

An evaluation of the VINEX policy vision's success.

Exploring the possibilities of the performance method to evaluate the success of
Nijmegen's Vinex neighborhood "de Waalsprong."



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Abstract

This is a bachelor thesis research, exploring the possibilities to evaluate the Vinex' vision by looking at its performance. The Vinex, the addition to the fourth memorandum on spatial planning influenced not only the appearance of the Netherlands, it also played a role in a far-reaching revolution from old school top-down spatial planning to an invitation planning, with a retrieving government and a growing role for private parties.

A study of existing literature, in combination with a series of interviews with several experts and professionals involved, made clear that the Vinex main vision is a further liberalization of the urban planning and the housing market. Elaborating on its predecessors, it sketches how spatial planning should play a role in the strengthening of the Dutch economy. Crucial is the realization of several infrastructural projects, needed to create a network-society, and the building of a lot of houses to meet the demographic demands of the future. These houses had to be build in a cooperative construction between local governments and private parties, put on paper in so called covenants.

A case study of the Waalsprong, a Vinex expansion project close to Nijmegen city, made clear that this urban vision was also the main thriving power behind the plans for this location. Three times in a row the plans had to be redesigned thanks to external factors, and every time the municipality follows the vision enrolled in the Vinex.

This research shows how a closer look to the Vinex' performance can help us explain how its vision kept playing such a decisive role, even when its assumptions seemed to have caused a major financial loss. Performance is a way of analyzing, better suiting strategic spatial plans like the Vinex, than traditional conformance applied on project plans. The high performance can be established by finding out if final decisionmakers are aware of the plan and its vision, and if they accept it as their framework for further decisions. Thanks to its performance, caused by a inviting, flexible and adaptable design, the Vinex vision was still visible in the latest spatial plans of Nijmegen. The Vinex does not impose a market-orientated approach to public housing, but it successfully invites people to actually start applying it.

The vision chosen by its designers did not lead to co-production between all parties involved, especially the involvement of individual citizens turned out to be low. As co-production is a vital aspect of the success of a strategic plan, this is something to remember working on its successors.

The fact that a high performance caused the Vinex to keep on playing a role during the implementation done by its receivers, does not mean that it was a strong or profitable vision. It is concluded that to quantify its success, the Vinex can only be evaluated on specific elements, and than still there is always room for a discussion of this evaluation. That shows how a high performance is essential for a plan to be effective, but it is not at all a warrant for success. Plan designers have to remember that flexibility and room for adaption to the recipients framework can have an essential effect on if or not they will use the plan and apply its enrolled vision.

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1. Introduction

In 1993, the Dutch government presented the final edition of the fourth memorandum on the spatial planning extra (Vinex), in which it presented its latest vision on the way that the country's policy should guide the urban and regional developments into the next decades. One of its main goals was to stop the movement of unsatisfied inhabitants from provincial medium sized cities to the bigger city's in the western parts of the country.

The Vinex, subtitled “on the way to 2015” presented a vision in which large outer city neighborhoods with housing for several thousand inhabitants would house young families. The Vinex neighborhoods should somehow function as complete city's, with their own working, shopping and living areas. (Auto)mobility was discouraged by a compact design, and an intensive public transport system and investments in existing mainports. The Vinex mentions two, slightly vague, overall goals (TK, 1992, p6):

- “de wezenlijke strevingen van individuen en groepen in de samenleving zoveel mogelijk tot hun recht komen” (to facilitate the maximum display of essential aspirations of groups and individuals within the Dutch society as possible.)
- “de diversiteit, samenhang en duurzaamheid van het fysieke milieu zo goed mogelijk worden gewaarborgd.” (to guarantee the diversity, cohesion and durability of the Dutch physical environment.)

The Vinex' results got mixed reactions, over the past two decades a wide range of articles appeared in Dutch media. Some of them focused on the unilateral building style and population, inhabited by yuppies and so called cargo-bike daddies. Some of them called them ghost towns, criticizing the empty Vinex areas during working hours caused by its bundled function design. At a certain point in 2011, newspapers even headed Vinex areas were becoming the next ghettos (AD, 2011). At the same time there are more positive messages, for example a study from the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency “Vinex! Een morfologische verkenning” presented a very positive picture (Lörzing et al., 2006 p. 182-183). It even praised the design, called it recognizable and divers instead of uniform . The often quoted urbanist Peter Hall praised the Vinex-neighborhoods as a fantastic place to reside (Hall, P., 2013, p.172).

A more revolutionary aspect next to the idea of building a substantial amount of houses and the ambition to decrease car use was the institutional framework introduced by the Vinex. With the Vinex the national government aimed at reducing the central role that it had played before during the planning process, shifting responsibilities regarding financing and elaboration of the national plans to local public and private parties.

After two decades of Vinex-policy, it should be possible to conclude if or not the Vinex-policy has been successful, and if its underlying longterm vision was realized. This research tries to come to such a conclusion using a local case-study of the Waalsprong Vinex location in Nijmegen, a study of existing literature and several interviews with involved experts and professionals.

2. Research design

2.1 Problem

As mentioned before, a lot is written about Vinex' and its elements, some of it positive, some of it very critical. Most of these messages are coming from Dutch media, scientific research about this topic is less common. Available studies seem to focus on topics such as mobility, financial aspects or the housing market effects. The first official government evaluation document focuses on four targets: (1) if or not the bundling process had occurred, (2) if the amount of new buildings had a positive effect on the national housing-shortness, (3) if the new vinex-area's met the quality standards, and (4) if or not the mobility targets were achieved (VROM, 2007). The targets and goals in the covenants, in which the national government and the local parties presented agreements about the way Vinex would be implemented, played a big role in this evaluation of the Vinex. The document mentions how the covenants helped because of their measurable and concrete targets. Still, some of the Vinex' goals are harder to measure. Whether the Vinex also had any effect on things as diversity or cohesion thus-far remains unclear. It is also unclear if, and to what extend the Vinex was decisive in achieving the four targets mentioned above.

2.2 Goal

This research tries to find a way to evaluate in what way the urban future vision that the Vinex policy expresses was implemented in the actual planning designs, and the long term effects and revenues of this urban vision. This is achieved by a study of the existing scientific research regarding the implementation of Vinex, and a case study of the Nijmegen Vinex location 'de Waalsprong'. After uncovering the Vinex vision and its criteria it should be possible to examine in which way the Waalsprong project succeeded in realizing this vision. By contacting and interviewing involved local planning professionals and experts, and a broad study of existing analyses this research tries to determine the performance of the Vinex policy, and evaluates the use of its performance in calling the Vinex successful or not. The use of the performance method can tell us more about the added value of this method when it comes to the analysis of spatial visions.

2.3 Main question

What have been the long term aspects of the urban vision embedded in the Vinex policy, and are they still alive in the visible practice?

1. What are the most important elements of the urban vision embedded in the Vinex policy?
2. What aspects of the urban vision embedded in the Vinex policy are visible in the Waalsprong project?
3. How do involved key-players judge the Vinex' embedded vision and its results in today's daily practice?
4. How did the Vinex perform in the Waalsprong case; did the Waalsprong succeed in realizing the Vinex vision?
5. Did the Waalsprong succeed (or not) thanks to (or despite) the Vinex vision?
6. What lessons can be learned by vision making professionals out of the experiences regarding the performance of the Vinex vision in the Waalsprong project?

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Strategy

3.1.1 Project plan vs. strategic plan

Policymakers have different ways to implement their spatial ideas. Korthals Altes and Faludi see a big difference between the technocratic, unambiguous 'project plan' and a 'strategic plan', sketched as an adoptable framework with an open ending (Faludi, Korthals Altes, 1994, p.410). As a project plan's main part are traditional land-use plans, a strategic plan depends on a clear future vision and basic suggestions for short-term actions (Albrechts, 2004, p. 748).

The difference between a strategic plan and a project plan is not only based on its open ending. A project plan is a blueprint, decisions are already taken and the interaction between the designers and the receivers stops after the moment the plan is presented. A strategic plan does not want to be a finished product, it is based on a process of continuous communication and leaves room for taking advantage of new opportunities (Albrechts, 2004, p.747).

In its first edition, the Vinex is presented as a plan that wants to follow the inviting, prosperous future perspective presented in its predecessor, including organization and implementation on the lowest level possible. Several times it is mentioned how all parties should be involved, and flexibility and consultation seem to be key words (TK, 1990). All the characteristics of a strategic plan are there: there are no blueprints or detailed drawings of neighborhoods to be build. We can conclude that it is best to evaluate the Vinex as a strategic plan.

3.1.2 Visioning in strategic planning

Albrechts explains how besides actions and implementation, a basic purpose of strategic planning is to develop visions/imaginations to frame these actions. (Albrechts, 2012, p.54). An encouraging and appealing vision can be used to arouse recipients of a strategic spatial plan to bring the plans to reality. Albrechts claims that the exclusion of envisioning will lead to a status quo, a utopian factor is necessary for movement and behavior after the presentation of a strategic plan (Albrechts, 2012, p.55). He pleads for a co-production perspective on strategic spatial planning.

Co-production implies equal partnership between professionals and clients, and between the designers and the public. Co-production goes beyond participation, although Albrechts regrets that in Western society it is still too often translated in lobbying or legal protest. He suggest co-production as a mindset, in which the public is not just there to consult them, or get them to sit on boards, but to use their skills to deliver services, policies, plans or projects (Albrechts, 2012, p.49).

To organize the relationship between the state and (all) citizens in a more open and equitable way, - and thus to achieve a higher level of co-production and engagement - strategic planning with an inviting vision did proof to cause a more likely successful ending of a spatial project (Albrechts 2012 p.47). He even states that *"In a world where actors are interdependent and have an albeit implicit reason to engage with each other, co-production is ... an engine of change that makes a difference between systems working and failing."*(p.58).

That would mean a strategic plan like the Vinex is depending on its vision to be a success. Aspects like diagonal planning and the public-private implementation model encouraged by the VNO and Vinex suggest that its designers look at co-production as a promising way to implement big parts of the spatial vision of their strategic plan. A good start to evaluate the Vinex would be a evaluation of its vision (more about this vision can be found in part 4.1.).

3.1.3 Evaluate urban visions

This research aims at examining and evaluating the long term impacts of the urban vision embedded in the Vinex policy, and their visibility in today's practice. Because of the wide range of projects inspired by the Vinex it is practically impossible to think of a research strategy that is able to capture all of them. With a single instrumental case study this research tries to analyze in what ways the Vinex vision played a role during the design and final implementation of the projects it had to inspire. It focuses on a typical example of a Vinex project, the Waalsprong expansion in Nijmegen. This case is a good example of a Vinex-neighbourhood. Already in an early phase the city and its surroundings were appointed to be the so called stadsgewest: a vital location in the Dutch network-society, where urban expansions are stimulated. In the Vinex documentation a lot of freedom is given to local and regional policy makers, a lot is possible for as long as several standards agreed in the covenants are being met (VROM, 1993), representing the co-productive, liberal vision of this strategic plan.

To evaluate an urban vision, the most obvious way is to see if the ideas mentioned in a plan were realized. For example, a plan that aiming at higher use of public transport, you can measure the number of daily travelers before and after the implementation of a plan. Was the reduction of, lets say 50%, achieved, then the plan has been a success, if not, then it was a failure. This approach matches the project plan, but according to the the Faludi and Korthals Altes "*the means-end scheme underlying mainstream evaluation, in which conformance between plan and final outcomes is the test of effectiveness, does not always apply.*" (Faludi, Korthals Altes, 1994, p.404). That's why they claim that conformance only applies where project plans are concerned. Instead, strategic plans need to be analyzed for their performance, to explain the decisions taken by their recipients. The performance method was introduced earlier as a possible alternative for more traditional conformance analysis, it tries to understand what role a strategic plan plays during its implementation by other parties (Mastop & Faludi, 1997), matching the decentralized approach of the Vinex.

3.1.4 Performance

Mastop and Faludi (1997) write about the possibilities researchers have when they want to evaluate strategic plans. They conclude that it is almost impossible to evaluate a strategic plan as a whole, it is only possible to evaluate separate components of the plan. Also they conclude that by analyzing if recipients received and understood the transmitted vision one can find out to what extent a strategic plan has performed its role as a frame of reference for subsequent decisions (Mastop & faludi, 1997, p. 826).

Korthals Altes too examines if its possible to conclude if the Dutch planning policy was a success or

not (Korthals Altes, 2006). He suggest that the evaluation of plans is not so much about measuring if all targets were met. Pleading for a performance based evaluation, he states that a plan can be a success, even if *“the function of a plan in the context of use, may be different from the intended context”* (p.23). The evaluation of a plan is, in his words *“an analytical exercise, which does no more than establish whether plans meet the functions that are chosen for assessment (p.23).”* This could be based on intended functions, but also on unintended or even irrelevant functions experienced by third parties.

Mastop (1987) presents three conditions for strategic plans to be effective, he believes recipients have a role to play in the assessment of whether a plan is reasonable and relevant to their situation. There has to be interdependence between the maker of the plan and its recipients (Mastop, 1987, p.343). Faludi summarizes these conditions in two main points (Faludi, 2000, p.308):

1. Operational decisionmakers must be aware of planning statements relevant to them. At least, they should know about the existence of the plan, but ideally they must form part of the same community of discourse of the planmakers.
2. Decisionmakers must accept these statements as part of their context of operations, or policy systems. In other words, planning statements must form part of the definition of subsequent operational decision situations.

In particular the second point is vital for a plan and its vision to play a strong role in reality.

Mastop and Faludi (1997) elaborate the performance principle to evaluate strategic plans, coming with an alternative for existing methods to measure the effectiveness of project plans. They point out how it has always been difficult for planners to evaluate their work. For example, sometimes only parts of their plans are being realized. Often it is hard to say if a plan targeting at a specific result is the cause of the final result, or if the results would have been realized without the plan too. Maybe it even slowed down a development that already was bound to happen, but that it was supposed to fasten (Faludi & Mastop, 1997, p.816).

