

Master's Thesis

Environmental & Infrastructure Planning

Organic Area Development and the Facilitative Capacity of Dutch Municipal Organisations

An assessment of the organisational conditions required for the municipal facilitation
organic area development



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Abstract

The goal of this thesis is to find out what organisational conditions are required for municipalities in The Netherlands in order to facilitate organic area development in cities. By perceiving the city as a complex adaptive system, four organisational conditions for the municipal facilitation of organic area development are identified: leadership, process-orientation, transparency, learning capacity. These conditions are conceptualised in the Facilitative Capacity Wheel based on the Adaptive Capacity Wheel developed by Gupta et al. (2010). The wheel is used within a multiple case study in order to assess the facilitative capacity of three municipal organisations: Groningen (Ebbingekwartier), Amsterdam (Cruquiusgebied), and Assen (Havenkwartier). The study shows that enabling rules, external-orientation, and experimentation have the highest positive effect on municipal facilitation of organic area development.

Preface

Municipalities are forced to take on more and more responsibilities with less and less financial resources. Consequently, municipalities are increasingly dependent on their citizens to share these responsibilities. Therefore, the concept of organic area development has gained popularity amongst planners and politicians. In addition, organic area development seems appropriate within a current-day complex and volatile context. However, shifting from a government-led society to a citizen-led society requires the municipality to change the way in which they organise the planning process. This thesis aims to find out what particular organisational conditions are required for the municipal facilitation of organic area development in Dutch cities.

With this master thesis I finish the master study Environmental and Infrastructure Planning at the University of Groningen. Writing a master thesis was a complex project, which required a lot of learning and experimentation for an appropriate structure to emerge. Trying to reduce a vast amount of information for a more relevant and dense selection, took a lot of time and effort. This was also due to my growing personal interest in the subject and my aim to provide high quality. A personal pitfall was that I wanted to cover every possible aspect of the topic. This eventually led me to accept that complexity can never be fully reduced. In other words, I had to establish a clear framework in order to set boundaries for the scope of this research. In the end I think I found a suitable balance between order and chaos, resulting in the completion of this thesis.

Hereby I would like to thank the people that provided their support during the period in which this thesis was written. My thesis advisor, Ward Rauws, for his ongoing patience, helpful involvement, personal interest, valuable insights and personal interest. I would also like to thank the interviewees, for their time and enthusiasm that lead to inspiring and useful discussions. Finally, I am very grateful for the continuous trust and support of my family.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Organisational Change Required for the Municipal Facilitation of Organic Area Development

This first chapter will introduce the topic of this master's thesis and will subsequently discuss the relevance of the subject by providing a problem statement and a research goal. Thereafter, the research goal and associated research questions of this study will be presented, as well as the research boundaries in order to demarcate the scope of this thesis. The chapter will then conclude with an overview of what the reader can expect in the following chapters.

1.1 Introduction to the topic

The economic crisis of 2008 has radically changed the conditions of urban area development in The Netherlands (PBL, 2012). Dutch cities now face the problem of an increasing vacancy of office-, retail- and business areas (PBL & ASRE, 2013). Moreover, insufficient funds have led to the postponement or cancellation of large-scale construction projects, resulting in a loss of billions of euros for municipalities (Deloitte, 2001). As the NRC Handelsblad¹ has stated in 2011, the municipalities most actively involved with land policy pay the debts of overly generous land purchases. Since these changed conditions are of a structural nature, municipalities are forced to reconsider their approach on area development (KEI & NICIS, 2012). Municipalities are increasingly aware of organic area development as a promising alternative for the redevelopment of existing urban areas (PBL, 2012). However, choosing for organic area development will require for municipalities to alter the manner in which they are organised. What organisational conditions are specifically needed for municipalities to facilitate organic area development? And what challenges will the implementation of organic area development entail? That is what this thesis will focus on.

1.2 Problem Statement

The Dutch planning system is labelled by the EU Commission as the 'comprehensive Integrated Approach' (CEC, 1997). This planning approach is known for its large-scale and integral character and is predominantly based on continuous demographic and economic growth. During the twentieth century, municipalities took on an increasingly active and dominant attitude in

¹ <http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2011/maart/05/miljard-enstrop-in-nieuwbouw-12002468>.

urban area development within an aim to accommodate its citizens. The large-scale character started to develop from the second half of the 19th century, but especially grew within the post-war task of reconstructing The Netherlands. The large-scale approach had a self-reinforcing effect as municipalities became increasingly active and started to cooperate with large corporations. Consequently, due to suburbanisation, cities grew significantly, first in population and later mainly in territory. During the 1990s, as the market gained influence, area development became increasingly integral, aiming to align as much as possible interests within a coherent blue-print master plan (PBL, 2012). Spatial planning became a complex negotiation game in which big actors (governments, project developers, corporations) deliberated for citizens (Hajer, 2011). This was even more so within the inherently complex arena of cities, in which much alignment necessary, because of the abundance of actors and interests involved (PBL, 2012). Nonetheless, spatial planning remained to have a linear and top-down character in which, persistently, the implicit idea was that the city should be 'made' (KEI & NICIS, 2012).

Currently, there seems to be a conflict between the institutionalised practice of area development and the planning issues and circumstances that municipalities are facing (Seo & Creed, 2002: in PBL, 2012). Because of the stagnation and future uncertainty regarding demographic and economic development, large-scale and integral urban expansion projects seem to be outdated (PBL, 2011; in PBL, 2012; KEI & NICIS, 2012). Also, the city has been rediscovered as a place to live and as a catalyst for economic development (Hajer, 2011). Society is now more than ever energetic and eager to contribute to its own environment. If municipalities want to exploit this so-called 'social capital', it is essential for them to mobilise the creativity and the innovative capacity of citizens and firms within the city (Hajer, 2011). Lastly, the city vacancy problem has increased due to several new societal trends, such as 'flexible working'. Therefore, cities now face a massive transformation task of its urban fabric. Growth has lost its obviousness and the focus will shift from urban expansion to a focus on the existing city. From developing, to maintenance. This implies that a large-scale approach does not fit with current day planning issues. Moreover, especially with a focus on the existing city, which is an increasingly complex whole, a comprehensive integral approach to planning is not realistic anymore (PBL, 2012). As Teisman states, reducing complexity is doomed to fail (Kei-centrum, 2010; in PBL, 2012). And as Karssenbergh stresses, the time of 'making the city' is over and the time of 'being the city' has emerged (KEI & NICIS, 2012).

Multiple authors have advocated for organic area development as a promising and complementary alternative to large-scale integral area development (Urhahn, 2010; KEI & NICIS, 2012; PBL, 2012; Platform 31, 2012). This mode of area development could help to deal with the

problems described above. Moreover, there are also arguments to explicitly choose for the organic development of cities, such as its increased ability to respond more quickly and flexibly to changes in societal demand (PBL, 2012). Organic area development can be defined as (PBL, 2012, p. 8):

"[...] the sum of relatively small-scale (re)developments, with an open-end process without blue-print, in which development and maintenance are intertwined, with a dominant role for its users and a facilitating role for the government".

With organic area development or 'invitation planning' (RLI, 2012), the municipality creates a broad strategic framework in which bottom-up initiatives are actively invited and stimulated to invest in the development of an area. As the PBL (2012: p. 10) states: "Without initiators, no organic development. Furthermore, preventing incompatible land-use and providing (semi)public services such as infrastructure and public space remains to be a governmental responsibility (PBL, 2012:). According to the PBL (2012), facilitation can be done in four ways: through communication, financially-economically, through legal planning, and through organisational measures. This thesis focuses on the latter.

Facilitating organic area development mainly entails a cultural challenge for municipal organisations. This challenge has much to do with altering a perspective on reality. According to the PBL (2012), organic area development means changing the unwritten rules and working methods of municipal officials (informal institutions) rather than legal rules and acts (formal institutions). Municipalities are habituated to manage area developments as projects in which they built in many certainties based on the implicit assumption of reductionism and control. However, 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 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. It means letting go of control; taking on a more modest and patient attitude, both in regard of steering the process and towards initiators. It also requires municipalities to take on a more dependent attitude towards initiators. Municipalities that choose to facilitate organic area development area thus need to depart from their comfort zone and embrace uncertainty in their organisations.

Now the current model is broken, there is an opportunity for organic area development to demonstrate that this new holistic approach can lead to more effective and sustainable development being able to address the growing complexity of contemporary society.

1.3 Research goal

The goal of this thesis is to find out what organisational conditions are required for municipalities in The Netherlands in order to facilitate organic area development in cities. According to the PBL (2012), municipalities are currently in the middle of a transition phase, aiming to adjust themselves to the requirements of current contextual demands. These organisational conditions should fit within an increasingly adopted perspective on reality, which acknowledges society's complex and volatile nature. At this point in time, many municipalities are aware of the virtues of a facilitative governmental role and an active role of civil society, and there are promising initiatives in The Netherlands (such as the examples studied in this thesis: Ebbingekwartier in Groningen, Cruquiusgebied in Amsterdam and Havenkwartier in Assen). However, organic area development is still relatively new in the Netherlands and there is little knowledge on the working methods (TNO, 2014). Hence, much work still remains to be done for the practical operationalisation of organic area development through organisational measures. This thesis aims to contribute to this knowledge.

The organisational conditions are studied by employing a custom version of the Adaptive Capacity Wheel, tailor made for the purpose of analysing facilitative capacity of organic area development by municipal organisations. The assessment tool is originally designed by Gupta et al. (2010). Based on the result found by applying the 'Facilitative Capacity Wheel', recommendations can be formulated for municipal organisations to adjust their organisations in order to increase their capacity to facilitate organic area development.

1.4 Research questions & boundaries

The goal of this research is translated into the following main research question:

How can municipalities facilitate organic area development through organisational measures?

The main question will be answered by examining the next sub questions:

1. What practical challenges for Dutch municipalities can be derived from the theoretical concepts underlying organic area development?
2. What organisational conditions are required for municipalities in order to facilitate organic area development?
3. To what extent do Dutch municipalities meet the organisational conditions required for facilitating organic area development?

This thesis is set within the research domain of Environmental & Infrastructure planning, more specifically in the field of area development. In addition, this research focuses on public administrative and organisational theory. According to the PBL (2012), putting organic area development into practice in The Netherlands is especially relevant for municipalities. Therefore in this thesis municipal organisations are studied on their capacity to facilitate organic area development.

1.5 Reading Guide

The next chapter aims to find the required organisational conditions for Dutch municipalities to facilitate organic area development in cities based on theoretical enquiry. Paragraph 2.1 will confront the contemporary Dutch planning system with the concept of organic area development. In paragraph 2.2 contemporary planning theory is confronted with complexity theory. Together, paragraph 2.1 and 2.2 will lead to multiple tangible challenges for Dutch municipalities to facilitate organic area development and will thereby answer research question 1. From this point, the city is perceived as a complex adaptive system. Paragraph 2.3 will present suitable organisational conditions for municipalities to facilitate organic area development within such a system. This will result in a qualitative tool for the assessment of municipal organisations on their facilitative capacity the facilitative capacity of municipal organisations; the Facilitative Capacity Wheel.

Subsequently, chapter three will explain the methodological framework, providing the systematic and theoretical justification for the methods applied in this thesis. In chapter 4, the Facilitative Capacity Wheel will be applied within a multiple case study. The municipalities of Groningen, Amsterdam and Assen will be assessed, for their facilitation of organic area development in respectively the areas Ebbingekwartier, Cruquiusgebied and Havenkwartier. Each case section will conclude with a SWOT table, pointing out the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for the specific municipal organisation. Lastly, chapter 5 will draw conclusions based on the findings in this thesis. The case studies will be compared by means of an aggregate SWOT table. This way, the cases will be compared, practical and theoretical lessons learned will be provided, and recommendation for future research will be suggested.

2. THEORY

Organisational Conditions for Municipalities to Facilitate Organic Area Development in Dutch Cities

Chapter two contains the theoretical framework of this thesis and aims to answer the first two research questions:

1. What practical challenges for Dutch municipalities can be derived from the theoretical concepts underlying organic area development?
2. What organisational conditions are required for municipalities in order to facilitate organic area development?

First, paragraph 2.1 will describe the evolution of the Dutch planning system and will designate its present-day shortcomings. Subsequently, the concept of organic area development and its complementary value to the Dutch planning practice will be explained. Paragraph 2.2 will describe the evolution of planning theory and its current limitations. It is shown that the complex adaptive systems (CAS) perspective can provide an alternative view on planning theory, which is more realistic than conventional understandings. Also, perceiving cities as complex adaptive systems will demonstrate the theoretical relevance of the facilitation of organic area development in these complex spatial systems. Together, paragraph 2.1 and 2.2 will lead to multiple tangible challenges for Dutch municipalities to facilitate organic area development and will thereby answer research question 1. Lastly, paragraph 2.3 will set out suitable organisational conditions for municipalities to facilitate organic area development within a complex adaptive system. This will result in an answer to research question 2, in the form of a qualitative tool for the assessment of the municipal capacity to facilitate organic area development; the Facilitative Capacity Wheel.

2.1 The Dutch Planning System and Organic area development

This paragraph aims to describe what it entails for Dutch municipalities to facilitate organic area development. First, the Dutch spatial planning system and its evolution are described. This will reveal the shortcomings of contemporary Dutch planning practice. Second, the concept of organic area development and its valuable contribution to the current practice will be set out, resulting in specific challenges.

2.1.2 The Dutch planning system

2.1.2.1 Technical rationality

Dutch spatial planning policies and practice has experienced major changes during the last decade. During the nineteenth century, area development in The Netherlands was still mainly an organic process. Spatial development was based privately induced and proposals were arbitrated and subsequently formally documented on a municipal level. This is called 'legitimacy planning'. However, since the national housing act in 1901, being the first centrally imposed law on spatial planning in The Netherlands spatial planning rules grew exponentially (Van Rooy, 2011). Organic area development thus disappeared as a regular mode of development within The Netherlands.

Contemporary Dutch planning system is originally built on a modern, technical rationality (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). "Due primarily to the struggle against the water and the immense efforts that were needed to rebuild the Netherlands after World War Two, the Dutch planning system has evolved into a comprehensive, functionalist, well-structured and dominant doctrine" (Boelens, 2009; de Roo, 2003; Van der Cammen & de Klerk, 2003; in (Gerrits, Rauws & De Roo, 2012: p. 336). Janssen-Jansen and Woltjer (2010) call it a legislative system that emphasises protection and legal security in which the dominant local authorities provide for spatial coordination through a systematic and formal hierarchy of detailed land-use plans, in order to safeguard a balanced spatial and social landscape. Planning thus became an object-oriented and top-down affair, in which planners were supposed to know every consequence of their interference (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). This form of planning is typified as the technical rationality (Healey, 1983; De Roo & Voogd, 2004; in Rauws & De Roo, 2010).

The limitations of the technical rationality in planning practice were quickly noticed (Lindblom, 1959; Simon, 1960; in Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Planners could not live up to the assumption of certainty of planning, since issues were less universal than presumed and determined by societal appreciation and thus subject to changeability. Consequently, the promise of a 'mouldable' society through functionality became increasingly criticised since the 1970s. Initially, one attempted to counter uncertainty with 'progressive planning', by which projected planning goals were frequently tested on social relevance and, when necessary, adjusted accordingly. Also, politics advocated for roughly generic regulations based on self-formulated norms of equality, which could steer spatial development and level out the diversity of planning issues (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). During this period the notion of 'admittance planning' emerged in which the government shaped strict legal frameworks for citizens to conform to (Van Rooy, 2011; PBL, 2012).

However, this could not prevent from certainty and functionality to lose its obviousness (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Because the comprehensive interference had proved to be infeasible, the government took on a more modest attitude in regard of planning. Increasingly, policy sectors started to zoom in on their own domain, which led to a profound specialisation of policy- and planning practice but did not lead to the desired improvements of planning (De Roo & Porter, 2007; in Rauws & De Roo, 2010). On the contrary, sector-transcending issues led to inter-sectoral conflicts, due to the lack of reciprocal recognition and alignment (Rauws & De Roo, 2010).

2.1.2.2 Communicative rationality

In- and outside The Netherlands, interest grew for the ‘communicative approach’ during the 1990s (among others Healey, 1996; Innes, 1995; Woltjer, 2000; in Rauws & De Roo, 2010). This implicitly means the acceptance of uncertainties in spatial planning (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Uncertainties were countered by finding ‘collective certainties’ through open communicative and collaborative approaches (Gerrits, Rauws & De Roo, 2012). This way, not the goals but the process of planning acquired a central position and the focus shifted from ‘government’ to ‘governance’ (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003; De Roo & Porter, 2007; in Gerrits et al., 2012). Instead of a coordinating government with a procedural approach, shared responsibilities in regard of specific planning issues acquired popularity (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). This led to area-oriented approaches that focused on both horizontal and vertical cooperation and the involvement of local community (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000; Woltjer, 2000, Priemus, 2007; in Gerrits et al, 2012). This approach did more justice to complexity, which was seen as partly determined by local contexts. Moreover, the quality of space gained importance within planning (Rauws et al., 2010). During this period, admittance planning got replaced for ‘development planning’, within which governments became increasingly active and risk-bearing developers of space in cooperation with private parties (Van Rooy, 2011). Spatial planning became increasingly integral. This resulted in increasingly complex negotiation games in which big actors (governments, project developers, and corporations) deliberated for citizens (Hajer, 2011). These changes illustrate a shift from a technical to a communicative rationality within planning (figure 2.2) (Rauws & De Roo, 2010).



Figure 2.1: The technical rationale approach from the 1960s versus the communicative approach from the 1990s (Based on De Roo & Porter, 2007, p. 116; in Rauws & De Roo, 2012)

2.1.3 Critiques on contemporary Dutch planning practice

Despite the recognition of uncertainty and the growth of private influence in spatial development with the arrival of the communicative rationality, contemporary planning practice is still subject to criticism. This criticism is mainly based on the inability of the public government to address the nowadays increasingly complex and changing society. According to Teisman (2014), the main problem is that municipalities attempt to reduce and create order within complexity. This goes both for governance as well as for spatial development approach. Municipalities attempt to govern everyone, but in reality only govern partially. Networks are consistently built with homogeneous actors, while a more heterogeneous network is necessary for change and innovation. Moreover, although large-scale integral area development attempts to cover every aspect, reality will often change in a different, unforeseen direction. Although municipalities are aware of the need to change and to govern in a less complex way, it appears to be complex to make things simple. Moreover, enabling a participatory democracy requires governmental courage (Teisman, 2014).

2.1.3.1 Governmental centrality

The occurred shift in relative power in spatial planning practice, as is described above, is a consequence of two main factors (VROM, 2004; in Boonstra & Boelens, 2011: p. 101):

1. Improved accessibility of information, individualization and increased empowerment, improved technical means (mobility, multimedia, Internet, etc.) for social organization and exchange of ideas on specific issues have resulted in a much more complex and heterogeneous setting;
2. Moreover, the position of planning within local, regional and national governments has weakened because of ongoing globalization, governments' reduced position in land management and shrinking public funds.

Consequently, both the room for manoeuvre and the legitimacy of one-dimensional government actions have thus decreased, and public policy and planning now have to increasingly rely on the 'resolving powers of civil society' (WRR 2005, in Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). As Boonstra & Boelens (2011, p. 101) state: "Governments simply cannot act on their own any longer".

The current neo-liberal discourse that gained influence in Dutch politics, seems to acknowledge this and attempts to increase market influence in planning in order to increase both the effectivity and efficiency of spatial planning. Accordingly, a few policy measures supported this goal, such as the decentralisation² of spatial policy and strategy making and the

² <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/gemeenten/decentralisatie-van-overheidstaken-naar-gemeenten>

simplification of regulations³. Rauws et al. (2010) speak of a shift in Dutch planning from equality to freedom, from steering to market orientation, from control to self-reliability.

However, until now, participatory planning has produced disappointing results (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). Boonstra & Boelens (2011, p. 106) argue that the main reason for this is that:

"[...] time and again participatory planning proposals remain controlled by public government, and public government seems not to be very adaptive to initiatives that emerge from the dynamics of civil society itself, and thus is unable to address the growing complexity of present-day society".

Governments persistently hold on to their instruments that keep them in central positions. Because public policies are usually standard, uniform and prescriptive, a large group of actors is continuously excluded from planning processes. As Boonstra & Boelens (2011, p. 109): participation refers to goals set by government bodies on which citizens can exert influence through procedures set by these government regimes themselves, resulting in processes of thematic, procedural, geographical – and so on – inclusion". These policies, supported by comprehensive systems of control and accountability, negatively influence creativity (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). Hence, governments have difficulty dealing with, or making productive use of societal diversity (Frissen, 2007; in Boonstra & Boelens, 2011).

These findings are endorsed by Hajer (2011, p. 9), who emphasises that it is evident that much power is still concentrated within political centres and established interests. Consequently, governments fail to profit from the creativity of nowadays Dutch society, which is more than ever an 'energetic' society': "[...] a society of wordy citizens with an unknown reaction-speed, learning ability and creativity". Although this society is eager and capable to contribute to its environment, public organisations only gradually adjust to the changes of the network society and therefore civil innovative potential remains unexploited.

2.1.3.2 Large-scale integral area development

Large-scale integral area development misses the capability to cope with contextual uncertainties, e.g. demographic and economic development. The precise planning of large-scale integral projects repeatedly proves to be difficult (PBL, 2012). Due to the necessary large pre-investment and their relatively big organisational and financial interrelatedness, disappointments can influence the entire project and therefore, the financial position of the local governments and other parties (Buitelaar, 2012; in PBL, 2012). Consequently, overly optimistic measurements are more rule than exception (Kahnemann, 2011; in PBL, 2012).

³ <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/omgevingswet>

Since conditions for area development in The Netherlands have structurally altered, municipalities are forced to reconsider if their urban areas, in regard of the uncertainty and the risks, are still suitable for large-scale and integral development (PBL, 2012). The previously described decentralisations to the change the principle of 'comprehensive integrality' within Dutch planning much (Van der Burg, 2012; in PBL, 2012). As Urhahn has pointed out; although the social-democratic utopia had been replaced by a more market-oriented approach, urban development remains to be large-scale, mono-functional and inflexible, resulting in the limited citizen role of buyer of standardised products. Therefore, planners need to break through historical trends, in which the production of the city became increasingly large-scale, organised with increasingly large parties (Urhahn, 2010).

Planning practice requires an alternative perspective in order to do more justice to the complex and changing character in which spatial development is embedded. It seems that there is more diversity needed within Dutch spatial planning, both for governance structure as for area development approach. Therefore, organic area development seems to be a proper alternative.

2.1.4 Organic area development

2.1.4.1 The concept of organic area development

Gilbert Herbert (1963) was one of the first planning scholars to conceptualise the 'organic' concept in his discipline. Despite the growing international interest at that time, Herbert demonstrated that planners failed to adopt the fundamental properties of organic area development such as profundity and totality. In the United States, it was the persistent artificiality of spatial development, which had resulted in dead city hearts and urban sprawl as a result of rigidity and repetition. Planning approaches were narrow, exclusive and partial solutions, seeing the problem from selected and therefore limited points of view, inevitably failing to achieve a genuinely organic and sustainable solution.

Within his assumption that organic area development is equal to 'life-enhancing' development, Herbert attempts to find the essence of this notion through scrutinising organic philosophy. Herbert (1963, p. 200-201):

"[o]rganic theories, systems, philosophies, are concerned with unity and wholeness. They seek inherent order, structure, and form in the apparent diversity of the universe, and they deal with inter-relationships at all levels from microcosm to macrocosm. [...] The organic philosophy, seeing nature as an interrelated network of events, which come into being and perish, accepts the notion of process-being, becoming, perishing - as the only principle of permanence"

Hence, organic philosophy sees reality as a diverse, interrelated and ever-changing whole, which has no ultimate destination. In view of that, according to Herbert (1963, p. 208), an organic city:

"[...] will be designed to facilitate growth, change, and renewal-processes of change will take place in an organic way, so that the balance of the city as a whole is not destroyed but, by a process of emergent evolution, is ever recreated [...] is one whose form and structure is consistent with its purpose: and the purpose of the organic city is to create a life-enhancing environment for men living in communities [...] will provide the stimulation of diversity, and a maximum of contrast contained within an overriding unity". (1963, p. 208 -209).

Thus, cities that aim to develop in an organic fashion, should enable diversity and continuous change and evolution with respect to the balance of the city as a whole.

Herbert's description resonates well with more recent visions on organic area development that also emphasise the need for diversity for organic area development. Plein et al. (1998) argue that, what they call 'organic planning', is inherently complex process. Because there are various different starting points and different paths for different participating elements, such a process has no simple linear cause-effect relationships and is unpredictable. Therefore, in order to be able to continuously adapt to its changing context, an organic planning process should be equally diverse as the environment with which they deal in order to arrive at solutions that match with the specific context. Plein et al. (1998, p. 517): "[o]rganic planning cannot be successful if it is insulated from its diverse environment". Likewise, Evans et al. (2009), argue that for 'organic regeneration' to work, the system of governance needs to be as complex as that which it is intended to govern. They demonstrate that as similar to banks that became 'too big to fail', the structural vulnerability of large-scale area development is its mono-logic and its insensitivity to people and places. According to Evans et al. (2009), 'sustainable development'⁴ does not derive from solely transforming a physical environment, but from the form and balance of a development that should be in accordance with the needs and character of the area. In other words, "[o]rganic models of regeneration hold the potential to create more 'sustainable' urban transformations, by being locally grounded, slow and piecemeal" (Evans et al., 2009: p. 694).

Given that organic area development requires diversity in terms of structure and participants in order to sustain itself, the process should be 'citizen-led'. According to Plein et al. organic area development provides a citizen deliberation venue that addresses changing issues over time, which are often motivated outside, and independent of, established governmental or institutional arrangements (Plein et al., 1998). Plein (1998, p. 517-518): "Citizen and organised interests have the resources and motivation to pursue any number of community and economic development initiatives and may not necessarily need assistance from governmental actors". According to Evans (2009), opening the access to land would democratize the process of area

⁴ When Evans et al. (2009, p. 694) refer to sustainable development, they mean sustainable, [...] "in the widest (in the widest sense of a development that is diverse, socially inclusive, environmentally friendly and economically durable".

development. In line with this, when linked with Arnstein's 'ladder of participation', organic area development could potentially touch the highest typology of citizen's power in determining a plan; 'citizen control' (8). Hence, organic area development requires a process-inversion that significantly impacts the citizen-government relation.

However, although citizen-led area development could decrease governmental power within urban area development, it is the government that needs enable organic area development. In view of that, according to Evans et al. (2009), organic area development is mainly a governance challenge. They advocate that local governments need to perform 'bottom-up' politics and open up spaces for different forms of ownership that will enable new actors to acquire access to the actual means of development. Evans et al., (2009, p. 696): "With respect to sustainability we need less 'exemplars' and more 'experiments' [...]". Despite the less direct and politically attractive character of organic area development, the government needs to be more creative and patient at the same time in order to deliver something sustainable. With the current financial crisis, the economic attractiveness of empowering people to rebuild the city for themselves did increase (Evans et al., 2009).

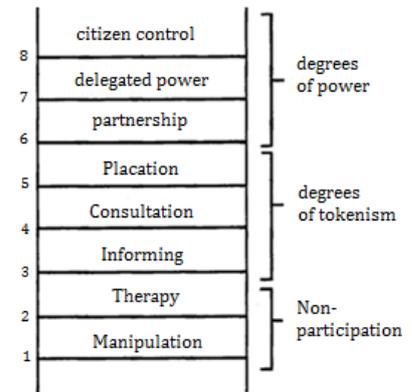


Figure 2.2: Ladder of citizen participation (Source: Arnstein, 1969).

Although the governmental role will drastically alter with organic area development, this role remains to be essential. According to Evans et al. (2009) the government will need to create a regulatory framework in which diversity – of approach, developers and projects – is encouraged, while coordinating them to deliver higher goals at the same time. Evans et al., (2009, p. 696): "Such a framework recognises that big (in terms of coordination) and small (in terms of operationalisation) are both beautiful and necessary at the same time [...]". Also a governmental regulatory framework could prevent organic area development to become a 'free-for-all' situation (Evans et al., 2009). Plein et al. (1998, p. 518) also emphasise the need for governmental influence, stating that "[f]or governments this means using their power to convene and facilitate, shifting gradually from prescribing behaviour to supporting responsibility by setting goals, creating incentives, monitoring information, and providing information". Governments will need to gain access to citizen-led deliberative efforts instead of vice versa. This requires communicative skills. Also, actors from diverse backgrounds, with diverse interests, should be aligned towards a shared future vision in order to establish productivity. Lastly, providing citizens with information and expertise for more feasible initiatives will become a key governmental task (Plein, 1998). Hence, the government will remain to have an inviting, supervising, coordinating, facilitating and informing role.

