldwijk, 2016a
Samenwerkingsovereenkomst gemeente Ten Boer en CV Woldwijk (2016)	Agreement of Cooperation between the municipality of Ten Boer and the CA Woldwijk. Conditions under which the municipality and the CV Woldwijk work together (with their responsibilities etc.)	CV Woldwijk, 2016b
Huurovereenkomst gemeente Ten Boer en CV Woldwijk (2016)	The rental agreement between the municipality and the CV Woldwijk, including terms and conditions	CV Woldwijk, 2016c
Toetsingsleidraad (2016)	Assessment guideline for approving on new initiatives in Woldwijk, terms, and conditions for entering and leaving	CV Woldwijk, 2016d
Vergunning aanvraag Woldwijk (2017). Daad architecten	Information about the licenses and what is physically allowed/possible in Woldwijk	CV Woldwijk, 2017a
Subsidieaanvraag Woldwijk 2017-2018	Application for the subsidy provided by the Regio Groningen Assen	CV Woldwijk, 2017b
Onderlinge huurovereenkomst (2017)	Mutual renting agreement between CV Woldwijk and the initiators, including agreements, terms, and conditions, etc.	CV Woldwijk, 2017c
Provinciale omgevingsverordening (2017)	Agreement of the province to mark Woldwijk as “urban” instead of rural	CV Woldwijk, 2017d
Bestuursdiscussie/ managing discussion (2017)	A document written by the board with their vision regarding the future of CV Woldwijk	CV Woldwijk, 2017e
Notes of meetings (2017)	Notes of meetings – general meeting as well as staff meetings	CV Woldwijk, 2017f

3.3.5 Own observations

As mentioned before, the researcher was doing an internship at this project, resulting in a unique position concerning this research. Even though she attended almost every meeting, she was able to find herself in a distant position compared to the staff and board of Woldwijk since she was only supporting them with administrative and communicative tasks and had no distinct relationship with the members or parties involved. Therefore, this position offered her a unique perspective in observing the processes in Woldwijk. Having started the internship in April 2017, she has attended the process of Woldwijk as being in a situation with no licenses, no permission to start, to a situation in which the license was approved and the initiators were able to realize their ideas. She was also able to witness different interactions between the involved parties.

As such, making use of this unique perspective, this research also has made use of participant observation, in which the researcher finds herself within the field of study. Participant observation involves spending time being, living or working with people or communities in order to understand them (Laurier, 2003). The researcher supported the board of the CV Woldwijk and the supporting party and was, therefore, able to follow all the ongoing developments in Woldwijk. Observations are a very important method, as being fundamental in all qualitative analysis (Marshall, 2006). This method is often used in complex social interactions and used in combination with other methods, as is the case in this research as well. The many parties involved in Woldwijk with different interests and ambitions in a new environment makes this research a complex field of study. Participant observation often is an intensive method, as the researcher is being part of a group or organization to understand the activities on a day to day basis, and therefore the culture of a participant or community (Marshall, 2006). Because of the researchers' involvement at Woldwijk, she was better able to understand the views of the interviewed parties.

According to Kearns (2010), participant observation may have three different purposes: 1) counting of persons, objects or phenomena, 2) providing complementary descriptive evidence to other methods, and c) gaining a contextual understanding by constructing an in-depth interpretation through direct experience. The last two purposes are of importance in this research, as being an enforcement to the other methods used. Kearns (2010) argues that participant observation is mainly used to understand the context, as it places both researcher and the research subject in the same environment. Therefore the observations are also important in analyzing the community attributes of Woldwijk, which is one of the exogenous variables of the IAD Framework.

In *Figure 9* a conceptual overview of the used methods and their connection to the research questions can be found. The numbers displayed within this figure refer to the sub-questions developed in order to answer the main research question. These questions are repeated on the next page.

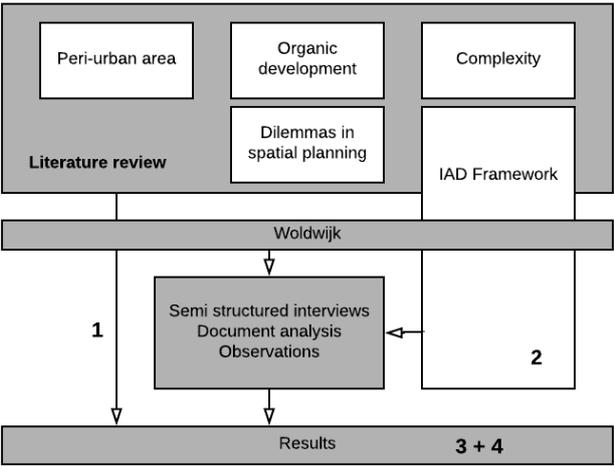


Figure 9: Complementarity of used methods regarding answering research questions (see p. 41)

- 1) Why is there an increasing emphasis on organic area development, and how does this approach connect to complexity and the peri-urban area?
- 2) How can the Institutional Analysis Development Framework of Ostrom (2011) offer an analytical view for exploring the enabling and constraining effects of spatial planning rules on organic area development?
- 3) The case of Woldwijk: what difficulties can be seen in the operationalization of an organic development approach, and how did the involved actors handle these?
- 4) Which lessons can be drawn from the Woldwijk project for initiators, organizations and other governmental actors in future similar projects?

3.3.6 Positionality and ethical issues

Positionality is about recognizing that the researcher is part of the social world in which he/she is doing research. It is about reflecting on and recognizing who you are as a researcher and how your own identity will shape the interactions that you have with others (Longhurst, 2010). In this research, the researcher was doing an internship in the same environment as where the research took place, involving interviewees with whom she was working and/or involved in other moments as well. This has resulted in a unique position for the researcher, but also in one that may result in an unclear position as seen by interviewees or for the researcher herself. During this internship, the researcher was sometimes a project assistant, and sometimes a researcher, which can blur some boundaries. The internship tasks and the task to deliver a sufficient finished master thesis which is conducted within the same environment may color the researchers' observations. In this case, it can be difficult for the researcher to place herself in a more distant, "unknowing" position since she might have experienced some processes differently than other involved actors. The researcher has to be aware of her position and how this might influence the research, being reflexive and reflective. Therefore, the researcher sometimes had to zoom out, and step out of the Woldwijk environment for a while, in trying to oversee the situation from a different perspective. Even though this thesis is purely for academic purposes, the interviewees have been alerted on the fact that the researchers' role within this thesis is purely academic and has no added value within her role as supporting the board of the CV Woldwijk, besides the academic value.

Ethical issues are closely related to this positionality, in which it is mostly about confidentiality and anonymity (Longhurst, 2010). Therefore, outcomes are purely for academic purposes, confidential or personal information will not be leaked to other parties, and outcomes will remain objective. The interviewees will be respected and their names or organizations will not be mentioned in this thesis. Information about these ethical issues has been provided in the form of a letter of consent (*Appendix 3*).

4 Results: an institutional analysis of Woldwijk

In this chapter, the results will be described and analyzed. First, there will be elaborated on the biophysical aspects, in which physical attributes and possibilities will become clear. Second, the community attributes will entail the small and diverse Woldwijk community. Last, in the rules-in-use, the most important results will be given, explaining the rules-in-use in Woldwijk and analyzing where the tensions and difficulties in Woldwijk take place. The distance between involved actors, focus on arranging everything in a legal sense, and haziness regarding the different positions, actions per position and responsibilities will show to be the main causes for tensions in the turbulent field of Woldwijk.

4.1 The physical possibilities in Woldwijk

The biophysical conditions are involving the attributes of the physical and material world, and determine “*what actions are physically possible, what outcomes can be produced, how actions are linked to outcomes, and what is contained in the actors’ information sets*” (Ostrom, 2007, p. 39). In the content of ODS’s these concern the area where activities are possible and allowed, what kind of activities can be realized, financial conditions of a community or area, communicative means, and the organizations involved, such as the municipality.

What can be seen in Woldwijk, is that the existing spatial configuration of the area determines where the several initiatives start. The Woldwijk area is located in the municipality of Ten Boer. In *Figure 10* and *Figure 11* the location of Ten Boer in the Netherlands and in the province of Groningen can be seen. Ten Boer lies at a distance of 10 kilometers from the provinces’ capital city, Groningen. Woldwijk is a vacant area of 40 ha. which is located northeast of the village Ten Boer, the Netherlands, which can be seen in *Figure 12* (CV Woldwijk, 2016b). This area is owned by the municipality of Ten Boer and rented by the CV Woldwijk. Looking at *Figure 12*, the part within the purple lines is the land that is rented to the CV Woldwijk and is as such the boundary of what is physically possible in Woldwijk. Besides land, Woldwijk also contains an empty barn with a workers house, and a temporary care institution, which are located within the red circle in *Figure 12*. Because of the infrastructure, accessibility and other facilities of these existing buildings, the first initiatives are realized near these buildings.

Several initiators have officially signed the contracts, the license has been granted, meaning they have a green light to start and will, therefore, affect the physical landscape of Woldwijk in the near future. These initiatives include tiny housing, ecological building, a collective garden, sustainable energy and sustainable agriculture. In *Figure 13* can be seen where these initiatives are to be realized. However, as there is also room for yet unknown initiatives, the physical landscape cannot be fully predicted at this stage, which is a key characteristic of ODSs. Furthermore, even though 40 hectares seems like a lot, not all parts of this area are suited for (building) activities, as the scenic value and openness of the area has to be contained. A large part of this area will, therefore, be reserved for natural and agricultural activities. In addition, some parts have a natural or biological value, as for example the presence of a bird pasture or wetland area. Other permits or conditions for activities in this area can be read in the parcel passports which were sent in for the license application for the initiatives in Woldwijk. Later in this chapter, under *Scope rules* this research will elaborate further on physical limitations and what is and is not allowed in the area, therefore determining what is physically possible.

Besides, some organizations proved to be beneficial for the possible outcomes for Woldwijk. First, the Province of Groningen, which has marked Woldwijk as an urban area instead of a rural area, therefore enlarging physical possibilities (interviews alderman, policy director; CV Woldwijk, 2017d). Second, the Municipality of Ten Boer, facilitating the project. In addition, financial and organization support by RGA and the municipality of Groningen improved the chances of success for CV Woldwijk. The Region of Groningen & Assen (RGA) provided a subsidy of two times €50.000 for 2017 and 2018, to help develop the internal organizational structure of Woldwijk (CV Woldwijk, 2017b). Regarding the municipal borders and politics in Ten Boer, things are about to change. The municipality of Groningen (municipality of the capital city) and the municipality of Ten Boer will fuse in 2019. This may provide more possibilities for Ten Boer regarding spatial planning. The municipality of Ten Boer already benefited from cooperation with the municipality of Groningen, who provided skilled workers when Woldwijk needed them. This is one of the aspects that characterizes a peri-urban area like Ten Boer. Other organizations involved in Woldwijk are laid out in *Boundary and position rules*.