In the Netherlands the term *doorwerking*, in the sense of full implementation, was introduced to determine if a plan was successful or not, a term which is hard to translate. Faludi and Mastop mention the term performance as a suitable translation, this term means that the effectiveness of a plan or vision can be determined by the *“acceptance of, and commitment to, intentions underlying, solutions propagated by, and principles enunciated in strategic plans (as evidenced by verbal correspondence between policies at the national levels and policies at other levels of government)”* (Faludi & Mastop, 1997, p.817).

In other words, by taking a closer look at the actual local decisions and project designs created by lower governments, based on the original plan, one could establish in what amount the latter played a role in the final results. Off course the question remains how to quantify this amount.

To create some boundaries this research will only focus on the housing aspect of the Vinex, ignoring most of the trade, industry and transport related effects of the Vinex. As a part of Nijmegen, the Waalsprong and the professionals and documentation involved are most easily accessible which makes it a practical decision too.

This means that the local spatial documents in which Nijmegen presented its design for its Vinex location, could display if they show elements of the vision of the original Vinex vision. The Vinex must be seen as a strategic plan, which is something different than a project plan. Its object is to constantly influence the decisions made by the actors at a lower executive level, instead of the measurable realization of for example a building or highway. A consequence is that the plan should perform well during day-to-day decision making, instead of just being a good design, to have any effect at all (Faludi & Mastop, p.821). Faludi and Mastop distinguish performance from conformance, the latter meaning similarity between developments in the world and the original plan. Performance focuses on if and how a plan is used during decisions situations to which it relates, and how it effects decision making. In case of non-conformance, or a plan that did not had the targeted effects, performance could still be achieved.

3.2 Methods

3.2.1 Data collection

This research starts with a broad study of the Vinex itself and its predecessors, just as existing evaluations created by several parties involved. In combination with conversations with several planning experts the underlying vision of the Vinex is exposed. As written by Stake, there is no particular moment when data gathering begins (Stake, 1995, p. 49), in this research too data gathering turned out to be a continuously process. In the same way this research can not be divided in a data collection part and a case study part.

The next step is a study of the Waalsprong plans. By investigating the plans and documents used to create the designs for the Waalsprong neighborhood, and by speaking to those involved, it can be discovered what role the Vinex played during this process. Can its vision still be found? Can we find signs of the original Vinex vision in the designs made in 25 years later? This case study of the Waalsprong follows the directions written by well, who describes a case study as one of five qualitative methodologies a researcher can apply on his topic (Creswell, 2007). He explains how it is a suitable way to come to an in-depth understanding of a case or cases, and in the end, to be able to come to a analysis of the research topic. Creswell quotes Yin, stating that "You would use the case study method because you deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions, believing that they might be highly pertinent to your phenomenon of study" (Creswell, 2007, p. 76.). Looking at its scale and location I think the Waalsprong is a recognizable example of a Dutch Vinex project, the way the Vinex performed in this case can be representative for its performance overall. The Waalsprong case also turned out to be a case of "maximum variation", something preferred by Creswell in selecting your case (Creswell, 2007, p. 129). The Waalsprong was a long running project, it has seen a lot of adjustments and which makes it a good case to determine the firmness of the Vinex' performance.

This study wants to research the Vinex' performance, as we shall find out a complete evaluation should start with contacting all the recipients of the vision. The Vinex aspires to be a plan with a huge impact, it does not only wants influence policy related to public housing. A big part of the

Vinex' vision can not be realized without help from other ministries, provincial and local governments, private parties, and, not to forget, the willingness of Dutch inhabitants to play its vital role as a consumer. The number of people whose decisions at some way were effected by the Vinex, unaware or not, is immense. A quick look to the Waalsprong expansion's history for instance shows three different aldermen that were involved during its implementation, and then I forget the aldermen that worked with earlier plans to cross the river Waal.

A lot of work is already done, there are a lot of researches available about the Vinex and its results. Next to general national statistics, a lot of work is written specifically about Vinex neighborhoods and its inhabitants. For Nijmegen's Waalsprong alone, countless numbers of publications covering financial, demographic and durability aspects appeared during the last decade.

Nevertheless, as an addition to a study of existing material I shall have interviews with 5 experts involved. Stake talks about the importance of interviews during a case study, because "Much of what we cannot observe for ourselves has been or is being observed by others." (Stake, 1995, p. 64.). Creswell too mentions the importance of using multiple sources of information, written from different angles and perspectives (Creswell, 2007, p. 73.). Not only could these conversations help me discover if performance was achieved, and at what way performance played a role during the design of the Vinex, the experts also can help me selecting the most useful literature to answer this research' main questions. Finally they can also help me getting a much better understanding of the performance principles.

As a big part of the interview will be expert-interviews there is always a risk of rhetoric or generalization, it's critical that I have enough information and knowledge of the Waalsprong and Vinex policy to prevent these two issues (Wagenaar, 2011). That's why I off course will start with a literature study. This first study also involves a study of performance, that way I know where to look at to uncover in what way this persons work was potentially effected by the Vinex.

3.2.2 Interviewees

I was able to come to an interview with 5 people, who all played a different role creating, implementing or analyzing the Vinex. During the rest of my thesis, I will refer to the interviews as they are numbered. Detailed information regarding the interviews, and the interview guides used during my interviews can be find in the list of references and appendix 1. In order of the interviews, the interviewed are listed below:

Interview 1: Prof. dr. Erwin Van der Krabben. Professor of planning and property Development in the Department of Planning at the Radboud university. He also holds position as a professor of Real Estate in the School of the Build Environment at the university of Elster in Belfast. In a extensive research commissioned by Nijmegen's Centre for Architecture he and PhD student Frank de Feijter wrote about the original Waalsprong designs and their outcomes. They focus on the relations between all parties involved and the way they participated and cooperated. It proved to be very helpful during my research. During our interview we spoke about the way all the different plans and visions effected the course of the Waalsprong's story and its present chapter.

Interview 2: Alderman Bert Velthuis, SP politician and Nijmegen's alderman urban development, land policy, housing, and culture since 2014. During our conversation we discussed the outcomes of the Vinex for the local municipality. He sketched a clear picture of the development of the Waalsprong's designs, and explained how the outcomes of the market-orientated approach also has its negative sides.

Interview 3: Ir. Hans Leeftang, government official, later project leader of the VINO, closely involved in the development of the VINO and its vision. During a big part of the implementation of the VINO and Vinex he worked as the director of the RPD, the national planning organization. After this he was an important advisor on Spatial Activation for the Dutch ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment. He was the initiator of the national 'Spatial year' 2015. He explained the main goals and targets of the VINO. We spoke about how the vision was implemented, and whether or not this vision was realized, or did succeed.

Interview 4: Prof. dr. ir. Hugo Priemus, emeritus professor of System Innovation in Urban Development at the Delft University of Technology. He is an member of honor of the NIROV (Nederlands Instituut voor Ruimtelijke Ordening en Volkshuisvesting), the Dutch institute for spatial planning and public housing. He shared his opinion about the outcomes of the Vinex thus far. We discussed the position of the Vinex in the Dutch planning history of the latest decades, and the consequences of the choice for further liberalization and decentralization of the national housing market.

Interview 5: Prof. dr. Hans Mastop, professor emeritus at the Geography, Spatial Planning and Environment Department of the Radboud University in Nijmegen. He is an expert on the Dutch spatial planning system and its history, and still active in several international planning organizations. He also published several articles about evaluation of spatial policy, and the role that performance can play in this process. He answered several questions about the usability of performance to evaluate the Vinex. He helped me to get a clear picture of the difference between conformance and performance, and showed me how a high performance does not always guarantee a successful outcome for all parties involved. He further explained what elements can help planmakers to make sure that their designs and visions will perform.

3.3.3 Data analyzing

To structure the interview results, together with the other data collected I will use coding. Creswell describes several ways of coding, an often used method is called axial coding was developed by Strauss (Creswell, 2007). It is a rather structured method, in which the researcher follows five steps, to create a visual model of the interview results (Creswell, 2007, p.67). After the identification of the central phenomenon, the researcher tries to uncover its main causal conditions. Third step is a description of the strategy that policy makers have chosen to deal with this phenomenon. Step four and five are an investigation of external factors that influenced the strategy and the final consequences of the phenomenon. An example of such a visual model designed after axial coding described by Creswell can be found in appendix 2. Different researchers tried to find a less

structured and more flexible way of collecting and analyzing data (Charmaz, 2006; Clarke, 2005). Though it is true that Strauss' approach is very structured and leaves little room for the researcher, in this particular case some structure might be a positive thing. The structured way of axial coding is helpful to establish performance, because of the vague, broad vision the Vinex presents, those interviewed could possibly all have a different interpretation and explanation of it.

Creswell gives several examples of methods a researcher can apply to analyze his results in order to be able to find patterns and, in the end, develop naturalistic generalization which can be applied to other cases (Creswell, 2007, p.163.). I want to discover if all the different plans and analysis's show repeating elements, that are based on the Vinex assumptions. Creswell describes two possible approaches during a case study. In categorical aggregation, the researcher looks for relevant meanings in its collected data. In direct interpretation, on the other hand, the case study researcher begins with a issue, and uses this a starting point during data collection (Creswell, 2007, p. 163.). I do agree with Wagenaar, who often pleads for the abductive instead of a deductive approach, with more room for interpretation for the researcher during the analysis of the data (Wagenaar, 2011), that's why I do want to leave some space for phenomenological approach during the analysis of interviews, with a larger focus on how individuals experienced working with the Vinex. To establish whether the Vinex did perform or not in the Waalsprong case some of my analyses will have a deductive character, focusing at performance as a starting point. But as we shall see, performance is something that can also occur without the awareness of the persons involved.

To describe the performance I use the methods ase described by Mastop and Faludi (Mastop; Faludi, 1997, p.825). Using the collected data I shall create a detailed description of the case and come to a chronological story, trying to analyze during what moments the Vinex vision did or did not played a role. It is also interesting what elements of the vision had the largest impact, and during what decisions. This chronology can be used to evaluate during final interviews with vision making professionals and experts.

Concluding it will be possible to analyze if the Vinex policy was successful in performing, meaning that the plan played a substantial role during different parts of the design of the Waalsprong expansion. In combination with the structured expert interviews I can evaluate if the Vinex was a successful vision, and what aspects of the Vinex made it a success or prevented it for being a success.

4.0 Research Results; From Vinex vision to Waalsprong practice

As explained this research contains a case study of the Waalsprong in Nijmegen. This is the name of a Vinex expansion project in the Dutch city Nijmegen. The original plans, presented by the municipality in a spatial structure plan of 1994, aimed at building 12.000 new houses between 1994 and 2014. The plan is a large scale city expansion crossing the river Waal, which has to be financed together with private parties. Figure 1 shows a map of the planning location and the first designs, including a city beach, and without the later river adjustments. This research tries to uncover the vision of the Vinex, and tries to find out if and how it has managed to influence the Waalsprong's outcome.

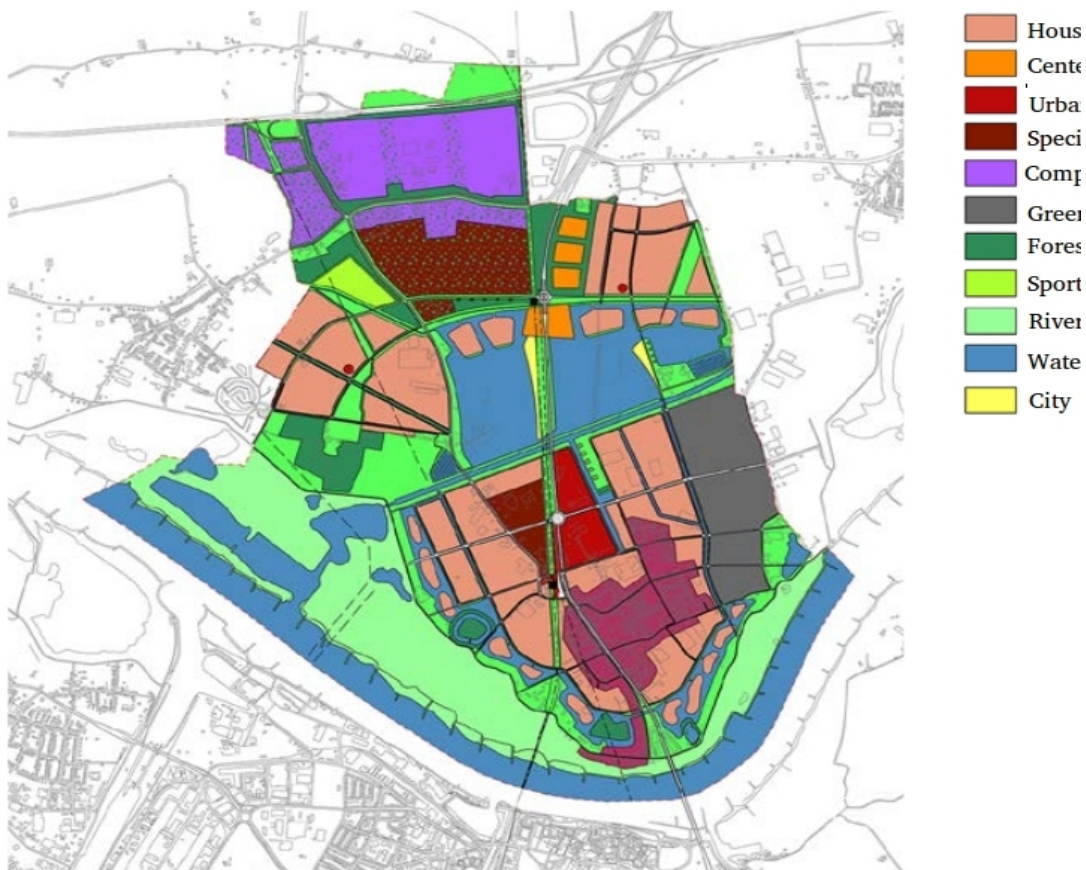


Figure 1: Map of the Waalsprong, with Nijmegen center south of the river Waal (Gemeente Nijmegen, 1996)

Chapter four contains the results of the data collection combined with the results of my first interviews.