In summary, organic area development is inherently characterised as a complex (diverse and interrelated) whole that is discontinuously and unpredictably changing. This way, organic area development is an incremental, small-scale, and open-ended process that has no ultimate goal than to sustain and improve itself. Therefore, a city that aims to enable organic area development should encourage diversity in order to continuously adapt to its dynamic context. Essentially, a broad regulatory framework is required that safeguards the balance of the city as a whole. This will require the citizen-government relationship to change. Organic area development will mainly be a bottom-up process, facilitated by the local government. It has democratic potential but also embodies a major challenge.

2.1.4.2 Organic area development in The Netherlands

A first incentive for organic area development strategy in The Netherlands was created by the designer collective 'Not done' (Vinke et al., 2005). According to them organic area development is an open-ended process that enables room for changes, accommodates small-scale bottom-up initiatives, creates quality within a plan that does not contain a finale image. According to Vinke et al. (2005), organic area development does more justice to the complex and often unpredictable context in which spatial planning is now embedded.

Subsequently, Urhahn (2010) introduced the 'Spontaneous city'; a concept that connects well with the organic area development notion of the 'Not Done' collective. According to Urhahn (2010, p. 1), the spontaneous city is:

"[...] a market place where supply and demand shape the urban character. This city develops in various speeds along various roads. In the spontaneous city, there are many directors and many future expectations and there is tight cooperation with citizens and entrepreneurs [...]. The spontaneous city is shaped by its occupants in a never ending process of change, growth and adaptation".

Hence, in accordance with the international literature, organic area development is characterised as mainly a bottom-up process, in which the process is the goal because there is no final image.

Urhahn states that this concept may appear not Dutch, having a strong planning tradition with highly developed planning and little room for surprise. However, The Netherlands has other traditions that are in accordance with the basic principles of the spontaneous city. First, the Amsterdam channel belt is built in accordance with the same principles such as the collective framework with clear rules (of channels and streets) and freedom per building plot. Second, contemporary Dutch politics are known with the 'principle of subsidiarity', claiming that one should not govern on a higher level if it can be done on a lower level. Third, there is a tradition of pragmatic reality, in which the development of high ambitions were reduced to smaller

manageable pieces. Lastly there is a growing trend visible of 'self-construction' plots. However, these traditions are only exceptions that confirm the rule of largeness of scale (Urhahn, 2010).

In order to reverse this, Urhahn (2010, p. 3-4) has presented four distinctive principles for the support of the spontaneous city. First, *zoom in*. A reduction of scale is suggested both for the grain as for time: organic area development is a small-scale and incremental process. This requires a thorough examination of the local needs and relevant players in a particular area. Second, *supervise open development*. Sustainable development means that an urban district can adapt to the continuously changing factors such as urban functions, architecture, density and lifestyle. The non-linearity of a city's development ensures its vitality. At the same time, the supervision of initiators, in varying frequencies and directions, is of major importance. The blueprint is replaced for a plan that indicates a wide range of possibilities and specific opportunities that must inspire a broad range of participants and, simultaneously, is able to adapt to the dynamic rules of the game. Third, *create collective values*. This is a political process that must be developed both by the public and by experts. These common values are strategically important elements in anticipation of this future vision. Fourth, *be user-oriented*. Participatory structures must exceed participation itself. Central aspect is the stimulation of endogeneous power. The energy, creativity and capacity to invest of everyone should be exploited in order to deal with future challenges and in order to find collective solutions for the city. Residents, associations, companies and co-operatives should be given an active and influential role in urban area development. According to Urhahn the main challenge of the twenty-first century is to find a proper balance between collectively essential issues and the creation of freedom where possible. The planner should focus on shaping conditions in which flexibility is organised.

In 2012, the Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving⁵ in cooperation with Urhahn Urban Design, have aimed to find out how municipalities attempt to shape their facilitating role in the process of organic area development and, what can be learned from this in order to improve the facilitation process. As visualised in figure 2.1, organic area development fundamentally differs from integral area development.

⁵The Dutch national institute for strategic policy analysis within the field of environment, nature and space.

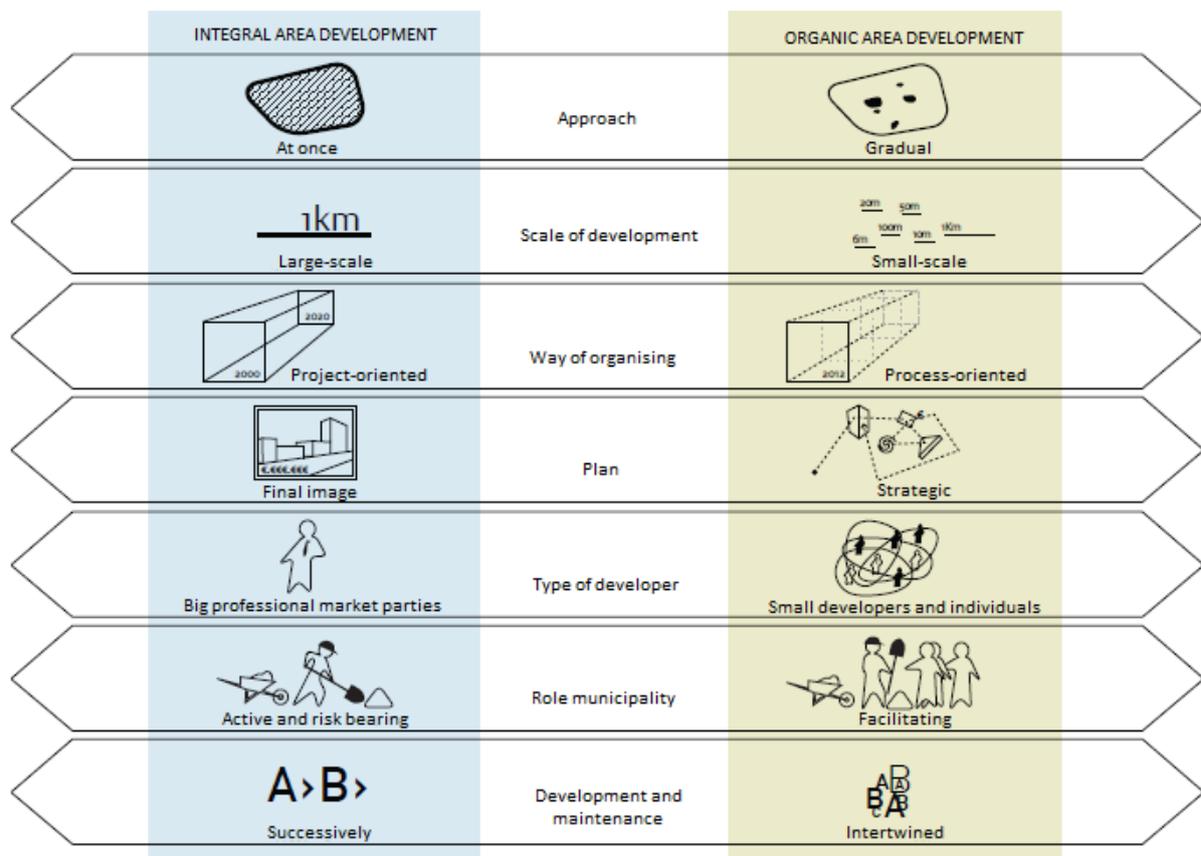


Figure 2.3: Integral area development versus organic area development (Based on PBL, 2012)

Although the PBL does not claim the end of integral area development, or that the organic area development is the ultimate panacea for every problem, it does stress the fundamental benefits of organic area development contrasting to integral area development. These are to a large extent in accordance with what is stated above in the international context. Firstly, citizens get more involved with urban area development. Their central position will increase the change of satisfied citizens in regard of the process and end-result and it will increase diversity in urban areas (PBL, 2012). Moreover, it is easier to exploit the city's inner energy and creativity (Urhahn Urban Design, 2010; Hajer, 2011 in PBL, 2012). Secondly, with a continuous and incremental transformation of the city, governments and corporations do not have to face a wide-ranging transformation task at once, such as with the post-war urban fabric. With organic area development this task is more manageable, since neighbourhoods are developed in separate phases. Lastly, organic area development offers more possibilities to cope with uncertainty (and risks) in regard of demographic and economic development and consequently, the demand for dwellings and real-estate. A more gradual and diverse form of area development provides the possibility to adapt to changes in demand (Buitelaar, 2012; in PBL, 2012). As Weick states (1976, p. 6-7; in PBL, 2012):

"If all elements in a large system are loosely coupled to one another, then any one element can adjust to and modify a local unique contingency without affecting the whole system" and "if there is a breakdown in one portion of a loosely coupled system then this breakdown is sealed off and does not affect the other portions".

Nevertheless, it is due to the fundamental difference between integral and organic area development that facilitating the latter entails a significant change in the governmental role and attitude in relation to other actors involved in spatial planning. The municipal organisation is designed to manage spatial developments as projects in which they take the lead. These have a clear beginning and an end, a final image, a clear role division between big professional parties and a subsequent succession of development and maintenance. Moreover, municipalities are accustomed to work with land-exploitations and 'milestone planning' (PBL, 2012). Hence, within their project-oriented approach, municipalities have built in many 'certainties' based on an implicit assumption of their ability to control.

However, organic area development requires a different way of organising the process. Because inherently, organic area development is difficult to plan, area developments are less integral (organisational and financially), less large-scale and less appropriate for a project-oriented approach. Organic area development is a long-term and indivisible process, in which it is not clear if, when, where and what kind of initiatives will arise (PBL, 2012). Therefore, instead of project management, facilitation of organic area development requires process management, which is:

"[...] characterised by openness, by searching support through interaction, by searching for collectively needed information and ways to utilise this information for shared needs, by a relation oriented approach in the guidance of participants, by flexibility and thus adjustment to changing circumstances, by much attention to deliberation ultimately leading to 'rich' solutions" (Edelenbos, 2007; in PBL, 2012: p. 84).

Although in practice, organic area development will consist of mixed forms of project and process management (PBL, 2012), it is clear that facilitating organic area development means letting go of control; taking on a more modest and patient attitude, both in regard of steering the process and towards initiators. Moreover, it means accepting the less financially feasible character of organic area development in contrast to integral area development (PBL, 2012).

Because of the municipal dependency on initiators, facilitating organic area development requires an active, externally-oriented and accommodating municipal attitude. Municipalities

need to perform 'invitation planning'⁶ (RLI, 2011; Kei & NICIS, 2012; in PBL, 2012). Within an area development framework, which prevents incompatible land-use and creates a future vision for the area's coherent development, initiators are invited to develop. This process is a matter of coalition planning, which requires new competencies of municipal officials. Municipal officials serve a networking role; recognising and acknowledging unconventional, encouraging potential parties to invest, providing information, connecting initiators and building reciprocal trust, maintain contact with them, creating collective values etcetera. This requires communicative skills (PBL, 2012). This approach requires a clear municipal point of contact; an account or area manager who is often present in the area and knows occupants and owners (PBL 2009; in PBL, 2012). Preferentially, this should be someone with sufficient mandate, who can transcend above various sectors and is not dependent on these sectors for every single decision (PBL, 2012).

Nonetheless, the PBL report shows that the municipality as a partner is not monolithic; where one municipal department is intensively occupied with facilitating spontaneous initiatives, the other department could have little knowledge of this or position themselves differently. There exists a field of tension between the project agency that is instructed to stimulate initiatives in the area and take on a flexible attitude and on the other hand the rest of the municipal organisation that is more focused on the conformance with existing regulations and policy in order to prevent incompatible land-use. This sector policy often reasons from another rationality (e.g. the mitigation of environmental risks⁷), sometimes leading to the necessity of abundant consultation and alignment or even internal conflict. This internal policy unconformity can be an obstructive factor for organic area development (PBL, 2012).

Municipalities are aware of the necessity to change their organisation and are currently in a transition phase, searching for the right balance between steering and letting go within their specific situation. Although municipalities do have the accountability to be bureaucratic and predictable - providing compatible and efficient land-use - a more accommodating attitude towards initiatives could be beneficial for the area's organic development. However, these informal institutions are deeply rooted (path-dependency) (North, 1990; in PBL, 2012). Hence, the main challenge is culturally; changing unwritten rules and working methods (informal institutions) rather than legal rules and acts (formal institutions). For a cultural change to occur, courage is required in order for municipalities to depart from their comfort zone.

⁶ Where admittance planning assumes a government that creates area development frameworks and development planning a government that actively develops with others parties, invitation planning can be placed somewhere in between (PBL, 2012).

⁷ Other examples of this internal contrariety are: safety-, retail business-, parking- and welfare regulations (PBL, 2012).

2.1.5 Conclusion

This paragraph has shown that if municipalities aim to embrace the organic area development concept as is described in theory, this concept should be completely translated into practical measures. Within the Dutch spatial planning context, this results in various specific challenges as is presented in table 2.2.

Organisational challenges	Description
Open-ended process	Modesty and patience in regard of steering the process
Area Development framework	Create collective values shared between public and private actors
Citizen encouragement	Stimulate private investment for area development
External orientation	Connecting public and private actors through coalition planning
Monolithic organisation	Municipal-wide support of organic area development strategy
Accommodating attitude	Municipal organisation in service of initiators

Table 2.1 Organisational challenges for the municipal facilitation of organic area development in Dutch planning practice.

The following sub-paragraph will clarify how complexity theory and the complex adaptive systems perspective can contribute to this and help to justify the relevance of and to provide tools to overcome these challenges for the facilitation of organic area development in cities.

2.2 Planning Theory versus Complexity Theory

Based on the work of Gert de Roo (2010)⁸, this paragraph aims to demonstrate that a valuable contribution to contemporary planning theory can be provided by complexity theory, which accepts an evolutionary-oriented understanding to reality. Because complexity theory fundamentally differs from planning theory, De Roo has used among others 'systems theory'⁹ in order to connect them. Systems theory, as a 'general science', aims to find interdisciplinary reflections on the underlying structures of issues in reality, which is perceived to be consisting of systems. By comparing the evolutionary trajectories of planning theory and systems theory it is shown that the first three system classes relate well with the consecutive shifts within planning theory (and Dutch planning practice). As similar to the technical and communicative rationality in planning, systems theory distinguishes between three system classes ranging from certain to uncertain worlds: system classes I, II and III (Kauffman, 1991). For each systems class, different steering principles apply that partly dependent on the different contextual conditions. Significantly, by adopting the complexity perspective, systems theory has introduced a new systems class, which is still unknown to planning: systems class IV or the 'complex adaptive

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⁹ Bertalanffy (1968) is seen as one of the founders of the general systems theory (De Roo, 2010).

system'. These systems are worth studying for their analogous relation with both cities. Moreover, the underlying dynamics of complex systems can theoretically embed the relevance of organic area development in cities. Studying those will offer means to understand, deal with and profit from the dynamics within such complex spatial systems.

2.2.1 Closed systems

Planning theory traditionally took on a technical rationale attitude, based on the modern notions of certainty and functionality. This was partly a result of the desire of social science to be as well defined and straightforward as Newtonian physics. Moreover, the philosophic origin of planning theory was based on neo-positivism, which aims to understand a material reality as one absolute truth. Planning issues were assumed to be independent of contextual influences and therefore ranging from 'simple' to 'complicated'. These issues could be fully grasped through a reductionist focus on individual parts of the issue and planning concepts could be generally applied (De Roo, 2010). If only before the planning interference the facts were known, planners could predict and create outcomes as desired (Sagoff, 1988; in De Roo, 2010). Planning became an object-oriented affair, in which the ultimate objective of planners was goal maximisation, as mere technicians aimed to produce single and precise defined outcomes. As Portugali (2008: p. 255-256) states: "[...] classical urban and planning theories [...] implicitly or explicitly treat cities as machines, urban scientists as external observers and planners as external experts". The first planning concepts within a technical rational decision-making environment were based on systems class I: closed systems (De Roo, 2010). These static systems are characterised by direct causality and clear elements connected through direct causality and surrounded by stable contexts (steady-state equilibrium) (Kauffman, 1991; in De Roo, 2010).

2.2.2 Feedback systems

As similar to planning practice, from the 1960s criticism towards the modernist approach within planning theory started growing (Lindblom, 1959; Simon, 1960; in Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Consequently, the need for feedback mechanisms during the process grew in order to check if assumptions still apply or need to be adjusted. The scenario approach gained popularity as a method to deal with uncertainties (De Roo, 2010). Consequently, the popularity of closed systems weakened and they were gradually replaced for systems class II: feedback systems (oscillation between fixed states) (Kauffman, 1991; in De Roo, 2010). In these systems the direct causal relationship was decreased as a result of internal and external factors (Rauws and De Roo, 2010). Nonetheless, the planning concepts based on feedback systems were criticised as well (De Roo, 2010). It became obvious that bounded rationality was an excuse to hold on to the technical rationality (Berry, 1974; in De Roo, 2010). Feedback systems were still based on the

same neo-positivistic assumptions and feedback mechanisms were limited to a certain amount of fixed configurations planned a priori. Moreover, the results of planning processes remained disappointing (De Roo, 2010).

2.2.3 Network systems

In the 1990s, a paradigm shift in planning theory¹⁰ emerged towards a communicative rationality, based on a post-modern belief system that accepted uncertainty as fundamental to planning issues (De Roo, 2010). The post-modern attitude holds that “[...] nothing is certain and that everything is subject to doubts, considerations and - in the end - nihilism” (Harper and Stein, 1995; in De Roo, 2010: p. 25). Since general principles did not apply anymore, planning issues were seen as highly dependent on their local context and therefore as solely complex or very complex. The emphasis shifted from an object-oriented to intersubjective focus on planning as seen in paragraph 2.1. Mechanisms such as valuing, argumentation, agreeing, discourse and storytelling gained popularity. The ultimate goal within this kind of rationality became process optimisation in which planners acted as mediators, connecting stakeholders and guiding them through an increased number of options during the planning process to common understanding and unique solutions (De Roo, 2010). Planning issues within this kind of rationality correspond with the notion of systems class III: network systems. These open networks systems are characterised by fuzzy entities connected through weak cause-effect relationships and surrounded by an unstable dynamic contexts (no predictable pattern or stability) (Kauffman, 1991; in De Roo, 2010).

2.2.4 Critiques on contemporary planning theory

As similar to the technical rationality in planning, a perspective based on reality which is solely based on the communicative rationality, is seen as inadequate by an increasing amount of national and international scholars and practitioners. As is described below, there are multiple discernible reasons with regard to this inadequacy of contemporary planning.

2.2.4.1 Dichotomous reality

The theoretical dichotomy of the technical and the communicative rationality, solely represents an extreme and non-existent reality in which planning issues are either orderly and very simple or chaotic and very complex (figure 2.1) (De Roo, 2010).

¹⁰ De Roo (2010, p. 25): “This shift, which revolutionised planning thought, did not stand alone but is part of a wider debate that runs through the various academic disciplines and has a strong footing in philosophy”.

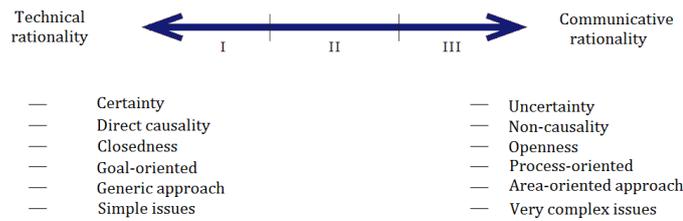


Figure 2.4: dichotomous reality in planning displayed on the spectrum from technical rationality to communicative rationality (Source: De Roo & Voogd, 2004: p. 57; in Rauws & De Roo, 2010).

In fact, the majority of planning issues are located in between, containing a variable co-existence of both certain and uncertain dimensions (De Roo, 2010). As de Roo (2010, p. 25) states:

“While a solely technical perspective on our reality would prove to be too good to be true, a post-modern view would leave us nothing but scepticism and is - in essence - rather fatalistic”. And, the “[...] schism in planning, which has created two separate worlds, overlooks the idea that reality is not black or white, certain or uncertain, but is likely to be various shades of grey”.

These are the so-called ‘wicked problems’¹¹ (Ho, 2008; Klijn, 2008; 2010; De Roo, 2010). These are complex planning issues in which both the nature of the problem as well as the solution is indistinct as a result of various reasons such as the large number of stakeholders and varying opinions involved and the interconnected nature of these problems with other problems (Ho, 2008; Klijn, 2010). Examples of these problems are the ageing of the population, climate adaption and the transition from fossil to renewable energy. These large societal issues are processes of change, which demand spatial integration. However, a planner’s attempt to spatially integrate these issues merely has limited effect. It can thus be questioned if spatial steering principles take enough care of processes of change (Rauws & De Roo, 2010).

2.2.4.2 Static reality

As the theoretical dichotomy as described above is seen as non-existent, a stable or a-temporal reality is as well. Although planners have let go of the idea of a mouldable society, they mainly approach uncertainties in the ‘here and now’ and hardly pay attention to time and change (De Roo, 2010). They primarily focus on the moment in which the decision has to be made for a spatial interference based on rationality and expertise (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Even though planning is a discipline that claims to implement interventions for future purposes, contemporary planning theory still ignores the factor of ‘time’ to a great extent. Hence, planning implicitly assumes a static and linear reality in which structure and function, fact and value and shape and meaning of planning issues is fixed (De Roo, 2010). Consequently, planning

¹¹ The political scientist Horst Rittel was one of the first to formalise a theory of ‘wicked problem’. Rittel has cited ten characteristics of these wicked problems in total. (Ho, 2008).

interferences are repeatedly compromised by unforeseen circumstances and disappointing results (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011)

Therefore, various scholars argue that an alternative and complementary mental model for planning is required (Batty, 2005; Portugali, 2006; De Roo, 2010). In this model, not only the 'being' but also the 'becoming' of planning issues needs to be accentuated (De Roo, 2010). As Rauws et al. (2010) state, planners should be aware of the changing position of actors, changing criteria of quality and, varying impact of contextual processes. Although accepting that reality changes in indeterminate ways that cannot be predicted would change the role of planners, it would certainly be a more realistic perspective. It could provide planners with more effective approaches, which are better able to address a complex, volatile reality (Rauws & De Roo, 2010).

2.2.5 Complexity as a decision-making criterion

De Roo (2010) has attempted to merge the modern (thesis) and post-modern (anti-thesis) perspective within contemporary planning theory, by means of introducing the notion of complexity. By confronting systems theory with some assumptions of contingency theory, complexity is positioned within the conventional planning theoretical debate and a fundament is built for planning theory to 'evolve' to the world of complexity theory. Contingency theory, argues that there is no single best way of planning, but that the best approach depends on the (internal and external) situation of the particular issue (Christensen, 1985). Introducing complexity as a criterion for decision-making enables planners to see the technical and communicative rationale as two extremes of the same reality. Moreover, this method could help planners to cope with the 'confusing middle' of the spectrum (figure 2.1) where the bulk of planning issues are situated; wicked problems. When shifting from the technical towards the communicative rationale on the spectrum, the complexity of planning issues increases and the approach shifts from an object-oriented (closed systems) towards an inter-subjective oriented approach (open, network systems) in order to cope with the increased complexity (De Roo, 2010). As de Roo (2010, p. 28) advocates: "[W]hile accepting uncertainties in planning, it still remains important to seek those certainties that do exist." Hence, hereby an answer is provided to the first point of critique as described in previous section (paragraph 2.2.4). Nonetheless, this lines of reasoning still illuminates merely one side of complexity; static or a-temporal complexity.

2.2.6 The City as a Complex Adaptive System

The other side of complexity transcends contemporary planning theory in that it perceives reality as discontinuously subject to change, development and progress as is proposed by complexity theory (De Roo, 2010). Complexity theory "[...] provides a conceptual framework, a

way of thinking, and a way of seeing the world” that can help to clarify and comprehend “[...] the nature of the world - and the organisations - we live in” (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003, p. 4). This framework is originally conceptualised in natural sciences and only later introduced in social sciences (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). Remarkably, in relation to the broad academic discussion about complexity, planners have rarely participated in the debate (De Roo, 2010).

An evolutionary-oriented perspective on reality can provide a valuable contribution to planning theory, since planning is particularly a discipline that attempts to grasp societal interaction with the physical environment, and to intervene for the well-being of society in the (near) future (De Roo, 2010). The conceptual framework of complexity is mainly suitable for the wicked problems as described in paragraph 2.2.4 (Ho, 2008; Klijn, 2008; De Roo, 2010). It provides planners with an alternative, reflexive and more realistic perspective on the extent to which control, guidance and influence of future spatial developments is possible. Moreover, based on these understandings, it provides pragmatic tools for an alternative planning approach that does not ignore uncertain development through time (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). According to De Roo (2010, p. 19), “[...] planners must no longer close their eyes to the message that is inherent in the concept of complexity”.

Although until here, the evolutionary trajectories of planning theory and systems theory developed parallel, systems theory developed further. Influenced by complexity theory, a fourth systems class could be distinguished: ‘systems class IV’ or the ‘complex adaptive system’ (e.g. Waldrop, 1992; in De Roo 2010). As opposed to system classes I, II and III, these systems are confronted with the factor ‘time’ (De Roo, 2010). Through time, these systems behave in a dynamic fashion as a result of both an adaptive response to changing contextual conditions and the ability to reproduce themselves in a ‘self-referential’ manner through internal mutually connected processes (Rauws & De Roo, 2010).

Multiple authors have argued that cities can be perceived in analogous relation with complex adaptive systems (Portugali, 2000; Batty, 2005; Allmendinger, 2009; De Roo, 2010; Rauws & De Roo, 2010). A city evolves through time, as a consequence of various contextual factors in combination with internal developments and growth (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Moreover, Portugali (2008, p. 256) stresses that “[...] cities as complex systems are different from complex systems commonly discussed by theories of complexity – they are dual complex or dual self-organising systems”. In other words, cities are complex systems, consisting of other complex systems (e.g. organisations) that are all reciprocally connected through an infinite number of interactions (Choi et al, 2001) and thus influence the systems development. As Portugali (2006, p. 25) states, “[a]pproaching the city as a complex system enriches our view of planning in that it gives rise to several new planning forms”. Such a new planning form could be organic area development, which also perceives development in analogous relation with nature (paragraph

2.1). Hence, this new perspective in planning can help to theoretically embed the relevance of organic area development within cities. Complex adaptive systems are characterised by self-organisation, co-evolution, non-linearity, emergence, path-dependence and the edge of order and chaos. These features, their analogous relation to cities, and the resulting implications for planning spatial development are further explained below.

2.2.6.1 Self-organisation

Complex adaptive systems spontaneously organise themselves so as to better cope with various internal and external perturbations (Heylighen, 2008). This process of 'self-organisation' can be defined as the spontaneous emergence of global structures and patterns out of local interactions (Heylighen, 2008). Simply put, it is the creation of order out of chaos (Teisman et al., 2009) or "[s]imple dynamics producing astonishingly complex behaviours" (Waldrop, 1992: p. 32). The 'degree' of self-organisation is partly determined by the diversity of a system (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Spontaneous means that no external agent is in control of the process (Waldrop, 1992; Heylighen, 2008); even if it may appear differently on a global scale. Because this process is truly collective, parallel and distributed over all agents, the system is robust and flexible (Heylighen, 2008).

Complex systems consist of various subsystems, coherent constellations of elements or agents that are connected through a local and more or less random or chaotic process of mutual interaction through which they continuously adapt to changing environmental conditions. Agents independently perform 'self-consistent' behaviour, meaning that each agent acts in a way as to maximise its individual 'fitness' to the 'landscape' they are in (Waldrop, 1992; Heylighen, 2008). For instance, in a social context, citizens, governments or private parties in a competitive environment, continuously search for ways to satisfy their own needs. These needs are partly determined by the norms, values and assumptions that each agent has within a collective of similar agents (Choi et al., 2001). In other words, these agents act in accordance to some simple rules of interaction that apply within their particular context. It is due to both learning and evolutionary variation (natural selection) that some of these conventions are sustained and multiplied (Heylighen, 2008). The agents that are capable to adapt will 'survive', while the ones that cannot will 'die'. The result is that the adapted agents will evolve, improving themselves in terms of productivity, stability and adaptive capacity (Loorbach, 2007).