Figure 10: Location of Ten Boer, The Netherlands



Figure 11: Ten Boer in the Province of Groningen

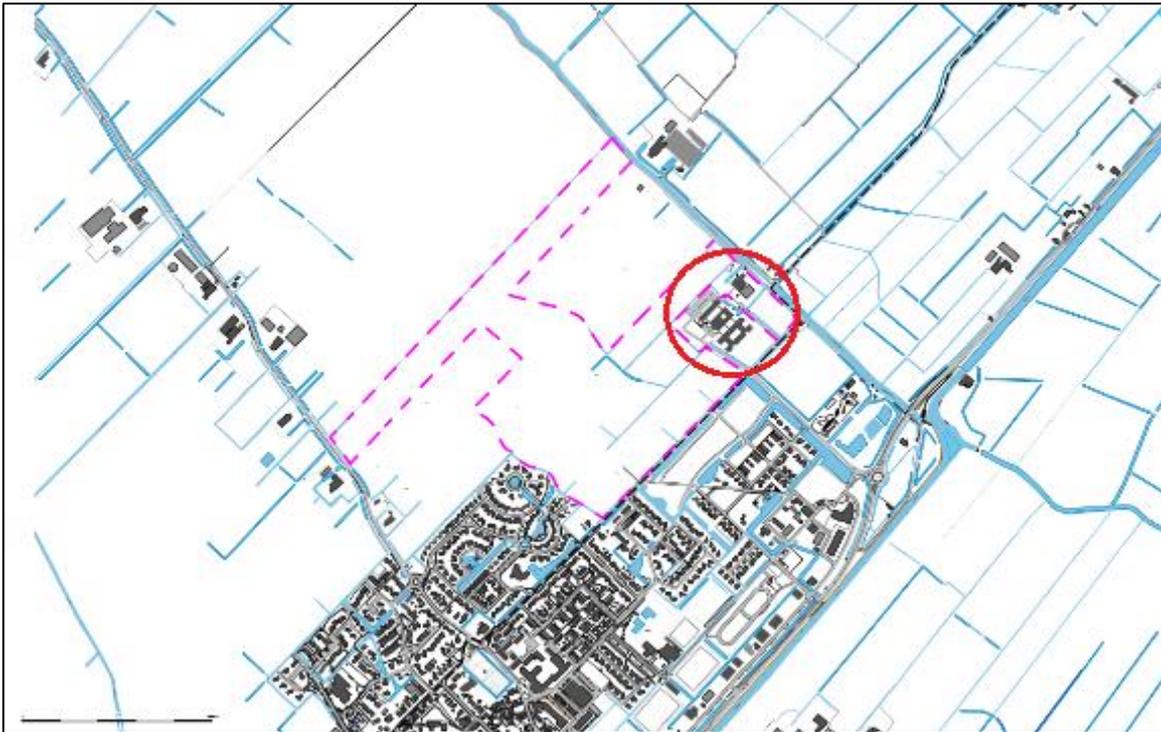


Figure 12: Woldwijk area (purple lines) and existing facilities (red circle)

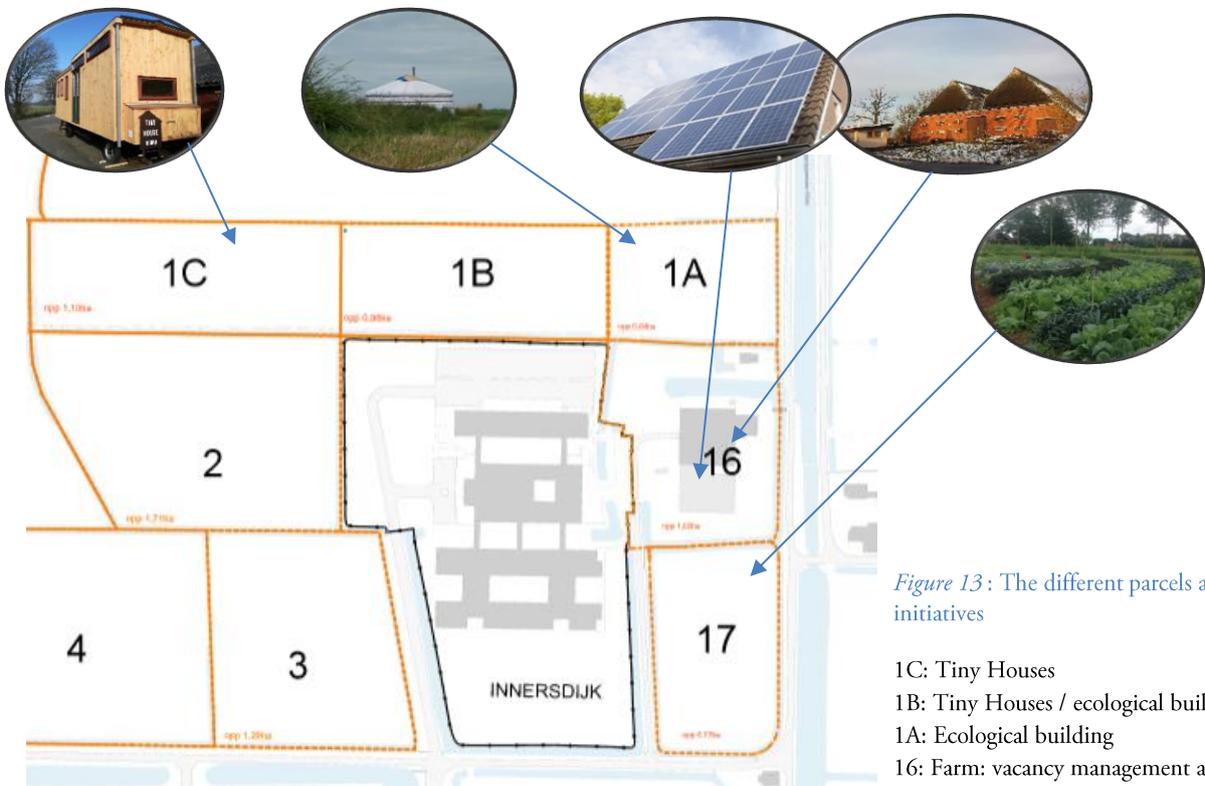


Figure 13: The different parcels and the first initiatives

- 1C: Tiny Houses
- 1B: Tiny Houses / ecological building
- 1A: Ecological building
- 16: Farm: vacancy management and sustainable energy on roof with solar panels
- 17: Self-harvest/collective garden

4.2 The small community of Woldwijk

The term community attributes is used to encompass relevant aspects of the social and cultural domain of a certain area and includes the norms and behavior generally accepted in a particular community (McGinnis, 2011). Community attributes can include demographical aspects, generally accepted norms and values, the presence of a common understanding and the extent to which values, beliefs, and preferences of participants are homogenous (Polski & Ostrom, 1999). Also, trust and reciprocity are important conditions. In the context of ODSs, these norms and behavior can also influence the outcomes of an action situation, since end-users are more involved in the development of the physical environment, and as such their values, beliefs and preferences.

Ten Boer is a small village, in which changes in the nearby physical landscape will come to the citizens' attention quickly, therefore an experimental project like Woldwijk is something which needs careful attention. Ten Boer is a village with approximately 4600 inhabitants (Municipality of Ten Boer, n.y.). The policy director of the municipality of Ten Boer described inhabitants of the village as quite decent – the inhabitants feel closely connected to their environment, and because of the small scale of the village, anything that happens comes to their attention quickly. As Woldwijk is an innovative project with an experimental character, some doubts exist within the Ten Boer community, as it is not clear what will be realized in Woldwijk in the future. Therefore, it is important to include the citizens in the process and provide the right information (interview reflection team).

The Woldwijk community still is quite small. At the time of writing, five initiators have become official members of the CV Woldwijk, allowing them to realize their ambitions in this area. These members have initiatives regarding alternative forms of living and working, including sustainable energy, tiny housing, agricultural nature management and eco-building. Another party functions as a vacancy manager of the farm which is also located in Woldwijk. As such, the type of functions that these initiatives serve are very diverse, as they are corresponding to the lifestyles of the initiators, therefore it can be seen as a very diverse community.

Regarding accepted norms and values, all initiators aim to support the sustainability goal of Woldwijk and have the desire to realize and share their ambitions and alternative views on the world. However, regarding shared norms and values, there can be seen some tensions in the field, as came forward in the interviews with the initiators, the board, and the supporting party. The initiators are in fact a group of members of the CV Woldwijk but have come together randomly. They did not know each other before the municipality suggested the idea to invite initiators, and now the CV Woldwijk is established they are expected to work together. However, as the members have different initiatives, different lifestyles, norms, and values, this sometimes leads to tensions and trust issues as well. The latter also has to do with the fact that some initiators are involved since the very beginning of the project, and initiators who joined later, resulting in some sort of division. In addition, the one member has got experience regarding setting up a new project/business, while the other is just starting and still finding a way how to make everything work. Simultaneously, in the initial phases of Woldwijk, when not everything was secured in legal agreements and contracts yet, expectations have been created among initiators which (eventually) could not be fulfilled. For example, some areas were assigned to specific initiators, but not officially. Later in the process, this led to difficulties regarding location choice, since some initiators already appropriated some areas. This has led to tensions between initiators. On the contrary, an aspect which will also come forward in the rules-in-use paragraph

several times is the fact that a lot of attention has gone to making legal arrangements instead of focusing on the community in Woldwijk. Now, the consequences can be seen, such as individualistic behavior and the lack of a cooperative feeling. This is affecting the overall ambiance in the group, and therefore complicates some processes. The diversity of all the actors involved creates a lot of potential for creativity but also can complicate in developing a common understanding.

4.3 Looking for tensions in Woldwijk with the rules-in-use

4.3.1 *The participants and their positions: boundary rules and position rules*

After conducting the interviews, examining various documents provided by the CV Woldwijk and through my own knowledge and experience at the case, various parties, their attributes, and roles can be distinguished. Here, both boundary rules and position rules are analyzed and combined, in which the information about the position rules is gathered by conducting interviews. Since boundary rules are about the number of participants and its attributes, and position rules are about the roles held by these participants, with their resources, opportunities, preferences, and responsibilities, these rules can be combined very easily in this context.

1) CV Woldwijk

A central actor is the CV Woldwijk, which is the encompassing agency under which the several initiatives are realized and aims to support initiators and coordinate the development of the area as a whole. The CV Woldwijk is renting the Woldwijk area from the municipality of Ten Boer to manage this 40 ha of land. Even though the CV Woldwijk is a legal person as a whole, a distinction in this thesis is made between the board of the CV Woldwijk and its members. The CV Woldwijk consists out of two external board members, and so far five official members, with initiatives varying from alternative forms of housing to sustainable energy. The CV Woldwijk as a whole has as its main goal to provide her members with the physical needs to do anything that helps the members of Woldwijk (CV Woldwijk, 2016a). The CV Woldwijk aims to bring entrepreneurs together, in order to form a platform of individual entrepreneurs, who in cooperation with other members develop their initiatives. Second, the CV Woldwijk will in the interest of her members, manage the land- and real estate positions of Woldwijk. Also, the CV Woldwijk provides the legal documents that are needed to realize the initiatives, such as contracts with initiators in which they are accounting for the feasibility and set of objectives (CV Woldwijk, 2016b). The board of the CV Woldwijk has as its responsibility to govern its members, in for example general meetings (CV Woldwijk, 2016b). The members of the CV Woldwijk have as their main goal to realize their own initiative, accounting for the three objectives as laid out in the agreements with the CV Woldwijk (CV Woldwijk, 2017c).

Regarding the entry- and exit rules there are clear definitions, formalized in the establishment of the cooperative agency Woldwijk. Regarding the entry-rules, the initiatives have to account for the set of goals that is agreed upon in cooperation with the municipality: sustainability, provide added value for the inhabitants of the municipality of Ten Boer and contribute to the redemption of the financial debt of the municipality (CV Woldwijk, 2016d). Therefore an initiator has to provide a feasible project proposal about their initiative to estimate the feasibility of their idea. In addition, the initiative has to be approved upon by the board and members of the CV Woldwijk.

2) The municipality of Ten Boer

The municipality of Ten Boer and the CV Woldwijk are working together in this project, as laid out in the cooperative agreement, which describes the conditions and objectives of their cooperation (CV Woldwijk, 2016b). The municipality is the official owner of the Woldwijk area, renting it to the CV Woldwijk, and suggested the idea to do something more with the Woldwijk area, inviting initiators to come up with ideas (CV Woldwijk 2016b; CV Woldwijk, 2015). In this matter, the municipality provides not only a piece of land to facilitate the development of several small-scale initiatives, but also provides knowledge and people and other forms of support to the CV Woldwijk to make this project work. For example, regarding the license application, which is, in theory, a task of the CV Woldwijk (CV Woldwijk, 2016b), the municipality of Ten Boer did everything in their power in advancing the process of approval (interviews alderman; policy director; board; initiators; supporting party). In addition, the reclassification of the municipality of Ten Boer with the municipality of Groningen provides some benefits, as for example the ability to “use” some people and knowledge from Groningen, who might contribute to the feasibility of Woldwijk (interview alderman).

3) The province of Groningen

The province also plays a role in this project and proved to be a very important player in enlarging the possibilities in the area. Before the municipality invited other players to come up with ideas, Woldwijk was officially located in an area, marked by the province as “rural”. This basically means that this area provides not much room for activities other than agriculture. However, since the plans to develop Woldwijk in an organic way, the province has given her blessing to the project and provided permission through environmental regulation, by recognizing Woldwijk as an “urban area” (CV Woldwijk, 2017d).

4) Supporting consultancy party

In addition, there is a supporting party, specialized in project and strategic management. This party acts as an advising and cooperating party for the CV Woldwijk, but also as a link between the board of the CV Woldwijk and its members. The aldermen, the reflection team, and the environmental team see this party as unmissable, as they are communicating with and functioning as a bridge between the involved parties.