In part 4.1 the VINO and the Vinex are introduced, together with an analysis of their underlying visions. It is explained what are the most important similarities and differences between both spatial plans, and at what way the VINO's vision played a role in the design of the Vinex.

Part 4.2 is a case study, that tries to find out what aspects of the Vinex' vision are visible in the designs for Nijmegen's Vinex expansion the Waalsprong. It handles the different plans created since the Vinex was launched, and tries to evaluate to what aspect the Vinex vision is visible in these plans.

4.1 What are the most important elements of the urban vision embedded in the Vinex policy?

4.1.1 Vino

The Fourth Memorandum on the Spatial Planning (Vierde Nota op de Ruimtelijke Ordening, also called Vino) was first presented in 1988 as a strategic plan, meant to anticipate on some major social processes, such as population growth and the fall of the Berlin Wall (RPD, 1994). Instead of reacting it tries to look forward, which explains the name of the motto accompanying the plans, translated “The Netherlands in 2015, that’s what were working on”. The Vino was a response to the earlier growth core policy, in which the government appointed certain cities close to existing urban centers as locations for urban expansion. This led to the fast growth of cities like Zoetermeer, Houten and Almere. This policy has been a success, according to the Dutch RPD, although there were some side effects such as the building of houses in green areas and the growing mobility between existing cities and the new cores. Korthals Altes mentions how the Vino was a reaction on the frozen housing market, in which municipalities did not take the steps needed to build large quantities of houses. The Vino had to stop the ‘consumption’ of the green heart, and it was needed to spatially stimulate economic development of the Netherlands (Korthals Altes, 1995).

According to Korthals Altes it is not easy to name a date, from which the Vino started working. There were over eight different versions of the Vino and the later Vinex, and a lot of existing spatial plans, some of them already being implemented, were adopted in the Vino (Korthals Altes, 1995). A nice example is Plan Ooijevaar, a plan that presented a vision on the development of the Dutch river areas. Large parts of this plan are still alive in its successors created after the Vino was presented.

It is difficult to say what was the underlying vision of the Vino. It was created by the Dutch second Lubbers cabinet, formed by the Christen Democratic Appeal (CDA) and the Peoples party for Freedom (VVD). This was a liberal cabinet, aiming at cutting government spendings and privatizing state companies. The Vino has some elements that are obviously a result of this overall vision. Reading the Vino, calling itself a “umbrella-note” there are no real binding targets or decisions. It is presented as a document that has to play a role in further decision-making, instead of making the decisions itself (TK, 1988, p.6). The lower governments and private parties had to be inspired in following its principles. The Rijksplanologische Dienst (RPD), the planning organization of the Dutch government, presented a booklet ‘Ruimte voor 2015’ (Space for 2015), in which the goals and policy actions are being explained. This informative folder doesn’t set any quality standards, it tells interested readers how the main priority of the Vino is the strengthening of the Dutch position on the international markets (RPD, p.7). Still, there are some goals that are mentioned, important for a better understanding of the Waalsprong plans.

First, there was a big need for houses, after a couple years of low building numbers, combined with a growing population. It was important that cities responded to this need of houses. The Dutch government wanted to achieve “bundled urbanization”. The expansions should not happen at the expense of valuable, green areas, but as much as possible next to or within existing cities.

Another goal of the Vino is to prepare the Netherlands and its economy for the next century. The

Netherlands had to be seen as a part of Europe, with two important main-ports (Schiphol Airport and Rotterdam Harbors) and thriving economic urban city districts taking advantage of their tactical location. An important aspect of this modern society is mobility, Dutch municipalities are being encouraged to stimulate the use of public transport, and to think about way to optimize their infrastructural networks, stopping the growth of car mobility. A lot of these aspects can be found in the later Vinex.

A reason for the lack of measurable targets is maybe the inspiring form that was given to this memorandum. The target numbers were meant to come up in the documents the VINO wanted to inspire, but, thanks to the government changing, the VINO did not really get the time to have its impact (Korthals Altes, p.135.). The VINO contains fairly general list of basic conditions like a safe society and a healthy environment. Six issues are being listed (without measurable targets) that play an important role in the preparation of the Dutch economic landscape at a local scale (Tweede Kamer, 1988, ch.3):

1. approximately one million houses had to be build in and close to cities.
2. cities had to find their own role fitting their own local developments. Stagnating area's had to be inspired to find new functions, expansion area's had to manage their growth at a responsible way.
3. using example projects, local governments should improve the quality of their public space.
4. economic centers had to ensure their reachability and be effectively connected to (public) transport networks.
5. a more durable approach to waste treatment and management of resources.
6. a modernization of area's with an agricultural function.

4.1.2 Urban vision of the VINO

Korthals Altes, taking a closer look at the Dutch “planning doctrine”, explains how the VINO's main assumptions are already visible in the 'note on spatial perspectives', presented by the Dutch RPD, the predecessor of the current PBL (RPD, 1986). This note dating created in 1985 was designed to be a possible starting document for a new national Memorandum on Spatial Planning (Korthals Altes, 1995, p.114). It was this note that showed how the Dutch spatial planning could play a role in the strengthening of the Dutch competitive position on the international markets.

The second Lubbers cabinet that presented the VINO is obviously inspired by this note, when the VINO was presented in 1988 it is clear that its vision is created by a liberal government. The VINO was there to make sure that the Dutch economy would be able to deal with demographic, infrastructural and economic challenges facing the Netherlands, with a small role for the national government. The right planning had to further develop the position of the Netherlands as a logistic and distribution center in Europe (TK, 1988). When interviewed, ir. Leeftang too describes the VINO as a memorandum with a particularly economic goal (Interview 3.). He is one of the creators of the VINO when he worked at VROM, and is still an important advisor for the ministry. He explains how

one of the VINO's targets is bringing the decision making process closer to the final "users" of spatial plans, so its somewhat open ending is maybe intended. He does not agree that the VINO and its successors were a pure liberal memorandum, the VINO introduces a model with an involvement of private and local parties, but there is still definitely a role for a steering government. According to ir. Leeftang, the real liberal alternative, everybody doing their own things, is actually largely prevented thanks to the vision introduced by the VINO.

The VINO's second chapter is almost a copy of the analysis presented in the note on spatial perspective dating from 1985. Six important trends are listed, which probably were going to play a large role in the coming decades, these are reflected by the six issues mentioned in part 4.1.1. The VINO gives several suggestions for infrastructural projects and locations with economic chances, and in its final chapter it is explained how the realization of all this could be handled. A big role is seen for lower levels of governments and private parties, the national government only wants to trigger developments, after this other parties need to do the rest of the job. This type of planning is also called "diagonale planning", or diagonal planning. A reference framework presented at the national level not only had to inspire provincial and local government planning but also other departments such as industry or public transport. The typical Dutch term "doorwerking", performance, is a word that fits this kind of policy. A plan had to keep on "working" when it was used a step further away from its designers. In part 4.3.2 we shall find out that maybe performance might be a suitable translation.

Ries Van der Wouden, the current director of the Dutch Environmental Assessment Agency, mentions how several planning experts complained how it was clear 'what' the Dutch government wanted to do, but it was not told 'how' provinces and municipalities had to do things. It was received as a "do-it-yourself-note" (Ries Van der Wouden, 2015). For some authors the VINO marks a real watershed in Dutch planning history. The government no longer seem to see a leading role for itself in spatial planning, and instead of public housing the strengthening of the Dutch economy seems to be the leading story in the national planning policy (Wagenaar, 2011). Zonneveld, taking a closer look at the Dutch history of conceptualization in physical planning, even stated it is fair to talk about a conceptual shift. After 1988 economic significance dominates plan making, the Fourth memorandum is a nice result of this way of prioritising. It focusses mainly on the economic aspects, the responsibility for topics as liveability and spatial quality rests on the shoulders of municipalities and provinces (Zonneveld, 1991, p.136).

The compact city vision, part of the VINO, is not so revolutionary and seems to fit in a longer existing idea of bundling of functions and concentrated growth. It is a reaction to unwanted urban sprawl, which was seen as an inefficient way to use scarce space, and, especially in the USA, was responsible for a large growth in auto mobility growth. Already in the Second Memorandum on the Spatial Planning dating from 1966, main goal was to stop the urban explosion (Wagenaar, 2011).

Most important in unraveling the VINO's vision is chapter five, where it is being explained how the government wants to realize its ideas. Here it is being explained how private parties could be involved during the implementation of spatial plans, and how the national government sees a limited role for itself (Tweede Kamer, 1988, ch.5).

All in all there are two main goals that show the underlying vision of the VINO:

1. The Spatial planning is there to strengthen the economic position of the Netherlands and can be used to steer the national economy and prepare our country for economic and demographic challenges threatening our international position.
2. The national government has to play a limited role, it should be mainly there to inspire, the conceptualization and implementation of Spatial plans had to be left to lower governments and, maybe even more important, private parties.

4.1.3 Vinex

The Vierde Nota Extra (hence Vinex) comes as an addition to the Fourth Memorandum. When the second Lubbers cabinet collapsed a new cabinet was formed in which the socialistic Labourers Party (PvdA) replaced the liberal VVD. It looks like Hans Alders, the new minister of Housing, Spatial Planning, and the Environment (VROM) wanted to answer the critics who stated that the VINO was not clear enough about the implementation of its vision. Hugo Priemus for example wrote an article titled 'VINO, a lot of note, not much policy' (Priemus, 1988), in which he criticizes the level of abstractness of the VINO. Ir. Hans Leeflang too looks at the Vinex as the specification of the VINO instead of its replacement (Interview 3.).

The Vinex appoints several area's as being so called RoM area's (RoM stands for "Ruimtelijke ordening en Milieubeheer", or Spatial planning and Environmental policy), in which there had to be a specific attention to environmental aspects, and it introduces the covenant-form; for several planning area's a covenant had to be created by national, local, regional and private parties in which the involved parties described their intentions. With these covenants the locations where all the needed houses had to be built were made clear, the neighborhoods built here are now called Vinexwijk, or Vinex neighbourhood, a well known term amongst the Dutch. Over all the Vinex has to create a better balance between economics and ecology, and by lowering the scale on which the implementation of the plans is being done from a national to a local level it's possible to come to more suited projects that fit the local circumstances (TK, 1990). Main points of the Vinex are:

- bundling principle: expansion of a certain amount of houses to be built has to be realized in concentrated area's, close to or even inside existing urban area's. This way it has to be prevented that the Dutch threatened open spaces will be used for expansion plans. Instead they can be used for recreation and agricultural activities. The Vinex appoints several city districts (or in Dutch 'stadsgewesten'), these are the areas where a big part of the developments announced by the Vinex are supposed to be concentrated (TK, 1991. p.8).
- reduction of car use: by creating a network of public transport options, and by concentrating area's of working, living and shopping close to each other (TK, 1991. p.13).
- several proposals to invest in (existing) infrastructure, to improve the connection between main ports Schiphol Airport and the Rotterdam harbors with their hinterlands.

The Vinex is more specific about its targets. It presents ambitions of houses that should be built,

and presents a measurable target to reduce the national shortness of housing to 2%. With a maximum of 30% of houses to be built in the social sector and bundling targets (70% of the building should take place in appointed Vinex area's) it looks like the Vinex is easy to evaluate. Nevertheless, a lot of these aspects were depending on the negotiations during the creation of the regional covenants.

4.1.4 Urban Vision of the Vinex

Minister Alders decided to copy the largest part of the liberal market-orientated approach of the VINO, he even seem to see an even bigger role for private parties during the realization of the Vinex neighborhoods, replacing the traditional housing-corporations. Often municipalities chose for Public-Private partnerships (PPS), different forms of cooperation constructions in which authorities and companies made agreements about the costs and revenues of Vinex-projects.

Ed Nijpels, as the minister of VROM during Lubbers II, was not too impressed by the new Vinex, he states that the Vinex was not a big change of direction compared with the VINO. In an interview he mentions that the locations in the Vinex were a logical outcome of the VINO itself (Van der Wouden, 2015, p.32). Nevertheless the Vinex had an important function, it was meant to create a breakthrough, to open a housing market which at that point was jammed. Despite of a large shortness of houses the parties involved did not succeed in building the numbers needed. The VINO was not committal, it came without any obligations, the Vinex wanted to fill these open ends. The vision was there, presented in the VINO, but thanks to the Vinex there was no longer a discussion about what to build and at what location, for instance in case of the Waalsprong, the Vinex practically offered no other choice then crossing the river Waal and designing a large scale plan for this location. Despite of the public campaign accompanying the VINO, including commercials with famous Dutch soccer player Ruud Gullit, maybe that's why Vinex is the name that many people still know.

A big part of the underlying vision is actually based on the VINO, and even on its predecessors. It looks like the Vinex was a way to implement the VINO, trying to open the frozen Dutch housing market. Mr. Leeftang also looks at the Vinex as a way to create a breakthrough (Interview 3.). During our interview he states how he remembers that Nijmegen was a city that was being looked at as a “locked city”. The Vinex was there to more or less force municipalities involved to come with some way of large scale expansion plans. However, it was the Vinex that elaborates the “development planning”, in which the government and private parties worked together in for instance a PPS construction. Looking back on the past decades, the Dutch PBL calls this one of the main institutional shifts, and an important sign of a retrieving government (Van der Wouden, 2015, p212). Other authors too call the implementation vision of the Vinex as an radical break with earlier public housing policy (Boeijenga & Mensink, 2008, p.35).

Concluded, the main two principles of the VINO's vision are still standing, although the second one is made a little more specific.