In the context of urban area development, self-organisation refers to the spontaneous citizen initiatives that create new spatial structures, without being controlled by external parties such as governments or project developers (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). The city is a product of the initiatives of actors, interacting with spatial developments (Portugali, 2000). Understanding mechanisms of self-organisation allows municipalities to influence them to a certain degree, by

either facilitating or prohibiting (Heylighen, 2008). Facilitating self-organisation in terms of citizen initiatives deals with the disadvantages of participation planning, such prescriptive character of planning and the municipality's inability to adapt to initiatives that emerge from society (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011).

As a complex adaptive system, the city's the degree of self-organisation is also determined by the systems diversity. Not every development has potential so it is therefore important to enhance the city's 'plural potentiality'. When various economic sectors have a place in the area, the area has more potential to connect to and profit from new developments within the economic context. Dependent on these local features, an area can quicker or less quick connect to generic trends. By allowing flexibility and thereby increasing the potential to better cope with uncertainties, possibilities of innovation become more numerous (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Diversity thus increases the city's adaptive capacity.

In order to overcome the problematic encounters between planning and society, the acknowledgement and incorporation of self-organisation in planning might be a successful next step (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011).

2.2.6.2 Co-evolution & non-linearity

The development of a complex system is not solely determined by the adaptation of a single agent but rather by the simultaneous and parallel interactions of agents within (and between) systems (Choi et al., 2001). Its complex and dynamic behaviour is the result of the process of 'co-evolution', in which different systems and subsystems influence each other either opposing or synchronising each other (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). This behaviour is the result, of the combination of these, often autonomous, processes (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). The preferred situation of one agent may not always be the best for other agents in its vicinity (Heylighen, 2008). For example, in a city where one bottom-up initiative acquires more space (i.e. freedom) to develop, will mean less space (i.e. freedom) to develop for other initiators. Also, within a municipality, as the members of one department grow more cohesive (internal effect), they collectively become more distant for the other departments (external effects) (Choi et al., 2001). However, reciprocal interaction does not necessarily mean a 'zero sum game', a possible outcome often leads to both parties profiting from a new status quo (Heylighen, 2008). In that case, the outcome exhibits 'synergy'. For instance, optimising one municipal department may have negative effects on another department, but can be beneficial for the organisation as a whole.

Because within the process of co-evolution there is no strict hierarchy between agents, levels of scale and processes, all agents within and between (sub)systems can influence each other (Byrne, 2003; Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). Because of this 'non-linearity', the complex interplay of

feedback mechanisms in the system can cause outcomes of interactions to be disproportional to their causes. A trivial change of behaviour of a single agent can trigger further actions by one or more other agents, possibly setting in motion a chain of activity that propagates from agent to agent across ultimately altering the entire system. This logic applies to both negative as well as positive feedback mechanisms. For instance, small agents have global effects due to the amplifying effect of positive feedback (reinforcing) causing a chain reaction of behavioural changes (the butterfly effect). Due to the non-observability of these minor changes, the overall system's behaviour is chaotic and unpredictable. Vice versa, large agents may have trivial or even counteracted impact on a small system due to the dampening effects of negative feedback (balancing and moderating). For example, when governmental policy has negligible effect. Hence, the system is uncontrollable too (Heylighen, 2008).

As a complex adaptive system, cities are subject to unpredictable and uncontrollable development as a result of the continuous interaction of all actors within cities. Thus, the approach of organic area development, which is typified as an open-ended incremental process, in which development and maintenance are intertwined, can be a useful approach for cities to facilitate these autonomous developments.

2.2.6.3 Emergence and path-dependency

Discontinuous developments can lead to the evolution of new coherent structures, patterns, and behaviour on a higher level of aggregation. This is called 'emergence'. Non-linear interactions are thus, in essence, the driver behind the emergent behaviour of complex adaptive systems (Heylighen, 2008). Such emergent structures are perceived as ubiquitous in the natural and societal world (Prigogine, 1984; in Heylighen, 2008). Also, these emergent patterns are historically irreversible (Waldrop, 1992; Mitleton-kelly, 2003). Hence, according to De Roo (2010) the complex system does not evolve in an entirely random fashion, since development takes place under certain conditions that can be defined and that give insight into the system's development. Future developments in a complex system are thus partly dependent on previous choices, changes and developments within its unique context. This is called 'path dependency' (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Rauws et al. (2010) provide a clear example of the redevelopment of a harbour in Zeeland in The Netherlands. Originally, this harbour was used by the fishing industry. Nowadays, this specific area provides new opportunities for attracting water tourism. Therefore, area-oriented planning is required within the approach of organic area development in cities.

2.2.6.4 Edge of order and chaos

As opposed to the first three system classes, complex adaptive systems have the ability to bring order and chaos into an extraordinary kind of balance (Waldrop, 1992). According to Waldrop

(1992, p. 12), [t]his balance point – often called ‘the edge [of order] and chaos’ – is where the components of a system never quite lock into place, and yet never quite dissolve into turbulence, either”. Multi-disciplinary research has shown that these systems tend to spontaneously evolve towards this ‘edge’ as a result of growing complexity and environmental influence, moving from order to chaos, never reaching the ultimate state of chaos (De Roo, 2010). Hence, it is widely accepted that complex systems are situated in between order and disorder. They are not orderly and predictable nor chaotic and random, but exhibit a mixture of both dimensions, being stable and predictable in some moments, and surprising and unpredictable in others (Heylighen, 2008).

It is especially due this dynamic or quasi-equilibrium between and co-existence of order and chaos that is necessary for complex systems to show spontaneous, adaptive and evolutionary behaviour (Waldrop, 1992). It allows the system to maintain internal order, while also enabling it to adapt to environmental changes. It is thus both robust and flexible (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). When surrounded by a stable environment, the system is attracted to its original, ‘preferred’ pattern of behaviour (Choi et al., 2001). This is due to the balance in levels of positive and negative feedback, in fact, equilibrium implies death (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003).

Nonetheless, when complex system is pushed or pulled away from this point of quasi-equilibrium (e.g. established working norms and values), beyond a critical point - far-from-equilibrium - the systems becomes inordinately sensitive to environmental influences (Choi et al., 2001; Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). When the system connects well with a stable contextual environment on a higher level, the patterned behaviour of the system switches from one attractor to another (Goldstein, 1994; in Choi et al., 2001). The system undergoes a ‘transition’; a structural change of levels of relative stability or order. In other words, it changes from structure and function (Figure 2.4). As a result, new, orderly systems are likely to emerge from periods of change, chaos and transition at a higher level of complexity, while adding new dimensions to this contextual environment. These evolving forms of change are called progress (De Roo, 2010).

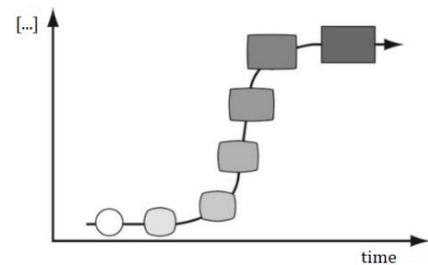


Figure 2.5: The complex system evolves in structure and function (Source: De Roo, 2010).

Accordingly, the city is also both flexible and robust when facing contextual influences. A good example is provided by Batty (2005; in De Roo, 2010). Cities are flexible systems that continuously adapt to public demands. Cities that were once citadels of safety evolved into market places, and eventually transformed into industrial cities. Currently, cities are places of creativity and knowledge, of communication and interaction. Figure 2.4 visualises these transitions. At the same time, they are robust. Even if a city burns down, it is likely that the city will restart and carry on developing.

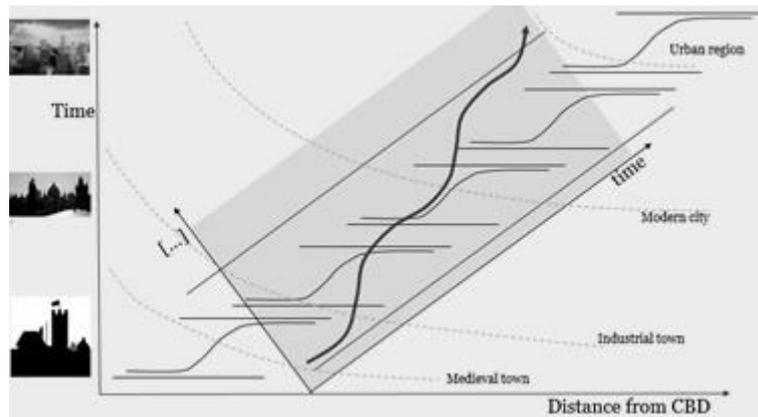


Figure 2.6: The city as subject to transitions (Source: De Roo, 2012).

For a city to be adaptive to contextual developments and at the same time to be capable of maintaining as a system, both order and chaos are required. As explained above, diversity is essential for increasing the adaptive capacity of cities. Nevertheless, too city should be aware that too much adaptive capacity can lead to the disintegration of the system. Therefore, robust structures, also called ‘carrying structures’, are needed to act as safety net (Rauws et al., 2010). This clarifies the municipal role of providing an area development framework, in which flexibility is organised. As Hajer (2011) states, governments should take on a balanced approach that acknowledges the power of a properly organised urban structure and on the other hand recognise the valuable dynamics of an ever-changing society.

2.2.6.5 Non-linear rationality

Based on the complexity perspective as is described above, systems class IV can acquire a place on the planning spectrum. It can be situated in between the technical reality of certainties and order and the communicative reality of uncertainties and chaos. Moreover, in regard of the evolutionary-oriented character of the complexity perspective, a ‘time-related’ rationality should be added to the planning spectrum that does not only perceive spatial development in the here and now but as an evolving process through time (vertical arrow figure 2.4): the ‘non-linear rationality’. As De Roo (2010, p. 28-29) states:

“Instead of either accepting a knowable and predictable world, interpreted by means of a technical rationale, or accepting an uncertain, multi-interpretable world that can be dealt with by adopting a communicative rationale, this idea of an evolving process [...] touches both worlds”

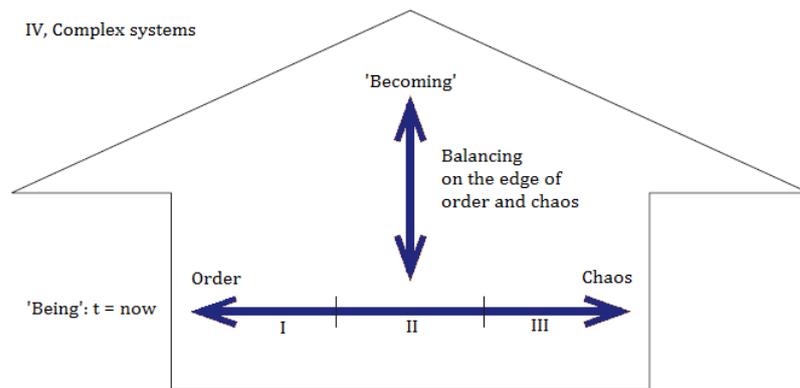


Figure 2.7: Complex systems are confronted with the factor time (In Rauws & De Roo, 2010; as based on De Roo, 2010: p. 34).

According to De Roo (2010), embracing the non-linear rationality does not mean that traditional and contemporary planning should be rejected. The existing a-temporal system classes I, II and III, will become 'frozen' snapshots in time ($t=\text{now}$), which can be approached through contingency planning (horizontal arrow figure 2.4). Planners have much expertise on dealing with planning issues that reside on this specific point of time (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). Simultaneously, this demonstrates that until now, the view of planners has been limited due to the fact that the factor 'time' is ignored and that planning theory can develop further (De Roo, 2010).

Embracing the non-linear rationality will influence planning practice, the instruments of planning and the role of planners (De Roo, 2010). Due to the unpredictable and uncontrollable character of spatial development, a more modest approach of spatial planning is proposed relative to traditional planning. This rationality holds that it is more realistic in spatial planning to emphasise guidance and adaptation instead of trying to control change. This implies that planners should limit negative change and optimise the exploitation of favourable change. Also, because change is partly determined by area specific conditions, planners need to increase their awareness of local potential for spatial development (Rauws & De Roo, 2010). As De Roo (2010, p. 34) states:

"Once, the planner's role was limited to that of technician, later evolving into the role of mediator in planning conflicts. Now, the planner is also entering the picture as a trend watcher and transition manager".

2.2.7 Conclusion

This paragraph has demonstrated the similarity between the complexity perspective and organic area development. In addition, it showed how and why these concepts are suitable as a complementary approach to contemporary planning issues in cities. This entails the transition from 'making the city' to 'being the city', as is summarised in table 2.1 below. It means going from an approach based on the reduction of complexity, to an approach based on the embracing

of complexity. Consequently, the idea of ‘mouldable’ city and comprehensive integration based on consensus planning should be partly discarded, since planners can often only anticipate on largely autonomous processes. This results in certain challenges appropriate to being the city.

Linear reality: Making the city	Non-linear reality: Being the city
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Complicated issues approach - Large-scale integral approach - Top-down implementation - Little attention on contemporary qualities - The city with an end state in mind - Policy driven approach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Complex issues approach - Modest approach - Bottom-up: trust in self-organising society - Building on existing strengths - Open-ended development process - Experimenting and learning

Table 2.2: City perspective: shift from making to being the city.

Being the city implies that municipal organisations needs to enable organic area development in cities. It is the municipality’s responsibility to ensure the design of a framework in which there is room learning and experimentation. The next paragraph will study what organisational conditions are required to put this approach into practice.

2.3 Organisational Conditions for the Municipal Facilitation of Organic Area Development

When Dutch municipalities aim to facilitate organic area development in cities, they have to adjust their organisations. This paragraph will set out what organisational conditions are required for Dutch municipalities in order to facilitate organic area development.

2.3.1 Organisational Conditions of Facilitative Capacity

For municipal organisations to facilitate organic area development, it is essential to have the capacity to continuously adapt to a complex and changing context. They should aim to ‘mirror’ their environment. Similar to society, these organisations have to be robust and flexible at the same time, in order to be resilient and sustainable. Therefore, municipalities should continuously search for a suitable balance between order and chaos.

This thesis defines facilitative capacity as follows:

‘The capacity of public organisations to empower social actors to effectively influence their spatial environment enabling and encouraging creative responses from society in the form of self-organisation’.

In general, dealing with emerging issues within a social system requires organisations to enhance adaptive capacities (Van de Walle & Vogelaar, 2010). Therefore, what is most need in

cities is flexibility and open-ended, collective learning processes (Wiechmann, 2008). However, anticipating change by trial-and-error is unpopular in the public sector, because of this risk and uncertainty about outcomes. In addition, overorganisation hinders public organisations to react effectively to environmental changes. This can be seen as both strength and a weakness: although municipalities need to be stable, they have trouble adjusting to changing contexts in which flexibility is increasingly required (Van de Walle & Vogelaar, 2010).

On the other hand, municipalities with a high adaptive capacity in which emergence is facilitated may become unstable because frequent organisational change. This may have negative effects on their efficiency and performance (Van de Walle & Vogelaar, 2010). Just as an organisation that is unable to improvise is ill equipped to respond to change and sudden chaos, an organisation unable to plan is incapable of managing growth (Fitzpatrick, 2002; in Van de Walle & Vogelaar, 2010). Therefore, the municipal organisation has to organise chaos and flexibility (Teisman, 2014).

The following part will present four organisational conditions with their additional criteria that are believed to be required to the Facilitative Capacity of municipalities in the Netherlands: leadership, process, transparency and, learning capacity.

2.3.2 Complex leadership

According to in Schriesheim et al. (1978; in Buelens et al., 2002: p. 450): “Leadership is a social influence process in which the leader seeks the voluntary participation of subordinates in an effort to reach organisational goals”. Based on Teisman (2005), one can distinguish between two types of leadership approaches: order-seeking and chaos-seeking leadership.

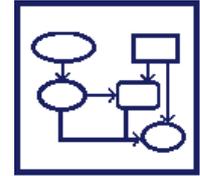


The first approach aims to set boundaries, creating rules and allocating responsibility in order to achieve desired outcomes. Control, order and stability are key aspects in handling complex situations. The second approach entails the part of society that cannot be controlled due to complexity. This involves, complexity acceptance, pro-actively letting go of control and guiding support of bottom-up initiatives. Instead of a stringent top-down control, which inhibits creativity, leadership should be focus on enabling ‘bottom-up dynamics’ (Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2001).

Teisman (2005) suggests combining both leadership approaches for optimal results. Both approaches hold some truth, in fact managers often find themselves in between chaos and order. Marion & Uhl-bien (2001) refer to this as ‘complex leadership’, which mainly focusses on facilitating. Embedding processes in formal structure, while simultaneously stimulating interaction and stressing interdependencies (Uhl Bien et al., 2007). As Teisman (2014) mentions municipalities should organise chaos and flexibility.

2.3.3 Process-orientation

Municipalities need to execute a process-oriented way of working in order to facilitate organic area development (PBL, 2012; Platform 31, 2012). As explained in paragraph 2.1.4.2, process management is characterised by openness, by searching support through interaction, by searching common needs of information and ways to use information for these common needs, through a relation-orientation focused on the guidance of employees, through flexibility and adaptation in changed or changing context, through much attention for deliberation and resulting in so-called rich information (Edelenbos, 2007; in PBL, 2012). A process-oriented approach is reflected by manoeuvrability and external-orientation.



Manoeuvrability is the capability to effectively anticipate to (un)expected events (De Bruijne, Boin & Van Eeten, 2010). In order to adapt within a continuously changing context, new forms of governing are necessary in which the involved municipality can be flexible and manoeuvrable (Platform 31, 2012). Development goes its own way and it is important to adjust your planning policy to what emerges instead of vice versa. Although never precisely predictable, the municipality must be capable of adjusting its strategy to the situation that occurs on that very moment and execute some kind of just in time approach (Klijn, 2008). A way to increase the municipality's manoeuvrability is to form ad-hoc light coalitions. These coalitions lead to more compact plan processes and less coordination complexity which makes the governmental organisation able to undertake quick action needed to facilitate organic area development (Teisman, 2005).

The second criterion for process orientation is the municipality's external orientation. Key in facilitating organic area development is a good understanding of the system, intervening specifically at a system's characteristics and trying to establish specific interactions between agents that realise patterns and/or outcomes towards a desired direction (Klijn, 2008). As Marion and Uhl-Bien (2001) state, municipalities should have local awareness on complex phenomena in order to learn from and exploit emerging dynamics. Municipalities should continuously follow citizen initiatives with an open mind. This within an attempt to become a respected member of those heterogeneous associations (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). According to Teisman (2014), area managers are required to connect public and private actors and to create local 'work floor' awareness. Hereby it is important for the municipality to constantly 'scan' the environment (Ashby, 1969; in Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). Simultaneously, this approach can be beneficiary to the manoeuvrability criterion as described above. The area manager should know and mobilise parties in the area and connect them when they have complementary

ideas and valuably contribute to the process (PBL, 2012). Local governments have to aim for short lines and direct confrontation between them, private parties, and citizens (Teisman, 2005).

2.3.4 Transparency

Transparency is required to establish efficient interaction between municipalities and citizens. This can be achieved by forming clear and enabling rules (Ashmos et al., 2002; Roose, 2002). Also, governmental information should be easily accessible for citizens and vice versa. Hence, transparency is represented by enabling rules and information accessibility.



In order to facilitate organic area development, municipalities need to pro-actively modify a complex set of detailed and prescriptive land-use regulations into a few basic enabling rules in which residents have much room to be creative and fully participate in the development process of the area (Platform 31, 2012). Municipal organisations can profit from having simple and basic rules. This creates room for a more dynamic and complex activity in an area, and thereby enhances the organisation's ability to co-evolve with its environment (Ashmos et al., 2002). These rules require a certain degree of flexibility as to adapt to newly gained knowledge and experience (Roose, 2002). It is important for municipalities to continuously provide information about these spatial rules to the public (Platform 31, 2012).

2.3.5 Learning capacity

Learning can be a precondition for organisational evolution (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). When learning leads to new organisational behaviour, then the organisation has adapted. Therefore, the municipality should facilitate learning and the generation of new knowledge (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). This



entails proactively creating, acquiring and transferring knowledge (Buelens, 2002). This goes both throughout the internal organisation as well as externally with other actors involved in area development. Learning capacity consists out of experimentation and organisational memory.

Stimulating experimentation allows an organisation to explore their 'space of possibilities'. This exploration helps them to discover new patterns of relationships and different structures. This way, new ways of working are created and new forms of organisation may emerge (Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). Creating room for experimentation allows for learning within a process of trial-and-error (Roose, 2002).

Organisational memory involves the information that is acquired, stored and retrieved by members of the municipal organisation (Anand et al. 1998). By maintaining organisational memory one can reduce the chances of organisational amnesia that are inherently attached to

flexible organisations and temporary interactions. This is especially of importance in today's society, with decreasing career spans and frequent organisational change (Pollit, 2000; in Van de Walle & Vogelaar, 2010). On the other hand, innovation in information technology can increasingly enhance organisational memory (Ashmos et al., 2002). Another effective way of managing knowledge is the conservation of past lessons in order to avoid repeating some errors, i.e. the dissemination of most efficient 'best practices' (Vrîncianu, 2008; in Vrîncianu, 2009). This goes for both internal as external best practices. Municipalities need organisational conditions that capture the value of past experiences, by encouraging people to remember, to collect and to share knowledge (Weick, 2001).

2.3.6 Conclusion

Paragraph 2.3 described the four organisational conditions required to facilitate organic area development, which resulted in eight subordinate criteria. Together they are visually represented in the Facilitative Capacity Wheel (figure 2.7). This conceptual model is inspired by the Adaptive Capacity wheel of Gupta et al. (2010).

The Facilitative Capacity Wheel will serve as a systematic assessment framework that will be applied to a series of case studies in chapter 4. This method will be used to measure the organisational conditions that are required for the facilitative capacity of municipalities.



Figure 2.8: Facilitative Capacity Wheel (based on Gupta et al., 2010)

2.4 Chapter conclusion

Chapter two aimed to answer the two first research questions of this thesis. Paragraphs 2.1 and 2.2 provided an answer to the first research question: *What practical challenges for Dutch municipalities can be derived from the theoretical concepts underlying organic area development?* This resulted in six organisational challenges for the municipal facilitation of organic area development in Dutch cities centring on open-ended process, area development framework, citizen encouragement, external orientation, monolithic organisation and accommodating attitude. Also, the shift from making the city (linear reality) to being the city (non-linear reality) put forth another six factors important for municipal organisations to take in consideration when aiming to facilitate organic area development in Dutch cities: complex issues approach, modest approach, bottom-up: trust in self-organising society, building on existing strengths, open-ended development process, experimenting and learning.

Subsequently, paragraph 2.3 aimed to answer the second research question: *What organisational conditions are required for municipalities in order to facilitate organic area development?* This led to four organisational conditions for the facilitative capacity: leadership, process-orientation, transparency, learning capacity. These conditions, including eight subordinate criteria are conceptualised in the Facilitative Capacity Wheel.

3. Methodology

Research Design & Scientific validation

This chapter will explicate the research methodology. This will entail the description of the particular research strategy and of the several data gathering and processing methods that will be used in order to answer the research questions selected for this thesis. The choices made will be verified, while providing an explanation of the implicit advantages and limitations of these particular data collections and analysis methods. Also it will be verified how the author pursues to cope with limitations and how specific methods and techniques complement and reinforce each other.

3.1 Research Strategy

This paragraph will briefly depict this thesis’s research strategy, which is schematically visualised in figure 3.1 showing the different executed research steps and their connections. This strategy entails several steps, moving from abstract theory to measured information, to specific conclusions and recommendations.

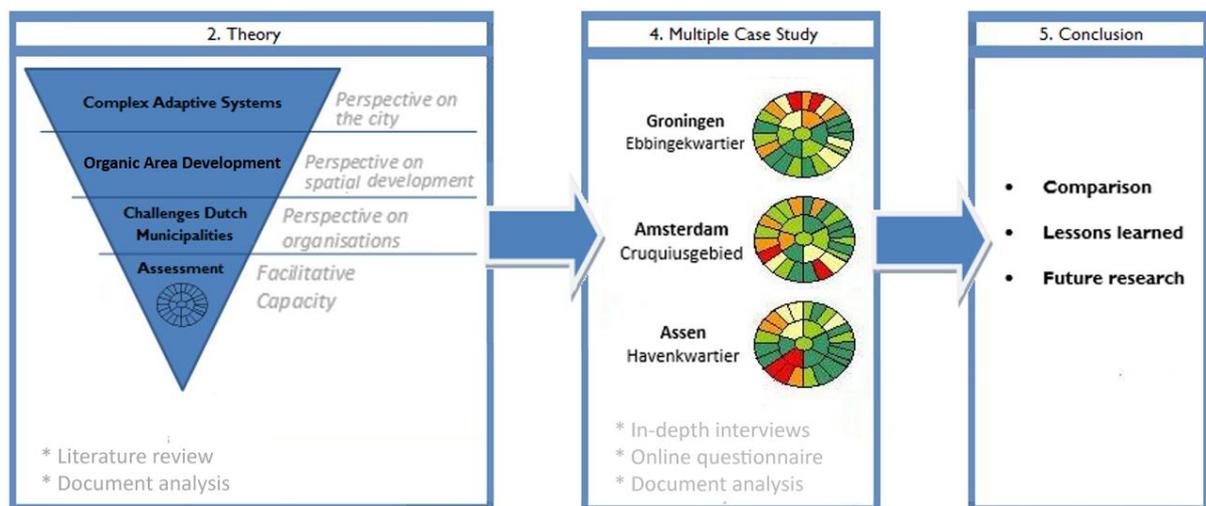


Figure 3.1: Research design

This thesis is built upon the post-modern epistemology: “[...] the belief that people play a large part in the ‘construction’ of knowledge and truth is actually ambiguous, fluid, and relative” (O’leary, 2010: p. 5). It accepts chaos, complexity, the unknown, incompleteness, diversity, plurality, fragmentation, and various realities (O’Leary, 2010). This ever-presence of subjectivity is influential on the qualitative information gathered for this research. According to Cooper and

Schindler (2006), qualitative research aims to achieve an in-depth understanding a research matter. The goal of this thesis is to maximise the understanding of how municipalities can enhance their capacity to facilitate organic area development through organisational measures. In doing so, hopefully the results can contribute to the municipal transition phase towards embracing organic area development.

To improve the quality of this thesis, the approach of 'triangulation' or a 'mixed research approach' is applied, drawing on multiple perspectives at the same time (Yin, 2009; Flowerdew & Martin, 2005). By using multiple research sources simultaneously, the approach of a (multiple) case study can be made 'hard', despite that it is considered as a 'soft' form of research (Yin, 2009). In other words, the accuracy and convincingness of this thesis' results are optimised.

This thesis encompasses both a deductive and inductive part. The deductive parts is performed by desk research in the form of a literature review and document analysis. The inductive part is executed through a multiple case study, an online questionnaire, and in-depth interviews. By means of theory and document analysis, general concepts will be applied to the specific study of Dutch municipalities. And vice versa, specific findings from this research will be used to formulate general assumptions. In addition, a SWOT analysis is performed in order to categorise the results from each case study and to present them in an orderly overview.

3.2 Data Collection Methods

For this thesis, both secondary and primary information will be collected. The first part (chapter 1, 2 and 3) is based on secondary information, gathered through desk research. This desk research consists of a theoretical literature review and the analysis of policy documents from Dutch municipalities. In the second part (chapter 4), the Facilitative Capacity Wheel will be applied on multiple cases. Here, both primary and secondary information is used. Desk research and empirical findings from interviews will serve as input for this assessment. This part of the investigation is also aimed at discovering, yet unknown, relations and new factors that influence the facilitative capacity of municipalities. What data collection methods are used and how they are applied will now be further elaborated.

3.2.1 Desk Research

By reviewing the literature of different academic disciplines (organisation studies, spatial planning studies, decision-making and public administration studies), in textbooks, and scientific research articles a solid fundament for the empirical part of this thesis is provided.