5) The environmental team (ET)

Next, there is the “environmental team”, which can be seen as an example of the peri-urban benefits. The environmental team consists out several people provided by the municipality of Groningen, who provide permission for physical actions in Woldwijk regarding the license. This team is able to give their formal approval to the conditions of the license that has entered into force in late 2017 and is, therefore, an important party in allowing what is physically allowed in Woldwijk. The environmental team helps initiators to make an initiative fit within the set requirements, and checks if they meet the criteria on which the license is based. Also after the projects are realized, the environmental team verifies this and makes sure no rules are harmed.

6) The reflection team (RT)

And last, there is the reflection team, which consists of inhabitants of the municipality of Ten Boer and acts as a sounding board group of the village. They give solicited and unsolicited advice to the board of the CV Woldwijk about the project.

In *Figure 14* the involved parties and their position with other parties can be seen. In this image there is referred to the action situation at the operational level and the collective-choice level. The collective-choice (or policy) level refers to collective decision-making, where decision makers repeatedly have to make policy decisions within the constraints of a set of collective-choice rules. The operational level refers to the level people make choices on a day-to-day basis, where actors interact in light of the incentives they face to generate outcomes directly in the world (Ostrom, 2011). The operational level, therefore, involves the initiators realizing their initiative and interacting with their environment.

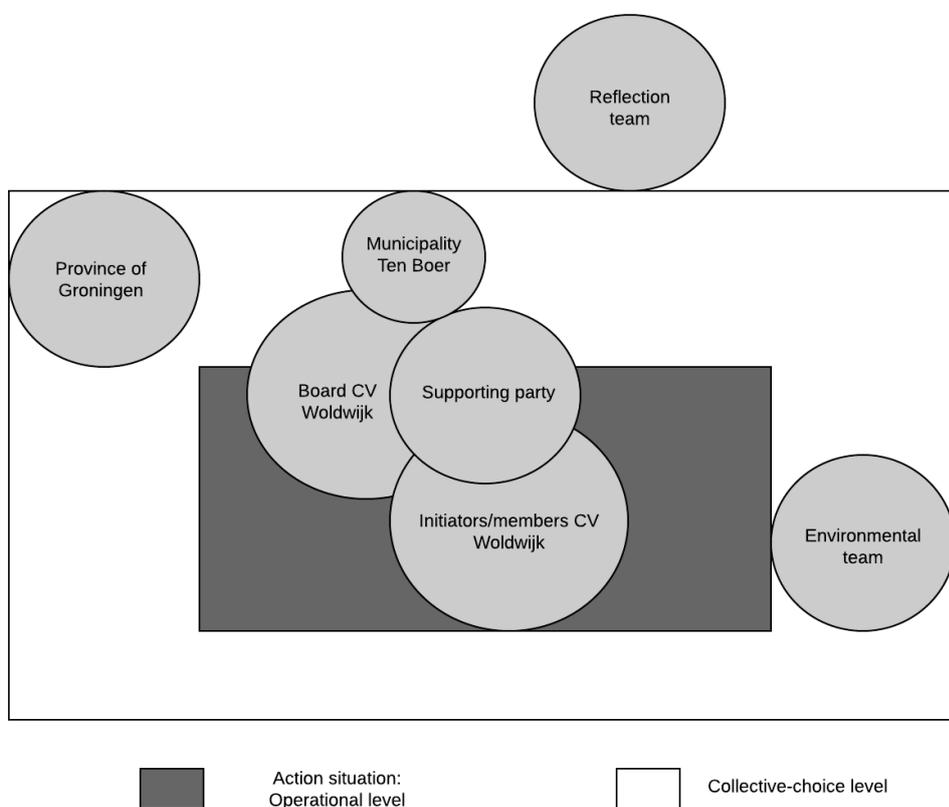


Figure 14: The different parties, their position to the action situation, at which level and how they overlap

4.3.2 Tensions regarding positions

Some difficulties regarding the position rules are due to the different perspectives among parties regarding the organizational structure and its future. For example, the board of the CV Woldwijk and the members of CV Woldwijk do not seem to share the same opinion about how this organization should develop itself in the (near) future. The external board, once appointed on a temporary basis, feels like they have done their

job in providing a solid organizational structure, by making the proper legal arrangements to start up this project, and that it is time for them to step up and leave more responsibilities to the members of the CV Woldwijk (interviews board, reflection team, supporting party, alderman, CV Woldwijk, 2017e). However, other parties feel like it is too soon for the board to quit since there are only five official members so far, which are usually not enough in sustaining a cooperative agency, especially not since they all have their own initiative(s) to focus on. Besides, the project is actually still in its initial phase, leaving the question if Woldwijk is ready for such a challenge. Even though the idea of giving the members more responsibilities is shared among all involved parties, the strong idea exists that Woldwijk is likely to be not ready yet for such a change in this stage of the project, as came forward in interviews with the alderman, reflection team, and the supporting party.

An aspect which has contributed to the board and its members not sharing the same opinion regarding the organizations' future, is the experienced feeling by the initiators that they are not included in the process. As came forward in interviews with the initiators, the board made a plan regarding the organizations' future without consulting the members. Therefore, the perception of the board regarding the near future of the organization has led to resistance among the members, as the members feel like they had nothing to say in the project plan describing how they should govern *their* cooperative agency in the future, leading to a tense situation between both parties. This aspect will be discussed later as well in *Information rules*.

This difference of perspective mainly exists because of the distance of the external board to its members, being physically as well as emotionally. Where in a cooperative association the members are usually choosing their board, this was not the case with the CV Woldwijk. For practical reasons, an external board was appointed on a temporary basis before there were official members. The board was set in place to start the project up, by providing the legal documents which were needed, and set up the contracts and agreements to account for the objectives set by the municipality (interviews policy director, alderman, supporting party, reflection team, board). Even though this was practically a necessary move, and a physical and emotional distance of the board from its members and their stakes has some benefits in this starting-up phase, the structure has led to difficulties since both parties have developed different perspectives and share other opinions about the organizations' future. This distance from the external board can be seen as an underlying driver of other organizational problems as well, as this aspect repeatedly will come forward.

Another tension can be seen between the making of proper legal arrangements and real action, due to the involved parties having different preferences and ambitions. For example, the board of the CV Woldwijk and the municipality have the desire to arrange everything carefully in a legal sense, since they are in a way responsible for what happens in Woldwijk (interviews board; alderman). As such, a lot of attention was given by the board and municipality to the legal aspects of Woldwijk (interviews board; alderman; supporting party). On the other hand, the members just want to start realizing their project. However, they can only start after the legal aspects are arranged. As such, the preferences of the mentioned parties can be seen as two opposites. As came forward in interviews with the aldermen, the policy director, and the supporting party, some consequences can be seen concerning the fact that the board of the CV Woldwijk has spent much attention to arranging everything in a legal sense, in the period prior to the official signing of the contracts of the initiators. The advantage is that many issues concerning the CV Woldwijk are secured on paper right now. However, because of the time and effort that went into these legal aspects, less attention was given to the initiators of the CV Woldwijk and to physical activity. This has not contributed to the

visibility of the project and neither to the cooperative idea and the unanimity among the members. As quoted:

Woldwijk is a world on paper, but you have to go to the truly visible world"

- Chairman of the reflection team

In interviews with the members of the CV Woldwijk came forward that there were almost three years of extensive talking, and almost no action. The consequence is that some members are not feeling any affinity with each other or do not share the same ambitions, leading to tensions between the members, which can be seen in the lack of willingness of working together or appropriating a certain area. This mainly was noticed during the period of the location choice process, as came forward in several general meetings (CV Woldwijk, 2017f). In the interviews with the members came forward that it would be better if more room was provided earlier to start their initiative(s).

The third difficulty regarding the position rules concerns the fuzziness regarding the roles of different parties. Where in theory the role of each position is clearly written down and described, in practice the division of roles appears to be more fuzzy, as it seems to be diffuse who can interfere in which situation and who has which role (interview initiators; alderman). For example, the initiators indicated in the interviews that they do not know how the different roles are interrelated right now. Especially the distinction between the board of the CV Woldwijk and the supporting party has become very diffuse. The supporting party was present since the very first beginning of Woldwijk, functioning as the first point of contact, while the external board of the CV Woldwijk was appointed later, and became the "new" point of contact. Roles and responsibilities started to shift. Because of the more distant position of the board, and the fact they were involved later in the project compared to the supporting party, there exists a situation in which these parties share other perceptions regarding Woldwijk. In addition, both parties communicate in a different way to the members of Woldwijk (interview initiators). As a consequence, the members have the idea that these parties are operating separately from each other as "islands" (interview initiators). As the supporting party and the board do not always seem to work on the same page, the members are not sure what the role of each party is. As such, they have developed a lack of confidence in these two parties, since they are the ones to arrange a lot for the project in the background while the members cannot follow what their actions are. This is sometimes experienced as problematic since not all parties have all information or are communicating alongside each other instead of with each other, which results in a lack of clarity and nescience about a given situation.

4.3.2. Actions per position and the decision-making process: choice and aggregation rules

The parties involved in Woldwijk find themselves in an innovative environment, in which not all parties are (yet) aware of the actions and decisions they are allowed to take, and which responsibilities they have. Even though the involved roles and its belonging actions are thought out and written down carefully, this seems to work out different in practice. Some actions or responsibilities are perfectly clear, such the responsibility for the members to realize their own initiative and pay rent to the CV Woldwijk. However, some actions are also a bit diffuse. While actions which are assigned to positions are closely related to how these actions transform into final outcomes, concerning the decision-making process, this paragraph elaborates on both choice and aggregation rules. In the difficulties or tensions described here, choice rules and aggregation rules are intertwined.

“I think, in this stage, we are a club of people who are helping each other, finding out through learning which way we have to go”

- Chairman of the environmental team

First, the members of the CV Woldwijk do not seem to understand or realize their responsibilities yet. Since the initiators signed the contracts and became official members of the CV Woldwijk in July 2017, they have the right to vote in the general meetings that are organized, meaning they have a form of control regarding the decisions that are to be made. However, in the period before July 2017, being almost three years in which the initiators were “aspirant-members”, they had no official right to decide upon anything yet. The shift to a situation in which they actually have a say after a long time might be one to get used to. In addition, the members of the CV Woldwijk do not have the idea they can vote or decide about anything, since there has not been a situation yet in which they were asked to do so (interview initiators). Furthermore, where a cooperative agency like the CV Woldwijk is brought into the world to realize the projects with each other, and the meaning of this organization is that the whole has to be more than the sum of its parts, there seems to be a lack of the feeling of a shared responsibility (interview supporting party; board; alderman; reflection team). The “*cooperative idea*” is not yet really present, as most of the initiators are still focused solely on their own project (interview alderman, board, reflection team, supporting party). This possibly has to do with the situation in which a lot of attention went to the making of proper legal arrangements, instead of “team-building” and space for action (interview supporting party). All in all, this new situation for the members is one to get used to, as they have to realize their new position and the responsibilities that come with it.

Regarding these new responsibilities, the initiators also have more control regarding the accession of new initiatives in Woldwijk (CV Woldwijk, 2015). However, and this brings us to the next difficulty regarding the aggregation and choice rules, recruiting new members is one aspect which is taken care of so far mainly by the supporting party, and not by the organization itself (interviews initiators; supporting party). This also has got a reason: before the CV Woldwijk was established, the supporting party brought together the interested initiators and decided about whose initiative was realistic and could fit within the conditions set for Woldwijk. Eventually, a small group of initiators remained (interview initiators). Now, since the CV Woldwijk has official members, it is, in theory, the task of the CV Woldwijk to attract, bring in and accept new initiatives (CV Woldwijk, 2016a). However, the supporting party is still supporting the CV Woldwijk in looking out for new initiators who want to realize their project in Woldwijk, (interviews supporting party; initiators). The addition of new members would also make the “base” of Woldwijk more solid, providing more certainty for the future in financial terms. As such, where the CV Woldwijk should be responsible for the accession of new initiatives, the supporting party takes this task upon them. As Woldwijk is still in a phase in which the projects have to be realized, and members are focused on starting up their own initiative, this seems to make sense.