1. The Spatial planning is there to strengthen the economic position of the Netherlands and can be

used to steer the national economy and prepare our country for economic and demographic challenges threatening our international position.

2. The national government has to play a limited role, it should be mainly there to inspire, the conceptualization and implementation of Spatial plans had to be left to lower governments and, maybe even more important, private parties. Partnerships between private and public parties can be a good way to implement agreements written down in a covenant.

4.2 Which aspects of the urban vision embedded in the Vinex policy are visible in the Waalsprong project?

4.2.1 Vinex and the Waalsprong Nijmegen

Already in the first designs of the Vinex, Nijmegen is one of the city districts, and Arnhem-Nijmegen is introduced as an urban node and as a part of the Central Dutch City Ring (Tweede Kamer, 1990). The Vinex proposes a location north of Nijmegen, named the Waalsprong, as a suitable place for a new Vinex neighborhood, but the final Vinex doesn't contain a specific part about Nijmegen or the Waalsprong. It does include some maps, which divide the county in several types of areas with their own courses and restrictions, but is not very specific at a local or even a regional level.

As we can read in the first edition of the Vinex, the provincial authorities suggested three expansion options. The first one is expansion south of the river Waal, in smaller towns like Beuningen or Heumen. Secondly a cross of the river, an option with the suitable name de Waalsprong, Dutch for the leap over the Waal. The third option contained a little bit of both the first two options, with a more scattered expansion at several separate locations (Tweede Kamer, 1990, p.29).

In the final edition of the Vinex the government shows how it prefers the the Waalsprong option, but it leaves room for local decision makers to decide for the final plans. However, the Vinex clearly shows how the national government aims at bundling and concentration, which leaves little room for the third option and makes the Waalsprong the most obvious one. It then refers to a part of the Vinex document in which is outspoken that plans at regional and local scale have to explain how coordination and decision making has to be organized during the out rolling of the city district plans. The coordinating party is expected to be the province (Tweede Kamer, 1992, p.10). This is definitely not the only paragraph in which the Vinex seems to hint at a local design and realization and even financing of the final projects.

In the implementation part the Vinex talks about horizontal and vertical cooperation, combined they form the earlier explained diagonal planning. Not only governments from different levels but also private parties and peoples initiatives have to be involved in the plan making. Public-private initiatives are mentioned as a financing possibility too, the Vinex literally states how it presents a policy direction, instead of a policy itself, leaving a lot of freedom (and responsibility) for the lower governments and private parties (Tweede Kamer, 1992, p8).

Later in the Vinex again the government states that there is a shared responsibility between civilians

and the government for the quality of the daily living environment. The national government is there to “present perspectives to support civilians and other governments,” it is up to civilians and society to concretize these perspectives (TK, 1992, p13). As mentioned before the location for the Waalsprong is not obligated, they were chosen after consultation between national, regional en local governments and the involved private parties.

The Waalsprong is one of the 26 Vinex-area's with its own covenant. This is a sort of contract, including numbers of houses to be build (6500 in the Waalsprong) and the quality and diversity demands.

4.2.2 Waalsprong design

In the late nineties, Nijmegen was short on space. There was no room for expansion of housing or businesses, as a result old plans for making the leap over the river Waal got more attractive again. This leap was a physical and a psychological step. Not only there was an expensive bridge that had to be build, there were also questions about the identity of the new neighbourhood, and the effects of existing, rural, often idyllic places such as Lent. With the Vinex it was clear that there were not many options, it gave the authorities a tool to take the definite decision (Van der Krabben, De Feijter, 2014).

In the structure plan “Land over the Waal” from 1996 the first official Waalsprong vision was presented. It is a pretty clear, traditional plan including detailed maps and clear figures of houses to be build. (Gemeente Nijmegen, 1996, p.18) There is room for 12.000 houses, nature, public transport stations, and the new neighborhood has its own central city district. The financial aspects too are covered, here the market orientated vision of the Vno and Vinex are shown. A big part of the costs to be made (over 490 million guilders) had to be compensated by earnings in exploitation of building grounds, besides the lump sum that the national government provided to the municipalities involved in the Vinex program.

It is explained how all parties divide the financial risks involved with the liberal approach. According to the structural vision several analyses have been done to make sure that there is enough flexibility to react to changing market circumstances (Gem Nijmegen, 1996, p.89).

As suggested by the Vinex, a covenant had to be written with agreements between private parties and Nijmegen municipality. Based on this covenant, the city council had to come to a agreement with private organizations about the way Nijmegen was going to realize its expansion. For the Waalsprong, this document was approved by the city counsel in 1997. The document mentions five different private participants, that form a Ground Exploitation Society (GEM Waalsprong), together with the municipalities and two housing corporations. These are Amstelland Vastgoed BV, Bouwfonds Woningbouw BV, Heijmans Projectontwikkelings BV, Mabon BV and Wilma Vastgoed BV, together with housing organization Kolping and housing foundation Nijmegen. Next to these organizations all kinds of other groups were involved and/or consulted during the development of the structure plan, from agricultural professional organizations to the local historical society (Gemeente Nijmegen, 1997, p.8-9). The document its is based on the structure plan from 1996, which itself is based on the Vinex.

In the way both parties agree on their cooperation the market-orientated approach of the Vinex is clear; it is stated that thanks to the knowledge and expertise of market parties could help optimizing the building process. Public and private parties involvement was seen as essential to achieve the Vinex' goals (Gemeente Nijmegen, 1997, p.3). Most important elements are a 50/50% participation in the GEM, and the guarantee that private parties shall buy building grounds prepared by the municipality. This way 6500 houses had to be realized before 2005, as imposed by the covenant from 1995 (GEM Arnhem-Nijmegen, 1995). In the following ten years another 4500 houses should be build, all of them bases on the Vinex' quality assumptions and bundling, demographic and mobility targets. This way, an important goal could be realized: a positive exploitation result (Gemeente Nijmegen, 1997, p.3)

During the next decade, The Waalsprong plans had to be adjusted three different times. After the original plans from 1994, in 2001 all the activities were stopped, because of a missing environmental plan (MER). This is a obligated part of a spatial plan that shows how adverse effects on the local environment are being minimized or compensated. After a court ruling it was decided that a new MER had to be designed, the effects can be seen in figure 3. It took 2 years to restart the building. When the MER was finally there the municipality and the GEM were very optimistic, which can be seen by their information bulletin called “Spronglevend”, translatable in something like “springlevend”, or alive and kicking. Waalsprong was still very much alive, the new supermarket just opened its door, and the first pioneers started to settle. After all the silence “the Waalsprong can move further with this MER” after it “woke up after its hibernation” (GEM Waalsprong, 2003). The MER does not create a large revolution in the design, although there is more space for the environment, thanks to some replaced neighborhoods. In this new vision it is still obvious that this is a Vinex plan. The exciting folder too shows that the Waalsprong was seen as a commercial project that had to attract and seduce consumers.

In 2007 a completely new plan had to be created to implement the ideas regarding the movement of the river dike. Because of two big floods in 1993 and 1995 the national government decided to make 'space for the river', a plan in which the Dutch riversides were being reshaped to better cope with high water standings. For Nijmegen, where the Waal passed a sort of funnel in the river, this meant that a new river arm north of the city, in the middle of the Waalsprong planning area, needed to be created. A big change is this second river arm that lies between the city and its expansion, making it harder to follow the compact city vision. Still, the plan is getting more detailed compared with its predecessors, and still follows the main principles of the Vinex in its way of financing and implementation (GEM Waalsprong, 2007). It contains detailed maps and shows a GEM ready to come in action. This plan was barely presented when a big economic crisis stopped everything again, asking for another re-design of the Waalsprong plans.

In 2013 Nijmegen presented a new document again, with a new development strategy (GEM Nijmegen, 2013). It is a reaction to the outcomes of the financial crisis, and tries to react on the changed demands. The GEM is no longer functional, the PPS construction comes to an end, it sometimes looks like the municipality wants to end the liberalization of the housing market. Taking a closer look to the new vision it soon becomes clear that there is actually still a big role for private companies (and individuals). The document presents a new way of development: organic and

orientated on demand instead of supply. Small scale projects, step by step, not too many houses at once, and a lot of freedom for local initiatives. The word “uitnodigingsplanologie”, or invitation planology, is mentioned several times, the municipality seems no longer interested in presenting risky plans for thousands of houses. It looks like the municipality hardly sees any role for itself at all.

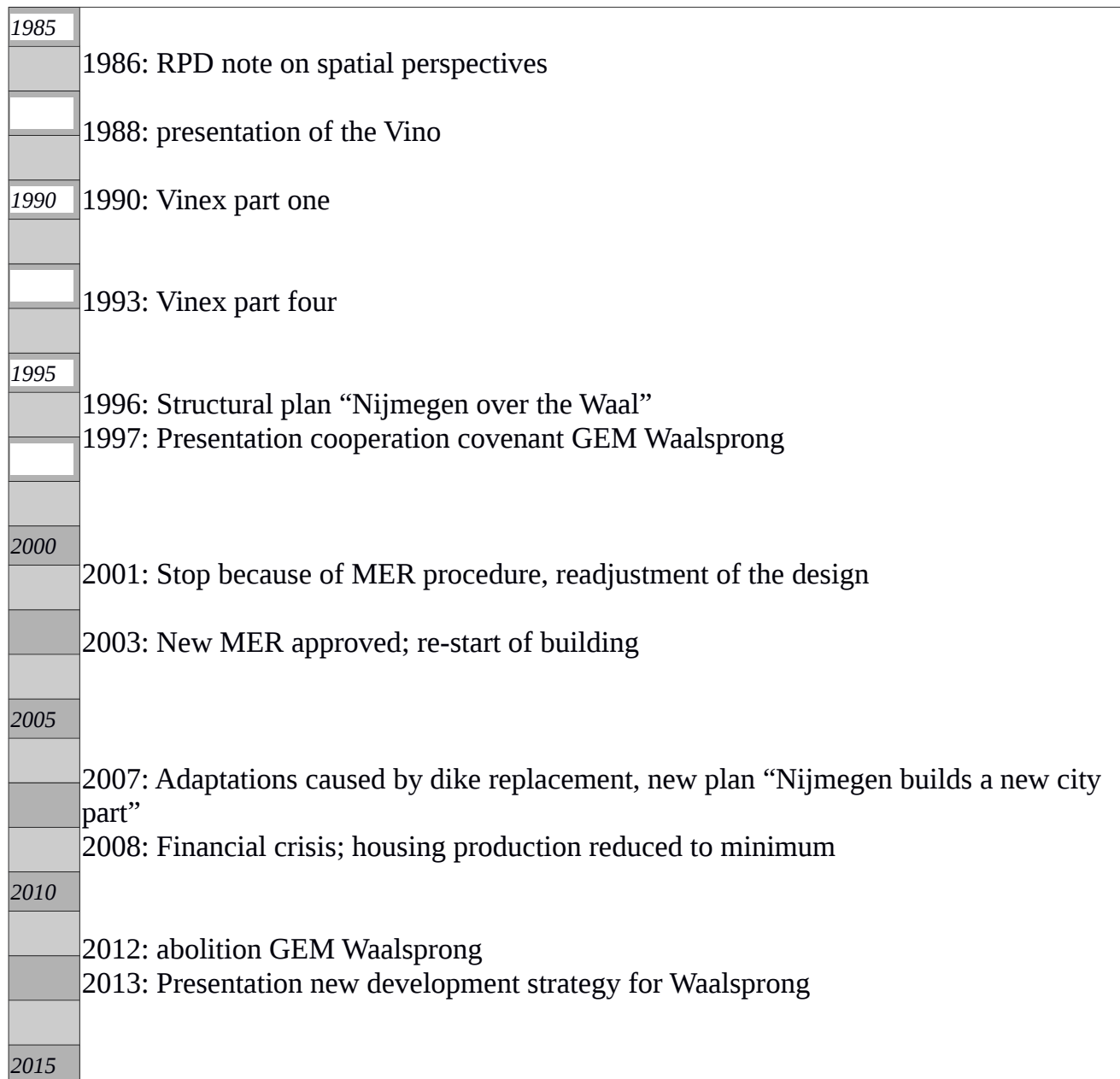


Figure 2: timeline from Vino to Waalsprong

4.2.3 What aspects of the Vinex' vision are visible in the Waalsprong project?

The current developments in the Waalsprong are based on the development strategy dating from 2013. In Nijmegen's structure vision the city further explains its vision on the cities future development plans. This plan starts with a preface, titled “different times”, aiming at the uncertain times lying ahead (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2013, p.3).

Goal of the Waalsprong project is still a inclusive and divers neighborhood, including an attractive offer of economic functions. It is still an aim to realize 8.000 houses. The structure vision literally states how the development strategy is not a blueprint, instead it wants to sketch a direction (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2013, p.34). The goal is to fill the Waalsprong step-by-step, with different small scale, sometimes experimental projects.

The development strategy shows how the municipality is prepared to make some concessions, when financial aspects prevail above density or quality aims. The plans are obviously less detailed compared with the 2007 plans, leaving more freedom for local initiatives.

The two main principles of the Vinex' vision are still visible in this document. First, the Waalsprong is still a project that wants to prepare Nijmegen for its future challenges. Secondly, the role of the national and local government is smaller then ever. To be able to adapt to future developments the municipality makes a choice for lesser details and an overall framework instead of strict guidelines (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2013, p.3).

It must be noticed that both aspects are maybe a little bit too far driven. One of the reasons for the low speed in development is not to create an oversupply in projects, a way to prevent “cannibalization” of profits (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2013, p.39). Nijmegen still has to earn over 700 million euro before all its spendings are compensated. This puts the municipality in a difficult position, its goals shall sometimes conflict with its inhabitants interests (Van der Krabben, De Feijter, 2014, p.60).