Much information has been acquired by means of Internet. Several official municipal websites, as well as online blogs and forums were consulted. Lastly, multiple online search engines such as *Picarta*, *Scopus* and *Business Source Premier* were utilised in order to gain access to scientific journals. Hereby, terms are used as: 'complex adaptive systems, 'organic area development' and 'flexible organisations'. In addition to scientific articles, policy documents are studied, specifically:

Groningen

- Gemeente Groningen (2009) - Stad op Scherp 2008-2020
- Verbindingsploeg (2009) - Jaarplan 2009 Verbindingsploeg Ebbingekwartier, De Stad B.V.
- Ondernemingsvereniging Ebbingekwartier (2009) – Bidbook Open Lab Ebbing Groningen
- Jelle Leenes (2011) - Bottom up, pop-up: Open Lab Ebbing (OLE) Groningen, voorbeeld van tussentijdse stedenbouw.

Amsterdam

- Gemeente Amsterdam (2011) - Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040: Economisch sterken duurzaam
- Gemeente Amsterdam (2013) - Amsterdam maakt mogelijk: Ruimte voor stedelijke ontwikkeling, strategisch plan fase 3
- Hettie Politiek (2013) - Investeren in bewoners

Assen

- Gemeente Assen (2010) - Structuurvisie Assen 2030
- Gemeente Assen & Actium (2010) - Mijn buurt assen: Gebieds Gericht werken – Van analyse naar uitvoering
- Gemeente Assen (2012) - Ontwikkeling van Havenkwartier masterplan
- Gemeente Assen (2014) - Mijn Assen: Collegeprogramma 2014-2018 – PvdA, D66, ChristenUnie, Stadspartij Plop.

Using a vast amount of literature can be a pitfall. The more material available from different sources, the more interpretation and attitudes of different authors get involved. This means that its interpretation requires careful selection and understanding of the goals and background of the particular research (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). Using MAXQDA was beneficial for handling large amounts of information.

3.2.2 MAXQDA

MAXQDA is a computer programme that enables researchers to perform qualitative data analysis by organising and selecting the particular research data, relevant words and/or phrases by labelling and placing them in custom-made categories out of an otherwise redundancy of data.

For this thesis, the software was used to identify potential organisational indicators for assessing municipalities on their capacity to facilitate organic area development. Out of these identified criteria, an arbitrary and subjective selection was made as input for the Facilitative Capacity Wheel. By using literature as data input, categories were gradually defined and shaped through an incremental process until these conditions and criteria came to a suitable fit. It was important that these conditions and criteria were each unique, being evidently required for

facilitative capacity and capable of complementing and reinforcing each other. For instance, although external-orientation and manoeuvrability are each unique, the external orientation of a municipality can foster the manoeuvrability of such an organisation. Ultimately, the essential indicators are all clustered within 4 conditions and 8 criteria, all being accurately defined and utilised for the Facilitative Capacity Wheel.

3.2.3 The Facilitative Capacity Wheel

As a result of desk research and more particularly, MAXQDA, The Facilitative Capacity Wheel is formed (figure 3.2). The wheel is especially created for this thesis as an analytic tool for assessing municipalities on their capacity to facilitate organic area development. The inner circle of the wheel represents the facilitative capacity concept as a whole. The middle circle shows the four conditions that are dependent on their eight subordinate criteria, placed in the outer-circle.

The Facilitative Capacity Wheel is inspired by the Adaptive Capacity Wheel of Gupta et al. (2010)¹² and can assist researchers and policymakers by understanding, assessing and increasing the capacity of municipalities to enhance their facilitative capacity. The wheel offers a diagnostic tool that is able to compress large amounts of information in a concise and communicative overview. This can help to diagnose possible problem areas, which in turn, can be subject of discussion and indicate areas of strength which can be further built upon (Gupta et al., 2010). By means of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel, one is able to easily compare multiple cases and draw cross-case conclusions. The use of traffic light colours to distinguish between high (green: quantitative value 8-10) and low scores (red: quantitative value 0-2), contributes to the communicative power of the wheel (Table 3.1). The scores were established by labelling and counting the frequency of labels identified in relation with the organisational criteria in the wheel (appendix H).

Effect on Facilitative Capacity Municipality	Score
Positive effect	8 - 10
Slight positive effect	6 - 8
Neutral or no effect	4 - 6
Slightly negative effect	2 - 4
Negative effect	0 - 2

Table 3.1: The Facilitative Capacity Wheel and scoring system (based on Gupta et al., 2010).

According to Gupta et al. (2010) such an assessment wheel can constantly be re-adjusted or re-interpreted within a new context and tailor-made to fit specific impacts. Although in this thesis

¹² The Adaptive Capacity Wheel can be found in appendix G.

applied on Dutch municipalities, the approach can be applied both in national and international context. In applying the Facilitative Capacity Wheel, there are several aspects to keep in mind. First, the use of this wheel will not guarantee a particular municipality's success in facilitating organic area development, it merely provides a guiding and indicative assessment of the organisation's facilitative capacity in a current point in time. Second, the qualitative nature of the information presented by this wheel requires additional explanation by the researcher. The attached numerical values to the criteria are inherently subjective and cannot be objectively applied. Lastly, the Facilitative Capacity Wheel is merely created individually by one author, as opposed to the Adaptive Capacity Wheel that is created by a multitude of experts. In order to cope with this, several brainstorm sessions were performed on the subject, with the support of professional experts in the field of practice. For instance, the Facilitative Capacity Wheel was presented at an architecture and consultant office (KAW architecten en adviseurs), where after a discussion led to useful insights. Additionally, feedback from interviewees and the author's thesis supervisor, were incorporated in the development of the wheel.

3.3 Multiple case study

By means of a multiple case study it is assessed to what extent Dutch municipalities meet the organisational conditions that are selected in the theoretical part of this thesis, as being required for the facilitation of organic area development. According to Yin (2009, p. 2) “[...] case studies are the preferred method when (a) ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, (b) the investigator has little control over events, and (c) the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context”. Because in this thesis how questions are posed, the author has little control over the studied events and the focus is on contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context, a case study is a suitable research method for this thesis. Moreover, since case studies help to understand complex social phenomena, this is a useful approach for studying municipal organisations to facilitate organic area development in an environment that is perceived as complex (Yin, 2009). The results of gained from multiple cases is often more compelling. Therefore a multiple case study is regarded as a more robust approach, in comparison with a single case study (Herriot & Firestone, 1983; in Yin, 2009). The application of this method can explain much of an individual phenomenon due a high degree of thoroughgoing detail (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005).

However, it is especially this degree of detail that make a multiple case study research among the hardest types of research to conduct, due to the absence of routine procedures. Also, this

approach can require extensive resources and time. Moreover, the external validity, if a study's findings are generalisable beyond the immediate case study, can be barrier (Yin, 2009).

The municipalities that are studied are selected based on the following criteria:

1. **Municipalities that differ in size: geographical as well as organisational.**
It is expected that by selecting different municipalities, a wider scope of reality is covered.
2. **Municipalities that have explicitly pronounced to facilitate organic area development in a specific area.**
It is expected that more information can be found at municipalities that are actively involved with organic area development, instead of municipalities that are not explicitly involved with this approach.

The case study areas are selected based on the next criteria:

1. **Projects that are to be transformed from former industrial areas to working-living places through the facilitation of organic area development.**
By choosing areas that go through a similar planning process enables the researcher to compare results and draw cross-case conclusions.
2. **Projects are selected that recently have started and are still in development at the moment of investigation.**
Choosing areas by this criterion is important because it decreases the bias caused by time. At the time of this study, the interviewees are involved with the subject on an every basis.

The organisations that are researched have different characteristics, but face the same challenges caused by a similar process of change. Because these different organisations face the similar challenge, they will approach this problem in different ways. Therefore this research will produce a variety of data.

Inspired by the consultation of several documents relevant to organic area development in The Netherlands and based on the criteria presented above, three municipalities and respectively three study areas have been selected to be assessed (table 3.2.):

Case Area	Location	Start - end
Ebbingekwartier	Groningen	July 2011- July 2016
Cruquiusgebied	Amsterdam	July 2011 - Indefinite
Havenkwartier	Assen	Fall 2013 - Indefinite

Table 3.2: List of cases

Each of these three cases are subdivided as follows. First, the case study is introduced. Next, the analytical part of the case study presents the results of the assessment through the application of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel on the specific municipality. Here each organisational condition and its subordinate criterion are successively discussed in a clockwise sequence. At the end of each organisational condition, its particular scores are presented in order to give a quick

overview and provide the reader with a point of reference within the wider context of the wheel (figure 3.4).

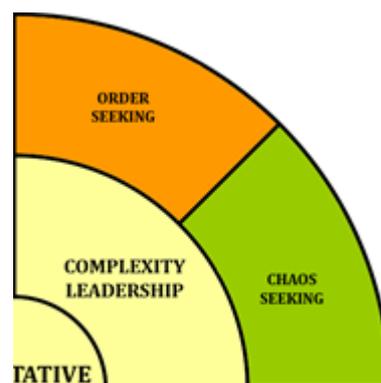


Figure 3.2: The Facilitative Capacity Wheel score indications.

3.3.1 Online Questionnaire

Before the interviews were conducted, was designed and sent to the interviewees¹³. This enabled the participants to acquire an understanding of what the interviews will be about. This provided valuable information, used to structure the interview questions. Both improved the efficiency of the interviewing process.

3.3.2 Interviews

A major part of the information for this multiple case study is derived through the practice of in-depth interviews. The interviews conducted are all of semi-structured nature, which both enabled to discuss all the proposed themes as well as offered the flexibility to depart from the protocol (Cooper and Schindler, 2006). This way, unexpected subjects can emerge that can provide valuable information. The author was dependent on the interviewees that were willing to spend time and energy in order to share their information. A total of 13 interviews were conducted containing, municipal officials as well as urban planners active in the private sector (table 3.3).

Name	Organisation	Public/ Private	Location	Date
Patricia Bijvoet	Municipality of Amsterdam	Public	Amsterdam	10-6-2013
Toine van Goethem	Municipality of Amsterdam	Public	Amsterdam	10-6-2013
Marcel Bloemendal	Municipality of Amsterdam	Public	Amsterdam	2-7-2013
Irene Moes	Municipality of Amsterdam	Public	Amsterdam	2-7-2013
Bart Stoffels	Urhahn Urban Design	Private	Amsterdam	10-6-2013
Hans Karssenbergh	Stipo, Inspiring Cities	Private	Amsterdam	17-7-2013
Tjerd van Riemsdijk	Municipality of Groningen	Public	Groningen	19-6-2013
Jan-Hendrik Jansen	Municipality of Hoogezand-Sappemeer	Public/ Private	Hoogezand	27-6-2013
Jordy Hovingh	Municipality of Hoogezand-Sappemeer	Public	Hoogezand	27-6-2013
Henk Kieft	KAW Architects & Advisors	Private	Groningen	5-7-2013
Bert-Jan Bodewes	RIO Projects	Private	Groningen	12-8-2013
Nicolien Waanders	Municipality of Assen	Public	Assen	30-8-2013
Robert Oostmijer	Municipality of Assen	Public	Assen	30-8-2013
Martijn van Ooijen	Kessels & Smit – the learning company	Private	Utrecht	25-10-2013
Rutger Hoekstra	Municipality of Assen	Public	Assen	07-03-2014

Table 3.3: List of interviewees

¹³ An example of this online questionnaire is included in appendix C.

Although interviewees were selected by 'handpicked sampling', selecting them with a particular purpose in mind, during the research process the 'snowball sampling' also occurred (O'Leary, 2010). Both public and private actors were interviewed, in order to cover both sides of the spectrum. Each of them are experts in the field of area development. The public sector respondents are active officials at municipal organisations. The people working for the private sector are employees for urban design and urban planning companies as well as guest lecturers within the field of planning. In order to benefit the transparency and authenticity, all interviews are (with respondent's permission) recorded and literally transcribed¹⁴.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has described the methodological framework of this thesis. This framework consists of several steps, moving from abstract theory to measured information to specific conclusions and recommendations. The research encompasses two parts. The first part entails theoretical study. In the second part, the Facilitative Capacity Wheel will be applied in a multiple case study, based on input from desk research and interviews. This wheel is inspired by the Adaptive Capacity Wheel of Gupta et al. (2010). This tool can assist researchers and policymakers by understanding, assessing and increasing the capacity of municipalities to enhance their facilitative capacity. The results of this assessment are presented case by case in the following chapter.

¹⁴ See appendix B.

4. Results

A Multiple Case Study on the Facilitative Capacity of Dutch Municipal Organisations

This chapter will contain a multiple case study. The municipal organisations of Groningen, Amsterdam and Assen are assessed through applying the Facilitative Capacity Wheel on respectively the projects Ebbingkwartier, Cruquiusgebied and Havenkwartier. With the results found, chapter 4 will answer the following research question: *To what extent do Dutch municipalities meet the organisational conditions required for facilitating organic area development?*

Case 1

Ebbingekwartier



Location	Groningen	
Inhabitants	200.000 (2014, Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek)	
Territory	83,69 km ²	
Structure vision	Stad op Scherp 2008-2020	
Municipal employees	3.000 (2014)	
Political coalition	D66, PvdA, GroenLinks & VVD	
Alderman urban development	Roeland van der Schaaf (PvdA)	
Case (location)	Ebbingekwartier	
Period	Sept 2009 – July 1st 2016	
Size	9 ha.	
Actors	Gemeente Groningen, Hanzehoogeschool, Nijestee, Ondernemersvereniging Ebbingekwartier, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, De Stad B.V., Stichting Creatieve Industrie Groningen, and Universitair Medisch Centrum Groningen	
Goal	Creating a mixed (living-working area) urban area where knowledge and creativity can meet	

Table 4.1: Introduction information Groningen

4.1 Case 1: Ebbingekwartier

This paragraph contains the first case study of this thesis. It aims to get an indication of the facilitative capacity of the municipality that facilitates area organic development in the Ebbingekwartier area in Groningen. First, the case area will be introduced. Secondly, the municipality will be assessed by means of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel. Lastly, a Facilitative Capacity Wheel is presented. Also, lessons learned concerning the barriers and chances for a better score are set out in the paragraph conclusion.

4.1.1 Ebbingekwartier

The Ebbingekwartier area is situated at the edge of the historic inner city of Groningen reaching from the Bloemsingel at the UMCG Hospital to the Nieuwe Ebbingestraat in the West, to *Het Paleis* in the North and, the Oosterhamrik channel in the East (figure 4.1).

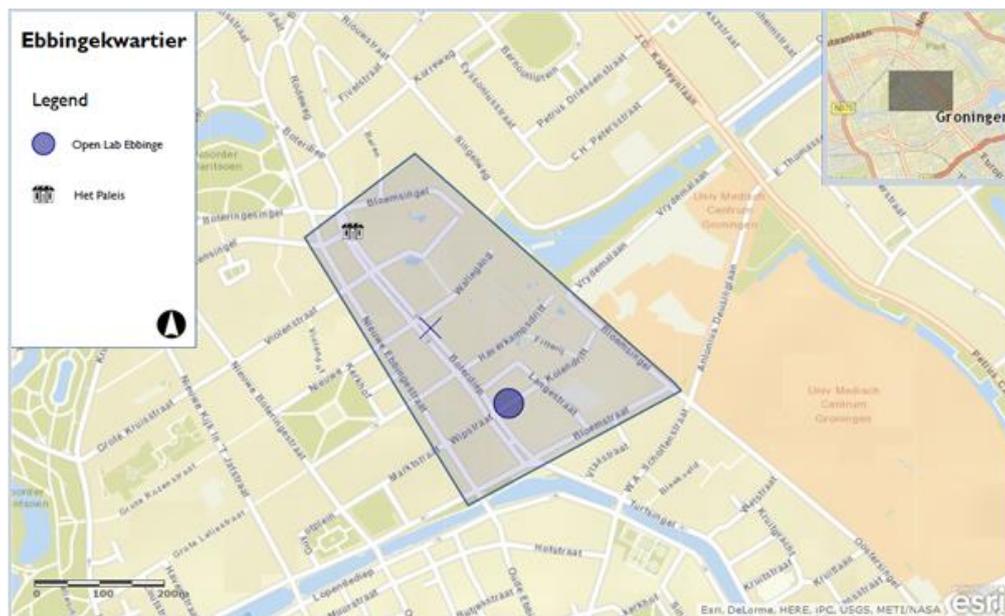


Figure 4.1: Ebbingekwartier location¹⁵.

¹⁵ <http://www.esri.com/software/explorer-for-arcgis>

A major part (4.5 acres) of the area represents the CiBoGa district (Circus-, Boden en Gasterrein). This is a former industrial zone utilised for a circus, a commodity distribution zone and a gas factory that after departure of these industrial activities became a brownfield area and free parking spot. This new available space and its particular location near to the inner-city gave an ideal opportunity for the municipality, the housing corporation Nijestee and other developers (such as AM Wonen) to initiate a large-scale working- and housing project.



Figure 4.2: Building excavation at the Ebbingekwartier (Source: Ondernemersvereniging Ebbingekwartier, 2009).

Although around the year 2000 the first houses were built, in 2003 there were several problems that put the area's development into a halt. As time passed, a discrepancy arose between the urban design concept and the demand, resulting in an insufficient amount of buyers. Furthermore, the planned underground garage encountered technical complications and the involved actors were caught up in an on-going disagreement. The arrival of the crisis in 2008 seriously compromised the initial plans and reduced the demand for housing and offices, resulting in a widespread building excavation in the area (figure 4.1.3). Consequently, the Ebbingekwartier became a 'no go' area for 20 years due to its abandoned character. This resulted in a declining influx of customers in the adjacent shopping street; De Nieuwe Ebbingestraat (Jelle Leenes, 2011). The retailers organised themselves as the *Entrepreneurial association Ebbingekwartier* and confronted the municipality with an alternative to improve their worsened market situation and revitalise their neighbourhood's commercial quality (PBL, 2012). According to them, the municipality's assumption that the area's would automatically and gradually revitalise from a top-down perspective should be reversed. By actively transforming the area into an attractive neighbourhood and accepting temporary bottom-up initiatives while

exploiting the area's natural energy a new impulse would be given to the district. Their proposal was to organise these initiatives in in a 'village' like area with an event site and several interesting pop-up pavilions that are easily built and replaced (sea containers) - into the CiBoGa area (Jelle Leenes, 2011).

Although not enthusiastic at first, the municipal board got an official resolution by the mayor and his advisory, making it obligatory to accept and to facilitate the temporary plans of the Entrepreneurial association Ebbingekwartier. Since the municipality had bought the land for developmental purposes, the government had an interest in lending the area in order to reduce the interest debt. Demonstrative behaviour of the area's stakeholders together with the expected positive impulse for the area and, the chance of, in the end, realisation of the initial plans, made local politics interfere in the situation (PBL, 2012).

A big part of the Ebbingekwartier was to be lent for bottom-up initiatives for a period of five years, until the phased building process would resume in July 2016. The municipality emphasises that the physical structures of these temporary initiatives should not block the possible resuming of the initially planned developments in any way. Even with demonstrated success, initiatives will have to leave before the 1st of July 2016, as in contractually agreed upon (PBL, 2012).

Although the exact influence of these initiatives is difficult to measure, the municipality believes it will contribute to the awareness of the area (PBL, 2012). The Ebbingekwartier project its main goal is to get attention from visitors and creative entrepreneurs and creating a desirable living climate, i.e. to create an urban get-together climate in which housing, shopping, creative and innovative activity is stimulated. Furthermore, realising a creative quarter: a mixed urban area where knowledge and creativity can meet (Verbindingsploeg, 2009).

In 2009 the project's development was by the municipality accelerated through several ways. For instance, a project team for the management of the Ebbingekwartier was formed. In order to facilitate the temporary developments, the municipality pushed forward some planned public space interferences, e.g. heightening the CiBoGa terrain and creating a bicycle path (PBL, 2012).

According to Bergvoet & Van Tuijl (2013), the temporary village is a success. Local and international entrepreneurs are willing to invest in the area in some sort of way (Ondernemersvereniging Ebbingekwartier, 2009). Also, the Ebbingekwartier is frequently used as an example of successful organic area development in The Netherlands (Jelle Leenes, 2011; Interview: Bijvoet, 2013). The project has proven to have a positive effect on the adjacent retail zone brining a visible growth in curiosity for the area¹⁶. The government hopes for eventual

¹⁶ For example, a hotel chain is now interested in locating its business there (PBL, 2012) and several restaurants want to take part of OLE.

compensation through the revival of the structural development through this temporary success. (PBL, 2012).

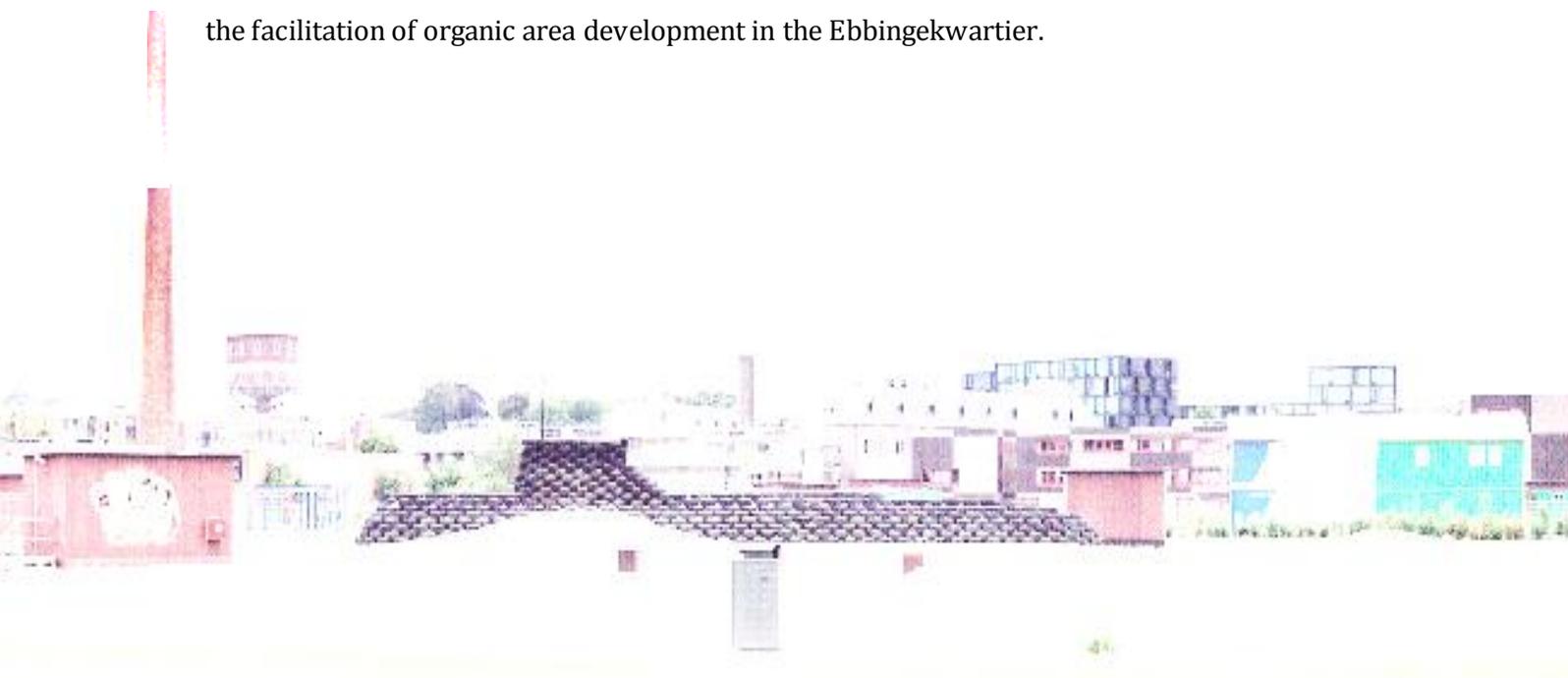
4.1.1.1 Open Lab Ebbinge

Recognised by its modular pop-up structure, Open Lab Ebbinge (OLE) opened its first pavilion at the end of 2011 and is one of the most significant initiatives of Entrepreneurial association Ebbingekwartier (Bergvoet & Van Tuijl, 2013). While the municipality is the owner of the real-estate and the land in the area, OLE is responsible for managing the temporary development of the area and serves as an intermediary project team. OLE pursues to enable initiatives through the assemblance of initiators and local owners. The Creative Industry Foundation supports OLE and organises meet & greet get-togethers to enthuse possible new initiators into the area (PBL, 2012).

This playground for entrepreneurship serves as a planning experiment of urban temporality that can function as public zone for a large diversity of cultural activities, in other words, a micro city in which entrepreneurs and organisations can cooperatively design the area. OLE aims to perform researching and planning for and planning with the people (PBL, 2012). Besides the presence of *Simplon* and *Platformtheater* (two entertainment venues), and *Het Paleis* (a former academic chemistry lab that was transformed into a cultural lab) in the area, OLE fitted well within the city's plans to create a creative zone. The location was suitable with its proximity to the city centre, the relatively low rent rents and, the fact that it was still undeveloped, having a fair amount of jagged edges with enough space for bottom-up initiatives could develop themselves. Since creative professionals are attracted to these inspiring areas in which they have enough autonomy to be creative, organic development seems to be the right thing for the Ebbingekwartier (PBL, 2012).

4.1.2 Application of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel

The next part will perform the Facilitative Capacity Wheel on the municipality responsible for the facilitation of organic area development in the Ebbingekwartier.



4.1.2.1 Complex leadership

The new political coalition (formed by D66, PvdA, GroenLinks and VVD) explicitly strives for a government that cooperates with citizens on the basis of equality¹⁷. A main political goal is to cooperate through an area-oriented approach, with no rigid boundary between the physical and the social and an



easily approachable neighbourhood facility where one can meet¹⁸. This shift from a directive to a facilitative government is driven by enthusiastic and courageous aldermen (Interview: Bodewes, 2013). It is communicated through the municipal structure vision, *'Stad op Scherp: 2008-2020'*, which explicitly aims for citizen involvement. The vision prescribes a municipal role that entails a process-oriented spatial approach for creating the optimal circumstances for initiatives and the activation of existing potential, i.e. directing, stimulating and facilitating instead of steering (Gemeente Groningen, 2009). The project team published a strategic plan in 2009 that consults the municipality on how the municipal budget should be spent and how the project team aims to facilitate initiatives. To support the realisation of this plan for a mixed urban area, the project team emphasises the need for a shared values in je project team's vision (Verbindingsploeg, 2009).

Within the Dutch context, Groningen performs relatively well embracing organic area development in a relatively early stage (Interview: Bodewes, 2013):

"Alderman Jaap Dijkstra was the first to advocate a government that facilitates bottom-up initiatives within the 'creative city'. This was courageous since Groningen has long had a restrictive attitude¹⁹. As expected, in the beginning the majority did not appreciate Dijkstra's act. Now, with the success of the Ebbingekwartier, the idea is now gradually embraced. The new alderman, Roeland van der Schaaf, is certainly capable of further carrying out this strategy, being enthusiastic and having much knowledge about building small elements in neighbourhood renewal. Nonetheless, it also has a lot to do with the rest of the organisation".

The municipality is still divided in one side that beliefs in the revival of traditional planning and one side that advocates for organic area development, reasoning that the large-scale integral development mode is not sustainable and this kind of growth will never return. This causes for organisational fragmentation and sometimes leads to internal conflicts (Interview: Van Riemsdijk, 2013). For instance, an official resolution of the mayor and his advisory was required to enforce the municipality to allow and facilitate bottom-up initiatives in the Ebbingekwartier.

¹⁷ <http://gemeente.groningen.nl/college/persbericht-coalitieakkoord-2014-2018>

¹⁸ <http://gemeente.groningen.nl/gemeenteraad/ni-euwe-coalitie-zet-in-op-verandering-relatie-tussen-overheid-en-stad>

¹⁹ According to Jan-Hendrik Jansen (Interview, 2013) who has functioned as the head of spatial plans at the municipality of Groningen, back in the day in Groningen the department of spatial planning and economics was by far the most affluent and, as a consequence, influential. Its leaders (who were called emperors), such as Ypke Gietema, ruled and made the city¹⁹. Jan-Hendrik also states that when municipal money was divided within the municipality, the majority always was for the strongest alderman; in this case spatial planning. Jansen (Interview, 2013): *"Ypke Gietema always could spend the money, he had the power"*.