However, as came forward in interviews with the members of Woldwijk, the members do not feel the need to recruit new members at this stage of the project, also not by another party. The unanimity and cohesion between existing members is an aspect which needs more attention. According to the members, this does not work if new members are brought into Woldwijk. Here, a different perspective can be seen on recruiting new initiators, where the supporting party believes that the accession of new initiators creates a more solid base, while the members do not in this stage of the project. This situation is leading to some tensions, as the members of Woldwijk feel like the supporting party is making this decision in recruiting new members for

them, and putting work in things which are – according to the members - not necessary at this moment. As a consequence, the members are not included in the process of recruiting new members, or in the decision whether they want new members, while they should. Where in organic development strategies the end-users are usually more involved in the development of their environment, this way of doing can be questionable.

Second, the actions that belong to a certain position are still very diffuse. For example, the municipality does a lot of things which she does not have to do, such as external communication and organizing events in Woldwijk (interviews alderman; board). Even though the municipality of Ten Boer and the CV Woldwijk have an agreement stating they are cooperating (CV Woldwijk, 2016b), many tasks the CV Woldwijk *has* to do are done by the municipality. However, since the CV Woldwijk is still in an initial phase, there is not enough internal manpower and knowledge, let stand attention, to provide for aspects such as external communication. This does not necessarily lead to tensions, but it shows that some actions assigned to a certain position work out different in practice in such a dynamic and innovative environment. Perhaps, the fact that some tasks which formally belong to the CV Woldwijk are done by others, shows that the different actors involved are committed to the project as a whole, which can be seen as a very positive. This commitment of other involved parties makes an experimental project like Woldwijk possible and can be seen as an enabling factor.

“Yes, everyone does all kinds of stuff that they are not supposed to do. This applies to all the parties involved, actually. But that’s just a part of the process. (...) that you constantly do things of which you don’t know exactly how it will go or how it ends”

- Alderman

A difficulty regarding the diffuse responsibilities was seen between the CV Woldwijk and the environmental team. When the environmental team was established, the board of the CV Woldwijk felt like their position was almost unnecessary, since the environmental team became the one to judge if initiatives met the set requirements for the license, meaning they are in control about a lot (interviews board). However, the municipality and the environmental team did not share this vision, and new protocols have been made to make the distinction between these parties more clear, in which the board remains the one to check upon substantive aspects and the environmental team upon legal aspects (interviews policy director; environmental team; board). This can be seen as a good example of how to deal with a situation in which actions and responsibilities are unclear to the involved parties.

Another difficulty regarding choice and aggregation rules involves the initiators experiencing exclusion from some processes. As came forward in interviews with the initiators, they have the feeling that a lot is happening behind their backs of which they do not know. This nescience leads to a negative attitude towards some parties, resulting in tensions between these parties. The board of the CV Woldwijk, the supporting party, and the municipality have meetings on a regular basis, discussing the developments in Woldwijk and arranging things to make Woldwijk come of ground successfully. The initiators, however, are not present in these meetings, nor do they have an idea what is happening and discussed in these meetings (interviews initiators). As such, they feel like a lot is going on and talked about of which they do not know, while they should. This also has to do with the feeling of the initiators that they are not well informed about many things that have been going on Woldwijk. This lack of (correct) information leads to a situation in which stories are going to lead their own life, resulting in ambiguities, and incorrect accusations or ideas. This aspect also belongs to the *Information rules* which is elaborated on later.

4.3.3 Scope rules

Regarding the scope rules in Woldwijk, involving the potential outcomes that can be affected, several aspects can be seen. First, the three requirements or goals the municipality has set for initiatives in Woldwijk: an initiative has to 1) be sustainable, 2) be of value for the municipality of Ten Boer, and 3) help with the financial burden that the Woldwijk area presents for the municipality, meaning an initiative eventually has to make profit. If an initiative does not meet these requirements, it will not be allowed in Woldwijk. As such, only sustainable initiatives can enter Woldwijk. Furthermore, the Province of Groningen marked the Woldwijk area as an “urban” instead of a “rural area”, enlarging the physical possibilities in Woldwijk (interview alderman; CV Woldwijk, 2017d). In addition, time is also an aspect. The area is available for a period of 20 years for civic initiatives, starting in 2016 and ending in 2036, meaning potential outcomes regarding Woldwijk are limited to this timeframe.

Where the license part often is a difficult aspect of ODSs because of the open character in ODSs, Woldwijk was able to overcome this difficulty by making use of a “performance license”. The “normal” procedure for applying for licenses takes very long, while Woldwijk wanted to start with realizing the initiatives quickly. Even though the municipality of Ten Boer started late with the aspect of licenses and regulation, which led to some frustration at the site of the supporting party and the board of the CV Woldwijk, the municipality creatively dealt with the aspect of licenses, and had the luck to have the right people in the right place at the right time (interview policy director). The municipality of Ten Boer used an original construction, in which they have made use of a “performance license”. In this license, Woldwijk is deviating from the zoning plan and describes which conditions have to be met for the initiatives, by looking in particular at the quality of the landscape, safety, health, and construction aspects (interview environmental team). In this license, there has been made use of “parcel passports” in which can be seen what requirements apply for a certain parcel, as can be seen in *Figure 15*. In the whole area, different zones can be seen, involving the preservation of the quality and historical value of the landscape. Depending on the location of a certain parcel, different requirements are set. If a parcel lies in two zones at the same time, the requirements of the two zones together have to be met (CV Woldwijk, 2017a). As such, these parcel passports determine what is physically allowed in Woldwijk.

This license adheres to the idea of spontaneous development in ODSs since the license that is applied in Woldwijk also accounts for possible future, but yet unknown initiatives (interview environmental team). The license is applied to a part of the area, and not to individual initiatives. In this matter, when there is approved on a new initiative, the CV Woldwijk does not have to apply for a new license again, which is as such saving time. In addition, in all interviews came forward that the current license for Woldwijk allows the initiators to realize their ambitions. All in all, the structure that was set up for Woldwijk regarding the license seems to be beneficial for an organic development approach.

The only difficulties regarding the license (or scope rules) can be referred to the time aspect. The process to start with the license started late, as a lot of attention went to other legal aspects and the municipality overlooked the license part (interviews policy director; supporting party; board). This has led to frustration on the side of CV Woldwijk, since almost everything was in place in legal terms, except the license. Another point of attention regarding the time aspect lies in the time it took for initiators to provide the right information for the license application. Every initiator knew what information to deliver necessary for the

license application, but to make this information concrete for the license seemed to be a difficulty, resulting in a process that took longer than expected. This process is an interesting one regarding ODSs, which usually involves an open-ended process. However, information still has to be very concrete to make it legally possible.



Figure 15:: The different zones included in the license application

4.3.4 Information rules

Most of the involved parties in Woldwijk have positive experiences regarding communication and information provision. Where in organic development an open process is seen as an important aspect, information should be accessible and transparent among all actors and stakeholders (Buitelaar et al., 2012). In interviews with the board, alderman, policy director, the reflection team and the environmental team came forward that the communication process and internal communication flows are experienced as positive and transparent. When one needs information, they will get it. In the interview with the chairman of the reflection team came forward that the communication process was very open, mainly because of the supporting party who counters important information. Also, the municipality and the environmental team shared this opinion. However, even though they have their interest in Woldwijk, they are not involved in the project on a day-to-day basis, leaving them in a more distant and maybe an easier position regarding communication.

On the other hand, the members of the CV Woldwijk experience the communication with involved parties not as pleasant. As already discussed, the members of the CV Woldwijk have experienced a lack of information and exclusion from some processes, which leads to difficulties. For example, the managing

discussion involving the future of managing Woldwijk, in which the board made a plan without consulting the members. The way the board suddenly came up with this plan without including the members in the process, was not experienced as the appropriate way of communicating and has led to resistance towards this plan (interview initiators). This experience connects to the shared feeling of the initiators that they are in great ignorance of what is happening in the background, as the board, supporting party and municipality are doing a lot of which the initiators do not know. As the initiators experience a lack of information and exclusion from some process (interview initiators), incorrect accusations or ideas develop, resulting in a sometimes negative attitude towards these parties. This can cause difficulties, such as disagreements, distrust, and discussions. Also, the supporting party does not speak positively about current information flows, in which it is experienced as *ad hoc* and without a solid foundation. This party feels like the board is taking her own decisions, without using the support of the supporting party, leaving them feeling a bit useless sometimes. As such, what mainly becomes obvious regarding the information rules, are the different experiences regarding information and communication between the parties standing close to the operational action situation, and the parties who find themselves in a more distant position.

In addition, the way there is communicated within the CV Woldwijk is also an aspect that might need attention. For example, the way board communicates to the members of the CV Woldwijk is experienced as not very pleasant (interview initiators). The board is used to communicate to its members via e-mail and letters, but as came forward in the interviews with the initiators this is not always very effective. It is not personal, and some letters are experienced as unnecessarily long (interviews initiators; reflection team). This might have to do with the distant position of the board from the members, in which the board has a clear image about what has to happen and how it has to happen and might want to pursue their ideas about Woldwijk (interviews board; initiators). However, the supporting party feels like they are standing closer to the members, since they are involved from the very beginning, and therefore have a different perception on how to communicate effectively to the members. As such, the board and the supporting party are communicating in a different way towards the initiators, sending different signals, resulting in a situation in which the initiators do not understand how the relationship between both parties is (interview initiators). This can also be seen as a driver of the fuzzy appearance of the actions and responsibilities of those parties, discussed in choice and aggregation rules. In addition, the board and the members of the CV Woldwijk generally only meet in the general meetings, of which have been three so far in the last eight months (interview board; initiators). The low frequency of these meetings might contribute to the distance between the board and their members.

One aspect that also proved to be difficult regarding information rules, was getting concrete information from the initiators about their initiative on time (interview board; supporting party). For example, for the license application, initiators had to deliver information about their initiative, regarding the dimensions of their building(s)/houses, the distance between objects, vegetation, where exactly to place the buildings to be built, and so on. However, to get this information took longer than expected, resulting in a delay of the license application process, which in its turn resulted in a delay for getting a green light to physically realize the initiatives, therefore constraining operationalization of the initiatives in Woldwijk.

Moreover, where internal communication has got its difficulties, external communication also might need some improvement. In the interview with the reflection team came forward that the communication to the citizens can be better, since Ten Boer is a very small village, and small villages usually respond quickly on what is happening in their close environment. Therefore, it is important they have the right information

about what is going on in Woldwijk. However, there has not been much time for communication to the outside world about Woldwijk, since a lot of attention has gone to other important aspects. This also has to do with the current focus of Woldwijk, which still has to come off the ground successfully, and the members do not have the time or the abilities to do this. The aldermen and some other people from the municipality of Ten Boer are taking this task upon them, while the CV Woldwijk should (also discussed under choice and aggregation rules). In an interview with the board of the CV Woldwijk came forward that the CV Woldwijk is hopelessly behind with the external communication since they do not have professional support to do this. However, this has not led to tensions, but it is an aspect which needs priority since external communication might attract new initiators, which are important for the future of Woldwijk.

All in all, in Woldwijk there are two different worlds who have to communicate with each other, which does not always go smoothly. There are many parties involved, working in different fields, involving different ways of working, different languages and different perspectives. As argued, the members just want to start their initiative while in the background a lot has to be arranged by the municipality and the board of the CV Woldwijk. Communication is in this case very important, to understand each other's perspectives and ambitions. However, because of the new roles involved in this innovative environment, there seems to be not a clear strategy about how to communicate, and who communicates about what. As came forward in interviews with the supporting party, board, and alderman, there should be a clear communication plan or business plan including how to deal with communication. Now, there is not an overarching communication plan, leading to a situation in which communication flows go past each other, resulting in haziness, difficulties and a delay of some processes. Information and communication can be seen as the key driver for earlier discussed processes and difficulties. By involving the initiators in certain processes, and providing transparent information about these processes and the steps leading to a certain decision, difficulties might be eased.

4.3.5 Pay-off rules

The pay-off rules are, in contrast to most of the other discussed rules, mostly clear for all parties, since there is agreed upon most aspects. Pay-off rules affect the benefits and costs that will be assigned to particular combinations of actions and outcomes. In Woldwijk, a distinction can be made between the CV Woldwijk as a whole and its members. First, the members of Woldwijk have to realize their own initiative, their own company, and benefits and costs related to this company are for the initiator. Members of the CV Woldwijk have to pay rent for the area they use, but also want to make a profit for themselves. The CV Woldwijk rents the whole Woldwijk area from the municipality, and has to pay the municipality a total of €51.600 per year, as is laid out in the rental agreement between the municipality and the CV Woldwijk (2016c). Also, Woldwijk has disposal over a subsidy provided by a regional organization (RGA) of 100.000€, for stimulating internal organizational development (CV Woldwijk, 2017b).