The fact that the PPS is canceled maybe means that the role of the municipality is actually very big. As owner of almost all the building lands it has all the freedom to decide what the future Waalsprong should look like. Nevertheless, the strategy shows how Nijmegen is not intending on using this power, contrary, it is prepared to sell building grounds to almost everybody that is interested in it, as long as the minimal principles of the quality and design demands are met (Van der Krabben, de Feijter, 2014).

During an interview with Bert Velthuis, a member of the city counsel since 2006, and alderman of urban development, land policy, housing, and culture since 2014, it soon becomes clear that the Vinex was not exactly the first document that the plan makers involved looked at during the design of all these plans (Interview 2.). In 2013 the GEM, the land management company in which the municipality together with private businesses decided about the exploitation of the Waalsprong grounds, was dissolved, after this the municipality was the only stakeholder. He points out that this seems to be the opposite of the Vinex' intentions. He explains how Vinex stopped playing a role when the crisis hit, from then on he considers it as outdated.

5.0 Waalsprong evaluation; Is the Waalsprong a successful example of a Vinex neighborhood?

As concluded in part four the two main elements of the Vinex' vision are still alive in the latest Waalsprong plans. In part 5.1 we shall find out if this has been caused by the high performance of the Vinex. Part 5.2 elaborates if this high performance has been a guarantee for a successful expansion. Finally, part 5.3 explores what can be learned out of the experiences with the performance of the Vinex, and the usability of performance to evaluate spatial plans.

5.1 How did the Vinex perform in the Waalsprong case; did the Waalsprong succeed in realizing the Vinex vision?

Taking a look at the two points Faludi (2000) distinguished as essential for a plan to perform, the Vinex leaves a strong impression.

The first one, the fact that decision makers must be aware of the parts in the plan that are most relevant to them, was achieved. Almost everybody in the Netherlands has heard of the Vinex, there is a vast amount of (international) documentation regarding the Vinex and in 2016 the 25th birthday of the Vinex was a reason for a lot of attention (with mixed conclusions) again. The covenants, inspired by the Vinex, and the more detailed financial substantiation created a strong starting point for local governance to start taking initiatives.

The second condition for performance, the acceptance of the plans statements as a part of their own frame of reference, is also met. Even the left-wing municipality of Nijmegen no longer questions the liberalization of the housing market, it was quickly accepted as a fact, as the only possibility. The economization of the Dutch spatial planning and the retrieving government follow a international trend. Minister Alders, a socialist politician, was the person who introduced the Vinex, obviously a very liberal memorandum. The conclusion that the Vinex was largely based on the VINO, maybe proves the high performance of this document. Apparently there was hardly any discussion related to the liberalization of the housing market, almost if it was seen as inescapable.

The vision of the Vinex shows two dominant features: at first the implementation of the VINO, forcing local authorities to finally start building new houses, creating a breakthrough in the Dutch housing market and preparing it for future challenges. Secondly the liberalization of the housing market and the involvement of not only local governments but private parties too in the planning process, that in the end had to lead to a higher economic output and a less dominant (and risky) position for the national government.

Three times the plans for the Waalsprong were turned over and redesigned, and every time the plan lost scale and, maybe, a little ambition. The number of houses went down with every plan, besides a small and short-lived plan in 2007, which was outdated as soon as a financial crisis started a year later. Still, as concluded in chapter 4.2.2, the main, liberal and market-orientated vision kept alive every time. Three different aldermen had to work with the Vinex in Nijmegen, all of them chose to follow its assumptions.

Korthals Altes too presents a set up for a “performance research”, his final step is very close to the

second step worked out by Mastop and Faludi (1997). He states that it is necessary to find out if the plan played a role during the implementations of spatial policy on a lower level of decision making (Korthals Altes, 2006, p.100).

During our interview prof. dr. Erwin Van der Krabben (interview 1.), points out how the Vinex more or less stopped playing a role after Nijmegen presented the first Waalsprong plans. After this moment the municipality took all the initiatives, together with private organizations, just as the Vinex intended. The national government presented a *what*, but not really a *how*, when it comes to the way the appointed locations would be filled in by the local parties. The Waalsprong plans created by these parties carry their own vision. This vision is perhaps very much inspired by the Vinex, something that prof. dr. Mastop also adduces during our interview (Interview 5.): it is possible that local recipients do not realize that their plan is very much in line with the direction opposed by the national government. A plan can perform, without the people involved noticing it.

5.2 Did the Waalsprong succeed (or not) thanks to (or despite) the Vinex vision?

5.2.1 Financial aspects

As described in the evaluating document “slag om de Waalsprong” (Van der Krabben, de Feijter, 2014), a broad investigation of the Waalsprong project, the Nijmegen municipality ended with a financial loss and a partly build neighborhood. The writers of this document called their work just a mid-term review, and showed how Nijmegen faces a unclear future, with still a lot of risks when it comes to the Waalsprong’s future and possible costs or revenues (Van der Krabben, de Feijter, 2014, p.39).

Particularly the economic results for Nijmegen are looking pretty dramatic. When the financial crisis hit in 2008, this had very big consequences for the financial structure behind the Vinex-neighbourhoods. The demand for houses dropped. As a result the building grounds acquired by the municipalities lost a lot of their value, and a lot of building projects were put on hold or even canceled. Delays in sales also proved to be a risk, interest rates had to be payed when the exploitation costs were already made but the building of houses was put on a hold. Figure 3 shows how every time when the building started, a new obstruction was found. Nijmegen never got close to creating the suggested 12.000 buildings.

During all this years the municipality had to take several big financial hits. The disintegration of the PPS moved all the risks to the local government, in six years the financial reserves of the GEM declined with over 70 million euro's. The new after-crisis plan had much lower ambitions, but in a Deloitte analysis ms. Hanny Kunst, at the time alderman spatial planning and urban development, mentions the Waalsprong expansion still forms a big risk for the near future. “We no longer have intentions to acquire lots of building grounds.” (Deloitte, 2013, p.45). In 2015 Nijmegen still struggled with the situation, visible in the largest devaluation of its building grounds of all Dutch municipalities (Deloitte, 2016).

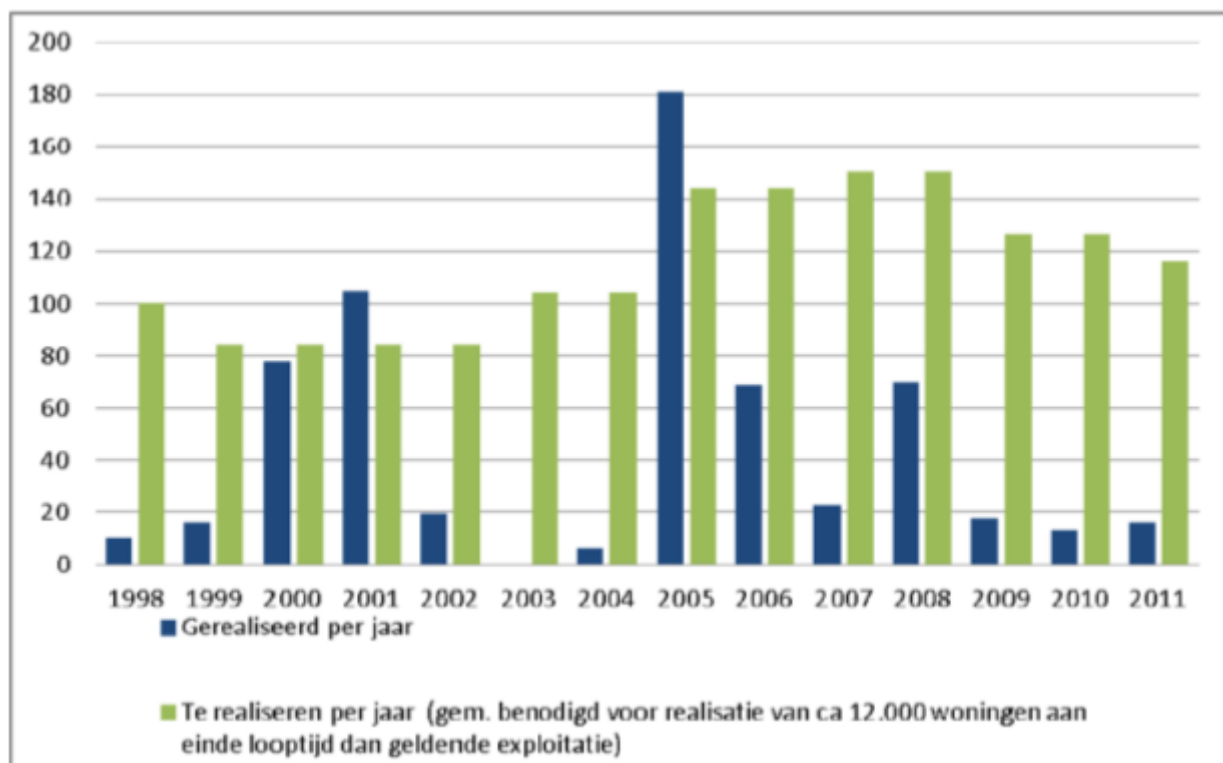


Figure 3: impression of the realized housing production (blue bars) versus production targets (green bars) in the Waalsprong between 1998 and 2011. (Van der Krabben, de Feijter, 2014)

It is easy to blame the Vinex for these results. The Vinex continued the liberal approach that was off course depending on a thriving economic market. A big part of the financing of the Vinex did not reckon with falling prices and declining housing demands. Still, it is possible to argue about the long term revenues of this project. These days, in 2018, the Dutch housing market is thriving and prices are exploding. Mr. Leeftang points at these long term perspectives created after the Vinex (Interview 3.). The Waalsprong is a great boost for the future, with its new station and bridge, which he looks at like presents for the future. He is not afraid that in the near future the investments made are being looked at as fantastic investments. He also mentioned how the position of young Nijmegen inhabitants on the housing market has changed completely. We should not forget that a lot of people, thanks to the crisis, were able to buy their new house for a very attractive price, something that looked impossible in the years before the crisis. This aspect is also a part of the neoliberal approach, with its winners and losers.

The implementation of the Waalsprong expansion created a successful leap over the river, just as intended. Mr. Leeftang thinks Nijmegen is one of the best examples of how a Dutch city managed to use the Vinex to create one complete design that presented a solution to infrastructural, demographic and water-safety challenges at once. Nijmegen is now a real central city, much better prepared for the future (Interview 3.).

Using the Vinex the national government tried to further implement the neoliberal, market orientated elements, already there in the VINO, with the idea to stimulate the economy and involve not only local governments but private parties too in the planning process. The underlying vision of neoliberal thinking itself is a subject on itself, treated in a vast amount of researches with different angles and conclusions. Prof. dr. Van der Krabben tells about the positive effects the Vinex had on the liberalization of the Dutch housing market (Interview 1.). Some companies involved were only able to survive the crisis thanks to their involvement in Vinex expansions. He states Vinex did not cause the amount of houses it aimed at, but explains how it definitely helped rebooting the market, causing at least some activity, even when the market was hit by the crisis.

Off course it is thanks to the Vinex that the municipality had the freedom to create the plans that were a financial failure, but this is not a direct result of the Vinex itself. The VINO and the Vinex were created in the neoliberalistic eighties and nineties, when the market seemed to be the best solution to come to efficiency and cost-effectiveness. This comes with winners but, not to be forgotten, also with losers, sometimes thanks to poor management, sometimes thanks to external surprises. In the Waalsprong case Nijmegen seems to be one of the losers. It is very difficult to conclude if alternative visions would have had a different outcome.

Earlier it was concluded that some critics on the Vinex were the result of the choice to appoint local governments as the executive parties. Zwanikken (Zwanikken et al. 1995) and his colleagues feared that, with a retrieving national government, municipalities were allured to make an economic choice in appointing expansion locations . they show how the Vinex comes with a contradicting set of demands for the stadsgewesten. They have to find a way to involve private parties, by creating profitable projects, an aspect positively effected by scarceness. But at the same time they have to build large amounts of houses at a concentrated location, something not helping the local prices. They might be attracted to building smaller amounts of more expensive buildings, a way of market-orientated building which doesn't create the needed amounts of houses, but does help to lure the needed private investments. This is exactly what we are seeing in the 2013 Nijmegen vision.

Ries Van der Wouden mentions how the liberalization of the housing market comes with three paradoxes for municipalities, all of them very recognizable looking at the Waalsprong case (Van der Wouden, 2015, p.213). At first is is the paradox between the lack of ambition, in combination with the amount of power. The government sees a smaller role itself, but thanks to the covenants and increasing demographic, economic and durability (EU-)standards it created some strong instruments that can overrule local plans. The river dike replacements simply asked for involvement at a national scale. And after the PPS was abandoned, practically all the power lied in the municipalities hands, unless its low ambitions.

The second paradox has a financial angle. The market-orientated approach in reality lead to a situation in which most of the financial risks were carried by municipalities instead of private parties. Nijmegen is a great example, in which the government started acting as a private instead of a public organization.

This also touches the third paradox. It is questionable if one of the core foundations of the liberal vision was part of the Vinex. The consumer hardly had any influence. To cover up risks

municipalities often chose for a small group of private developers, causing an oligopoly including its disadvantages. It was only after the crisis, before inhabitants could play a larger role, during the introduction of the invitation planning.

Alderman Velthuis is also critical about the role private parties had to play during the process (Interview 2.). For him it is obvious that they have other goals than the municipality should have. Of course it is true that the most desirable plan for the private parties involved is probably the most profitable plan, while the local governments has goals regarding the amount of green space or the right amounts of houses for different income groups. As we saw these interests can collide.

A large part of the budget was spent when Nijmegen had to buy the building grounds, which at that point were often owned by agricultural companies. Alderman Velthuis mentions how these owners often became millionaires, and how only one of them actually used the compensation grounds that Nijmegen bought from these agrarians (Interview 2.). The rest of them probably now resides on the Canary Islands, while the compensation project had to be written off by the municipality. This angle shows a different perspective on the liberal vision. It seems strange to accept and even embrace a policy that leads to a few winners, but ends up with the society as the biggest loser.