The non-monolithic character of the municipality obstructs action to be taken at the Ebbingekwartier.

Nonetheless, the Ebbingekwartier seems to have overcome its infancy process and the municipality has embraced the self-organising capabilities and local knowledge of the area's entrepreneurs, resulted in a genuine revival of the Ebbingekwartier (Interview: Van Riemsdijk, 2013). According to Bergvoet & Van Tuijl (2013), many initiatives²⁰ emerged in the Ebbingekwartier and the area became a success, due to a few eager and open-minded municipal officials and private actors who dared to draw outside the lines. As Bodewes (Interview, 2013) states:

"The municipal staff is very skilled and together we easily reach solutions. Since there is strong awareness of the need for more sustainable interferences, I have a lot of trust in the maturing of organic area development in Groningen".

Also, allowing for temporary bottom-up activity in the Ebbingekwartier, has shown that the strategy can be a proper (temporary) solution for the vacancy problem of the city's real-estate and brownfields. The reusable sea containers (figure 4.1.10) that were used as pop-up pavilions were perfect for inexpensive but efficient entrepreneurship in a temporal period, e.g. *Het Gasfornuis*. Several substantial (national and European) subsidies were creatively granted²¹ (Bergvoet & Van Tuijl, 2013).

Nonetheless, only a part of the Ebbingekwartier area has been developed organically. Although there was a large turnout at the OLE 'kick-



Figure 4.3: pavilion installation (Source: Bervoet & Van Tuijl, 2013)

off market' there did seem to be a big gap between an idea and the actual exploitation of it. Of the approximately forty initiators who were present and were serious in their desire to inhabit one of the temporary pop up pavilions and to execute their ideas. Unfortunately only twelve actually made it into the area in 2013 (PBL, 2012).

²⁰ E.g. Het Paleis, mobile gardens, the Walk of Art, Science store, FabLab, a cultural exchange with other North European cities and the Gasfornuis.

²¹ An official bidbook and a subsidy scan has been made in 2009 leading to many national and European subsidies, favouring the project's vitality.

Currently, with a strategic facilitative vision allowing for bottom-up temporary activity in the Ebbingekwartier, there seems to be a proper balance between order-seeking and chaos-seeking leadership of the municipality of Groningen. Nonetheless, the disunity of organisational support for organic area development, has yet to be overcome.

Figure 4.4 visualises the separate indicative score on the complex leadership criteria based on the former analysis.

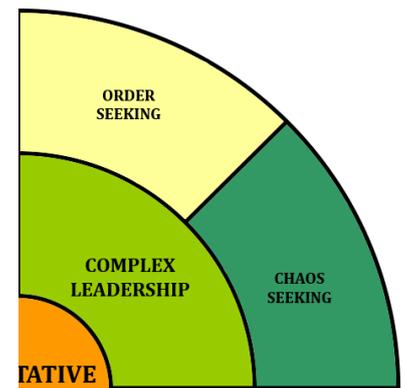
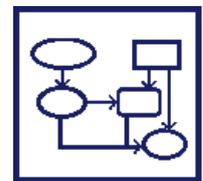


Figure 4.4: Facilitative capacity, Complex leadership

4.1.2.2 Process

According to Bart Stoffels (Interview, 2013), project leader at Urhahn Urban Design in Amsterdam, the municipality of Groningen is known for its powerful spatial planning department that has taken on a top-down attitude for decades driven by a socialist philosophy. Bodewes (Interview, 2013) endorses this, stating that not long ago, the citizen was some kind of spectator in the municipality’s football game. Although on many occasions the word project was altered to process, the only factual thing that generally changed was this word without actually inviting a far wider group into the procedure and democratising the process.



Alderman Roeland van der Schaaf pleads for a governmental or private professional who can go through all horizontal sections within the organisation in order to get better grasp on the entire picture and potentially ignore rules for the benefit of the project (Interview: Bodewes, 2013). The municipality of Groningen has taken several measures in order to make cross-departmental connections within the municipal organisation (Interview: Waanders, 2013). Recent organisational reforms at the municipality aim for more efficient planning processes, resulting from less employed public officials and a more efficient organisational structure²². Also, the municipality created several project teams (e.g. ideas for empty real-estate) that discuss and potentially approve privileged initiatives, which speeds up the process (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014).

Currently, Groningen has got far more accustomed with working from a citizen perspective. This is both due to ideological reasons, but also because of the declining economy and decline of subsidies that the city can get hold off (Interview: Waanders, 2013). According Stoffels, Groningen is better capable of picking up a more facilitative attitude than a city as Amsterdam, due to its smaller scale (Interview: Stoffels, 2013). This indicates that it is relatively easy to cooperate with one another in Groningen, which increases the municipality’s ability to create ad-hoc coalitions.

²² <http://www.rtvnoord.nl/artikel/artikel.asp?p=120398>

At the Ebbingekwartier, the project team serves as an operational link between the main actors in the Ebbingekwartier. The team is led by public official Tjerd van Riemsdijk, who is also appointed as municipal coordinator and ambassador of organic area development within the municipality. Van Riemsdijk aims to increase the awareness of the benefits of organic area development and to guide people with initiatives through municipal procedures. Van Riemsdijk (Interview, 2013):

“As a municipality it is important to acknowledge the fact that the city has to deal with a different kind of development than in the past”.

Significantly, the project team managed to create a proper process structure in which the quality of the process management is gradually improving (Interview: Bodewes, 2013). The project organisation is a cooperation of various public and private parties. Since a rich variety of stakeholders²³ take part in the team, the project team has much decision-making power. This way, direct confrontation between actors is created, resulting in fruitful discussions and less abundant deliberation moments since it seems to be sufficient to have regular team meetings (Interview: Van Riemsdijk, 2013). The project team continuously aims to connect and align knowledge institutions, creative entrepreneurships, and real-estate agencies. The team also emphasises it is crucial for their programme to have a profound degree of continuity in order to effectively exploit investments (e.g. recruiting EU innovation funds). Through active cooperation and ex-ante evaluation, the coalition should strengthen during the years. Also, under the flexible wing of OLE as an intermediary party (which is dependent of newcomers and their initiatives), the project team enables sufficient room light ad-hoc partnerships (Verbindingsploeg, 2009). OLE has an evident connecting function in the area as a contact point and advocate of interests for residents and local business actors represented by the Entrepreneurial association Ebbingekwartier (PBL, 2012).

The project team attracted a full-time area manager, who was responsible to guide the governance process between local actors on an operational level²⁴. Important issues were deliberated on, and meetings organised by the area manager, in order to solve bottlenecks or to include new coming parties. However, this was no success. Bodewes (Interview, 2013):

“This municipal experiment was a real drama. Everyone in the district tended to lean back and ignore their own accountability. The area manager became someone who had to arrange everything and when something went wrong he was always held responsible. Everyone was constantly throwing files on the

²³ It consists of delegates of the following stakeholders: Gemeente Groningen, Hanzehoogeschool, Nijestee, Ondernemersvereniging Ebbingekwartier, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, De Stad b.v., Stichting Creatieve Industrie Groningen and Universitair Medisch Centrum Groningen.

²⁴ <http://www.destadbv.nl/projecten/categorie/creatieve-steden/projecten/ebbingekwartier-groningen>

area manager's desk, which led to a passive dynamic within the area. Moreover, the area manager did not have much mandate. Now Van Riemsdijk is serving somewhat the same role, again being completely inefficient. We do not need an area manager, but someone who can 'turn off' a rule when this is better in that particular situation. I agree with Alderman Van der Schaaf on that".

Now, the municipality increasingly recognises the capabilities of the local entrepreneurs, since OLE has proven that much can be managed autonomously repeatedly spending municipal finances wisely (Interview: Bodewes, 2013). Citizens are openly invited to join the development process: 'You can build along yourself' is what is noted in the official information brochure (Bergvoet & Van Tuijl, 2013). Bodewes (Interview, 2013):

"The municipality is following in the sense that they ask for what the initiators find important. It is really interesting that the project's vision is being created by the entrepreneurs, not imposed by the municipality but democratically organised".

It was for the local entrepreneurs to advise that the area-specific qualities of the area should be accentuated while inviting the creative city to the area. They organised a municipal excursion to Hamburg where practice showed that the creative city can be very successful and convinced the municipality. Moreover, the idea of container pavilion and the name Ebbingekwartier was proposed by the entrepreneurs. Eventually public officials started referring to the area as Ebbingekwartier, and even the zoning plan got the similar name (Interview: Bodewes, Interview, 2013).

Nonetheless, it may be questioned to what extent active residents receive trust and mandate to act. Planning proposals at the Ebbingekwartier remain to be influenced by the municipality and is entirely dependent on municipal resources. Bodewes (Interview, 2013) states that just because the municipality does not want the hassle, they pushed OLE as an intermediary to be accountable for the area's development. Since Van Riemsdijk is the project leader, OLE serves as a municipal hatch enabling them to indirectly govern the project. The municipality remains to be the owner of the area's real-estate and they forced newcomers to sign a contract for a strict rental period, because they were afraid that newcomers would claim unauthorised municipal support (Bergvoet & Van Tuijl, 2013). According to Van Riemsdijk (Interview, 2013), the major reason behind the cautious attitude towards the entrepreneurial plans in the beginning was the financial value that is attached to the land:

"Since risk is inherent to organic area development and it is not clear in advance if and when investments will pay off, especially the real-estate guys were not happy with the temporal activities in the area. With the municipal budget shrinking and with the continuous payment of interest on land and real-estate that the municipality has to cover, it is difficult for the government to let go. In fact, if it was for the municipal organisation, OLE would have never existed".

However, now many new initiatives have entered as a result of the municipal accommodating attitude. Van Riemsdijk (Interview, 2013):

“Nonetheless, as a municipal ‘ambassador’ of bottom-up initiatives and organic area development, I have eventually been able to allow and grant OLE to get started, by letting us as a municipality take on a facilitative and collaborative role. [...] This requires an empathic and appreciative municipal attitude. This means being aware of what goes on in the area, by being part of the project team and trying to connect initiators in order to create coherence in the area. In view of that – and that is the nice part of organic area development – it is also important to make these individual actors aware of their common strength”.

Hence, despite the initial cautious municipal attitude towards organic area development in the Ebbingekwartier, the municipality seems to have made a shift to an accommodating attitude. Without the facilitative approach of the municipality, the Ebbingekwartier would perhaps still be a ‘no go’ area surrounded by fences.

Figure 4.5 shows the separate scores on the criteria that belong to the process-orientation condition based on former information.

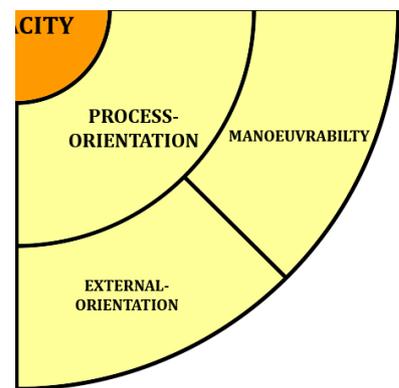


Figure 4.5: Facilitative capacity, Process-orientation

4.1.2.3 Transparency

From the start of the project, the Entrepreneurial association has been sceptical about possibilities within the conventional local-land-use plan, officially noting this as one of the project’s risks (Ondernemersvereniging Ebbingekwartier, 2009). In practice, rules and regulations are experienced as a serious barrier to organic area development in the Ebbingekwartier. (Interview: Bodewes, 2013):



“Everything is being tested by a standard norm, which results in many initiatives that have actual potential to be inhibited. Normally the Gasfornuis would not even have existed, if it was for these regulations”.

Standard rules seriously obstructed the realisation process of Het Gasfornuis. Where at first the sea-containers lacked one centimetre of height, it was not until holes were drilled before measuring, that the development could proceed. Another example is when one aims to organise a festival and the municipality obligates the organisation to build a safety fence with a strict limit of a thousand people. While the organisation cannot tell if a thousand people will show up, they do know a fence will be around two thousand euros and the plan cannot be financed (Interview: Bodewes, 2013). Lastly, the municipal department for the standard well-being did not cooperate

at first with the realisation of a temporary childcare pavilion, since they thought the fences around this venue would not fit in the area (PBL, 2012).

However, despite the difficulties concerning regulations, Bergvoet & Van Tuijl (2013) state that the municipal preparedness to work around existing regulations was necessary to arrange exploitations for a period of five years. With much creativity by means of regulations, financial procedures and, marketing, facilitating organic area development became possible. Also, since fences are necessary for a childcare organisation, ultimately the municipality did approve the initiative (PBL, 2012). Van Riemsdijk endorses this, while stressing that the rules do have a function (Interview, 2013):

“Taking into account that organic area development becomes a systematic practice, we are working to a situation of more structural use of flexible land-use plans, in which perhaps only alignments and heights are indicated, and actual functions are kept open. However, these rules exist to protect the common good. Because of the zoning plan, one can be certain of what the possibilities are. With flexible zoning plans, one has to consider the increased chance sudden festivals organised or buildings built outside your door. This could lead to social tensions. The government has a legal responsibility to provide safety, but should also aim to deal with this in a more flexible way”.

Encouragement through strong marketing and branding caused for a growth and divergence of activities to occur in the area and for the Ebbingekwartier to ‘come alive’ (Bergvoet & Van Tuijl, 2013). Bodewes (Interview, 2013):

“When we said we wanted to organise a campaign to get more famous and have more profile within the city of Groningen, the municipality covered this financially. We made a strategy for the Ebbingestraat, the Boterdiep and the CiBoGa terrain. We have assembled them to a district. Subsequently, we started organising all sorts of events that would link the city to the area, like ‘Bootje Ebbinge’, a boat line from IKEA to the Ebbingekwartier”.

The project team strives for an as open as possible working method and emphasises that it is important to provide frequent information on the area’s development for already present stakeholders but also to motivate newcomers and to get outsiders acquainted with the Ebbingekwartier and its activities (Verbindingsploeg, 2009).



Figure 4.6: Ebbingekwartier information building (Source: Blauwe Kamer, 2011).

Bodewes (Interview, 2013) states that initiators can easily present their initiatives for a feasibility assessment at the project team. Initiators can contact Van Riemsdijk, who will then discuss the possibilities with the initiators face-to-face. Also, there is an information building in the area which is used as a communication centre and project team office (figure 4.1.6). Enhanced by its glass transparent character, people are welcomed to come inside and share their thoughts. Moreover, employees are also easily approachable (Jelle Leenes, 2011). An interactive website is in use where the progress of projects can be checked and Facebook and Twitter are used to increase interaction and therefore information accessibility.

Despite the difficulties in allowing initiatives in the area due to rigid rules, the municipality did proof its willingness to cooperate with external actors. Currently, the municipality aims for more flexibility by implementing flexible rules while safe-guarding the area's coherence. Nonetheless, this is a matter of finding a suitable balance between directing and letting go. The information accessibility of the area's project team is a strong point. The project team actively promotes their vision on organic area development in the Ebbingekwartier. And several channels of information are in use that provide easy access to information.

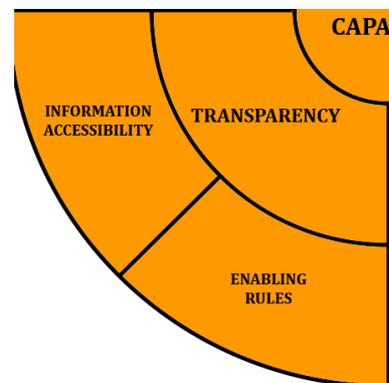


Figure 4.7: Facilitative capacity, Transparency

Figure 4.7 shows the separate indicative scores that have been attached to the separate criteria that belong to the transparency condition.

4.1.2.4 Learning capacity

Taking into account that the Ebbingekwartier project in itself is an experiment on inner-city developments (Jelle Leenes, 2011), room for experimentation is enabled. With OLE, the project team has created an internal learning hub, from which practical experiments can be learned. Hence, OLE, as a real time urban laboratory, serves as a playground for new ideas. The project team aims to stimulate continuous learning. Various workshops, brainstorm sessions, expositions, readings, presentations, and discussions on urban dynamics and creative entrepreneurship are organised (Verbindingsploeg, 2009).



Bodewes states that although OLE is a step in the good direction, initiators particularly call for more bottom-up initiatives to join the planning process and a more un-prejudiced governmental attitude. For instance, Bodewes is a proponent of the 'Berlin model': experimenting, no fear for failures, and no expectation of immediate order and neatness. This asks for a mental shift of the municipal organisation (Interview: Bodewes, 2013).

That the plan was not entirely pre-fixed, is shown by the last-minute alterations of the plan, such as the changed pavilion location, appearance of the pavilions and the manner the financing procedure (Bergvoet & Van Tuijl, 2013). The experiments revealed that that certain required demands were not thought of in the initial plans. Therefore, the initial integral plans will be re-adjusted, in order to meet these needs. For instance, the need for structural extra room for cultural and creative space which will be anticipated on in the renewed plans. Also, there will be extra care for connection with the neighbouring areas, instead of the initial plans that gave the area an autonomous feel (PBL, 2012).

It is expected that the initial plans will not turn out the way as initially intended. Even if this temporary area development is successful, a possible extension of the temporarily could only reach to an additional one or two years (Interview: Bodewes, 2013). Alderman of spatial planning Frank de Vries (PvdA) is even more decisive, stating that a five year period is definite and not open for discussion (Jelle Leenes, 2011).

Since organising a few incidental events is not enough to create future impact on the area, in order to transform projects to useful and teachable experiments, a setting for 'organisational learning' is created. This setting consists of the initiators of the twelve projects in 2009 together with the project team organised in a *kwaliiteitskring* or 'Community of Practice' consistently advises the municipal steering board on the progress of the projects (Verbindingsploeg, 2009). All members of the project team have an equivalent role using a methodology in which participants act as mutual consultants enhancing the room for discussion (Interview: Bodewes, 2013). The goal is to enrich and reinforce the projects by making use of reciprocal expertise (Verbindingsploeg, 2009).

The project team sees it as its task to create citizen and political support through a series of successful projects that show the organic area development strategy works (Verbindingsploeg, 2009). The Ebbingekwartier project in itself, is the result of learning from the practices of other European cities that have transformed areas like the Ebbingekwartier into 'places to be' (Jelle Leenes, 2011). For example, the use of sea-containers for pavilions was borrowed from other cities (Ondernemersvereniging Ebbingekwartier, 2009). Van Riemsdijk (Interview, 2013):

"One aims to continuously set out the project's results to benefit the process. As a municipality one has to steer on communication and awareness. By continuously informing each other about the obstacles that developments have to cope with along the way, one stimulates certain best practices to repeat themselves".

Furthermore, Groningen wishes to learn from Amsterdam, when it comes to temporarily reusing brownfield areas and real-estate. Also the municipality is formulating a document that describes

the way in which organic area development should be facilitated (Interview: Van Riemsdijk, 2013).

Although the project aims to create a situation in which citizens know that they are open for initiatives, the municipality acknowledges that more work is to be done in order to facilitate organic area development on a routine basis (Interview: Van Riemsdijk, 2013):

“The municipal board thinks it is essential to facilitate initiators who want to develop in empty buildings or brownfields. What is crucial though, is to put this pursuance into practice as a municipal organisation, and that is by far not always the case”.

Room for experimentation and learning from emergent dynamics in the area and from other municipalities have proven to contribute to an organic way of developing the Ebbingekwartier.

The project is a conformation that temporary area development can work and that it can have a positive effect on its surrounding environment. Despite the success of this pilot project, the municipality does not allow for the area to structurally develop further in an organic way.

Figure 4.8 shows the scores that are given to the specific criteria that are selected for the learning capacity condition, based on the former analysis.

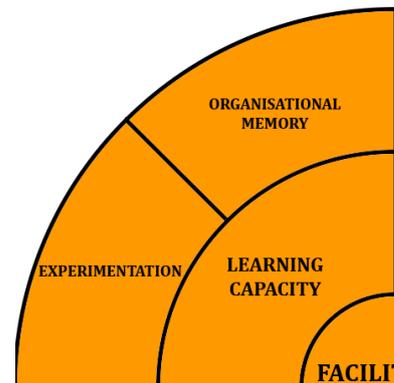


Figure 4.8: Facilitative capacity, Learning capacity

4.1.3 Conclusion

This case aimed to assess the facilitative capacity of the municipality responsible for the Ebbingekwartier area. Currently, with a strategic facilitative vision allowing for organic area development in the Ebbingekwartier, there seems to be a proper balance between order-seeking and chaos-seeking leadership of the municipality of Groningen. Nonetheless, the disunity of organisational support for organic area development, has yet to be overcome.

At the Ebbingekwartier, the project team serves as an operational link between the main actors in the Ebbingekwartier. The team is led by municipal official Van Riemsdijk, who is also appointed as municipal coordinator and ambassador of organic area development within the municipality. Van Riemsdijk aims to increase the awareness of the benefits of organic area development and to guide people with initiatives through municipal procedures.

Hence, despite the initial cautious municipal attitude towards organic area development in the Ebbingekwartier, the municipality seems to have made a shift to an accommodating attitude. Without the facilitative approach of the municipality, the Ebbingekwartier would perhaps still be a ‘no go’ area surrounded by fences.

Despite the difficulties in allowing initiatives in the area due to rigid rules, the municipality did proof its willingness to cooperate with external actors. Currently, the municipality aims for more flexibility by implementing flexible rules while safe-guarding the area’s coherence. Nonetheless, this seems to be a barrier. Information accessibility of the area’s project team is a strong point. The project team actively promotes their vision on organic area development in the Ebbingekwartier. And several channels of information are in use that provide easy access to information.

The results of the facilitative capacity of the municipality of Groningen are now visualised in the Facilitative Capacity Wheel below (figure 4.9). The wheel provides a clear and insightful overview of the organisational conditions. This way one can directly see what conditions are sufficient and what conditions need improvement.

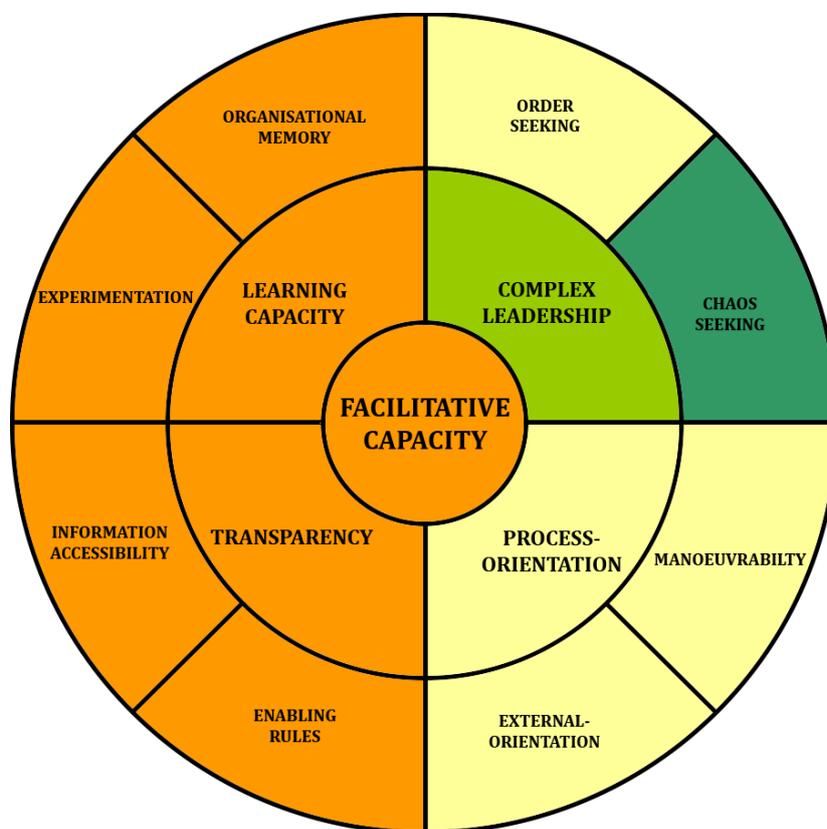


Figure 4.9 Facilitative Capacity Wheel, municipality of Groningen

Case 2

Cruquiusgebied



Location	Amsterdam (Oost)
Inhabitants	812.082 (2014, Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek)
Territory	219,33 km ²
Structure vision	Amsterdam 2040: Economically strong and sustainable (2011)
Municipal employees Amsterdam	12.900 (2014)
Employees District East	800
Political coalition (East)	D66, Groen Links & PvdA
Alderman urban development	Thijs Reuten (PvdA)
Case (location)	Cruquiusgebied
Start	Fall 2013
Size	17 ha.
Actors	Gemeente Amsterdam, Gemeente Amsterdam: Stadsdeel Oost, Amvest
Goal	Redevelopment into working-living area



Table 4.2: Introduction information Amsterdam

4.2 Case 2: Cruquiusgebied

This paragraph contains the second case study of this thesis. It aims to get an indication of the facilitative capacity of the municipality that facilitates area organic development in the Cruquiusgebied area in Amsterdam. First, the case area will be introduced. Secondly, the municipality will be assessed by means of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel. Lastly, a Facilitative Capacity Wheel is presented. Also, lessons learned concerning the barriers and chances for a better score are set out in the paragraph conclusion.

4.2.1 Cruquiusgebied

At this moment merely a working area, the industrial Cruquiusgebied is located in on the most southern peninsula of the *Oostelijke Havengebied*, in the Eastern territorial committee area of Amsterdam. The area consists of de Cruquiusweg on the East-side of de Th. K. van Lohuizenlaan, the business park Zeeburgerpad between het Lozingskanaal and de Nieuwe Vaart (figure 4.2.1).



Figure 4.10: Cruquiusgebied location²⁵

²⁵ <http://www.esri.com/software/explorer-for-arcgis>

As opposed to the redevelopment of the other Eastern Docklands, the Cruquiusgebied²⁶ – as the last peninsula to be developed of the Eastern Docklands – is to be redeveloped into a mixed use area where light industry/working is combined with residential space. The project conserves the area's identity, safe-guarding the warehouse-like, maritime and, industrial character. Accordingly, the water is to be made more visible and approachable by making quays publicly accessible and by maintaining iconic buildings (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011).

Due to the persisting economic crisis the municipality has chosen for organic area development (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2013). Since the municipality pursues to perform invitation planning, a big part of the transformation will be dependent on bottom-up activity, which the municipality can facilitate (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2013). Point of departure is that the market financially covers the developments. The municipality only comes into play when market parties inform them of their interest. Then the district facilitates and examines, while the market is hold accountable for the actual development and risks²⁷. Measures were taken that would compensate market parties for their extra responsibilities attached extra freedom. For instance, traditionally the municipality would have bought the local concrete factory. Now Amvest had to arrange this. Therefore the municipality created an attractive price for Amvest (Interview: Karssenbergh, 2013).

Even with the crisis, the municipality beliefs in enough potential and market interest in the area (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011). Firstly, the area's location near to the ring road (A10) and the inner-city is very accessible and thus popular. Secondly, located in the ring zone (relatively few dwellings) and in the Eastern district, which provides for halve of all the housing construction in Amsterdam. The Cruquiusgebied is one of the last areas in the city in which at this moment is still much interest from private parties (Heleen Aarts, 2014).

Nonetheless, the municipality sees it as a challenging task for itself to successfully facilitate organic area development. Entailing an open-ended planning process, with input of the district council (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2013). The municipality has put developing company *Amvest* in charge of the project (Heleen Aarts, 2014). Since 2006 the company has bought gradually more property on the peninsula (figure 4.2.2). The company aims to develop most of its projects



Figure 4.11: Amvest share of ownership in the Cruquiusgebied (blue) (Source: Platform 31, 2014)

²⁶ Officially named Cruquiuswerkgebied (Cruquius working area).

²⁷ <http://www.oost.amsterdam.nl/wonen/projecten/oostelijk/cruquius/aanpak/ontwikkeling-0/>

organically, since they are convinced that this is essential for the area to flourish. Amvest wants to provide flexibility and does not aim to be fully prescriptive in the area's design (Heleen Aarts, 2014).

Amvest succeeded in triggering activity into the area²⁸ and starts developing at fall 2014 (Platform 31, 2014). Amvest owns many buildings that are to be redeveloped and rented out for new functions. For example, ateliers, bakeries, coffee places etc. Examples are Krux Amsterdam²⁹ (an initiative that allows exchange of ideas and innovation between artists and entrepreneurs), Beehive³⁰ (an organisation that redevelops buildings and areas) and the Service Garage³¹ (an initiative that organises exhibitions and offers studio spaces). Another important place-making and activity-generating function is the newly introduced the Harbour club³².