Simultaneously, one precondition for initiators to enter Woldwijk and at the same time one of the goals of Woldwijk, is value creation for the village. This can be in a financial form: if there has been made a lot of profit, a part of this can be invested in something the village needs, such as the local swimming pool for example (interview alderman). This is something where the CV Woldwijk as a whole can decide about. However, this value creation can also be in the form of the benefits the village experiences from, for example,

the collective garden or footpaths through Woldwijk and its meadows. This value creation can, therefore, be construed broadly.

Table 6: Results rules-in-use

Rules in use	Woldwijk	Difficulties and tensions in operationalization of ODSs
<p><i>Boundary rules:</i> specify the number of participants, their attributes and resources, whether they can enter freely, and the conditions they face for leaving</p>	<p>Participants:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 CV Woldwijk: 2 board members, 5 initiators 2 Municipality of Ten Boer 3 Province of Groningen 4 Supporting party 5 Environmental team 6 Reflection team <p>Entry rules</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sustainability - Release financial debt of municipality - Be of local value 	
<p><i>Position rules:</i> specify a set of positions or roles, each of which has a unique combination of resources, opportunities, preferences, and responsibilities, and are held by different types of participants in the action situation</p>	<p>Participants & positions</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 <i>CV Woldwijk</i> The Cooperative Association under which wings the initiatives are taking place. A distinction roles can be made between the board members and the members of the agency, in which the members are realizing their own initiative and the board members are governing this process 2 <i>Municipality of Ten Boer</i> Owner of the area, facilitating the several initiatives, and providing the CV Woldwijk with services where needed to help develop the project further 3 <i>Province of Groningen</i> Cooperation of the province was also needed in terms of possibilities in Woldwijk, as being an “outside area” belonging to agricultural activities. 4 <i>Supporting party</i> Strategic management cooperation, providing knowledge to Woldwijk and also learning from Woldwijk as a project, while functioning as a link between the different participants 5 <i>Environmental team</i> Providing permission regarding licenses, testing for health, safety and environmental quality 6 <i>Reflection team</i> Represents the village and their concerns/ideas about the initiatives in Woldwijk, and gives advice (intentionally or not) 	<p>Different perspectives regarding the organizational structure and its future</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - External, distant board, not emotionally involved, and are therefore operating from a different perspective, leading to tensions - Different ambitions - Discussion regarding how to govern a project like this <p>Proper legal arrangements vs. action</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - External, distant board - Making of legal arrangements takes a lot of time, less attention on unanimity between members, resulting in individualistic behavior - A world of paper instead of a world of action <p>Fuzziness regarding the roles of different parties</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who can interfere when? - Diffuse distinction board and supporting party - Initiators do not know what the board, the supporting party and municipality are doing separately, resulting in (sometimes wrong) ideas of the necessity of a party - Island politics
<p><i>Choice rules:</i> specify which set of actions is assigned to which position, directly determining responsibilities, rights and freedom</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 <i>Board of CV Woldwijk</i> Approve on new initiatives, solve problems, mediate between initiators, lead general meetings, communicate with municipality, contact point of organization 2 <i>Members of CV Woldwijk</i> Developing their own project in the area of Woldwijk, pay rent 3 <i>Municipality</i> Has got a cooperative agreement with the CV Woldwijk, helping them where necessary. Municipality is political responsible for what happens in Woldwijk 	<p>No clear or logical actions for all positions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fuzzy who can undertake which actions in practice - Municipality takes care of some of the responsibilities of CV Woldwijk - Diffuse situation between board and environmental team, and between board and supporting party - Managing discussion (shift more actions to initiators)

	<p>4 <i>Province of Groningen</i> Gave here blessing to the project through environmental regulation</p> <p>5 <i>Supporting party</i> Supporting board, members and municipality, and interfering as a bridge between those parties with their knowledge</p> <p>6 <i>Environmental team</i> In control over licenses</p> <p>7 <i>Reflection team</i> Represents the village and their concerns/ideas about Woldwijk, and gives advice to the CV Woldwijk</p>	<p>Different perspectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accession of new initiatives: who takes which responsibility? - Initiators do not feel the need yet to allow new initiators; focus on existing ones instead to create a solid base. This perception is not shared among board/supporting party, who are recruiting new initiators. Different perspectives
<p><i>Aggregation rules:</i> specify the transformation function from actions to intermediate or final outcomes, determining how decisions are made in an action situation (Polski & Ostrom, 1999, p. 16-17)</p>	<p>In general meetings the initiators and the board of the CV Woldwijk come together to discuss urgent aspects, and make decisions upon new initiatives or events.</p> <p>In staff meetings the board of the CV Woldwijk, the supporting party and (sometimes) the municipality get together to discuss aspects which have to do with Woldwijk.</p>	<p>Lack of the feeling of (shared) responsibility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Initiators official members since 2017, do not realize or are not able to practice this new position (so far) - Accession of new initiatives: who takes which responsibility? - Supporting party recruits new initiators while CV Woldwijk should decide on this <p>Initiators experiencing exclusion from some processes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Only meetings with members and board are general meetings, only three so far. Lots going on and decided on in the background, of which they don't know, while they want to
<p><i>Scope rules:</i> delimit the potential outcomes that can be affected and, working backward, the actions linked to specific outcomes</p>	<p>Overcame licensing difficulties with creative solution. Peri-urban benefits because of cooperation of municipality of Groningen. Also cooperation of province of Groningen</p> <p>Everything the initiators want to do is allowed now, within certain frames</p>	<p>Time as a constraining factor</p> <p>Difficult to get concrete information from initiators for the license</p>
<p><i>Information rules:</i> specify the information available to each position, affecting the channels of communication among participants (Ostrom, 2010)</p>		<p>The closer to the action situation, the more complex communication:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Initiators and supporting party experienced information provision as not pleasant, where most other parties believed information and communication was OK <p>Difficult to get concrete information from initiators</p> <p>Not enough time or people to focus on external communication</p>
<p><i>Payoff rules:</i> affect the benefits and costs that will be assigned to particular combinations of actions and outcomes, establishing the incentives and deterrents for action</p>	<p>Initiators pay rent to CV Woldwijk</p> <p>CV Woldwijk pays rent to municipality</p> <p>Initiators have their own payoff</p> <p>Woldwijk as a whole created payoff (social value) for the village of Ten Boer</p> <p>Subsidy provided by the region (RGA)</p>	

5 Conclusion

The aim of this research was to investigate how *current rules in the field of spatial planning are facilitating or constraining organic development in Woldwijk, and what institutional tensions are experienced by initiators and governmental actors in the operationalization of the organic development approach*. In this chapter, the main conclusions will be summarized.

This research has shown that ODSs challenge existing ways of working. ODSs are characterized as an open-ended approach, involving the step-wise development of small-scale initiatives with a more dominant role for its end-users, as opposed to the large-scale traditional approach, involving blueprint and a more dominant role for the government (Buitelaar et al., 2012). Therefore, ODSs conflict with the characteristics of the traditional approach, and as such with the current institutional framework. The search for an alternative institutional framework can be seen as a collective quest for involved actors to find a workable configuration. However, this comes with tensions. These tensions have been mapped in Woldwijk by using the IAD Framework, in order to find an answer to the main research question. To find an answer, the experiences of involved actors, interaction patterns, and ways of working are investigated and tensions and difficulties can be found, which might offer insights for an alternative institutional framework.

5.1 Tensions in Woldwijk

Considering the experienced tensions in Woldwijk, these often had to do with the organizational structure of the CV Woldwijk and the distance between the initiators at the operational level compared to other involved parties. The initiators felt like they were excluded from some processes as many decisions were taken by other parties without consulting them, leading to more distance and a negative attitude towards some parties. Also, arranging everything carefully in a legal sense showed to be a driver for some tensions itself as well, as a lot of attention went to the making of legal arrangements for Woldwijk while less attention was given to the initiators and to the actual realization of the initiatives. Linking up to this, processes to legally start an initiative took quite long, affecting enthusiasm and causing frustration at the side of the initiators as a consequence. Furthermore, fuzziness exists regarding positions and the belonging actions and responsibilities. Since ODSs imply a new role for involved actors, not all actors seem to be aware of certain positions or responsibilities. Difficulties also exist regarding the provision of information, which was experienced as not pleasant by the initiators. Where in ODSs information should be accessible and transparent to all parties, the initiators did not experience this, which has led to the feeling of exclusion and nescience. Another aspect that also led to tensions was the absence of a clear project plan, as indicated by several parties. Among several parties, there is a desire to know what to do and how, and to describe this beforehand in the form of a project plan. However, in ODSs the focus is on process more than on the project, with an open future, in which uncertainty and unpredictability are inherent to these characteristics and contradict with the idea of a project plan. What can be seen in Woldwijk is the tension between clarity and an open plan. In *Table 6* the overview of the found difficulties and tensions can be found.

5.2 Dilemmas of ODS in practice

The tensions found in Woldwijk can be linked to general dilemmas found in spatial planning, and as such to dilemmas found in ODS. Savini et al. (2015) sketched several dilemmas in spatial planning, in which they refer to a confronting situation in which a decision has to be made between two poles or extremes. The relationship between these poles leads to tensions and should be the point of departure to find fertile ground for a synthesis or compromise between these two poles (Savini et al., 2015). Tensions are therefore not considered as negative, but rather as productive. Savini et al. (2015) delineate between the intervention, regulation and investment dilemma. These dilemmas can be seen in ODSs in theory, and will in this paragraph be compared to ODSs in practice, and as such to Woldwijk.

1) *The intervention dilemma*

The intervention dilemma entails the dilemma between control and spontaneity (Savini et al., 2015). In ODSs there should be more room for spontaneity, answering to the changing needs and demands of society (Buitelaar et al., 2012). In addition, since our environment is constantly changing and our future cannot be predicted, ODSs imply an open-ended plan and thus an open future (Wall et al., 2015; Buitelaar et al., 2012). Considering this dilemma, ODSs would, in theory, be on the spontaneity side. However, when we look at Woldwijk there seemed to be a form of control. Even though the desire here exists that initiatives should just “pop-up”, a lot of attention has been given to arranging everything in a legal sense to account for eventual political and environmental complications, even though Woldwijk is an experiment. Furthermore, questions can be asked about who intervenes in Woldwijk. Where ODSs imply an open future, the municipality has set some conditions for initiators to be part of Woldwijk. As such, she exercises a form of control regarding the future of Woldwijk and leaves little fate to chance and spontaneity completely. Therefore, the tension between control and spontaneity can be seen very clearly.

2) *The regulation dilemma*

The regulation dilemma entails the dilemma between protection and adaptation (Savini et al., 2015). In ODSs the focus would be more on adaptation than protection, as the ability to adapt to changing circumstances is one aspect that characterizes ODSs, involving the idea of an open future (Buitelaar et al., 2014). This vision can lead to tensions in operationalizing ODSs, as it can be seen as a task of the government to protect our environment from undesired outcomes, while there is also an increasing desire for unplanned intervention (Savini et al., 2015; Rauws & de Roo, 2016). In Woldwijk the reciprocity between the two poles of this dilemma can be noticed, as several parties have been set in place to account for possible complications regarding adapting to changing circumstances. For example, the environmental team is set in place to protect the agreements made in the licenses, and the reflection team to make sure there is enough support from the village. Therefore, in Woldwijk a strong focus still can be seen on the aspect of protection to avoid undesirable outcomes. Considering the dynamic peri-urban context Woldwijk is in, questions can be asked whether the focus on protection instead of adaptation is effective. On the other hand, the license that has been applied to Woldwijk, is applied to a part of Woldwijk and not to individual initiatives, and lets go of the idea of detailed land-use plans and many restrictions. Therefore, the process of initiators legally realizing their initiative has been eased in a more adaptive way.