During an interview with prof. dr. ir. Hugo Priemus, emeritus professor of system innovation in urban development, it becomes clear that Nijmegen is not the only municipality that had to take its losses after the crisis hit (Interview 4.). Here it seems that the private parties were more experienced and cunning, often they found a back door that helped them to withdraw without too many losses.

5.2.2 Non-financial aspects

It is a little bit questionable if the Vinex succeeded in creating the diverse, cohesive and durable society, with a maximum display of essential aspirations of groups and individuals the Vinex mentions in its preface. According to a research done for a project called “Vinex people”, the new inhabitants of the Waalsprong form a fairly homogeneous group, living independent from Nijmegen (Y. Sonne, 2015). Although the residents themselves really appreciate living in the Waalsprong, amongst like-minded, young families, the report explains how a diversification of the inhabitants would be good for the economic and social livability of both Nijmegen city and the Waalsprong.

During our interview prof. Priemus agrees on this point (Interview 4.), the combination of competition between municipalities combined with instructions related to for instance density sometimes had led to uniformity of the neighborhoods created.

In 2010, prof. Priemus already concluded that, though he considered the Vinex a success, the choice for a bigger role for market parties and the local government caused some of the cluttering of the landscape, thanks to this last aspect. He too showed a preference for a national government that leads the planning policy, and a provincial scale for the implementation part (Priemus, 2010).

This could maybe prevent the last paradox listed by Van de Wouden in part 5.2.1, decentralization, but hardly any influence of the future inhabitants of civilians.

The Dutch bureau for statistics (CBS) tries to quantify cohesion using an average of six questions

like if or not residents interact with each other nicely, or if they believe they live in a cozy neighborhood with strong solidarity (CBS, 2017). Some researchers are critical about this approach (Lupi, Musterd, 2004, p.815). They conclude that this way interviewees often compare cohesion with utopian vision of the good old days. Social cohesion in neighborhoods is an unmeasurable aspect, just like the overall success rate of the Vinex. Different parties all have their own view on cohesion. An example they present, the gated community, confirms this conclusion (Lupi, Musterd, 2004, p. 807). For some people this is ultimate cohesion, for others it is considered to be the exact opposite. Van der Wouden too talks about the Vinex neighborhoods as independently functioning islands (Van der Wouden, 2015, p.73), but with inhabitants that are satisfied with their neighbors, a judgment regarding cohesion is maybe also depending on the scale that you are looking at.

Co-production is depending on a strong vision, and during our performance study it was concluded that thanks to a strong vision performance was high. Actually the two performance-conditions, awareness and acceptance, both focus at the decisionmakers, not so much at civilians. As concluded before co-production between all parties can only be achieved with a strong appealing vision, but in the Vinex' case there was not really a vision directed to civilians. There were hardly any participation instruments available for inhabitants of Nijmegen and they were not represented during the design or implementation of the plans, apart from politicians or businessmen. This means co-production between civilians and the designers of the Vinex - a vital aspect for a strategic plan - was very hard to achieve, what would mean that the Vinex never could have been a complete success, from the standpoint of a non-represented inhabitant of Nijmegen all plans are imposed from "above". The involvement of Dutch individual civilians was definitely not what it could have been, Van der Wouden calls the consumer the final stage of a long route, with designs and decisions already made by other parties (van der Wouden, 2017, p.99).

A description of the Waalsprong on the website of House of Nijmegens History, a digital database containing all kinds of news documentation related to the Waalsprong shows how especially inhabitants of the announced Waalsprong building locations were pretty scared after the presentation of this project, especially after the annexation of the municipality Lent by Nijmegen (Huis van Nijmeegse Geschiedenis, 2018). This does not sound like co-production at all.

5.3 What lessons can be learned by vision making professionals out of the experiences regarding the performance of the Vinex vision in the Waalsprong project?

Earlier it was concluded that decisionmakers accept a spatial plan and its vision as part of their own referential framework. This way a plan can keep on playing a role further in the implementation process. In case of the Waalsprong, the Vinex scores very well. As discovered in part 4.2 all the Waalsprong visions and designs presented during the last decade show the two elements of the Vinex. Even after a big financial crisis and the abolition of the GEM, the 2013 vision's targets are the strengthening of the economic structure and a durable, compact urban development, both closely related to the Vinex targets (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2013). The people that worked on the

Vinex did not waste their time. The Vinex left a stamp on the Dutch planning history, and everywhere you can find projects and neighborhoods that let us remember the existence of the Vinex. Looking at the conditions that caused this high performance, it might actually be just the do-it-yourself caliber of the Vinex that caused the high performance (Korthals Altes, 2005). The room for input made it inviting to work with, and thanks to the limited amount of obligations, the national government was able to present a tempting vision, that was able to inspire not only its direct recipients, but also effected policy created by non-involved but mighty ministries such as Economic Affairs or Transport and Water Management. It left a lot of freedom to those involved, and, in the Waalsprong case, it's vision has proven to be strong enough to survive several redesigns.

It is a fact that the financial results of the Waalsprong at this point are very dramatic, and still are a big risk for the future. Looking at these issues, it seems strange to conclude that the Vinex' performance was actually very high, goals to build lots of houses with a strong economic result, never were met. But as we have seen these two elements are a part of conformance instead of performance. In 2008 a big atlas was published that investigated the results of 52 Vinex locations (the Waalsprong was not one of them, as there was not yet much to evaluate in 2008). The authors conclude that conformance wise the Vinex has a mixed score (Boeijenga & Mensink, 2008, p.42). The overall targets concerning housing numbers, "compactness" and connection to public transport are largely met, though the results are not always the divers and thriving area's hoped at. Browsing through the atlas every project seems to be an individual project with its own, often external disruptions. The level of successfulness often depends on your frame of reference, just as the writers conclude after they sum up a long list of positive and negative literature related to the Vinex-neighborhoods and their quality (Boeijenga & Mensink, 2008, p.40).

Talking to prof. dr. Hans Mastop, one of the designers of the performance method used in this research, he points out how the Waalsprong is actually a very good example of the Vinex' success (Interview 5.). Three times in a row the plans designed were typical Vinex plans, planned at the appointed location, and containing the involvement of private parties in the implementation phase. Even when the situation on the housing market completely turned over the Vinex assumptions were visible. The Vinex turned out to be flexible enough to cope with changing circumstances and it leaves room for local parties to adapt to external factors. Even when the private parties stepped out the PPS, the municipality still sees a dominant role for private companies in realizing its vision.

He too endorses that it is useless to use conformance as a way to judge the Vinex' vision (Interview 5.). At first this is almost impossible, the Vinex resulted in a lot of projects that are almost incomparable. It is possible to look at specific subjects as density, costs or diversity, but even then you can not ignore the fact that every Vinex expansion is a project on its own, with its own timing and external and internal issues. Earlier Peter Hall (2013) was quoted, but in his optimistic analysis he ignores the investments made, and doesn't really ask the question if a similar project could have been realized with lower government investments, focusing mainly on livability and design.

Prof. dr. Mastop agrees with the conclusion that especially in the Waalsprong case, financial results are not good at all (Interview 5.). He also states that the composition of the new inhabitants and the houses they live in is often pretty unilateral. Nevertheless, local financial risks are an important part

of the Vinex' vision, and maybe even the often criticized uniformity of the Vinex neighborhoods are a sign of the strong vision of the Vinex. After all, in all these different, incomparable situations, with their own external factors, the implementors were inspired to come to the same conclusions. The big differences between separate projects looking at financial results and the actual realization of numbers of houses are often a case of bad luck, part of a liberal society. These same Deloitte reports which present the Waalsprong's financial misery show several Vinex locations that actually did prove to be able to make a serious profit for their investors, including the local governments.

Mastop & Needham (1997) explain that there might be four approaches that can help us improving the performance of a plan. The methodological approach shows how a plan's performance can be improved by making it adaptable, and better tailored to the dynamics of the implementation process. They show how a plan should be designed with a strong understanding of how policy really works in practice, taking in account all the external factors that influence its implementation (Mastop & Needham, 1997). This way the "implementation gap", the mismatches between a plan and the way its being interpreted and implemented by its receivers, can be reduced. The high performance of the Vinex can be explained by this small gap.

In a later document, Needham and Faludi (1997) show that performance, according to them a vital condition for a plan to meet its targets, is not always the best way to judge a plan. Looking at the Vinex, some part of the plan might have had a larger performance then others, and in some municipalities that had to work with the plan, the recipients designs were closer to the Vinex' vision then in other municipalities. Even within one project, a single official can have a different interpretation then his colleague working on the same material. They call the performance approach a good way to improve our understanding of how strategic plans and policies work an influence day-to-day decision making, insight in a plans performance is an important condition for those presenting a vision (Needham, Faludi, 1997). Korthals Altes explains how a high performance even could have a negative effect on the conformance of a plan. The enthusiasm and broad agreement on the Vinex vision inspired some investors to buy large quantities of building ground. In several situations this had unwanted effects of the costs and progress of the developments (Korthals Altes, 2015, p.247).

Concluding in what to learn out of the experiences with the Vinex, prof. dr. Mastop states that flexibility and its adaptability caused the Vinex to be an inspiration instead of an obligation, the Vinex was applicable to the recipients own, local situation (Interview 5.). A plan with such a long duration and such a broad impact has to take its performance into account. He agrees that a plan can be a fantastic plan, without performance it shall not have the desired results. In the same way a very poor plan can have an even more dramatic outcome thanks to its high performance.

6.0 Conclusion

Ries van der Wouden talks about the Vinex era, a long period during which the Dutch spatial planning made a shift from spatial planning, via development planning to invitation planning. (Ries van der Wouden, 2015, p.212). Korthals Altes also concludes the Vinex was an important step in a long, evolutionary process, instead of a revolutionary switch of what he calls the Dutch planning doctrine (Korthals Altes, 1995). This evolution had already started when the VINO and the Vinex were introduced, the Vinex' design suits a retrieving government, with its inspirational vision, based on the VINO, and its suggestions and elaboration of how public-private collaboration had to be fostered.

The Waalsprong project is a nice example of the evolution mentioned before. Because of the continuous redesigns of the plans, the projects show a Dutch municipality that tries to discover the best way to handle its changing role. First, a PPS looked like the perfect construction, later invitation planning was used, but in every plan the municipality had tried to limit its own role when it comes to implementation, just as the Vinex intended.

Over twenty-five years later, prof. Priemus concludes the VINO and Vinex are outdated, they no longer fit the latest developments (Interview 4.). Independent local projects do not fit the network-society, a term that he does appreciate and encourages. During the design of a project there it has to be recognized that there is a position in national or even global networks on topics as ICT, migration, energy flows, etcetera. A higher level of decision-making might be more suited.

Another, important aspect mentioned by prof. Priemus, is the increased influence of what he calls “disruptive developments in housing” (Interview 4.), external factors with an increasing effect on how and where we want to live. In an article written on this topic, he explains how the five main trends appointed by the Dutch Council for the Environment and Infrastructure (RLI, the primary strategic advisory board for the Dutch government and parliament in matters relating to the physical environment and infrastructure), could easily be extended by several more trends, causing even more uncertainty on the housing markets. It looks like the RLI underestimates the effects of for instance ICT and changing ways of mobility (Priemus, 2016).

The flexible and adaptable design of the Vinex caused it to have a high performance, thanks to that it kept on playing a big role during the whole (still running) Waalsprong project. At a certain distance, the national government is still able to play a role, and to implement its vision. During its own evaluation from 2007 the VROM ministry was satisfied to conclude that its urbanization vision was noticed and executed by its recipients (VROM, 2007).

In 1987, before the VINO was presented, three planologists talk about the “doorwerking”, the performance of the VINO. In an article in the magazine “Bestuur”, Galle, Mastop en Rigter, working for the RPD, explain how the VINO had to work by convincing others to accept the relevance of its vision, even though it came without a lot of juridical or financial resources (Galle et al., 1987, p.50). Their solution is an inviting vision, that can convince the receivers of its relevance for all parties involved. In Nijmegen the recipients were convinced, the vision it presented stayed alive during all the external disruptions the Waalsprong experienced as seen in part 5.

Korthals Altes shows how, unless its short existence, the VINO's performance was very high. He concludes that the VINO definitely did perform thanks to its inviting character (Korthals Altes, 1995, p154.). In part 4 and 5 it is concluded that the VINEX also scored well looking at its performance. It looks like Dutch planmakers working on the VINO and the VINEX understood the relevance of performance, as a vital aspect for their spatial plans to be effective. This does not mean that a high performance guarantees success. As concluded in part 5.3, comparing a plan with a song, performance can be looked at as a speaker. You need it to reach your crowd, but it can play good and bad music just as easy. In case of the Waalsprong the speaker was very well tuned, if or not the liberal vision of the VINEX was a good piece of music is largely a matter of taste.

A planmaker who is convinced of the quality of his plans but does not succeed in realizing its ideas, might want to take a look at the flexibility and adaptability of his vision. Maybe, with a higher performance his spatial vision and designs will yet be adopted by its receivers.

In the Waalsprong case the VINEX' development planning, with a paradoxical role for local governments, did prove to be a risky construction. As a part of a market-orientated GEM, low costs and high profits were important, but as a representative of the people, high quality and a diverse offer are also a big issue. The optimistic break-even (or even profitable) assumptions posed in the first Waalsprong designs presented by the GEM in 1997, proved to be a dream. Thanks to an unpredictable financial crisis Nijmegen still struggles with its financial consequences. As seen in part 5.2.1 in case of the Waalsprong those paradoxes played a big role, after the housing market collapsed, the municipality had few other choices than taking their losses. In contrary to a private organization, withdrawing from a housing project like the Waalsprong is not an option for the local authorities (Van der Wouden, 2016, p.215).