4.2.2 Application of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel

Next paragraph will assess the municipality responsible for facilitating organic area development in the Cruquiusgebied through application of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel.

4.2.2.1 Complex leadership

The municipality of Amsterdam is creating a sense of urgency for organisational change, since facilitating organic area development now gets political support resulting in a city-wide boost of bottom-up energy (Interview: Bijvoet, 2013, Stoffel; 2013; Bloemendal, 2013). Maarten Van Poelgeest (PvdA), alderman for spatial planning in Amsterdam, publicly pleads for the structural facilitation of organic area development, advocating that a major part of the city's development should be performed the private sector (Soeterbroek, 2012).



Nonetheless, the municipality of Amsterdam is not monolithic when it comes to their willingness to facilitate organic area development (Interview: Bijvoet, 2013). Furthermore, in Amsterdam organic area development is mainly applied in difficult areas, such as the plot edges of industrial sites (Interview: Stoffels, 2013).

A structure vision *Amsterdam 2040: Economically Strong and Sustainable* and strategic plan *Amsterdam Maakt Mogelijk* has been established for the city. However, this document does not explicitly refer to the facilitation of organic development (Interview: Bijvoet, 2013). The strategic plan does. Where the structure vision speaks of its strong value of the living quality and the wishes of end-users, the strategic plan – which is created together with private investors -

²⁸ More attractors are the jolly boats and the school of Amsterdam that organises theatrical performances here (Heleen Aarts, 2014).

²⁹ <http://kruxamsterdam.tumblr.com>

³⁰ <http://www.beehives.nl>

³¹ <http://www.deservicegarage.nl>

³² <http://theharbourclub.nl/vestiging-blokken/amsterdam>

speaks of a changing governmental role. This role should shift from a steering government to an enabling and inviting government (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011).

Regarding the extent to which the strategic plan is picked up, there seems to be much distinctness among Amsterdam's administrative districts. District East is often mentioned as 'front runner' and praised by its achievements of bottom-up initiative facilitation (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2013). The Eastern borough is directed by several enthusiastic district aldermen, such as Jeroen van Spijk³³ (D66, portfolio finances). Van Spijk even speaks of a fundamental democratic reform that is slowly taking place in the borough (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2013). Van Spijk pleads for a horizontal society in which the government cooperates with its residents and believes in a fundamental societal change towards a 'do-it-yourself mentality', benefitting from the contemporary network society (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2013). Especially in the Eastern borough there are countless citizens who are taking responsibility to influence their neighbourhood. Consequently, the district is known by its big diversity of citizen initiatives and entrepreneurs, and by its high share of volunteer work (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2013). According to Broekmans (E-mail, 2014³⁴) District East, has a leading role in Amsterdam when it comes to facilitating bottom-up initiatives.

The new coalition of district East (D66 GroenLinks and PvdA) appears to continue the course taken. Alderman Thijs Reuten (PvdA, portfolio living and building) advocates that the district should profit more from bottom-up energy³⁵.

Evident for the municipal trust in initiators, it was a municipal choice to facilitate bottom-up initiatives in the Cruquiusgebied. The area's programme team emphasises it is the market who should be developing the area within a governmental framework of rules (Moes: Interview, 2013). The municipality recognises that inviting alone would not be sufficient for organic area development in the Cruquiusgebied. They put much effort in creating a positive vibe and making the area known, through organising events. Inner-city area developments like the Cruquiusgebied are often former work locations or industrial sites, and are not very attractive for people to live. Amvest believed that the first goal is to attract people to the place, to make the place known and, to realise a positive association for the area (Heleen Aarts; in Platform 31, 2014).

³³ Van Spijk currently pronounced not to re-elect himself (<http://www.dichtbij.nl/amsterdam-oost/regio/artikel/2648133/jeroen-van-spijk-geen-lijsttrekker-voor-d66-oost.aspx>)

³⁴ Appendix D.

³⁵ <http://www.oost-online.nl/index.php/world/nieuws-en-buurt/politiek/1577-thijs-reuten-de-ene-buurt-is-de-ander-e-niet>

Although the municipality of Amsterdam is not entirely monolithic when it comes to support for organic area development in the city, there seems to be political support for this approach. The strategic vision explicitly aims for organic area development. This is especially picked up in District East, which is perceived as front runner in Amsterdam, considering the facilitation of numerous bottom-up initiatives. In the Cruquiusgebied, this governmental attitude has resulted in multiple activities to emerge in the area.

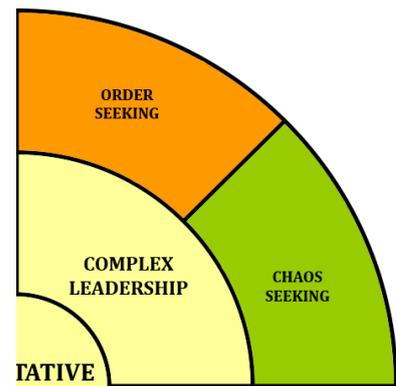
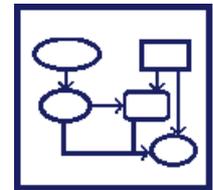


Figure 4.12: Facilitative capacity, Complex leadership

Figure 4.12 shows the scores that are given to the specific criteria that are selected for the complex leadership condition.

4.2.2.2 Process

Amsterdam’s administrative culture and its large scale seem to be obstructive to the city’s ability to make the turnaround to facilitating organic area development on a structural basis (Interview: Stoffels, 2013). Amsterdam is traditionally represented by socialistic politics run by a powerful spatial planning department, which unconditionally believes in a mouldable society (Interview: Stoffels, 2013):



“Although the municipality increasingly acknowledges the necessity of working together with small parties in order to resume spatial development plans, when it comes to adjusting to a new social context and embracing organic area development as a serious game-changing development mode, I find Amsterdam quite slow. Just as Rotterdam and The Hague, these large organisations are like big oil tankers adjusting their course very slowly. Therefore, I think that smaller cities can adjust more rapidly”.

In a big city as Amsterdam, relatively more actors have to be aligned within a decision-making process, leading to complex coordination and slow procedures. In order to cope with this complexity, the municipality has been subdivided into seven boroughs³⁶. Moreover, since recent municipal elections (March 19th 2014), these sub municipalities have been altered into *territorial public administration committees*³⁷, giving room for lighter forms of intra-municipal decentralisation. Furthermore, the city is currently in the middle of an organisational restructuring process, aiming for less bureaucracy by creating a more flexible line organisation and, the necessary retrenchment in public expenditure³⁸. As a result of the strategic plan

³⁶ <http://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/stadsdelen/>

³⁷ <http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/nieuws/2011/03/23/deelgemeenten-amsterdam-en-rotterdam-worden-in-2014-opgeheven.html>

³⁸ <http://www.binnenlandsbestuur.nl/bestuur-en-organisatie/nieuws/ho-e-amsterdam-in-7-jaar-3000-fte-schraapt.9032555.ljnkx>

Amsterdam Maakt Mogelijk, the municipality has acquired a more externally-oriented attitude. According to Patricia Bijvoet (municipality of Amsterdam, DRO) (Interview, 2013):

"From 2009 onwards we see a shift from quantity and speed to a stepwise planning process. Instead of developing a project completely conform a blue-print protocol, we focus more on a way to stay in motion in the sense that we are continuously in deliberation with the area's users, gradually arriving at the best solution for that specific place and time".

Also, with the initiation of the Amsterdamse wijkaanpak³⁹ (Amsterdam neighbourhood approach) the municipality aims to provide citizens with practical means to acquire more participatory influence while cooperating with districts, corporations and other parties to improve their own neighbourhoods (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2013).

Hettie Politiek (2013), programme manager of the Amsterdamse wijkaanpak, states that this new area-oriented approach is not easily accepted in Amsterdam due to the city's heavy politicised character. As Politiek states (2013: p. 75 & 78):

"There is an abundance of sub councils, neighbourhood councils, citizen committees and, local mayors who think that they are the ones who should decide on behalf of society. [...] However, inhabitants should feel and act responsible themselves for reinforcing their neighbourhood and their socially-economic point of departure".

As similar to the central municipality, District East has troubles with organisational compartmentalisation. However, the district has a municipal official who is responsible for linking the separate departments within the municipality, in order to reduce compartmentalisation (Interview: Moes, 2013). Van Spijk adds to this (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger (2013, p. 27):

"We should shift from a rigid bureaucratic government, to a dynamic government. District East has positioned itself well, we do not only have to room but we also use it appropriately".

Especially in the Eastern borough are various examples of initiatives in which the facilitating governmental role and a participative society come together. Here, local residents are empowered to take an active role in their community and to improve the quality of life in their area despite the recent retrenchment on public expenditure. For instance, the *Neighbourhood budget tool*⁴⁰. This is a method by which citizens, communities and other organisations get insights in governmental budget and spending behaviour. With this information, a public-private dialogue can be established about prioritising, demands and problem approaches. Lastly, *De*

³⁹ <http://www.amsterdam.nl/wonen-leefomgeving/ buurt-bewoner/wijkaanpak>

⁴⁰ <http://www.oost.amsterdam.nl/buurt en/buurtenpaginas/buurtbegroting-2014> See appendix E.

*Makkie*⁴¹ is an alternative community currency within the district. Local residents acquire Makkies when they actively contribute to their neighbourhood on their own initiative or on the request of other residents, the municipality, housing corporations and welfare institutions. With these Makkies, residents acquire discounts at local businesses. The district sees crowd funding as a useful addition to the already existing offer of sources and possibilities for initiators to realise their ideas, since it goes further than collecting money alone: aspects as creating support, running a campaign and, community building is seen as at least as important (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2013).

Public officials as van Spijk are often present in the area for regular and easy contact with residents and entrepreneurs, resulting in a sufficient 'work floor awareness' (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2013). Van Spijk (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger, 2013: 25):

"If I have to give one tip to fellow administrators, it is: go into the area. Know what goes on and where the energy lies. When someone get the room for an experiment, follow it, stay involved. Continuously ask yourself the question how you can help to get certain initiatives done".

At the Cruquiusgebied a municipal programme team has been established that is responsible for the development of the area. The team mainly focuses on the strategic input, preparation and deliberation of reports. In order to make integral considerations the team is formed by one representative of every relevant municipal department (Interview: Moes, 2013):

"At first, we visited every department, explaining the new strategy and selecting theses representatives from every sector to take part in the Cruquius programme team. Advisors from the juridical, environmental, permit, spatial planning, real-estate, economist, administrator public space, communication employee etcetera take part in this group. Also other policy employees such as, Economic Affairs and our participation broker for example are involved testing initiatives on their feasibility. This way, for instance, someone of Economic Affairs can say something about offices, which someone else in the team would not have thought off, let alone would have the expertise on. Integral is the code word for this".

The programme team should be citizen-oriented, autonomously functioning and, responsive to suggestions, initiatives, and complaints from the area. The programme team is responsible to perform coalition planning for the area and to create appropriate process structure in order to simplify its coordination. Therefore the team has developed a communication strategy together with the developing partners, emphasising the crucial role of intensive alignment with partners, parties, inhabitants and a clear division on the district's role and responsibility. The programme team aims for regular cooperation with the central city, including several governmental departments: OGA (Ontwikkelbedrijf Gemeente Amsterdam⁴²), DIVV (Dienst Infrastructuur

⁴¹ <http://www.demakkie.nl>

⁴² Municipal Development Company.

Verkeer & Vervoer⁴³) and, DRO (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening⁴⁴). Also, consultation is needed with *Rijkswaterstaat*, which is responsible for water- and riverbank maintenance let alone all the private parties such as Amvest that are to be involved. Furthermore, the task of the team is to create a sufficient integral overview amongst the initiatives in the area, to evaluate these emerging initiatives on their fit within their program approach and, to safe-guard the area's coherence⁴⁵. Hans Karssenberg⁴⁶ (Interview, 2013), who was professionally involved with the area, praises the programme team for its patience, allowing development to emerge incrementally.

The project team of the Cruquiusgebied expects from initiators to make sure that their plans fit within the environmental contours. Initiators are accountable for the management of a careful participation process with the surrounding companies and inhabitants. When an initiator is bothered by the environmental contour of its neighbours, the initiator is responsible for a proper solution through negotiation. The municipality can contribute to this deliberation process by providing a permit for a smaller environmental-contour (Heleen Aarts, 2014).

Crucially, much of this developing freedom is absorbed by one particular party, namely Amvest. This organisation is enabled to steer, finance and, follow the procedures of the game rule plan (Heleen Aarts, 2014). General point of departure always is that the district decides the 'what' and private parties decide on 'how' to execute their ideas. Accordingly, the programme team merely steers on these game rules, while it is up to the developer to which degree they want to live up to it (Interview: Moes, 2013):

"For example, we do not want only houses to be realised. Also, in order to maintain the strong connection with the water; therefore we think that the quays should be always publicly accessible, in order for people to experience the water. However, it is up to the developer what publicly accessible actually means for them".

At the same time, one can question to what extent Amvest will execute the municipal plans. However, Amvest has agreed with the municipality to use the same method of planning as originally intended, organic area development. This statement is validated by one of Amvest's first housing projects, Cruquius 67⁴⁷, which aims to develop based on the user's preferences within a broad framework fixed by Amvest (Heleen Aarts, 2014) (figure 4.2.7).

⁴³ Municipal Infrastructure and Mobility Department.

⁴⁴ Spatial Planning Department.

⁴⁵ <http://www.oost.amsterdam.nl/wonen/projecten/oostelijk/cruquius/aanpak/ontwikkeling-0>

⁴⁶ Owner of *Stipo* (urban development team) and member of the international foundation.

⁴⁷ <http://www.cruquius67.nl>

This section has shown that municipal organisations as large as Amsterdam have difficulties in turning around and shifting to a facilitative role. In addition, the municipality's context is more complex than in smaller cities. The municipal reorganisation could lead to more flexibility and more interactions between government and citizens. This is already visible in District East. Municipal awareness of their local context and the empowering of citizen initiators, seems to play an important role for facilitating organic area development. It may be questioned to what extent the area development of the Cruquiusgebied can be defined as organic, since the project is in control of one particular private party, Amvest.



Figure 4.13: Facilitative capacity, Process-orientation

Figure 4.13 shows the indicative scores within the process-oriented conditions, based on the findings above.

4.2.2.3 Transparency

According to Bloemendal (Interview, 2013), creating simple rules for organic area development is not going flawless yet, resulting in a failed attempt to outline a clear direction and expectations. In addition, bottom-up initiatives are hindered or slowed down, because the municipality has too little experienced in explaining and justifying the choices made (Interview: Bijvoet, 2013). On the other hand, if the municipality aims for full uncertainty control, the organisation will start to tense up and that does not serve the fact that the municipality wants to perpetrate a form of entrepreneurship (Van Poelgeest; in Soeterbroek, 2012). These findings hint that a certain balance must be found between controlling and making room for flexibility.



In order to increase information accessibility, citizens can use the city-wide *Stadsloods*, which connects space-seekers with space-providers by offering an overview and information of the city's vacant real-estate and brownfields and initiators connection function. Moreover, the *Stadsloods* actively guides a big diversity of initiatives through municipal rules⁴⁸. Also, the Neighbourhood budget tool⁴⁹ makes the district's budget allocation publicly accessible, giving a transparent view of how the district is spending its budget⁵⁰.

The Cruquiusgebied programme team attaches great importance to flexibilise the Cruquiusgebied plans, as another way of coping with complexity in order to continuously adjust to the ever-changing market. For the Cruquiusgebied, the district council's vision in combination with legally essential aspects (safety, public space, facilities, permits, communication, iconic

⁴⁸ <http://www.amsterdam.nl/ondernemen/bedrijfsruimte/stadsloods>

⁴⁹ Appendix E.

⁵⁰ <http://www.oost.amsterdam.nl/buurt en/buurtenpaginas/buurtegroting-2014>

buildings) are translated into a simple framework in the form of game rules and a game rule map as a basis for public-private negotiation, created in cooperation with private parties such as Amvest⁵¹. Where an ordinary land-use plan consists of around hundred pages, the game rules and the game rules card both cover one A4 page⁵² (Interview: Moes, 2013). Initiatives are carefully tested according to the game rules by the district council⁵³. The municipality remains to have much decision-making power through the conserved local-land use plan. When the former land-use plan had to be replaced in April 2013⁵⁴, the municipality decided to conserve the plan⁵⁵ preserving the functions (mainly industry) in the area. This would save time and money on extensive pre-enquiries and it would provide the municipality with the possibility to remain influential in the development process by deciding per initiative whether or not it fits within the game rules (Heleen Aarts, 2014). Van Spijk (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger (2013, p. 27):

"For this area we do not create a new land-use plan. That is a new approach. We did make game rules plans, within much is possible. This is what the modern government should do".

Although the plan does contain some flexibility the municipality is clearly in an exploration phase trying to figure out what their exact role should be and to which extent they should steer the process through a legal framework. For instance, mixing different spatial functions (e.g. industry with housing) is challenging and one still has the responsibility to provide spatial and social safety. (Interview: Moes, 2013). Also, since this strategy is currently not legally embedded and does not have a formal status, the risk perception for market parties is experienced as limiting and therefore decreases their willingness to invest in area development (Interview: Karssenbergh, 2013).

The municipality states that every owner and developer should have equal chances for the successful development of their initiatives, by frequently providing and distributing relevant area information to the public. For instance, all municipal documents are available online on the project's website and information is also made public through the use of social media⁵⁶. Also, the programme team provides sufficient responsiveness to emerging initiatives through easy feasibility assessments. One can apply for an administrative pre-consultation by means of an initiative document available on the project's website⁵⁷. When the initiative fits within the

⁵¹ This map contains the municipal demands for the area regarding the construction height, the plot size, the intrinsic values of the existing buildings, sightlines and, connections. Moreover, the location and circumference of public space and, the maintenance of iconic buildings are important aspects On January 31st 2012, the district council has decided to permit these 'rules of the game' and the additional game rule map, since (see appendix F).

⁵² Appendix F1 and F2.

⁵³ <http://www.oost.amsterdam.nl/wonen/projecten/oostelijk/cruquius/aanpak/ontwikkeling-0>

⁵⁴ Since the Cruquius land-use plan was older than ten years and it had to be replaced.

⁵⁵ According to Henk Kieft (Director of KAW architecten and advisors), the stamp land-use plan is an Amsterdam model, now used in more cities in The Netherlands. When it comes to balancing public and private regulations, for years Amsterdam has been familiar with a flexible instrument called the stamp land-use plan (*bouwenvelop*) (Interview, 2013). With the building envelope, a few main building - (building height, density etc.) and financial criteria are fixed, more room is reserved for developer creativity and input and self-interest. The game-rule map and game rules are clearly inspired by this stamp land-use plan.

⁵⁶ <http://www.oost.amsterdam.nl/wonen/projecten/oostelijk/cruquius/aanpak/ontwikkeling-0>

⁵⁷ <http://www.oost.amsterdam.nl/wonen/projecten/oostelijk/cruquius/aanpak/initiatief-indien/initiatief-indien-en>

framework of the game rules, one can get a municipal consult for further facilitation (Interview: Moes, 2013). This method is easily approachable since, no big investments⁵⁸ on research procedures are required and former results of pre-consultations are available on the website, giving initiators a good indication of their success chances. When initiatives are approved, an (anterior) agreement is made, with possible additional preconditions. Subsequently it will be decided what the most suitable legal planning contract for that particular situation would be plan (Heleen Aarts, 2014).

The municipality is clearly in search of a suitable balance between control and flexibility. The game rules enable the programme to flexibilise the organic area development process, allowing for more citizen possibilities to develop and for the rules to re-adjust to changed contextual conditions. In addition, information on the area's possibilities are communicated through various channels, easily accessible for the public.

Figure 4.14 illustrates the scores that together indicate the extent to which municipality provides sufficient transparency.

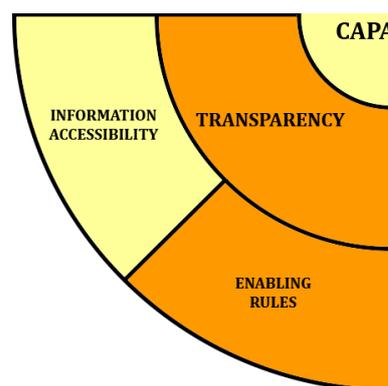


Figure 4.14: Facilitative capacity, Transparency

4.2.2.4 Learning capacity

Although the municipality sees the relevance of facilitating organic area development, the municipality often falls back into old reflexes (E-mail: Broekmans, 2014). In order to improve the ability of municipal officials to work on existing complex spatial issues that demand a new approach (demand-oriented, entrepreneurial and cooperative), an action-learning course is initiated by the municipality in combination with University of Amsterdam (UVA): *De Nieuwe Wibaut*⁵⁹. Hence, the municipality acknowledges that facilitating organic area development entails a learning process. As Van Spijk (Stichting Pakhuis de Zwijger (2013, p. 27) states:



"In this learning process, one thing works and the other does not. Therefore, experimenting is important. In District East, there is much space to allow for spontaneous area development. Here, things happen when they happen".

The municipality of Amsterdam regularly organises brainstorm sessions and readings on the subject of organic area development. In addition, a congress was held on how to facilitate organic area development where municipalities and market parties participated. However, the

⁵⁸The costs involved with the consultation is 250 euro per consult.

⁵⁹ <http://www.amsterdam.nl/gemeente/organisatie-diensten/grond-ontwikkeling/nieuws-grond/ni euws-grond/doe-mee-wibaut>

altering of work methods is not done overnight, because it asks for new professional skills and there are multiple interests involved (Interview: Bijvoet, 2013).

The municipality constantly aims to learn from best practices from other national and international cities. For instance, Maarten van Poelgeest got inspired by the work of Adri Duivesteijn, alderman at the adjacent municipality of Almere, who incorporated organic area development into a main development mode. Consequently, Van Poelgeest promoted the virtues of self-building plots and private commissioning in Amsterdam (Interview: Stoffels, 2013).

The Cruquiusgebied programme team is supposed to facilitate organic development from scratch and is thus learning in a real-life workshop directly getting confronted with this new way of working in a trial-and-error process. In order to make this shift as smoothly as, the team aims to structurally learn from previously gained experiences. As Moes (Interview, 2013) states:

“Having to work in method B instead of A leads to many people in uncertainty, knowing the why but not the how. In order to overcome these difficulties we have done several things. First, we are constantly talking with each other. We organised presentations and workshops on various departments on the new working method. Second, we have appointed one person in particular who became spokesman for organic area development within the organisation, knowing all the ins and outs and serving as an oracle for others to learn from. Lastly, we participate in a pilot about creating flexible land-use plans of the ministry through Platform 31. This pilot is very useful for us”.

André Bolwidt (In: Heleen Aarts, 2014), manager of the programme team, explains that since the team is pioneering, the policy development process also has an organic character getting gradually shaped through continuous deliberation with diverse policy departments, municipal organisations and the district council. Moes (Interview, 2013) elaborates on this:

“Taking into account that experimenting feeds the learning process on multiple aspects and levels, the municipality is advancing. We are in a period in which we try to reinvent area development. If eventually this turns out to be the best method, we will see. It just takes time to get a collective mind-set in which everyone feels ready to work in the new situation. Quite often it is 2 steps forward, 1 step back, or 5. It is an experiment, of which you learn a lot! It may be that when the crisis is over, that we will resume the old methods. However, we will definitely learn from this phase, in which we increasingly stimulate Collective Private Commissioning (CPO) and self-building”.

The municipality of Amsterdam is aware of the importance of learning and experimentation within the process of facilitating organic area development. Municipalities have to learn to work with this new approach. They also recognise that in a complex and changing environment, continuous learning is an essential part of the facilitation process. For instance, the Nieuwe Wibaut action-learning course, teaches public officials new competencies for working in contemporary challenges in a practical way.

The development of the Cruquiusgebied is part of a national pilot project, aiming to learn how to implement flexible area planning. Furthermore, the Cruquius programme team sees the project as an experiment in itself.

Figure 4.14 visualises the scores that give an indication on how the criteria of learning capacity are influencing the process of facilitating capacity.

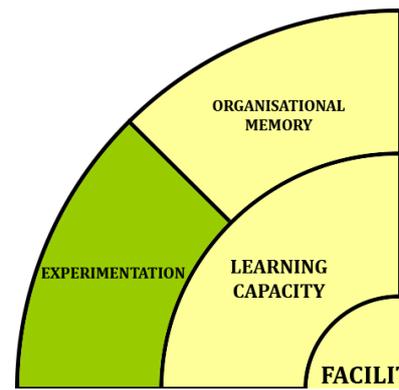


Figure 4.15: Facilitative capacity, Learning capacity

4.2.4 Case Conclusion

This case aimed to assess the facilitative capacity of the municipality responsible for the Ebbingekwartier area. Although the municipality of Amsterdam is not entirely monolithic when it comes to support for organic area development in the city, there seems to be political support for this approach. The strategic vision explicitly aims for organic area development. This is especially picked up in District East, which is perceived as front runner in Amsterdam, considering the facilitation of numerous bottom-up initiatives. In the Cruquiusgebied, this governmental attitude has resulted in multiple activities to emerge in the area.

This case has shown that municipal organisations as large as Amsterdam have difficulties in turning around and shifting to a facilitative role. In addition, the municipality's context is more complex than in smaller cities. The municipal reorganisation could lead to more flexibility and more interactions between government and citizens. This is already visible in District East. Municipal awareness of their local context and the empowering of citizen initiators, seems to play an important role for facilitating organic area development. Amvest claims that they want to develop the area in an organic fashion. However, it may be questioned to what extent the area development of the Cruquiusgebied can be defined as organic, since the project is in control of this particular private party. One can imagine Amvest prioritising its own financial interests rather than the interest of genuine organic area development.

The municipality is clearly in search of a suitable balance between control and flexibility. The game rules enable the programme to flexibilise the organic area development process, allowing for more citizen possibilities to develop and for the rules to re-adjust to changed contextual conditions. In addition, information on the area's possibilities are communicated through various channels, easily accessible for the public.

The municipality of Amsterdam is aware of the importance of learning and experimentation within the process of facilitating organic area development. Municipalities have to learn to work with this new approach. They also recognise that in a complex and changing environment, continuous learning is an essential part of the facilitation process. For instance, the Nieuwe

Wibaut action-learning course, teaches public officials new competencies for working in contemporary challenges in a practical way. The development of the Cruquiusgebied is part of a national pilot project, aiming to learn how to implement flexible area planning. Furthermore, the Cruquius programme team sees the project as an experiment in itself.

The result of the facilitative capacity of the municipality of Amsterdam are now visualised in the Facilitative Capacity Wheel below (figure 4.16). The wheel provides a clear and insightful overview of the organisational conditions. This way one can directly see what conditions are sufficient and what conditions need improvement.



Figure 4.16: Facilitative Capacity Wheel, municipality of Amsterdam

Case 3

Havenkwartier



Location	Assen
Inhabitants	67.000 (2014, Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek)
Municipal territory	83,5 km ²
Structure vision	Assen 2030
Municipal employees	600 (2014)
Political coalition	PvdA, D66, Christenunie & Stadspartij PLOP
Alderman urban development	Albert Smit (PvdA)
Case (location)	Havenkwartier
Period	Fall 2013 (organic development)
Size	125 ha
Actors	Gemeente Assen, Rijksoverheid, Treanthe Consortium
Goal	Redevelopment into working-living area



Table 4.3: Introduction information Assen.

4.3 Case 3: Havenkwartier

This paragraph contains the third case study of this thesis. It aims to get an indication of the facilitative capacity of the municipality that facilitates area organic development in the Havenkwartier area in Assen. First, the case area will be introduced. Secondly, the municipality will be assessed by means of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel. Lastly, a Facilitative Capacity Wheel is presented. Also, lessons learned concerning the barriers and chances for a better score are set out in the paragraph conclusion.

4.3.1 Havenkwartier

The 125 acres large Havenkwartier area is located at the East-side of Assen, at the edge of the inner-city and adjacent to the natural habitat of the Drentse Aa (Figure 4.17). It is demarcated by the Fokkerstraat and the business area on the North-side, the water treatment plant on the East, the Philipsweg and the railroad on the south-east, the Rolderstraat on the south-side and the Industrieweg on the West, with the adjacent Veemarktterrein.