3) *The investment dilemma*

The last dilemma involves the investment dilemma, being the tension between supply- and demand-led development, as such between income and risk (Savini et al., 2015), wherein ODSs the risk is shifted more from the government to the citizens and the development of initiatives is demand-driven (Buitelaar et al., 2012). In addition, as uncertainty has become a factor in spatial planning, in ODSs the gradual development of initiatives provides more room in dealing with uncertainties and the risks that come with this (Buitelaar et al., 2012). What can be seen in Woldwijk, is that a lot of time and money is invested in this project, mainly by the board, municipality and the supporting party, to make this project work. Also, a subsidy is provided by the region, to help the project take off successfully. Therefore, in Woldwijk, it can be seen that involved actors are willing to invest and take risks. However, where in ODSs the risk should be shifted more to the citizens, developing from the bottom-up, Woldwijk shows that other parties invested a lot of time and resources in this project as well. Questions can be asked about who invests and who should be responsible. What can be seen in Woldwijk is that most of the risks are taken by “surrounding parties”, instead of the initiators. The board of the CV Woldwijk suggested that the initiators should take more responsibility for what will happen in Woldwijk, resulting in the managing discussion. The fact that the municipality and the organization CV Woldwijk are legally responsible for what happens can be seen as a form of protection, or certainty since there are too many risks involved if the initiators should do this completely by themselves. This can be linked to the fact that Woldwijk is still in its initial phase, and time, money and knowledge is needed to get started. As such, in practice, it seems that too many risks are involved when these are completely shifted to the end-users.

In essence, what can be seen in this case is that following an organic development approach is something involved actors have to get used to, as they have to get used to new ways of working, leading to tensions and new challenges. In Woldwijk, all measures have been taken to make this project work as agreements have been made, contracts have been signed and the license is applied, therefore enabling the project in legal terms. However, difficulties lie in the fact that involved parties have new roles, new positions, different responsibilities, and actions, and have to get used to this. The informal institutions, as for example ways of working and patterns of interaction, are now the aspects that can constrain implementing an organic development approach. However, changing informal institutions takes a lot of time, requires new ways of working and getting used to these ways of working, which is quite a challenge as a country like the Netherlands is used to having strong governmental control in spatial planning. In addition, most tensions and difficulties are found between the operational level and parties surrounding the operational level. People who want to realize their initiative in Woldwijk have other desires, responsibilities, and ambitions than the other parties involved. The first focuses on their own initiative, while other parties focus on Woldwijk as a whole, on legal arrangements or licenses, accounting for local support and environmental quality. As in ODSs end-users have a more dominant role in their environment, other parties seemed to be the more dominant actors in the development of Woldwijk so far. This probably has to do with the starting-up phase of Woldwijk and might show that civic initiatives need help from other (professional and governmental) parties to get off ground. Now initiatives are to be realized and a new phase for Woldwijk has begun, the dominant role of the other involved parties may be more silent in the future.

5.3 Lessons from Woldwijk

So, what lessons can be drawn from Woldwijk for future projects which also have the desire to develop in an organic or innovative way? First, it has to be clear that tensions are not necessarily negative, you need tensions to go forward. As Savini et al. (2015) argue, tensions should be the point of departure to find fertile ground for a synthesis, or compromise between two poles existing in a dilemma. As the alderman also said in an interview:

“These tensions also lead to new things, or solutions, or fun ideas (...) and if you do not have this tension anymore, these contradictions, then Woldwijk stands still.”

A distinction can be made between structural and avoidable tensions. In the innovative and experimental environment, Woldwijk is in, some tensions are structural or unavoidable, such as clarity about the new roles, positions, and responsibilities. It might even be an illusion to get these aspects clear for everyone involved in such a new and turbulent environment. However, there can be strived for clarity regarding the different roles, positions, actions, and responsibilities. Communication is key in this. The case of Woldwijk showed that the way there was communicated towards the initiators and the availability of information resulted in ambiguities. However, some tensions can be avoidable. It is important to realize these avoidable tensions since this can make or break the project and the commitment of involved actors. As such, what we can learn from Woldwijk is that many processes take a lot of time, which can be seen as a driver for some tensions. Time often is a structural tension as well, involved actors have to realize this and can look for ways to speed up some processes where possible. Next, focus on the operationalization of initiatives, which is related to the time-aspect as well. In Woldwijk this process was pretty rough and time-consuming. In this knowledge, try to achieve tangible and visible results as soon as possible. Linking up to this, make the initiators feel that they matter, that they are in fact the ones who have to physically realize their ambitions. After all, in ODSs they are the ones who should have a more dominant role. In this, you need a party who can connect people, who understands peoples' ambitions and knows what to do. Communicate with each other in a transparent way, and listen to each other. Additionally, a project like this needs involved actors who stand behind the project, who are willing to take on the challenge of such a new and innovative idea, to stretch boundaries and to help where needed. In Woldwijk, the facilitating character and cooperation of the municipality of Ten Boer and the municipality of Groningen has been key to make Woldwijk possible. And last, establish a good structure and make sure the set conditions are clear for all parties and try to get all parties on the same page. Even though experiments usually always have to do with new situations, crossing borders and therefore with tensions, the experiences from Woldwijk might help setting eye on the tensions in the innovative fields of spatial planning, which can help in recognizing and/or avoiding some tensions.

As tensions are in a way structural, it is fundamentally essential to deal with these tensions. In this, it is important to recognize these tensions, to make them discussable and workable. In Woldwijk these tensions showed to be difficult at times, but also productive and exciting. As Woldwijk has got an experimental character, tensions will remain, looking for new possibilities and solutions over and over again, as tensions are the departing point to find fertile ground for synthesis. The way these tensions are managed will determine the success and further development of Woldwijk.

6 Reflection and recommendations

6.1 Reflection on the theory

This research made use of the IAD Framework by Ostrom, which proved to be useful in analyzing the enabling and constraining effects of (informal) rules on realizing an organic development approach. Institutions often are fundamentally invisible, which makes them a challenge to analyze. There is no single discipline which addresses all the issues that humans address when they interact in complex situations. However, the IAD Framework proved to be very helpful in structuring interaction patterns and experiences between different parties by making use of the rules-in-use. Especially in structuring the interview guide and therefore the results, the IAD Framework turned out to be very helpful. Also, the other variables, being the biophysical aspects and community attributes, were useful in placing the rules-in-use into context. Some aspects which are not necessarily included in the rules-in-use, such as trust issues, came forward in questions regarding the community attributes. Because of the IAD Framework and its rules-in-use, difficulties and tensions between the parties within Woldwijk came forward and offered insights into the enabling and constraining effects of rules in ODSs.

The IAD Framework was in this research used for more informal institutions rather than formal institutions. Where some rules-in-use (such as scope rules) can be found in formal documents, other rules have been sought after by interviewing involved actors about their experiences regarding specific rules-in-use, making it a more abstract way of interpreting rules in the IAD Framework and simultaneously the rules in Woldwijk. This is one aspect which makes it challenging to use the IAD Framework since this new institutional environment of ODSs does not (yet) have clear prescribed ways of doing. In addition, this research focused mainly on the operational level, where less rules exist, since the focus is more on action, than can be found at the collective-choice level, which is more about policies. Furthermore, even though this framework was useful in exploring the institutional landscape of Woldwijk, it cannot be used to generalize about all different experiences and perspectives in such an innovative and turbulent environment. Last, this framework is not able to address all tensions going on in Woldwijk. The IAD Framework provides us with pretty good insights in a certain institutional landscape, however, as Polski & Ostrom (1999) acknowledged, there is no single discipline which addresses all the issues that humans address when they interact in complex situations.

6.2 Reflection on methodology

This research made use of semi-structured interviews with involved parties in Woldwijk, which as a method showed to be sufficient as experiences from involved actors were relevant in order to provide an answer to the main research question. The close involvement of the researcher in the case of Woldwijk turned out to be beneficial in conducting a case study research, for example in the relationships and understandings she had developed in the field of Woldwijk over time. This helped to choose the interviewees wisely and oversee the process in the given context of this thesis. However, the fact she was involved in this case in a structural matter also had some disadvantages, such as the difficulty to oversee the case from a different perspective. In addition, the turbulent and unstable environment Woldwijk was in during the period of this research

also led to challenges in researching the case, as situations changed over time. Even though the unique position of the researcher was not always experienced as very efficient, this position offered very interesting insights which otherwise might not be found.

An extra difficulty regarding this research, especially in analyzing the obtained data, is that organic area development is a relatively new approach and there has not been much research concerning the tensions in the operationalization of ODSs. There were no general hypotheses to compare to. This made the analysis challenging, as it could not be linked to existing theories or codes about organic area development. On the other hand, this is an aspect which makes this research very interesting as it offers new insights into the tense world of ODSs and its implementation. As such, this research contributes to the current and future developments of ODSs and gives insight into potential institutional innovations which might ease processes regarding operationalizing ODSs.

Reflecting on this research, an aspect that would have been very interesting would be to compare Woldwijk to another similar case involving ODSs in practice, in order to compare these and to investigate whether similar tensions can be found, and where. However, considering the timeframe in which this research had to be undertaken, the unique context of Woldwijk and the position of the researcher, investigating multiple (similar) cases was not feasible.

6.3 Recommendations for future research

As this alternative approach of ODSs is quite new, there are many interesting aspects for further research. First, as in Woldwijk lots of tensions existed between the board and the members of the CV Woldwijk, it might be interesting to investigate how a project following an organic development approach can be or should be governed. Second, as put forward in the previous paragraph, more research can be done regarding tensions in the field of organic area development, in order to investigate if similar tensions can be found and in providing an answer how the institutional landscape of spatial planning can be changed in order to make ODSs work. In this, it might be interesting to investigate as well whether there are differences between urban, peri-urban and rural development projects. As such, it can be investigated which tensions are context-dependent and which tensions can be found in general in ODSs. Furthermore, it might be interesting to research the Woldwijk case once again after a few years, as the project will (probably) have developed further and, looking back on this period during this research, investigate what eventually worked and what did not.

6.4 Recommendations for future practices

The outcomes of this research might also offer insights for future practices of ODSs. The “Nieuwe Omgevingswet” (New Environmental Law) is expected to take effect in 2021, in which the government aims to simplify current regulations in spatial planning provide more room for civic initiatives. Woldwijk was selected in the context of this new law as a Proeftuin (“Experimental Garden”), in which the national government follows the development of the project and provides her knowledge to help. This shows the national interest for projects like this. The results of this research might be interesting for governmental bodies in the context of the Nieuwe Omgevingswet. In addition, it might be beneficial for future (similar) projects to experiment with providing more action for civic initiatives in earlier stages of the development

process of an ODS. What was seen in Woldwijk was that a lot of time passed before initiators were allowed to realize their initiative. Where ODSs involve a more dominant role for its end-users, it might be an idea for local governments to provide more room for realizing initiatives earlier in the process.

Concluding remarks

As pointed out several times in this research, Woldwijk finds itself in a turbulent field. In this light, it is not very surprising that, when this thesis was near full completion, the tables in Woldwijk had been turned completely. By January 2018, the board of the CV Woldwijk decided to resign, leaving the members of Woldwijk to it. Therefore, a new phase has begun, in which the members of Woldwijk are the ones to decide how this project develops further, and with whom, adhering more to the characteristics of ODSs. This does not imply that the results of this research are not relevant for Woldwijk in the future. The main message of this research has to do with trying to find a workable configuration in a new situation. As the external board has left the CV Woldwijk, the members are left with a new, unknown situation once again. However, this probably will lead to new tensions again, which can be exciting but also difficult at times. The challenge is to make these tensions workable, as this will be essential for how the project will develop in the future.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Interview guide

Woldwijk 1. What is your background and how are you involved in the project of Woldwijk? 2. How do you experience a project like Woldwijk? (strengths/difficulties)
IAD Framework: community attributes & rules-in-use 3. How do you experience the different roles involved in Woldwijk (<i>position rules</i>) 4. How do you experience the responsibilities of the parties involved? (<i>choice rules</i>) 5. Do you think that these responsibilities will change in the future, and how/why? (<i>aggregation rules</i>) 6. What is your opinion about the way decisions are made within Woldwijk, and the procedures that come with this? (<i>choice/aggregation rules</i>) 7. Are there parties who should have more (or less) influence in Woldwijk? (<i>choice/aggregation rules</i>) 8. How is the communication between the involved parties, and the initiators in Woldwijk? (<i>information rules</i>) 9. What are the goals aimed for in this project, in general and for your organization? (<i>scope rules</i>) 10. To what extent are current regulations and ways of working enabling the initiators in Woldwijk to realize their ambitions? (<i>scope rules</i>) 11. What are your ideas about who bears which costs and who is entitled to the revenues? (<i>pay-off</i>) 12. How did the process of licensing go, and how did you experience this process? 13. Were there difficulties in the licensing process?
Tensions 14. Did you experience or are you experiencing tensions in the field of Woldwijk? Can you explain them? 15. How are tensions/struggles/difficulties handled and by whom? 16. Is there a high level of trust between the involved parties and between the initiators?
Reflection 17. Are all means present to let the project Woldwijk succeed? 18. What is the best part about Woldwijk, according to you? 19. What can other, similar project, learn from Woldwijk? 20. Where is Woldwijk in ten years?