Whether the Waalsprong in general is a success is impossible to say, corresponding to what Mastop and Faludi conclude when they distinguish performance and conformance. During our interview too (Interview 5.), prof. Mastop explains how all the different goals (financial, mobility, building targets, etc.) make it impossible to come to one overall conclusion. The Waalsprong created winners and losers, a consequence of the liberal, market-orientated vision of the designers of the VINO and VINEX. Inhabitants of the Waalsprong, living in a green environment in a house bought in a very buyer friendly market will call it a success, the Nijmegen alderman looking at the city's financial future shall probably draw a different conclusion.

Looking back on the changes of Dutch planning minister Alders himself calls decentralization a mistake. He states that the growing scale of challenges more often shall ask for a vision at a national scale (Dubbeling, 2015). Personally I believe a wait-and-see approach, locally steered invitation planning, is not always the best way to resolutely implement new national policy. Invitation planning, an important aspect of the municipalities latest Waalsprong plans, might be a better approach, as long as there is attention for social diversity, a housing market should never lead to large numbers of "losers" not able to find a suiting place to reside. A copy of the VINEX is probably not the answer, regional differences ask for a spatial vision with more attention for regional differences. This is endorsed by mr. Leeftang (Interview 3.), he does believe the local implementation could be a good example for a future approach. Prof. Van der Krabben (Interview

1.) agrees with him, the Vinex' national vision would not suit today's regional differences.

Concluded, an investigation of the urban vision embedded in the Vinex policy has showed how its creators wanted to continue the switch from social public housing to a liberal housing market, by presenting a broad vision together with a system in which the implementation of this vision was left to lower level governments together with private parties. The Vinex scored well on performance, decisionmakers were aware of the vision, and accepted its consequences. It is questionable if the Vinex enhanced a higher level of co-production, apart from the decisionmakers involvement or participation was not very high. A large number of houses was built, a lot of them in the commercial sector.

A vision with a high performance does not guarantee (financial) success, as we can see in the Waalsprong. Quantifying the success of a strategic spatial plan as the Vinex it is practically impossible, even individual aspects like cohesion are very hard to define and compare with other cases. Nevertheless, the Vinex has been an important step in the continuous evolution of the Dutch spatial planning system.

7.0 Discussion

In part 1. it is explained how this research tries to measure, or quantify the success rate of the Vinex' vision, after uncovering it. This vision turned out to be an economic, decentralized and market-orientated approach of Dutch spatial planning, a vision that found its way to its recipients thanks to its strong performance. This vision was brought with enough enthusiasm to inspire the final decisionmakers. In this way the Vinex is a good example for everybody who wants to launch a plan containing a vision.

This doesn't automatically mean that the vision guaranteed successful spatial planning. This research can not be used to answer the question if the Vinex has had a positive effect on the two overall aims (to let the essential aspirations of groups and individuals within the Dutch society come to their fullest, and to guarantee the diversity, cohesion and durability of the Dutch physical environment.). As we discovered, a useful quantification of the success rate of a Vinex project can maybe take place on independent aspects like social housing percentages or the proximity of public transport. During our meeting Mr Leeftink mentions several times that there is always the possibility to measure several individual aspects of a plan to conclude if or not success was achieved (Interview 3.). In the covenants numbers of houses are mentioned, just as targets for car mobility, these numbers can be counted. But, as described in part 3.1.1, this way of analyzing does not suit a strategic spatial plan like the Vinex. As seen in part 5.2.2 an aspect like for instance cohesion is much harder to measure, it is largely depending on your definition of cohesion.

The same can be concluded for the aim to create a “do-it-yourself” spatial planning. A strategic plan needs an inviting vision to encourage co-production, a critical factor for a successful ending of a spatial project, as concluded in part 3.1.2. The “mindset” of co-production is possibly just as hard to

measure as cohesion, and is probably different for every person involved. That makes it very difficult to measure if or not the Vinex' decentralized vision really lead to a liberal individualized society, in which the essential aspirations of groups and individuals can come to their fullest thanks a high level of co-production.

Other authors draw a comparable conclusion, looking at the way the so called civil society evolved over the last centuries. They also discover how hard it is to compare aspects like inclusion, cohesion or participation with earlier times (Buijs et. al. 2009, p.75). A civil society is defined as a society with “people that organize themselves to influence their world” (Buijs et. al., 2009, p. 197). With 'their world' they don't mean the total planet, but the world the participants face during there daily lives. Instead of co-production they see a transformation to “individualized engagement” (Buijs et. al., 2009, p. 213). This sounds almost paradoxical, a society in which all parties see co-production as a way to gain as much as possible for their selves.

Albrechts looks at co-production as a way to strengthen the local organization of specifically less powerfull parties like the urban poor (Albrechts, 2012, p.56). Albrechts explains how participation and decentralization alone does not automatically lead to inclusiveness and cohesion, as he states *“we have seen inequality grow at least in part as a consequence of governmental actions. Therefore, a more radical strategic planning can only be true to its principles if it is backed by measures to make sure that everyone - not just those who are already better off, more able, articulate and socially advantaged – has the capacity to participate on equal terms and affords equal value to different kinds of knowledge and skills”* (Albrechts, 2012, p.56).

In case of the Waalsprong the conclusion that there were winners and losers implies that this was not the best example of the equal partnership mentioned by the researchers of co-production.

It looks like the designers of the Vno and Vinex shared a vision based on self-reliance and a small national government only working at its core tasks. This vision is again represented in the latest spatial vision, the Structural Vision on Infrastructure and Space. For example, regarding the housing market, this document states that, however there are some national goals regarding amount, quality and differentiation of the housing stock, the design and implementation is left to provinces and municipalities (I&M, 2012, p.10). To bring spatial planning as close as possible to civilians and companies, the national government wants to limit its actions to only 13 selected aspects of national interests. I am afraid that the individualized engagement of Dutch civilians will be strengthened again, but I don't see a lot of effort to reduce or even stabilize inequality. On first sight individual engagement lacks the reciprocal dependency indispensable for a high level of co-production. Maybe the Dutch government looked at decentralization and local participation as a way to cover its own risks, instead of a way of involving its inhabitants and foster co-production.

The Dutch PBL also explains how the new civil society not automatically leads to diversity and cohesion (Van der Wouden, 2017, p.26.). They conclude how a growing part of the population is not sure about the benefits they experience out of decentralization and liberalization. After a broad evaluation of Dutch spatial planning the PBL warns that to much internationalization and economization of Dutch spatial policy will only enlarge the group of inhabitants that look at themselves as the losers of liberalization. The involvement of private (commercial) parties does not

at all guarantee aspects like national cohesion.

As seen in part 5.2.2 and 5.3.1, the involvement of Dutch individual civilians was not what it should be, Van der Wouden calls the consumer the final stage of a long route, with designs and decisions already made by other parties (van der Wouden, 2017, p.99).

Personally I believe the Vision of decentralization and liberalization was not the best vision, looking at the overall goals mentioned. The level of co-production, even though its hard to measure, was not as high as it could have been. Invitation planning, maybe the ultimate form of individualized engagement, is not an answer, because this way of planning is not always an option for less powerful groups searching for a house. It would be useful to examine alternative ways municipalities (and maybe private companies) have to involve these groups in strategic spatial planning, to ensure a higher level of co-production. Another thing that deserves more research is the design of the vision itself. The vision plays an crucial role in involving all recipients, what elements should a vision contain to inspire all its targeted recipients?

After this research, I do not think performance alone can be a sign for success. My positive conclusion regarding the success of the Vinex' performance, at first collided with my own negative image of the Waalsprong, as an expensive, long during project that more or less stopped after a collapsed PPS. Later I found out that performance is something else then conformance, and that a terrible plan can have a very high performance. I don't think the Vinex or the Waalsprong are terrible plans, but I do believe there have to be alternatives for the liberal approach, highly depending on unpredictable market circumstances. Private parties did not turn out to be very reliable partners during the financial crisis of 2008. This crisis was not caused by the Vinex, but the decentralized and market-orientated course that was being continued and intensified by the Vinex did cause big troubles for the local municipality after market circumstances suddenly changed.

I think it is strange that we still do not have a method to more effectively judge a plan. How does the Vinex compare to other options that could have been chosen? In Barry Needhams farewell speech he states that its the planners job to present alternative scenarios for spatial planning policy, next to the liberal approach as seen in the Vinex (Needham, 2007). I think this was missing in the Vinex, there was no alternative for the municipalities involved. That makes it very difficult to see what would have happened if a couple of cities tried different expansion models.

A future network-society with a still retrieving national government will probably know its well located winners, and its poorly connected losers. If this is something we want as a society is something up to voters and politicians. Though, as Van der Wouden concludes, if there is a need for a social conceptual shift, instead of a local approach a national spatial memorandum created by an active government can be a useful steering tool (Van der Wouden, 2016, p.233). Something to keep in mind with global disruptive developments like global warming, aging populations, an upcoming national switch from gas to alternatives, or changing migration patterns, all asking for large scale spatial plans. I believe this is another reason to take aspects like cohesion, inclusiveness and co-production a bit more serious in future national spatial policy.

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Images

Front image: Gemeente Nijmegen, retrieved on 14-7-2018 from <http://www.ruimtevoordewaal.nl/nl/beeld>

Figure 1: Gemeente Nijmegen, 1996. *Structuurplan Over de Waal*. P54.

Figure 3: Van der Krabben, E. De Feijter, F.J. (2014) *Slag om de Waalsprong. Twintig jaar planvorming en woningbouw: van blauwdruk plan naar uitnodigingsplanologie*. Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, p49.

Interviews

Interview. 1. Prof. dr. Erwin Van der Krabben (June 2017), Nijmegen University

Interview. 2. Bert Velthuis, (May 2017), City Hall Nijmegen

Interview. 3. Ir. Hans Leeftang (July 2017), Arnhem

Interview. 4. Prof. dr. ir. Hugo Priemus, (July 2017), Leiden

Interview. 5. Prof. dr. Hans Mastop (July 2017), Bunnik

9.0 Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guides

Interview 1

Interview with: Prof. dr. Erwin Van der Krabben. Professor of planning and property Development in the Department of Planning at the Radboud university.

Location: Radboud University Nijmegen

Goal: get a better understanding of the positioning of the interviewee regarding his or her experiences with the Vinex policy.

Welcome, permission to record the interview on video and use quotes

The interview will be conducted in Dutch, thats why the possible questions are in that language too.

Possible questions:

1 Wat was de onderliggende visie van de plannen voor Waalsprong	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Beïnvloed door Vinex (naast locatie)- Visie overeenind gebleven tussen toen en nu?- Is er een rode draad in alle verschillende plannen?- Zou Nijmegen er heel anders uitzien zonder Vinex?
Is de Waalsprong mislukt of succes?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Waalsprong: prettige wijk, maar ook toekomstbestendig?- "Randzaken hebben het verpest?"- Randzaken beïnvloed/veroorzaakt door Vinex?- Moet de gemeente nog verliezen verwachten?
3 Wat zijn de belangrijkste gevolgen van de Vinex	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- verloeding stadscentra door wegtrekken kansrijke inwoners- 3,9 miljard verlies gemeentelijke grondbedrijven (Nijmegen ong 100 miljoen)- prettige woonomgeving (inclusieve wijk?)
4 Orzaken Waalsprong/vinex mislukt of succes	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Alders: idee was markt stimuleren en gem. bestuur hervormen; mislukt, ook leegloop niet gestopt → lagere overheden moeten niet leidend zijn- Needham en Priemus: hogere schaal zou bestluitvorming mbt RO moeten leiden- "Extra harde landing door tulpenmanie; vinex gebasseerd op gekte" (wilde jaren, ontplofte markt, etc.)- Hajer Zonneveld: Vinex past niet bij individuele network society- Vinex is succes: prettig wonen, mooie wijken, nieuwe aanpak past juist bij nieuwe samenleving- Vindt u de Waalsprong een monotone huizenzee? (Leidsche Rijn → juist niet!)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gemeente loopt een risico dat niet te voorspellen is → wenselijk? - Gemeente Woningmarkt '13-'20: "Type stadsbuurt enorme vraag (dicht bij centrum, levendige wijk, voorzieningen)" → kans voor Waalsprong? (ook voor studenten en starters)
5 Wie heeft denkt u het meest geprofiteerd van de Waalsprong/Vinex?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - bedrijven (voor de crisis) - inwoners (prettig wonen, goedkope grond) - lokale overheden (prettige wijken, verliezen beperkt, zouden groter zijn geweest met oude model) - nationale overheid
6 Wat denkt u, achteraf bekeken, dat er ontbrak aan de Vinex?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - of juist te veel bemoeienis/invloed/sturing - financiële onderbouwing op orde?
7 Is het tijd voor een Vijnex?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - woningnood rond de steden - waarom is de overheid gestopt met grootschalige ruimtelijke nota's - Fokkema (vereniging nederlandse project ontwikkelaars): "Rijk, provincie en gemeenten: neem die verantwoordelijkheid!" - Conclusie Cobouw: markt schreeuwt om regie
8 Visie	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - wat was volgens u de onderliggende visie van de Vinex? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wezenlijke strevingen 2. privatisering 3. bestuurlijke vernieuwing, knoop doorhakken <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "beleidsrichting in plaats van beleid" - Alders, PvdA "leverde de ruimtelijke ordening over aan de markt", onwenselijke verschillen tussen kopers in Waalsprong? - Was de Vinex bruikbaar voor degenen die ermee aan de slag moesten? - Paste de in de Vinex genoemde maatregelen bij de gestelde doelen en visie? - Is de visie gerealiseerd?

Thank the interviewee for his/her time,

After the video stops, don't forget to ask for the possibility to establish a second contact, to have the possibility to ask for additional information. Don't stop making notes and memo directly when the camera stops.

Interview 2

Interview with: Bert Velthuis, SP-politicus, sinds 2006 lid van de gemeenteraad, Van 2014 tot 2018 wethouder stedelijke ontwikkeling, grondbeleid, Wonen en cultuur van Nijmegen.

Location: Town Hall Nijmegen

Goal: learn how interviewee received and interpreted the Vinex. How did he experienced working with the Vinex as one of the responsible aldermen?