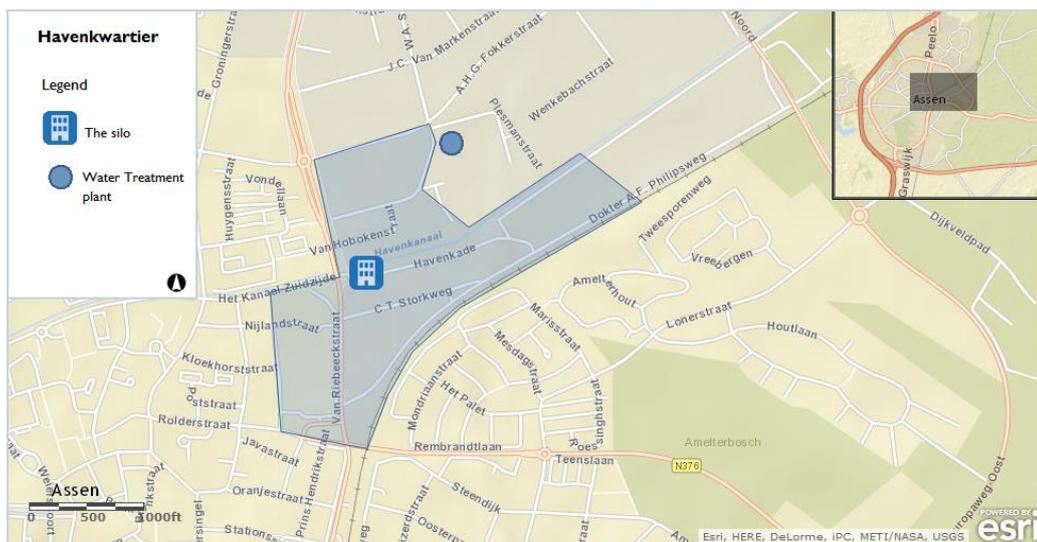


Figure 4.17: Havenkwartier location⁶⁰

⁶⁰ <http://www.esri.com/software/explorer-for-arcgis>

For a long time the area had an industrial purpose. Already in 1886 an old map shows the presence of an 'ironwork factory'. Nowadays this industrial appearance is still evident and visible by the presence of, for instance, the old grain silo, some metalworking companies, and many storage sheds. However, since the majority of these industries has left and the area had gotten into decay, the municipality decided to refurbish the area (Gemeente Assen, 2011).

The municipality and developer Treanth Consortium (a cooperation of housing corporation Actium and Credo Integral Plan development) gave orders to several architect and consultancy bureaus in the fall of 2012 to design a master plan (figure 4.18) for the area's redevelopment; the transformation of a big part of the industrial area to a mixed-use (residential/working) area. The Havenkwartier is a brown field development and forms the new connection between the neighbourhood Marsdijk and the inner-city, and would provide room for around 3.000 houses. Distinctive strengths of the area are living and working alongside the water and being close to the nature area. The area maintains its warehouse-like and industrial character⁶¹. The municipal purchase of the grain silo in the heart of the Havenkwartier⁶² in September 2010 represents the beginning of the project (Gemeente Assen, 2011).

Perhaps influenced by the imminent economic crisis, the master plan contained several features that would confine certain risks attached to integral development. The municipal board had chosen for an incremental development process in which one would gradually develop in multiple phases and building segments. While not fixing every detail from the beginning, one could provide more flexibility. Also, the development should be demand-oriented, meaning that one only develops if there are interested partners. Furthermore, some parts of the area were offered with a large degree of 'customer' freedom, i.e. housing and office plots with a minimum of building rules (Gemeente Assen, 2011).



Figure 4.18: Havenkwartier masterplan Artwork⁶³.

⁶¹ In order to make the water more naturally approachable in the entire Havenkwartier, the water level will be artificially increased.

⁶² The building dates from the middle of the previous century and was still commissioned until the end.
<http://www.florijnas.com/projecten/havenkwartier/nieuws/gemeente-koopt-graansilo-havenkwartier>

⁶³ <http://www.florijnas.com/projecten/havenkwartier>

Despite the built-in flexibility and the board's approval in spring 2013 to develop the Havenkwartier master plan, the crisis forced the municipality to put the plans on hold in the fall of 2013 and made them choose for an invitation development strategy. By facilitating organic area development, the municipality steers for quality while the rest is up to the market.

4.3.1.1 Florijnas

Havenkwartier is part of the nationally funded *Florijnas* programme⁶⁴ that contains a total of 8 projects for accessibility, living, working, tourism, and recreation in the Assen region: Assen aan de Aa, Blauwe As, Stadsbedrijvenpark, Stadsboulevard, Stationsgebied, Touristic Recreative Zone, Werklandschap Assen Zuid, and Havenkwartier. Although the Florijnas is nationally funded with 211 million euros⁶⁵, the Havenkwartier is classified as area development and therefore, to be financed by the municipality itself together with project developers. The municipality only get subsidies for infrastructural interferences⁶⁶ (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014). The project is thus only to be executed when sufficient funds are available and when partners are found that are willing to invest.

4.3.2 Application of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel

The next part will perform the facilitative capacity assessment on the municipality of Assen, which is responsible for the organic area development in the Havenkwartier.

4.3.2.1 Complex leadership

At the municipality of Assen one experiences how much influence local politics and can have on the sense of urgency for organisational reform in order to facilitate organic development (Interview: Waanders, 2013). According to Hoekstra, project leader of the Havenkwartier, in the previous political term (2010-2014: PvdA, D66, ChristenUnie & VVD), the municipal board was closely involved with the content, as opposed to their predecessors, who acted much more on a distance (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014). In this period Assen had several aldermen who courageously put the facilitation of organic area development on the political agenda (Interview, 2014). One of these aldermen who has enthusiastically spread the message of organic area development in the Assen, was Florijnas steering group chairman and coordinator Henk Matthijse (VVD, portfolio economic affairs). Despite the enforced incentive as a result of the crisis, this was daring since the other two aldermen in the steering group, Langius (ChristenUnie, portfolio finances) and



⁶⁴ <http://www.florijnas.com>

⁶⁵ As compensation for the cancelled Zuiderzeelijn (a railroad between the Northern 'periphery' of the Netherlands and the Western Randstad, the 'centre').

⁶⁶ The municipality acquires finances for the quaysides and for the Stadsboulevard that is located adjacent to the Havenkwartier (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014).

Smit (PvdA, portfolio traffic, environment, and sustainability), were sceptical from the start. Hoekstra (Interview, 2014):

“Since Langius and Smit are a bit more on a distance, we are obliged to make a bit more effort to convince them of our vision. The main reason for this is that they, initially, have another interest; money”.

With recent municipal elections⁶⁷, only VVD is replaced by PLOP in the coalition. Consequently, this means that Matthijse has withdrawn from his function as alderman and chairman of the Florijnas steering group. This place is taken over by Harmke Vlieg of the ChristenUnie, while the other two placed remain to be the same (Hoekstra: e-mail, 2014). Thus, this may result in a division in the support of the facilitation of organic area development in the Havenkwartier.

Nonetheless, since the biggest parties of the coalition remain to be seated in the board (PvdA, D66 & Christenunie), it seems that the personal atmosphere will remain as well. Moreover, although the municipal structure vision *Assen 2030* not explicitly refers to organic development (Gemeente Assen, 2010), the new coalition’s college programme *Mijn Assen* does aim for a new governmental role: giving room, participating and facilitating where necessary. Officially stated in this college programme, one has proclaimed to continue facilitating market initiatives in the Havenkwartier (Gemeente Assen, 2014). Although Matthijse, as an influential supporter of organic area development in Assen, has withdrawn his active role in the project, the most recent political college programme does explicate support for organic area development.

A major part of attracting initiators into the area, was by buying out old buildings in order to give them a new function. For instance, an old car dealer venue is not only used for spatial planning workshops but also for cultural performances, in order to cause a stir. Also, a municipal building is now transformed into a space for small businesses⁶⁸ and the Havenkwartier project team is talking with an initiator about a potential idea for refurbishing the local silo (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014).

Despite the invitation planning strategy proposed in the new college programme that enforced the project team to let go of actively buying out empty commercial properties (E-mail: Hoekstra, 2014), many market parties with financial resources and ambition are interested in investing in the area due to its strategic location. For example, an old market building that had been empty for several years is now rented to a very successful Japanese restaurant that is now interested in buying the property (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014).

Nonetheless, the project team experiences that organic area development requires active invitation and since the Florijnas programme does not subsidise the project, it is of a paramount

⁶⁷ March 19th 2014.

⁶⁸ For a flexible price, enabling starters businesses to grow and filling up a small part of Assen’s empty office stock. A language institute and two or three. ict-companies make use of this building.

importance to have attractors in the area that people start speaking about since it increases the patronage in the area (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014). There are multiple other ways in which the project team is creatively pursuing to bring commotion in the area. By joining the Sensor project⁶⁹ the team aims to link innovation for empty real-estate and brownfields with innovation for area's sustainability. The project team aims to establish a pedestrian trail, though lamp shades or little wind mills, from the inner-city to the Havenkwartier. Also, the possible city beach and student accommodation containers are attempts to increase activity in the area.

In Assen there seems to be sustainable political support for an invitation planning strategy in the Havenkwartier. The municipality creates much room for citizen initiatives in the area, but is also aware of the need for active municipal invitation.

Figure 4.19 shows the scores of the complex leadership criteria based on the information provided before.

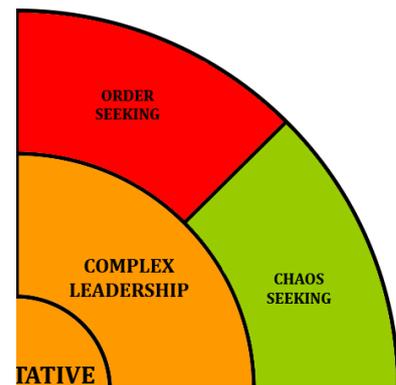
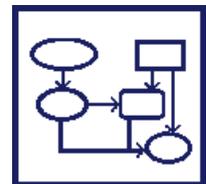


Figure 4.19: Facilitative capacity, Complex leadership

4.3.2.2 Process

According to Waanders, public official of the municipality of Assen (Interview, 2014), the municipality of Assen has always had a personal and cooperative attitude. As a small province town that has always been excluded from big national subsidies, Assen is accustomed to depend on its own resources



through a strong local and regional cooperation. However, as a result of the economic crisis, the municipality has to cooperate with citizens even more (Interview: Waanders, 2014).

The coalition proclaimed a personal, supportive and, facilitative administrative style. This requires changes in the existing organisational structure (Gemeente Assen, 2014). Their college programme states that the planning process will shift from a well-defined process with a few parties to an open planning process with many small parties (Gemeente Assen, 2014). The government pursues to facilitate what is important amongst citizens, instead of deciding what is important in a top-down way (Interview: Waanders, 2013):

"We are actively working on a process in which we are very carefully searching for a different role in which we let much more go while working in service of our citizens and enable citizens to contribute to planning much more. This way we can reach a completely new participation level with inhabitants, entrepreneurs, and companies".

⁶⁹ An ambitious project by the province of Drenthe and the municipality of Assen, in which a large-scale urban measure network is realised out of which several practically usable applications of complex sensor systems can be developed (Source: <http://www.sensorcity.nl>).

Already in 2010 an approach was initiated by the municipality in cooperation with housing cooperation Actium to implement a process- and area-oriented way of working in order to improve the city's liveability: *Gebieds Gericht Werken*⁷⁰ (GGW). According to Waanders, policy director of GGW, with this method actors within a particular area (for example health-care, schools, police, entrepreneurs) are cooperating in a continuous process in which activities are easily aligned, in order to work more effectively and efficiently⁷¹. Furthermore, the approach provides coherence between the physical and social domain in which integral collaboration can naturally arise (Gemeente Assen & Actium, 2010). Hence, this provides the municipality with a more adequate working in order to cooperate with citizens on a structural basis.

In order to effectively implement this method, the municipality aims to organise small and effective project teams supplemented by public officials from the line organisation. However, Waanders states that there always is a conflict between the line organisation and the project organisation. At this moment, people are very strictly following their day-to-day obligations and do not have time to take part in external projects. Therefore, people from different departments do not intermingle in a natural way (Interview: Waanders, 2013):

"The line-organisation has to be organised in such a way that it becomes common sense for people to be 'lend out' to other departments occasionally. If the organisation is not designed like this it will get in trouble, because the normal line work continues while people are invited to join other projects. I am a policy director and therefore I have to produce policy. But when the agenda is completely filled up with policy producing you don't have time for extra projects"

One effective way to create more room for the line organisation to be capable of joining external projects and to prevent delayed working processes is to dissolve the old-fashioned meeting-culture in general, states Robert Oostmeijer (Interview, 2013), policy specialist at the municipality of Assen:

"It is important that an organisation is designed to encourage this and does not deliberate merely for the sake of deliberating, because one is afraid that information is not shared and one does not work integrally enough. In these consultations the subjects are mostly negative, because people are waiting for these moments to drop their frustrations. Of course structural deliberation moments should endure, but this should also be organised more naturally. Thankfully, we did make some progress thanks to the recently initiated organisational turnaround, in which large department meetings were set aside".

Henk Kieft, director of KAW architecten & adviseurs and GGW project consultant, states that the municipality is making improvements when it comes to process-management (Interview, 2013):

⁷⁰<http://www.mijnbuurtasssen.nl/over-mijn-buurt-assen>

⁷¹<http://www.mijnbuurtasssen.nl/over-mijn-buurt-assen/samenwerken-aan-gebiedsontwikkeling>

“Where at first they would single-handedly impose a blueprint plan to redevelop a neighbourhood now they put much time and energy in gaining a clear view on what the most important partners are in a particular situation. Priority now, is to fully – to the possible extent - involve these partners”.

Hence, in doing so, the municipality is involved with actively scanning their environment in order to increase their local awareness.

With the online platform *Mijn Buurt Assen* the municipality provides a practical means to implement the GGW working method, aiming to connect to residential demands on a neighbourhood level. This online platform enables the municipality, the housing corporation Actium and other professional parties in Assen to cooperatively work with residents on the physical and social quality of neighbourhoods in Assen. On its website⁷², one can propose initiatives and find peers to cooperate. Moreover, by enabling neighbourhood councils to direct their own part on the municipal website, the municipality pursues to transfer several responsibilities one level below (Interview: Waanders, 2013):

“The biggest challenge is to organise this in a way that it really becomes their own. Therefore, crucially we do not enforce neighbourhoods to create their own website; we simply make sure it is there when they ask for it. That’s how it starts to work”.

At the Havenkwartier, a small but effective, interdisciplinary project team is managed by two project leaders Cor Staal (long-term developments such as the Silo and Veemarktterrein) and Rutger Hoekstra (short-term temporary infill of buildings, e.g. making sure revenue is consequently collected). The team consists of seven professionals, all responsible for another discipline, such as urban planning, environment, economy, communication. If necessary, delegates of the project developer or housing corporation join the meetings, depending on the issue at stake. This way of working allows the project team to perform ad-hoc integral plan consultations on emerging initiatives at the Havenkwartier that are somewhat in contravention with the zoning plan. Through this consultation, this group tests if the initiative fits within the municipal visionary framework, and if it is conducive for the specific spatial quality despite the standard rules (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014).

The project team appointed one professional responsible for arranging all the small technical occurrences within the area. Hoekstra (Interview, 2014):

“She is in the area, and knows everyone in the area. We did not explicitly call her an area manager, more a neighbourhood contact person; contact person who not really guides initiatives, but does the intake with initiators and subsequently transfers this to us”.

⁷² <http://www.mijnbuurtassen.nl>

At the Havenkwartier, explicitly choosing for this invitation strategy inherently shows the project team's trust in citizens, since it takes on a dependent attitude towards bottom-up initiatives. Hoekstra elaborates on the interaction with citizens (Interview, 2014):

"Most of the time, other parties precisely know what they want and how they want to do it. And thus, we help them to actually make their ideas realisable. [...] We now have a philosophy that when a party proposes to interfere in the area, it is the part will be enthusiastic and willing for sure. This causes for a positive atmosphere to arise. [...] The municipal and citizen wishes are always correlated with each other in a continuous interplay. The easiest way is to develop everything on our own. Then we are in full control. However, this is not possible anymore and we have an optimistic belief in the capabilities of initiators".

In order to be continuously aware of what goes on in the Havenkwartier, the project team's office is located in the area and project employees easily approachable (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014):

"What I find a big plus, is the way how we very specifically appreciate the area's unicity. This local awareness is visible in the manner how we carefully contemplate on the area's qualities of which we think are important. As a collective, all of us are aware of the problems and the challenges we are facing".

Assen, as a relatively small city, is accustomed to work in a personal and cooperate manner. This may partly explain why the transition to an organic area development approach is going relatively smooth. Other contributing factors to the municipality's facilitative capacity, are the organisational reforms, the Gebieds Gericht Werken project as a process- and area-oriented planning approach. At the Havenkwartier specifically, the inter-disciplinary project team, the integral ad-hoc integral initiative consultations and the general trust in initiators influence the facilitation of organic area development.

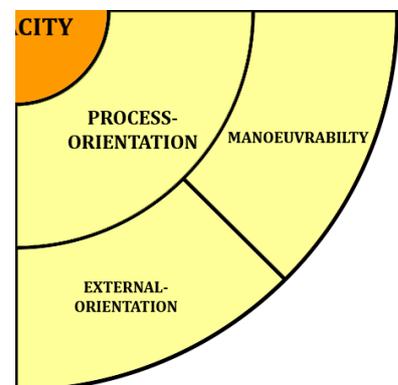


Figure 4.20 shows the specific indicative scores for process-orientation, based on the former findings.

Figure 4.20: Facilitative capacity, Process-orientation

4.3.2.3 Transparency

The municipality is aiming for an active and participative society. Therefore, existing rules should be simplified where possible (Gemeente Assen, 2014). The Havenkwartier project team is facing difficulties with the restrictive character of land-use plans in the process of facilitation. A major complication is the complex and time-consuming procedures that are required for the organisation to realise relatively simple initiatives. For example, Hoekstra states (Interview, 2014):



"In my opinion too many initiatives get cancelled due to strict regulations. About 10 initiatives of all kinds per week present themselves, while just a small share can be accepted despite their potential. Our ideas often stumble upon the necessary permits, the existing policy, or non-pragmatic assessment procedures. Internally, we have not fully straightened this out yet".

Hoekstra (Interview, 2014) adds:

"After a guided tour through the premises, a user's agreement had to be signed for, among others, the fire department. From here the trouble starts. The agreement has to be signed by two persons in charge. Then it gets transferred to the next department where it goes into the system, indicating it has been reserved on that day. Subsequently, it goes back to my colleague, in order to apply for a debtor number, in order to present an invoice. When this is done, it goes back to the former department that makes the invoice and signs this afterwards. This process is just dramatic".

The core team recognises that these rules do have a function, appreciating their governmental role. Hoekstra (Interview, 2014):

"Recently an initiator contacted us with the idea to plan a wedding in the Silo, which appeared to be agreeable. However, when they also proposed an after party, question marks began to be raised; how are we going to arrange safety, lightning, toilets? These kinds of things do play an important role with these kinds of temporary initiatives. Although we have to disappoint the initiators, we have to stay accountable and take on responsibility of the people's well-being. For example, I was at the Suikerunie in Groningen lately, which really made me worried for the municipality of Groningen taking into account that someone might fall into one of the many gaps".

During the research it was found that, there was limited information available on the project. In the area there is no physical information building. On the internet, some information is accessible on the municipal and on the Florijnas website. However, this information is limited being mainly based on the initial integral plans. Although there is an interactive online map with some information on the new plans this website⁷³ provides not much information. Moreover, no social media is used, since there is no Havenkwartier Facebook or Twitter page.

Nevertheless, Mijn Buurt Assen provides source of information, by increasing the municipality's overview of bottom-up demand in the city. This enables the municipal organisation to improve their ability to respond to emergent initiatives, while at the same time using the expertise of public officials efficiently. As Oostmeijer endorses (Interview, 2013):

"It is important to offer easily accessible guidance at the front-office. In order to prevent confusion, we want to go public under one flag. Although people still reach us through the traditional ways (e-mail, telephone, and through the area manager), we are trying to facilitate simplicity and increase the awareness and popularity of the mijnbuurtassen.nl".

⁷³<http://www.florijnas.com/projecten/havenkwartier>

The Havenkwartier core team is currently making efforts to improving their information accessibility (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014):

"We want to have our cards out on the table. Therefore, currently there is a document in the making in which we describe the project's organic area development strategy. However, at this point there is no single information point in the city where people can drop by and where we can permanently provide information for people to consume. A place which can function as a connection hub for initiators among themselves and between initiators and public officials. We did talk about the idea to use the silo for this, since we want to be more visible in the area".

Hoekstra himself serves as an information provider. Whenever an initiator contacts the organisation, they get directly transferred to him or his colleague. When an initiative emerges and the plan is assessed by the core team, the plan gets transported upwards to the steering group, in which three alderman are seated from the different disciplines they represent. There, these initiatives get consulted, after which they go into the board/council (de Raad) for possible approval (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014).

Nevertheless, there are in fact situations in which this doesn't go as smoothly as planned, since Hoekstra states (Interview, 2014):

"Occasionally such an initiative starts floating in the organisation and it won't get to us. Sometimes initiators do not ask their question clear enough. As a result, their ideas get transferred to the permit departments, after which they unfortunately may disappear".

Hence, this directly shows that there is room for improving the way in which information concerning the project is communicated internally and externally.

Hoekstra (Interview, 2014) states that it would help to make a distinct profile for the area and that more work is to be done in order to more adequately provide information:

"What is most important is that we create a distinct profile of ourselves. In other words, an image of an area where creative things are possible. You have to exhibit an image of the area, which is different than other areas. Putting a sticker on a window with for rent is not enough anymore. You have to think of other ways to trigger people".

The municipality clearly explicates the desirability for less and simpler rules, which can enable the plans of more initiators. Improvements can be made towards making this process more efficient (putting initiators in direct contact with experts) and effective (preventing questions of initiators to get lost in the bureaucratic system. Regarding information accessibility, more

information should be made available and more channels should

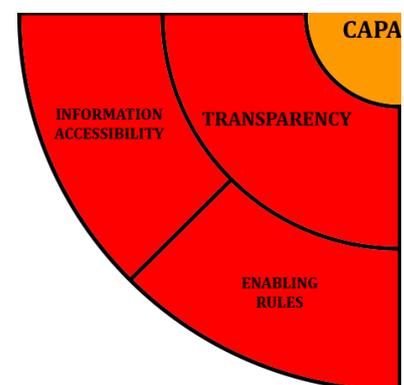


Figure 4.21: Facilitative capacity, Transparency

be appropriated in order to inform the public.

Figure 4.21 shows the scores that are given to the transparency criteria based on the information above.

4.3.2.4 Learning capacity

The municipality recognises that a new societal context requires a different governmental attitude, which enables experiments and learning (Gemeente Assen, 2014). Waanders (Interview, 2013):



"Recently, we came to the conclusion that our organisation requires a renewed manner of process-oriented working, in which public officials are required to learn new skills".

Municipal project managers are now intensively learning how to cope with these processes (Gemeente Assen, 2014). Significantly, the people from the 'soft' social side of the municipality adjust themselves more easily than the 'physical' spatial development domain (Interview: Waanders, 2013). Nonetheless, the municipality is still in the beginning of this process. Oostmeijer (Interview, 2013):

"Although we are in the beginning of the process, we are truly quite positive on how things currently go. However, things cannot work perfectly well from day one. I think this is where our attention should be; how do you improve yourself, while maintaining your accustomed quality, and how we can make organic area development and the new manner of working that it entails, more alive among the people".

Therefore, as part of the GGW project, an intensive inter-departmental learning process is taking place, for public officials to acquire the new competencies needed. Besides providing information to the public, Mijn Buurt Assen is also a stage to experiment with cooperation between the municipality and residents (Gemeente Assen, 2014).

The municipality values the benefit of sharing knowledge with other municipalities as a form of best practices transfer. Accordingly, Bert-Jan Bodewes, takes part in at the project team at the Ebbingekwartier, is contracted to consult in the Havenkwartier in Assen. Moreover, excursions have been made to Amsterdam and to the Havenkwartier in Deventer in order to promote the reciprocal cross-pollination. For instance, Waanders (Interview, 2013):

"Recently we were invited by the programme leaders of neighbourhood renewal in Groningen to discuss how we approach organic area development and how we can sustain a valuable mutual relation with Groningen. Because we are dealing with the same issues, and are reliant on the same actors within the same region, we appreciate the effect of working together".

Also, multiple cooperative learning programmes were joined. For instance, the Havenkwartier is one of the pilot projects, together with the Suikerunie terrain in Groningen and bedrijvenpark

Haarveld in Noordenveld, which is part of the European SEEDS⁷⁴ project⁷⁵. This project aims to find innovative solutions for smart management of empty real-estate and brownfields, in order to positively influence spatial quality. Hoekstra (Interview, 2014):

"Because we are part of the SEEDS project we recently made a trip along the project locations of the other participants. We requested the other organisations to think along with our disputes, and helped others by thinking along with theirs".

Also, multiple master classes and workshops are organised in order to stimulate improve the organisation's learning capacity. Hoekstra (Interview, 2014):

"Since the summer of 2013 we have already had five master classes. They are, for instance, about temporal spatial development, sustainability of the existing urban fabric and building differently. We organise them, not just for ourselves, but also for our colleagues who can learn from us. Because spatial development takes a different course, we want to know how we want to arrange this; what do we want to arrange, and what do we want to leave open for end-users to decide. We also did three workshops on image quality, framework strategy, and one about more technical preconditions. We can all use this as input for the new Havenkwartier land-use plan, which we need to make".

In order to host these workshops, the core team has bought a former car dealer plot in the area, which now serves as internal learning hub.

The municipality has created a methodological report on how to implement the GGW method. With the GGW the municipality also implemented a digital working environment where much information normally shared on fixed meetings, is now shared online. This enables a more natural way of information sharing. Waanders states (Interview, 2013):

"At the municipality and especially with GGW we are quite far. We are trying to implement new kinds of working methods, such as physical information signs per department, on which one can easily share key notes. Moreover, we have started a digital working environment for information sharing. While abandoning several deliberation meetings, we decided to arrange these communications online".

Havenkwartier project is a pilot project showing the possibilities for the city as a whole (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014). Therefore, according to Hoekstra (E-mail, 2014), Havenkwartier is their 'playground' to try new things. Although there are some general guidelines and visionary thoughts about the area's future appearance, what exactly this will look like, only time can tell. The project organisation is in the middle of an exploration process in which one is searching for the right working methods for the new strategy (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014).

⁷⁴ This project is combined with the Sensor project in the Havenkwartier (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014).

⁷⁵ http://www.regiogroningenassen.nl/nl/ni_euws/seeds

These learning processes are seen as an investment in the future since the municipality has deliberately chosen to structurally alter their development strategy for the Havenkwartier. Even if the economy will improve again, the area will be developed in an organic way (Interview: Hoekstra, 2014).

The municipality of Assen is actively involved in several learning processes. For instance, the Gebieds Gericht Werken project, serves as an inter-disciplinary learning method. Furthermore, the municipality makes valuable use of best practices, organising frequent workshops, excursions, and master-classes. This emphasis on learning maybe due to the fact that the project is relatively young. The project organisation is in the middle of an exploration process in which one is searching for the right working methods for the new strategy. The project can be seen as a learning pilot for the municipality, which increases their ability to learn from experimentation.

Figure 4.22 visualises the scores attached to the learning capacity condition, constructed on the information provide before.

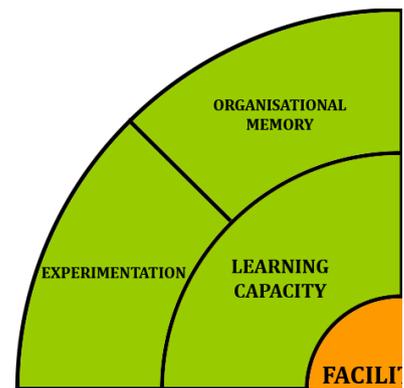


Figure 4.22: Facilitative capacity, learning capacity

4.3.4 Conclusion

This case aimed to assess the facilitative capacity of the municipality responsible for the Havenkwartier area. In Assen there seems to be sustainable political support for an invitation planning strategy in the Havenkwartier. The municipality creates much room for citizen initiatives in the area, but is also aware of the need for active municipal invitation.