Appendix 2: Coding scheme

Codeerschema

Hoofdthema	Subthema	Examples	Interview
Woldwijk <i>General</i>	Strength/weakness of Woldwijk		
	Problems in Woldwijk		
	Experiences in Woldwijk project in general	Positive / negative experiences	
	Community attributes	Goals of involved actor(s) in Woldwijk	
		Goal(s) of Woldwijk as a whole	
IAD Framework	Position rules	Experiences of different roles & positions	
		Experience regarding cooperation between different parties	
		Future perspectives/ideas regarding (changing) positions	
	Choice rules	Which party has which responsibility	
		Who is allowed to do what	
	Scope rules	Physical possibilities in Woldwijk: location of initiatives / timeframe	
		License application: what is allowed and where?	
		License application: process	
		Possibilities current rules compared to desires of initiators	
	Aggregation rules	Who decides about what	
		Experiences decision-making process	
		Control/influence of involved parties / should this be changed	
		Procedures to be followed + experiences	
	Information rules	Accessibility of information	
		Experiences regarding communication/sharing information	
		Communication with other parties/ between initiators	
	Pay-off rules	Ideas about who bears the costs and who gets the proceeds	

Tensions	Experienced tensions	<i>Community attributes:</i> Trust issues Lack of common understanding Relationship between initiators	
		<i>Dilemmas Savini</i> Intervention dilemma Regulation dilemma Investment dilemma Other	
	How to deal with tensions		
Reflective	Reflection Woldwijk so far	What went well/what can be done better Lessons for future perspectives	
	Best aspects of Woldwijk	Innovative/creative/new/exciting	
	Are the right means available to make Woldwijk work	Yes / no / which	
	Future perspective of Woldwijk	Success or failure ?	

Afstudeeronderzoek Woldwijk

Geachte heer/mevrouw,

In het kader van het afronden van mijn master Environmental and Infrastructure Planning, ben ik bezig met mijn afstudeeronderzoek. Dit onderzoek heeft betrekking op het project Woldwijk, waarin verschillende partijen die bij het project betrokken zijn worden geïnterviewd. In deze interviews wordt voornamelijk ingegaan op hoe verschillende betrokken partijen bepaalde processen in het project Woldwijk (hebben) ervaren. Deze notitie bevat informatie over het doel van het interview, de manier waarop het interview wordt gehouden en wat er met de data wordt gedaan.

Opname en anonimiteit

- Dit interview wordt opgenomen, om een nauwkeurig verslag van de ervaringen van de verschillende partijen mogelijk te maken. De opname en het verslag zijn alleen toegankelijk voor mijzelf en degenen die mij in het proces van deze afstudeerscriptie begeleiden en beoordelen.
- De informatie die u deelt wordt vertrouwelijk behandeld. Dat betekent dat ik geen informatie met anderen deel die u kan schaden.
- Indien u wenst, worden de gegevens anoniem verwerkt. Dit houdt in dat uw naam niet wordt genoemd in het eindproduct.

Verloop van het gesprek

- Voor deze interviews wordt gewerkt met een vragenlijst om het gesprek te structureren, en voldoende informatie te krijgen. U mag zich uiteraard vrij voelen om tegelijkertijd aanvullende ervaringen en informatie te delen.
- U mag er altijd voor kiezen een specifieke vraag niet te beantwoorden.
- U kunt op elk moment het gesprek beëindigen, dan wel de opname stop zetten.

Gebruik van de verzamelde informatie

- De opgenomen gesprekken worden uitgeschreven (getranscribeerd) en geanalyseerd om zo de ervaringen van de verschillende partijen met betrekking tot Woldwijk duidelijk te krijgen.
- Mogelijk worden na afronding van deze masterthesis de resultaten nog elders gepresenteerd voor degenen die betrokken zijn bij Woldwijk en geïnteresseerd zijn in de uitkomsten.

Ik hoop u hier mee voldoende te hebben geïnformeerd.

Met vriendelijke groet,

Sandra Knoop

Appendix 4: Simplified coding schemes

a. Interview alderman Ten Boer			
Woldwijk	IAD Framework	Tensions	Reflective
<p>Innovative</p> <p>Searching for what works</p> <p>Though, but fun</p>	<p><i>Boundary rules:</i> Municipality, Province, CV Woldwijk, advising party, reflection team, environmental team</p> <p><i>Positions:</i> very positive about the different positions in the field. An external party is needed (advising party) to make this work</p> <p><i>Choice:</i> sometimes diffuse who can interfere where (CV/municipality). Alderman does many things she doesn't necessarily <i>has</i> to do. Some parties can have more responsibilities (RT, members). Municipality has to remain distant, and has to have less influence in the future (reclassification). Also: management/organizational discussion → more responsibilities for the members.</p> <p><i>Scope:</i> 3 formal rules (sustainability, social value, finances). Initiators have their own goal (their own project) - resulting in sometimes lack of a shared goal. There is no described "end goal" for Woldwijk. Everything that the initiators want to do is possible now with the license for the area, even though it is temporary (10-20 years)</p> <p><i>Aggregation:</i> depends on position - management discussion. Since official agreements, official members, who can vote and decide</p> <p><i>Information:</i> good experiences, transparency. If they ask for something, they'll get information</p> <p><i>Pay-off:</i> laid out in documents: financial payment CV-municipality, personal projects are for initiators, extra (financial) value beneficial to the municipality</p>	<p>Legal arrangements vs action.</p> <p>Enthusiasm (board - municipality; board-members</p> <p>Insecurity</p> <p>Woldwijk - environment (it's different, is it smart to do this?)</p> <p>Woldwijk - local council (it's different, is it smart to do this?)</p> <p>Members CV - board CV</p> <p>Financial - who pays what for what?</p> <p>Trust: solid base, but insecurities do not help</p> <p>Conflict of interests (132, municipality, board, members)</p>	<p>Woldwijk is one big tension, but that's good! This leads to new visions and solutions. With no tensions the project is not challenging anymore</p> <p>Tensions experienced more as positive (afterwards) than negative</p> <p>More solidarity between the members has to be created, but it's difficult because everyone is busy with other (also important) tasks</p> <p>More time, people and money would be nice</p> <p><i>Lessons:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Statutes are available for other projects * Try to speed up the process (start on time with license application) * Everything takes more time than predicted. Warn initiators for the possibility that the process can take very long * Positive: commitment of everyone involved

b. Interview municipality Ten Boer			
Woldwijk	IAD Framework	Tensions	Reflective
<p>Special form of spatial development in an area with many possibilities</p> <p>Initiators with different ideals, people with different interests – sometimes leads to tensions but this is unavoidable</p> <p>Shared interest to make this work</p> <p>Different speeds</p> <p>Good benevolent people involved</p> <p>Benefits from the cooperation with the municipality of Groningen</p>	<p><i>Position:</i> fragile. Large ambition + interest contradictions, different languages. Sometimes difficult to say who has which job (environmental team). Now an external board who has to take the members by the hand. Distinction of roles is well established, composition still fragile. Role municipality will be facilitating and helping the CV. Advising party also needed. And a possible project leader in the future. Supporting party and board have a different perspective regarding each other's' roles</p> <p><i>Choice:</i> members should have more influence. Discussion! Maybe a project leader is needed.</p> <p><i>Scope:</i> come to beautiful spatial development in another way than the traditional one. License: OK but difficulty lies in getting the right information</p> <p>Process license application: members wanted to start but no permission yet. The new way of doing in Woldwijk fits within the ambitions of the Nieuwe Omgevingswet. Municipality has to respond quick and flexible to changing circumstances/what creatively happens in Woldwijk. Also interest on a national level (Proeftuin). It's an experiment: You don't make this up – it just in this environment that you happen to meet each other. Creative challenge, not difficult.</p> <p>First: resistance from licensing authorities → not used to this way of doing and it goes beyond existing boundaries.</p> <p>Difficulty: not enough information from the initiators (making it concrete is difficult). Started too late with the licensing process.</p> <p><i>Aggregation:</i> → how are decisions made? In the future more by initiators.</p> <p><i>Information:</i> Municipality doesn't know everything, doesn't have to. Information flows are OK.</p>	<p>Distance board – members leads to tensions</p> <p>Relationships are fragile, especially between the board and its members</p>	<p>Many things still can go wrong</p> <p>Make good agreements with each other, establish a good structure and make sure the conditions are clear</p> <p>Sometimes people want to start too quickly without arranging/taking care of other things which are also very important</p> <p>Trust on luck and coincidence</p> <p>The right people at the right place and time</p>

c. Interview Board CV Woldwijk			
Woldwijk	IAD Framework	Tensions	Reflective
<p>Strength and weakness is giving people the space to do their thing</p> <p>2 steps forward, 1 back</p>	<p><i>Position:</i> unbalance between the members/initiators of CV Woldwijk (large vs small initiators). Conflict of interests.</p> <p>Municipality: conversation partner and political responsible. Environmental team: means smaller role for board (but this opinion is not shared among others). There has to be more control on the current process, which should be done by a land agent (and not by current supporting party). Distance of the board regarding the members is too big. Is bridged by supporting party but things take too much time (information!).</p> <p>Between members: trust issues and scale differences, and a distinction can be made between members who have a running company and members who are starting theirs on Woldwijk.</p> <p><i>Choice/aggregation:</i> everyone knows very well what their responsibilities are. Members sometimes go for the shortest line instead of the right way of doing (arranging things more quickly outside the rules). In the future, responsibilities will shift: members will get more responsibilities and more influence. However, the members have to get used to this idea. Since a short time members can decide about things. In the future, the ET will become a very important factor in decision making – land agent. The way decisions are taken is diffuse, because it is a phase of a withdrawing board.</p> <p><i>Scope:</i> manage 40 ha. of land is the goal</p> <p><i>Information:</i> aldermen does a lot. In external communication, the CV Woldwijk runs hopelessly behind, but they also do not have the professional support to do this. Internal communication regarding the board is good. Between the members: many differences. Many are not communicating well with each other. Conducting concrete information for the license seemed to be difficult</p>	<p>Growing pains</p> <p>The notion that the whole is more than the sum of parts has to grow</p> <p>Cultural differences, differences in business philosophies</p> <p>Conceptual confusions</p> <p>Distance of board</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listen to each other! • It is not about the means but about the mentality • Get a good base in organizational terms • You need professionals in the field • Develop a project plan from the very beginning • Positive: contracts and agreements are there

d. Interview supporting party			
Woldwijk	IAD Framework	Tensions	Reflective
<p>Strength: to build this from the bottom-up. However, the strength is not always present anymore. Many potential but long process – not everyone is on the same line/level</p> <p>Company within a company makes things very complex</p> <p>Work on forming of the collective goal of Woldwijk among al members – if there is no collectivity, we are no where</p> <p>Sometimes it is hard to give meaning to the three goals of Woldwijk</p>	<p><i>Position:</i> Supporting party in a complex position, because members don't know exactly what the supporting party is doing, while they are doing lots of important things the members/initiators don't know about. Members just want to start their initiative but do not realize the roadblocks on its way.</p> <p>The supporting party is there to support the members/initiators, but also the board and municipality. Once everything is on track, they can leave.</p> <p>The municipality is working together with the project. Board does not always realize this, and thinks municipality is not always very active.</p> <p>Board: Many attention went to the legal aspects. However, the board is overactive compared to the supporting party, leaving the supporting party to clean up the mess sometimes since the board takes her own decisions (even though supporting party advises something else). The board needs another profile. However, the current management discussion is way too soon. What is needed is a more "steering" board, with more attention for mutual cooperation.</p> <p><i>Choice:</i> Sometimes unclear who takes which responsibility between board and supporting party (board takes decisions on her own sometimes). Municipality wants to work together with the (board of) CV Woldwijk, instead of interfering.</p> <p>Also: some different perceptions regarding the responsibilities of environmental team and the board. But now there is agreed on a new protocol to take away ambiguities</p> <p><i>Scope:</i> Sometimes it is hard to give meaning to the three goals of Woldwijk. Regarding license: first furious because municipality did not arrange the license, while involved people thought they had. This set things in motion, environmental team was set in place, and a special construction to arrange the licensing part. This went pretty fast. Only thing was the lack of information by the members, which resulted in a longer process than necessary.</p>	<p>The legal trajectory took very long, while there was no building on and within the CV Woldwijk itself.</p> <p>Everything takes a lot of time</p> <p>People have different perceptions</p> <p>The board does not use the supporting party</p> <p>Company within a company</p> <p>Initiators want certainties</p> <p>Trust: fluctuating, but OK</p> <p>Now many things are approached too businesslike/financial. Another kind of leadership is needed</p>	<p>We could have better steered on the collectivity first</p> <p>A communication plan really needs to be developed, as well as financial aspects.</p> <p>The relationship between the members and between the board/supporting party and members is too weak. The members really have to show something now (responsibilities, willingness, etc.). More attention needs to go to collectivity.</p> <p>However, the right conditions to make this work are created</p> <p>5 initiators are brought together coincidently and now have to work together. This does not work, and it has to be the other way around</p>