Assen, as a relatively small city, is accustomed to work in a personal and cooperate manner. This may partly explain why the transition to an organic area development approach is going relatively smooth. Other contributing factors to the municipality’s facilitative capacity, are the organisational reforms, the Gebiedsgericht werken project as a process- and area-oriented planning approach. At the Havenkwartier specifically, the inter-disciplinary project team, the integral ad-hoc integral initiative consultations and the general trust in initiators influence the facilitation of organic area development.

The municipality clearly explicates the desirability for less and simpler rules, which can enable the plans of more initiators. Improvements can be made towards making this process more efficient (putting initiators in direct contact with experts) and effective (preventing questions of initiators to get lost in the bureaucratic system. Regarding information accessibility, more information should be made available and more channels should be appropriated in order to inform the public.

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The result of the facilitative capacity of the municipality of Amsterdam are now visualised in the Facilitative Capacity Wheel below (figure 4.23). The wheel provides a clear and insightful overview of the organisational conditions. This way one can directly see what conditions are sufficient and what conditions need improvement.

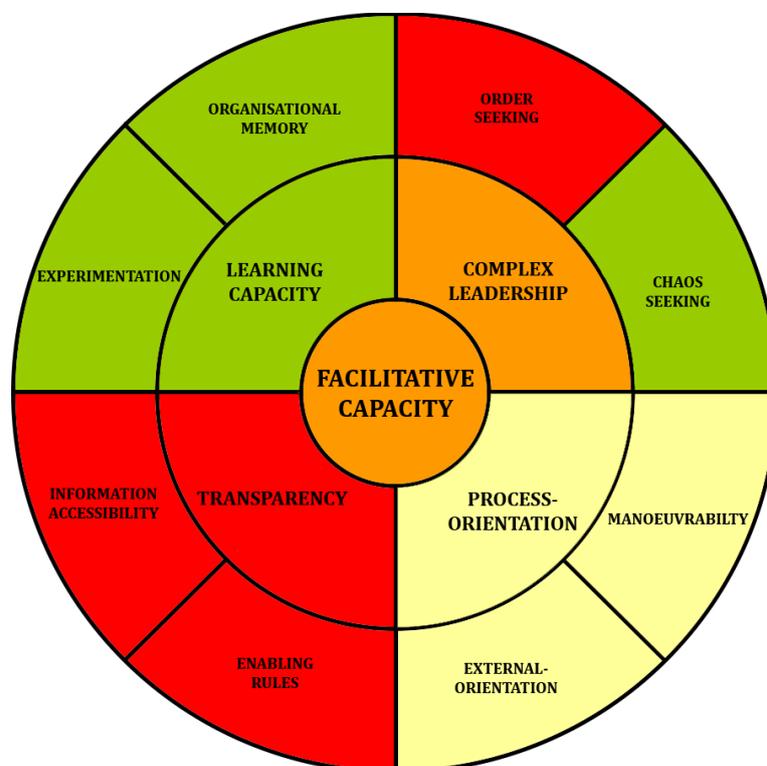


Figure 4.23: Facilitative Capacity Wheel, municipality of Assen

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

This chapter will present conclusions based on the research questions that were stated and on the results that have been found. First the research questions are answered in a short and concise manner. Thereafter, lessons learned for the practical and academic realm are presented. In conclusion, research limitations and suggestions for future research are discussed.

5.1 Answering the research questions

The goal of this thesis is to find out what organisational conditions are required for municipalities in The Netherlands in order to facilitate organic area development in cities. This goal was translated into the following main research question:

How can municipalities facilitate organic area development through organisational measures?

This main question was subdivided into three research questions, which are studied in this thesis. The answers to these questions are elaborated upon below.

1. What practical challenges for Dutch municipalities can be derived from the theoretical concepts underlying organic area development?

This resulted in six organisational challenges for the municipal facilitation of organic area development in Dutch cities centring on open-ended process, area development framework, citizen encouragement, external orientation, monolithic organisation and accommodating attitude. Also, the shift from making the city (linear reality) to being the city (non-linear reality) put forth another six factors important for municipal organisations to take in consideration when aiming to facilitate organic area development in Dutch cities: complex issues approach, modest approach, building on existing strengths, bottom-up: trust in self-organising society, open-ended development process, experimenting and learning.

2. What organisational conditions are required for municipalities in order to facilitate organic area development?

This lead to four organisational conditions for the facilitative capacity: leadership, process-orientation, transparency, learning capacity. These conditions, including eight sub-ordinate criteria are conceptualised in the Facilitative Capacity Wheel. Subsequently, this assessment tool

is applied within a multiple case-study in chapter 4, in order to answer the third research question:

3. To what extent do Dutch municipalities meet the organisational conditions required for facilitating organic area development?

The answer to this question is discussed in the next paragraph.

5.2 Lessons learned

This part will set out the barriers and success factors derived from the analysis of the multiple-case study results.

5.2.1 Limiting organisational conditions for facilitation

The cases show that each municipality studied in this research is dependent on political support. Without political support, municipalities cannot take on a new facilitative role. However, the cases also demonstrated the disunity within the municipal organisation towards a support for organic area development, despite the political support.

It seems large municipal organisations such as Amsterdam have difficulties in turning around and shifting to a facilitative role. Here, the municipality's context is more complex than in smaller cities. A small city as Assen has an advantage because it is accustomed to work in a personal and cooperate manner. However, this general finding does require some nuance. Despite their large scale, Amsterdam was the best scoring municipality in the multiple-case study. This shows that the size of the municipal organisation does not need to be a barrier for facilitation of organic area development, as long as the organisation is appropriately organised.

Organising facilitative capacity has a few more barriers according to the results. The Cruquiusgebied has shown that facilitating organic area development can also mean that the area is controlled by one particular private actor, which has the most possession of land in the area. This increases the risk that organic area development is not genuinely realised, due to the prioritising of the (financial) interests of such a market party, rather than the interest for organic area development favourable for the public. Also, each municipality is having difficulties with dealing with the rigidity of local land-use plans, which can have an inhibiting effect on enabling bottom-up initiatives. They each aim for more flexibility by implementing more enabling rules while safe-guarding the area's coherence. Also, improvements can be made towards making this process more efficient (putting initiators in direct contact with experts) and effective (preventing questions of initiators to get lost in the bureaucratically system. Furthermore, the

cases have shown that a public-private and integral project team with enough mandate to make ad-hoc local decisions can be beneficial to the facilitation of bottom-up initiatives. Also, information accessibility should always be made available and multiple channels should be appropriated in order to inform the public. Finally, in regard of these findings, the municipalities should search for a suitable balance between control and flexibility.

5.2.2 Favourable organisational conditions for facilitation

All studied municipalities in these thesis, are working on reorganising themselves, in order to form a more flexible organisation, which can improve their ability in dealing with organic area development. Results showed several factors important to take into consideration for this process of change.

A well-documented strategic vision on a facilitative strategy for area development can be beneficiary for organic area development. This can both serve as guidance for the municipal organisation and for the public. A strategic vision for the facilitation of organic area development in the municipality, proofs the municipal willingness to cooperate with external actors. This vision should be actively promoted through several channels of information and should be easily accessible for the public. Also, the Cruquiusgebied case has shown that the use of basic game rules in combination with a game rule map can be beneficial for facilitating. They should be established in an understandable way for the public and be capable of re-adjusting to a changing context. Hence, providing a simple legal framework enabling for citizen initiatives, can be beneficiary for municipal facilitation.

Also, the cases have shown that municipal awareness seems to play an important role for facilitating organic area development. This means being aware of what takes place in local context, interacting with the public and being physically present in the area. For instance, the project team of the Havenkwartier in Assen has situated their office within the area. In addition, the municipality of Assen uses the Gebiedsgericht Werken approach. This is process- and area-oriented planning process in which the municipality cooperates with citizens on a structural basis. The results show this method is beneficial for the municipality's manoeuvrability, external orientation and learning capacity at the same time.

Lastly, each municipality within the multiple case-study, is aware of the need for continuous learning and experimentation in a complex and changing environment, within the municipal process of facilitation. For instance, the Nieuwe Wibaut action-learning course, teaches public officials new competencies for working in contemporary challenges in a practical way. Also, having an ambassador and coordinator of organic area development within the municipality can

be helpful in order to spread knowledge on this new approach. Also, assigning redevelopments projects as pilot-projects allowing for the municipality to experiment within their new facilitative role. Furthermore, organising various methods for benefitting from best practices has a positive effect on facilitative capacity. For example, workshops, excursions, master-classes, and cooperation with other national and international municipalities on this topic.

5.3 Limitations and future research

This part aims to reflect on how this research was performed. There are some limitations to this research and also some suggestions for possible future research. First the limitations will be discussed and subsequently suggestions for future studies will be presented.

5.3.1 Limitations

The Facilitative Capacity Wheel has shown to be a useful method to assess municipalities on their capacity to facilitate organic area development. However, during the processing of this thesis' results, it became clear that the wheel is subject to a certain degree of ambiguity. Occasionally some results could be placed under two criteria instead of one. Consequently, the author was obliged to take decisions based on his own subjective insight. For example the following quote from Van Riemsdijk (Interview, 2013):

“This requires an empathic and appreciative municipal attitude. This means being aware of what goes on in the area, by being part of the project team and trying to connect initiators in order to create coherence in the area. In view of that – and that is the nice part of organic area development - it is also important to make these individual actors aware of their common strength”.

This quote could both be interpreted as external orientation as well as order-seeking leadership.

Also, the scores in the Facilitative Capacity Wheel might be biased due to limited time for gathering of information through desk research and interviews. In addition, not every case had the same amount of information available for research. These factors influence the total score of the assessment wheel per case. In order to cope with this, the results subjectively nuanced by the researcher. In retrospect, another way to cope with this is to apply a more structured way of interviewing by asking questions along a fixed interview protocol per case.

Another limitation of this research was that only one of the three cases (Cruquiusgebied), was in control of a private party, therefore creating a possible bias. And finally, interviewing a wider variety of actors involved in the planning process of each case, could have provided more diverse results. And therefore provide more different perspectives on each particular case.

5.3.2 Future research

During this research it became obvious that the findings in theory were confirmed to a large degree in planning practice. For further research it can be interesting to go deeper into complexity theory in order to create a better understanding on the underlying dynamics of spatial development and to what extent, and in what way this can be influenced. The incorporation of different criteria derived from theory, in the Facilitative Capacity Wheel, could maybe lead to relevant addition results. Also, for the evolution of the Facilitative Capacity Wheel, it can be beneficial to more frequently test this tool in reality in order to optimise the approach. In further developing the wheel, it may be beneficiary to apply this method on a larger scale. By interviewing more and a larger variety of actors, the objectivity of the assessment results may be increased. This way, perhaps in the future the wheel can be applied by municipalities in their planning practice.

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Appendices

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Appendix A

List of interviewees

Name / Appendix	Employment	Function	Location	Date
Patricia Bijvoet / B1	Municipality of Amsterdam, Academy of Architecture Amsterdam	Urban designer & Guest lecturer	Amsterdam	June 10th 2013
Toine van Goethem / B2	Municipality of Amsterdam	Urban designer & Project manager, Zuidelijke IJ-oever	Amsterdam	June 10th 2013
Marcel Bloemendal / B3	Municipality of Amsterdam	Urban designer & Project manager Overhoeks	Amsterdam	July 2nd 2013
Irene Moes / B4	Municipality of Amsterdam: Stadsdeel-Oost	Junior project manager, Programma team Cruquiusgebied	Amsterdam	Juli 2nd 2013
Bart Stoffels / B5	Urhahn Urban Design	Urban Designer & Project manager	Amsterdam	June 10th 2013
Hans Karssenbergh / B6	Stipo, Hogeschool van Amsterdam & Inspiring Cities	Partner, Guest lecturer & Board member	Amsterdam	July 17th 2013
Tjerd van Riemsdijk / B7	Municipality of Groningen	Project manager	Groningen	June 19th 2013
Jan-Hendrik Jansen / B8	Self employed	Interim project-, process manager	Hoogezand	June 27th 2013
Jordy Hovingh / B8	Municipality of Hoogezand-Sappemeer	Assistant project manager, neighbourhood renewal	Hoogezand	June 27th 2013
Henk Kieft / B9	KAW Architecten en Adviseurs	Manager team consult	Groningen	July 5th 2013
Bert-Jan Bodewes / B10	RIO Projects, Stichting Creatieve Industrie Groningen, Ebbingekwartier & Het Gasfornuis	Partner, board member & Partner: Management consultant, chairman	Groningen	August 8th 2013
Nicoline Waanders / B11	Municipality of Assen	Policy Director & Project manager Gebieds Gericht Werken	Assen	August 30th 2013
Robert Oostmeijer / B11	Municipality of Assen	Policy Specialist	Assen	August 30th 2013
Martijn van Ooijen / B12	Kessels & Smit: the learning company	Organisation expert	Utrecht	October 25th 2013
Rutger Hoekstra / B13	Gemeente Assen	Projectleider 'tijdelijkheid'Havenkwartier	Assen	March 7th 2014

Appendix B Interviews transcripts

Interviews are not included in this printed version.

Appendix C Online Questionnaire

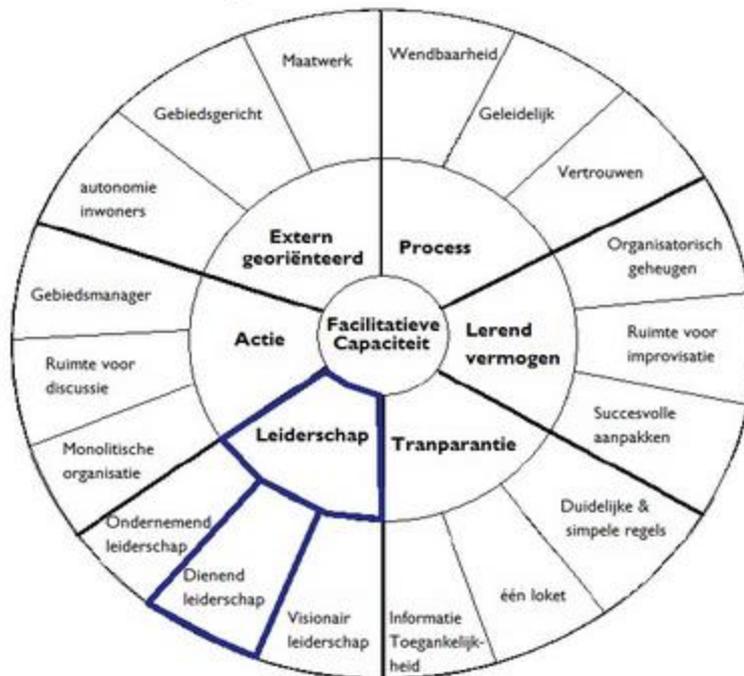
4/6



Hoewel leiderschap misschien paradoxaal klinkt bij organische ontwikkeling, is het van cruciaal belang om een strategisch kader te creëren waarin zelforganisatie kan floreren.

Drie criteria punten zijn geselecteerd als van belang zijnde bij leiderschap: visionair leiderschap, dienend leiderschap en ondernemend leiderschap.

11 13 Dienend leiderschap



Dienend leiderschap houdt in dat men als publieke planeringsorganisatie volledig in dienst van de burger handelt. Waar vaak in een ivoren toren wordt bedacht wat inwoners nodig hebben, is het van belang bij organische ontwikkeling dat men gezamenlijk een strategie bedenkt, vanuit de visie van de inwoner of initiatiefnemer. Een bescheiden rol vanuit de gemeente past hierbij waar men zich afhankelijk opstelt ten opzichte van maatschappelijke ideeën en energie. In plaats van een restrictieve & directieve houding, is empathie belangrijk waarbij geldt: meedenken in plaats van nee-denken. Met andere woorden, initiatieven worden serieus genomen en de organisatie is zich bewust van wat de burgers beweegt, door aanwezig te zijn op de werkvloer, en actief te luisteren en te zoeken.

How zou u de gemeentelijke organisatie op dit specifieke criteriapunt willen beoordelen?

- Onvoldoende
- Matig
- Voldoende
- Goed
- Prima

Appendix D

E-mail correspondence

From: Tess Broekmans (tess@urhahn.com)
To: Ingmar Hoen
Date: January 29th 2014
Subject: Online survey Facilitative Capacity Wheel

Ha Ingmar,

Ik heb de vragen zojuist ingevuld. De gemeente Amsterdam is natuurlijk heel groot. Je moet mijn antwoorden vooral relateren aan stadsdeel Centrum, dat is op het moment de partij waar we het meest mee samenwerken. Algemeen zou je kunnen zeggen: ze willen wel, maar kunnen nog niet. Ze zien de relevantie, maar als er een concreet initiatief ligt vervallen ze in oude reflexen. Er is te weinig capaciteit om het anders of sneller te doen.

Ik hoop dat je er iets mee kunt en deze nuancering mee neemt in je onderzoek,

groet, Tess



Tess Broekmans
directeur

Urhahn Urban Design bv

Laagte Kadijk 153
1018 ZD Amsterdam
020 421 74 40
06 18 191 357
www.urhahn.com



Lees ons spontane stad blog



Volg ons op twitter



Vind ons leuk op facebook

From: Ingmar Hoen
To: Tess Broekmans (tess@urhahn.com)
Date: January 29th 2014
Subject: Online survey Facilitative Capacity Wheel

He Tess,

superbedankt! Je hebt me hiermee aardig geholpen! In mijn onderzoek, focus ik vooral op het Cruquiusgebied, zou je daar ongeveer hetzelfde kunnen zeggen denk je?

Groeten,

Ingmar

From: Tess Broekmans (tess@urhahn.com)
To: Ingmar Hoen
Date: January 29th 2014
Subject: Online survey Facilitative Capacity Wheel

Ha Ingmar, Stadsdeel Oost is veel verder dan stadsdeel centrum, zowel in Cruquius als in de Indische buurt. Hun begroting is openbaar, zodat je ook kunt zien waar je zelf een rol kunt spelen. Zo hebben buurtbewoners een deel van het buurtwerrk in de indische buurt overgenomen. Zij zijn van de hele gemeente het meest ver. Maar ook daar is de praktijk soms weerbarstiger.

groet, Tess



Tess Broekmans
directeur

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06 18 191 357
www.urhahn.com



Lees ons spontane stad blog



Volg ons op twitter



Vind ons leuk op facebook

From: Ingmar Hoen
To: Tess Broekmans (tess@urhahn.com)
Date: January 29th 2014
Onderwerp: Online survey Facilitative Capacity Wheel

Hoi Tess,

helemaal goed. Dat idee had ik ook al, erg interessant.

nogmaals dank,

Ingmar

Appendix E Neighbourhood budget tool

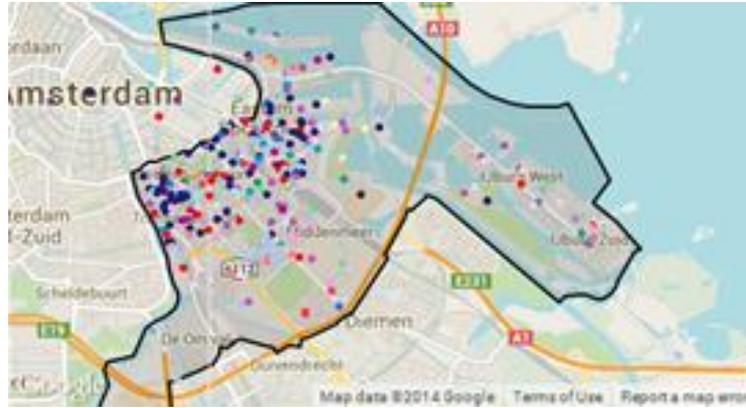
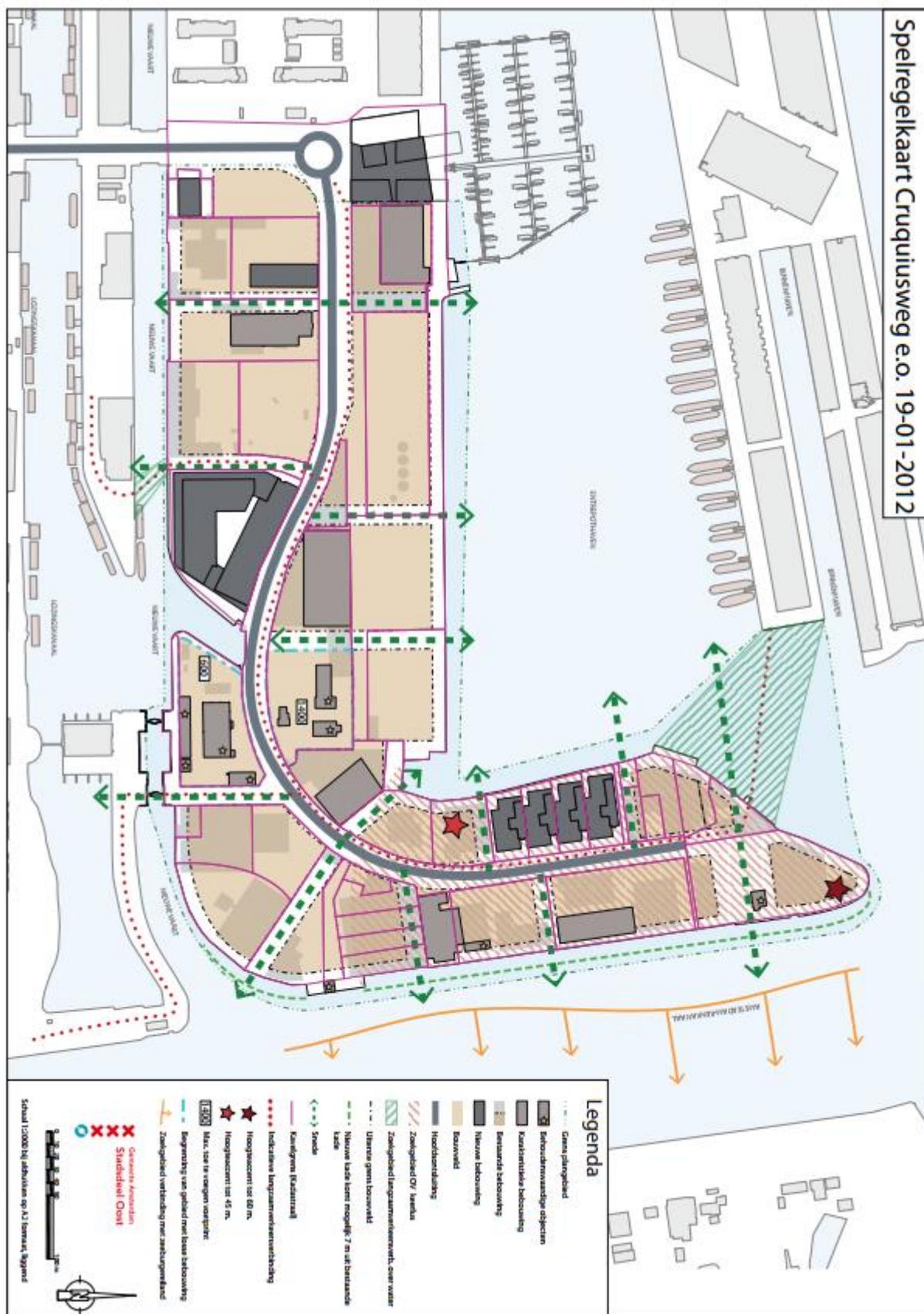
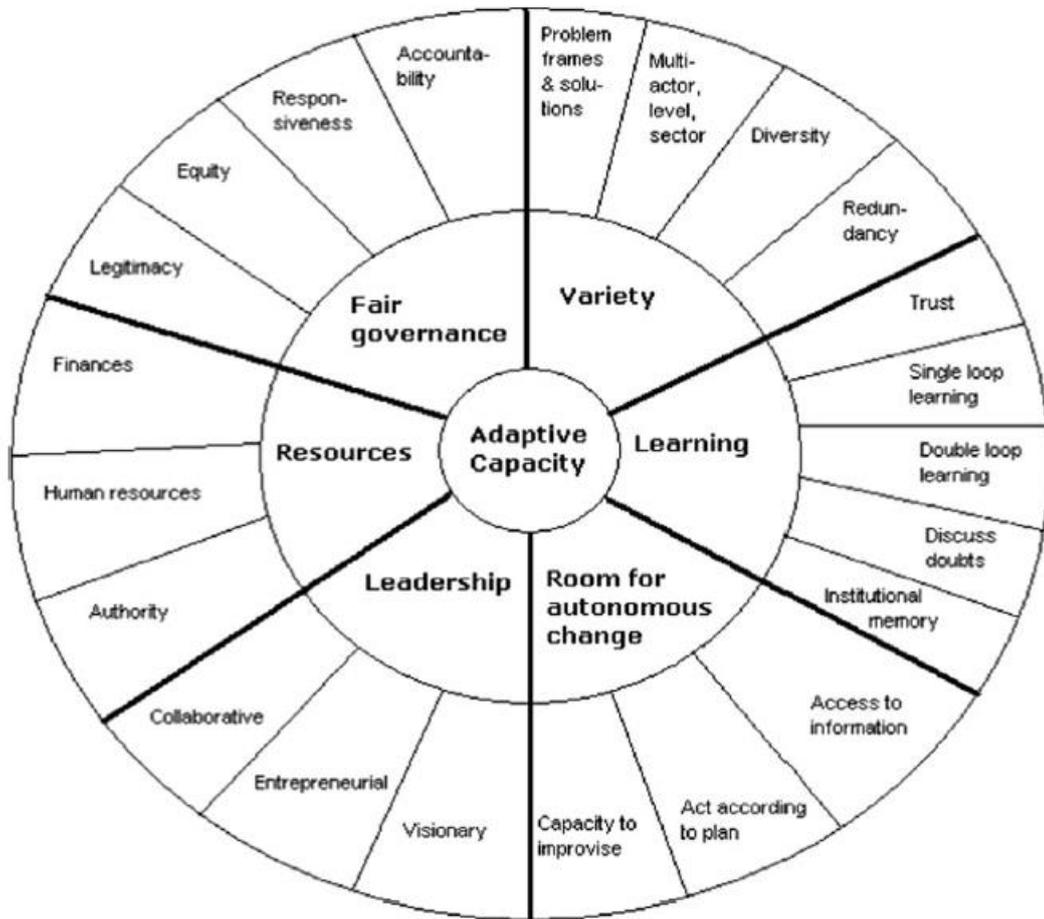


Figure 4.2.10: Neighbourhood budget tool (Source: <http://oost.buurtbegrotingamsterdam.nl>)

Appendix F Game rule card – Cruquiusweg



Appendix G Adaptive Capacity Wheel



Appendix H

Facilitative capacity scores

Organisational conditions	Criteria	Measurements	Score, Groningen	Score, Amsterdam	Score, Assen
Leadership	Order-seeking leadership	control, stability, boundaries, strategic plans, rules, allocatig responsibility	4	3	1
	Chaos-Seeking leadership	complexity accepting, pro-active letting go guiding bottom up support	8	6	6
	Process orientation	anticipate to unexpected events, adjusting strategy; ad-hoc coalitions, area manager	$12 / 2 = 6$	$9 / 2 = 4,5$	$7 / 2 = 3,5$
Transparency	Manoeuvrability	local awareness, become a member of heterogeneous network, scan environment	4	2	4
	External orientation	clear, basic and flexible rules	5	9	5
	Enabling rules	Easy access to information on possibilities to develop	$9 / 2 = 4,5$	$11 / 2 = 5,5$	$9 / 2 = 4,5$
Learning capacity	Information accessibility	explore space of possibilities learn from trial-and-error process	2	4	1
	Experimentation	manage knowledge and expertise, information technology Internal and external best practices	$4 / 2 = 2$	$8 / 2 = 4$	$2 / 2 = 1$
	Organisational memory		3	6	6
			2	5	7
			$5 / 2 = 2,5$	$11 / 2 = 5,5$	$13 / 2 = 6,5$
			Total: 30/8 = 3,75	Total: 38/8 = 4,75	Total: 31/8 = 3,875