	<p>Also, it took a while before the permit had been granted and there has been some miscommunication.</p> <p>However, this license still has great risks</p> <p><i>Information:</i> Not a solid foundation, now ad hoc. Priority number one to get this right. There is not a good communication plan. The internal information flows are not running well. Loose protocols.</p> <p><i>Pay-off:</i> Rent. Utilities have to be paid by the members</p>		
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e. Interview Environmental Team (ET)			
Woldwijk	IAD Framework	Tensions	Reflective
<p>Fun</p> <p>Good learning project for the Nieuwe Omgevingswet</p> <p>Strength of the project is enthusiasm, willingness and energy to work together</p> <p>No problems. Challenges!</p> <p>ET is not closely involved with the initiators, as such they do not know or are aware of all internal “problems”</p>	<p><i>Position roles:</i> There are many roles involved. It is important to keep the involved roles as pure as possible. Clarify roles. Initiators have their own stakes. Sometimes tensions because different actors have different views. What is most important is that we understand each other. Facilitating role of the municipality, but also the municipality had to cross thresholds in this case. Consideration: what if other people will get involved? (Retirements, other municipality, parties leaving). Chemistry in the group as it is now, is optimal. When new people will get evolved this is something to get used to.</p> <p><i>Choice rules:</i> some things and processes are still difficult, but that’s mainly because we’re in the starting-up phase of Woldwijk. Make sure the roles are clear, because then responsibilities also become clear.</p> <p><i>Aggregation rules:</i> we have to follow the procedures has agreed upon with the CV Woldwijk. This was not always followed by initiators.</p> <p><i>Scope rules:</i> initiatives we can now provide are included in the license, so in the future no individual licenses are needed for every initiative. License covers all activities within the agreed starting points. Environmental team does not give the license, but approves upon initiatives regarding the license. Process was</p>	<p>No problems. Challenges!</p> <p>Not many tensions experienced, because nothing is realized yet.</p> <p>Municipality has to be careful as she is ultimately responsible.</p> <p>No tensions, but exciting moments</p> <p>Trust: is OK</p>	<p>It is good that all initiators are owner of their initiative</p> <p>It is an experiment. Every outcome is a lesson, whether positive or negative.</p> <p>Be adaptive, adjust the goals every now and then.</p> <p>Lessons</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Treat all parties equally • Talk with each other on equal levels • Few rules, lots of trust • Pitfall: being too optimistic

	<p>not difficult, with external support. Good communication with the environment/village of Ten Boer resulted in no objections. Initiators are able to realize their ambitions with the given license, but it is a learning process for all parties involved.</p> <p>Goal of ET is to go along within the experiment and to realize things in an alternative way.</p> <p><i>Information:</i> Many things communicated through the internet, social media. When asked for information, one will get information. Positive!</p>		
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f. Interview Reflection Team (RT), Ten Boer			
Woldwijk	IAD Framework	Tensions	Reflective
<p>A nice challenge, innovative, connected with idealistic ideas</p> <p>Cooperate with different parties, but this is also a pitfall: think further than your own interests</p> <p>RT = little distant</p>	<p><i>Position:</i> RT = little distant. In the future other role than now → connect with the village. Municipality has to realize they give Woldwijk out of hands. Board is investing a lot in making its members realize that we are doing it with each other. Negative attitude against supporting party by members of Woldwijk – they don't want them involved anymore, even though they are considered, even indispensable by RT (and other parties)</p> <p><i>Choice:</i> people within Woldwijk have to realize they are the carriers of the project, that they are responsible. Now still in starting phase, individualistic behavior, focused on own project and not project as a whole. In the future it will be different. Management discussion: things will shift in the future (more responsibilities for its members)</p> <p><i>Scope:</i> formal 3 goals. RT: give advice to the board of CV concerning the inhabitants of the municipality</p> <p><i>Aggregation:</i> everyone is still searching, starting phase, so little diffuse. Two steps forward, one back regarding decision-making processes. Slow process, but will be better</p> <p><i>Information:</i> open communication thanks to the supporting party. Communication to the citizens can be better: it is a small village and not a city.</p>	<p>Village is being critic but that is because the project is not very well known</p> <p>Lately because of management discussion → board wants to shift its responsibilities too soon. Seen as a threat. The image of Woldwijk also can suffer from this → no stability.</p> <p>Board often tends to communicate only by writing. This is not very effective, and not very personal.</p> <p>Negative attitude against supporting party by members of Woldwijk – they don't want them involved anymore, even though they are considered, even indispensable by RT (and other parties) → different perspectives!</p>	<p>Prevent failures and focus on successes.</p> <p>Trust: no reason to distrust each other (RT). Members to board: process goes too slow because of starting phase. Main focus was on legal aspects, while initiators just want to realize their project</p> <p>Board to municipality: critic attitude. Thinks that municipality is counteracting. We-them attitude</p> <p>Biggest problem: not much of Woldwijk is visible. It is a world of paper and not a world of initiatives/action. Is also not good for the image of the citizens. Shift towards the visible world! Make it visible.</p> <p>Starting phase in which no one knows what the future will bring, but a lot of enthusiastic people. But it can go in any direction</p>

g. Interview Initiator (1) Ten Boer			
Woldwijk	IAD Framework	Tensions	Reflective
<p>Experience: dramatic - many initiators brought in and pushed off later</p> <p>Unrealized expectations</p> <p>Initiator just wants to do his thing</p>	<p><i>Position:</i> Positive: party who stood up to realize the idea of the municipality. But took the lead very long. Now leads to frustration. And they are not the “connectors” - you need people who can connect the initiators. Not much trust regarding this supporting party</p> <p>A board of members was not allowed - external board was set in position (conflict of interests) Board interferes too much sometimes (license). Not a nice cooperation between board and its members. Trust between members, except with the one who joined later.</p> <p>Unclear for initiators who does what. Municipality also keeps on interfering in the process, understandable</p> <p>Now is the time someone is needed that motivates people and involves them in the process</p> <p><i>Choice:</i> Board thinks initiators should take the lead now in the process while they weren't allowed to do so for a long time - this feels odd for initiators. However, initiators want to take more responsibility. Quote: “<i>If you want the members to pull the cooperation than you should have included them in the process and into what's there now</i>”. Members should have more influence/responsibilities and the supporting party less. Initiators do not oversee the work that the board and the supporting party have done and still do.</p> <p><i>Aggregation:</i> Members are not included in the process. Board decides things without proper argumentation or opinions of the members (management discussion). Since a few months official member, so the right to vote. But doesn't feel like that. There happens a lot of which the members feel like they know nothing about. Hopefully more room for the members in the future and less for supporting party.</p> <p>Unclear for initiators who does what and what is who's responsibility</p> <p>Members should have more influence/responsibilities and supporting party less.</p>	<p>Supporting party/initiators</p> <p>Initiators building permit</p> <p>Cooperation in cooperation (CV/initiator).</p> <p>Supporting part declining initiatives, but brining in the same initiatives (but other company).</p> <p>Choice of location between two initiators (early vs. late initiators)</p> <p>Too much internal gibberish, not enough building up</p> <p>Supporting part interfering too much</p> <p>Board sometimes thinks too much about what they want instead of wat initiators want</p> <p>Initiators let these tensions pass because it is not their core business</p>	<p>As members you are not included in the process</p> <p>Board that stands closer to the members - or is supported by members. Project leader as being the interconnector for the members</p> <p>Wants to show what a project like this entails and that is is not that easy</p> <p>Lessons</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Municipality gave it out of hands too quickly/easily (touwtjes te veel laten vieren) * Good that supporting party stood up * Make sure that you have a good project supervisor that brings people together * Split everything up in phases, not everything at once * Make initiators with a good idea an official member earlier in the process and create cohesion

	<p><i>Scope:</i> Difficult to know who was managing what exactly, too much interference of CV board (unnecessary).</p> <p><i>Information:</i> Not pleasant. Members are not included in the process. Decisions are made without members. Board has different ideas than the members (the discussion about managing the CV). A lot via e-mail and not personal. No transparency. Also has to do with trust.</p> <p>Not much transparency regarding the farm building.</p>		
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h. Interview Initiator (2) Ten Boer			
Woldwijk	IAD Framework	Tensions	Reflective
<p>Special project, many different parties and backgrounds, with potential and creativity</p> <p>However: 2 worlds; directors/strategic advisors vs. initiators</p> <p>Talking vs. doing</p>	<p><i>Position:</i> Too many distance between the different roles/positions, leads to problems. Good project leader and financial experts are needed, as well as a clear project plan. Now, positions function as “separate islands”, and they are not converging. The supporting party is meant to bridge this distance, but this is not working anymore. A solid foundation is not present. Not everyone is able to do what is asked from them. There is a lot of talking, but not much action. Distinction of roles is unclear, lack of solid foundation. This is also picked up by the members. Also, initiator experiences that the board is very convinced about their own views and opinions, but they live in another world than the initiators and see things different</p> <p>Function supporting party also unclear – sometimes they are involved, sometimes distant.</p> <p>Resistance regarding the plans of the directors to give the members more responsibility. However, not in cooperation with the members.</p> <p><i>Choice:</i> Diffuse: unclear who has which responsibility. There is not an overarching “whole”, not a clear distinction of tasks. Also, initiators have not been taking their responsibilities for a long time, and the board has to sort this out. Every meeting there is another conflict.</p> <p>Function supporting party also unclear – sometimes they are involved, sometimes distant.</p>	<p>Process took too long; much talking and less action</p> <p>Way of communicating is odd, information goes alongside each other, results in incomprehension</p> <p>There is not a clear plan, financial expertise lacks, people are stubborn</p> <p>Trust: up and down. Many things are still fragile and still have to be sorted out. Also because of lack of knowledge/expertise or ignorance from the board results in distrust – difference between governing and doing something in practice.</p> <p>Get the right expertise to make the tensions workable</p>	<p>Get the right expertise to make the tensions workable, otherwise things will go wrong very soon.</p> <p>Everyone is just doing something. Not very effective</p> <p>Show that this can work from the bottom up!</p> <p>Lessons:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * start more quickly with realizing an initiative instead of only talking about it * make sure there is a good financial and substantive plan * Think about organizational structure: is a cooperative agency the right way of organizing this? More civil servants involved than official members... * Make sure the positions and roles are clear for everyone * Environmental team experienced as very positive <p>2 extremes: or there will be many initiatives in the future, or it will fail</p> <p>Note: This conversation was held in the middle of a chaotic period with many conflicts</p>

	<p>Resistance regarding plans of the board. Experts are needed to guide this project. However, a new phase is coming</p> <p>Maybe there should be looked more to what the initiators want.</p> <p><i>Aggregation:</i> Every meeting there is another conflict; the making of decisions is not that easy. Not clear who can decide about what. Initiators feel like also outside of the general meetings important decisions are taken (without their involvement). You have to know what you can decide about as a group and what not. The distance between the different parties is too big now, resulting in tensions. Experts are needed</p> <p><i>Scope:</i> To add societal value to vacant areas or buildings. Very positive experience with the license process: the right expertise; listening to and learning from each other, trusting each other. Everything is possible within the set framework. It took some time, but compared to normal licensing processes this went pretty fast.</p> <p><i>Information:</i> Not a very positive experience. A long time communication went via the supporting party. Now there is a board. However, between these two parties there is not always very good communication and this results in ambiguities. Cobwebs.</p> <p>Also: way of communicating by board via long letters and e-mails. Not always necessary and does not always work/not effective.</p> <p><i>Pay-off:</i> documents</p>		
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