Welcome, permission to record the interview on video

The interview will be conducted in Dutch, thats why the possible questions are in that language too.

Possible questions:

1 Heeft de Vinex een rol gespeeld tijdens uw werk aan de Waalsprong?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Kent u uitgangspunten?- Visie overeind gebleven tussen toen en nu?
1 Wat was de onderliggende visie van de plannen voor Waalsprong	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Was het puur een economisch doel? (break even)- Is er een rode draad in alle verschillende plannen?
Waalsprong mislukt of succes	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Waalsprong: prettige wijk, maar ook toekomstbestendig?- Is de Waalsprong verpest door externe factoren (denk aan vd Krabben)- Randzaken beïnvloed/veroorzaakt door Vinex? Waalsprong slechte timing?- Moet de gemeente nog verliezen verwachten?
3 Gevolgen Vinex	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Flink verlies, is Nijmegen een van de (ingecalculeerde) losers?- Was er een alternatief?
4 Waalsprong/vinex visie: invloed op beleid?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Wie is verantwoordelijk? Markt? Overheid? Landelijk/lokaal?- Ruimte voor SP? Of "opgelegde" liberalisatie.- Vinex is succes: prettig wonen, mooie wijken, nieuwe aanpak past juist bij nieuwe samenleving- Is de Waalsprong eigenlijk nog een Vinex wijk te noemen?- Is de waalsprong inclusief en divers?
5 Wie heeft denkt u het meest geprofiteerd van de Vinex?	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - bedrijven (voor de crisis) - inwoners (prettig wonen, goedkope grond) - lokale overheden (prettige wijken, verliezen beperkt, zouden misschien nog groter zijn geweest met oude model) - nationale overheid
8 Visie	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - wat was volgens u de onderliggende visie van de Vinex? 1. Wezenlijke strevingen → zit hier een idee achter 2. huizen bouwen 3. privatisering: overleveren van de woningbouw aan de markt? - Is er ruimte voor een eigen visie? Op welke manier is de SP visie zichtbaar in de Waalsprong? Of is de Vinex daarvoor te dichtgetimmerd.
8 Waalsprong toekomst	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tegenwoordig veel vrijheid, “invitatie planning”; nog meer liberalisatie? Lijkt ook moeilijk te rijmen met sociale woningbouw. - Is de Waalsprong toekomstbestendig, ruimte voor diversiteit en inclusiviteit? - Is er een mooie toekomst voor de Waalsprong? - Zal de financiële uitkomst wellicht nog een positief eind krijgen?

Thank the interviewee for his/her time,

After the video stops, don't forget to ask for the possibility to establish a second contact, to have the possibility to ask for additional information. Don't stop making notes and memo directly when the camera stops.

Interview 3

Interview with: Ir. Hans Leeftang, government official, later project leader of the VINO, closely involved in the development of the VINO and its vision. During a big part of the implementation of the VINO and VINEX he worked as the director of the RPD.

Location: Arnhem Station

Goal: get a better understanding of the positioning of the interviewee regarding his or her experiences with the VINEX policy.

Welcome, permission to record the interview on video

The interview will be conducted in Dutch, that's why the possible questions are in that language too.

Possible questions:

1 Wat was het belangrijkste doel van de VINEX?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- "Wezenlijke strevingen tot hun recht laten komen"- Van der Krabben: verkleinen rol overheid- creëren van een doorbraak?- Zou Nederland er heel anders uitzien zonder VINEX?
2 Totstandkoming VINEX	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Is de VINEX een typisch product van de tijdsgeest/regering destijds (PvdA vs VVD?) Duijvenstijn: VINEX was een neo-liberaal plan- Is de VINEX een compromis of het gevolg van een heldere visie op de woningmarkt?- liberalisatie een doel of een middel?
3 Is de VINEX een succes?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Is de VINEX op de juiste manier ontvangen/in de praktijk gebracht?- verloederende stadscentra door wegtrekken kansrijke inwoners?- 3,9 miljard verlies gemeentelijke grondbedrijven (Nijmegen ong. 100 miljoen)- prettige woonomgeving (inclusieve wijk?)- internationale erkenning en bewondering
4 Lokaal: Waalsprong een goed voorbeeld van VINEX?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Alders: idee was markt stimuleren en gem. bestuur hervormen; mislukt, ook leegloop niet gestopt → lagere overheden moeten niet leidend zijn- Van der Krabben: Waalsprong is vooralsnog een financiële mislukking, onzekere toekomst- ingecalculeerd gevolg van marktwerking of fout beleid door lokaal bestuur?- Hajer Zonneveld: VINEX past niet bij individuele network society- Hall: VINEX is succes: prettig wonen, mooie wijken, nieuwe aanpak past juist bij nieuwe samenleving, voorbeeld voor het buitenland- Vindt u de Waalsprong een monotone huizenzee? (Leidsche Rijn → juist niet!)- Gemeente loopt een risico dat niet te voorspellen is → wenselijk?

	- Gemeente Woningmarkt '13-'20: "Type stadsbuurt enorme vraag (dicht bij centrum, levendige wijk, voorzieningen)" → kans voor Waalsprong? (ook voor studenten en starters)
5 Wie heeft denkt u het meest geprofiteerd van de Vinex?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - bedrijven (voor de crisis) - inwoners (prettig wonen, goedkope grond) - lokale overheden (prettige wijken, verliezen beperkt, zouden wellicht groter zijn geweest met oude model) - nationale overheid
6 Denkt u dat er iets ontbrak aan de Vinex?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - of juist te veel bemoeienis/invloed/sturing - financiële onderbouwing op orde?
7 Is het tijd voor een Vijnex?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - woningnood rond de steden - waarom is de overheid gestopt met grootschalige ruimtelijke nota's - is er een positie voor de Vinex in de toekomst (als voorbeeld wellicht?) - Fokkema (vereniging Nederlandse project ontwikkelaars): "Rijk, provincie en gemeenten: neem die verantwoordelijkheid!" - Conclusie Cobouw: markt schreeuwt om regie
8 Visie	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - wat was volgens u de onderliggende visie van de Vinex? 1. Wezenlijke strevingen 2. privatisering 3. bestuurlijke vernieuwing, knoop doorhakken - "beleidsrichting in plaats van beleid" --> bewust ietwat vaag, maar ook een makkelijk slachtoffer... - Alders, PvdA "leverde de ruimtelijke ordening over aan de markt", onwenselijke verschillen tussen kopers (o.a. in de Waalsprong)? Ander schaalniveau beter. - Was de Vinex bruikbaar voor degenen die ermee aan de slag moesten? - Paster de in de Vinex genoemde maatregelen bij de gestelde doelen en visie? - Achteraf bezien: is het überhaupt mogelijk een visie op deze manier te realiseren? H Lenferink (burg Leien): geen Vinex-locatie maar steden werden destijds echt uitgedaagd een visie op de stad te maken
Waalsprong mislukt of succes	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Waalsprong: prettige wijk, maar ook toekomstbestendig? - "Randzaken hebben het verpest?" - Randzaken beïnvloed/veroorzaakt door Vinex? - Moet de gemeente nog verliezen verwachten?

Thank the interviewee for his/her time,

After the video stops, don't forget to ask for the possibility to establish a second contact, to have the possibility to ask for additional information. Don't stop making notes and memo directly when the camera stops.

Interview 4

Interview with: prof. dr. ir. Hugo Priemus, emeritus professor of system innovation in urban development at the Technical University of Delft. He is seen as an expert on Dutch public housing and spatial planning and published several articles about the Dutch housing market.

Location: garden of prof. Priemus, Leiden

Goal: to find out the position of the Vinex in Dutch recent planning history, and to find out if its vision had the impact it aimed at. Are there aspects of the Vinex that are still alive?

Welcome, permission to record the interview on tape. The interview will be conducted in Dutch, that's why the possible questions are in that language too.

Possible questions:

1 Het doel van de Vinex: wat was het onderliggende doel?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- "Wezenlijke strevingen tot hun recht laten komen"- Leeflang: VINO en Vinex hadden vooral economisch doel- Financiële risico's weghalen bij overheden?- Onderdeel van langlopend proces met als doel liberale woningmarkt?
2 Positie Vinex	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Is Vinex meer dan concretisering VINO?- Is de Vinex een compromis of het gevolg van een heldere visie op de woningmarkt?- 1986 doorwerking: Vinex slechts een stapje in proces?
3 Gevolgen Vinex (brede zin)	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Was de Vinex een "watershed"/revolutie/doorbraak?- Is de Vinex het einde van een tijdperk?- Is er sprake van een nieuw landschap (Zonneveld)?
4 Vinex mislukt of succes?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Alders: idee was markt stimuleren en gem. bestuur hervormen; mislukt, ook leegloop niet gestopt → lagere overheden moeten niet leidend zijn- Needham en Priemus: hogere schaal zou besluitvorming m.b.t. RO moeten leiden- Crisis pech of risico van gekozen beleid?- Hajer Zonneveld: Vinex past niet bij individuele network society; Leeflang: Vinex paste wel bij implementatie op lokaal niveau- Vinex is succes: prettig wonen, mooie wijken, nieuwe aanpak past juist bij nieuwe samenleving
5 Wie heeft denkt u het meest geprofiteerd van de Vinex?	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - bedrijven (voor de crisis) - inwoners (prettig wonen, goedkope grond) - lokale overheden (prettige wijken, verliezen beperkt, zouden wellicht groter zijn geweest met oude model) → Velthuis niet al te enthousiast - nationale overheid
6 Wat kunnen we leren van de Vinex	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - juiste implementatie niveau? - liberalisatie → goede en slechte kanten
7 Is het tijd voor een Vijnex?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Inspiratie voor komend beleid" - is er een positie voor de Vinex in de toekomst (als voorbeeld wellicht?) - Zou de overheid haar rol weer moeten terugnemen (Leeftang → nee) - Fokkema (vereniging Nederlandse project ontwikkelaars): "Rijk, provincie en gemeenten: neem die verantwoordelijkheid!" - Conclusie Cobouw: markt schreeuwt om regie
8 Visie	
	<p>Is het wel mogelijk een strakke visie op te leggen bij een project over zoveel jaren en locaties, en dus kabinetten en betrokkenen (Denk aan Faludi en Mastop).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "beleidsrichting in plaats van beleid" --> bewust ietwat vaag, maar ook een makkelijk slachtoffer... - Alders, PvdA "leverde de ruimtelijke ordening over aan de markt", onwenselijke verschillen tussen kopers (o.a. in de Waalsprong)? - Was de Vinex bruikbaar voor degenen die ermee aan de slag moesten? - Paste de in de Vinex genoemde maatregelen bij de gestelde doelen en visie? - Achteraf bezien: is het überhaupt mogelijk een visie op deze manier te realiseren? <p>H Lenferink (burg Leien): geen Vinex-locatie maar steden werden destijds echt uitgedaagd een visie op de stad te maken</p>
	<p><i>"vertrouwen op de kracht en visie van de mensen die het moeten doen. Steeds is de vraag: wat heeft de samenleving nodig en wat kan de overheid daaraan doen? Instituties zijn en blijven belangrijk maar voor de vitaliteit van de samenleving is het cruciaal dat daaraan worden toegevoegd netwerken die daar onderdoor, overlangs en doorheen gaan. Je moet met meerdere perspectieven kunnen leren omgaan."</i></p> <p><i>Er zat een wereld van verschil tussen de kabinetten waaronder we de Vierde Nota opstelden en het kabinet waaronder we de Vinex inhoud gaven. Bij de Vinex kwamen andere onderwerpen aan de orde in een andere ideologische context."</i></p>

Thank the interviewee for his/her time,

(After the video stops, don't forget to ask for the possibility to establish a second contact, to have the possibility to ask for additional information. Don't stop making notes and memo directly when the camera stops.)

Interview 5

Interview with: Prof. dr. Hans Mastop, professor emeritus at the Geography, Spatial Planning and Environment Department of the Radboud University in Nijmegen.

Location: prof Mastop's house, Bunnik

Goal: get a better understanding of the positioning of the interviewee regarding his or her experiences with the Vinex policy.

Welcome, permission to record the interview on video and use quotes

The interview will be conducted in Dutch, thats why the possible questions are in that language too.

Possible questions:

1 Visie Vinex, ruimtelijke visies	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Liberalisatie?- terugtrekkende overheid?- Leeflang vs Velthuis: waarheid in het midden?- Visie overleefd gebleven tussen toen en nu?- Was performance een onderdeel van de visie? Denk aan gesprek 1986 over doorwerking van toekomstig beleid.
Is de Waalsprong mislukt of succes?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Waalsprong: prettige wijk, maar ook toekomstbestendig?- "Randzaken hebben het verpest?"- Is het mogelijk te spreken van een succes of een mislukking met zoveel mogelijke invalshoeken- Hoe kun je toekomstige baten betrekken in evaluatie?
3 Wat zijn de belangrijkste gevolgen van de Vinex	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 3,9 miljard verlies gemeentelijke grondbedrijven (Nijmegen ong 100 miljoen) is dit überhaupt een gevolg van de Vinex? Of is die vraag niet te beantwoorden...- prettige woonomgeving (inclusieve wijk?), economische activiteit, "banen"
4 Mogelijke rol van performance in Vinex	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Hoe en waarom is performance ontstaan- staat het los van conformance? Alle combi's mogelijk (Faludi en Mastop)- uw concludeert dat evaluatie in zijn geheel niet mogelijk is, vindt u dat niet een beetje frustrerend? Is "ons" werk beetje uitproberen en afwachten?- Captain hindsight: de toekomst zal het leren? Of zijn er lessen te trekken?
5 Performance alleen interessant voor planmakers?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Waalsprong → performance hoog, conformance laag, is dit een succes?- is performance een voorwaarde voor succes ipv een garantie op succes?- wat zou u zelf een constateerbaar succesvol beleid noemen, voorbeelden van succesvol ruimtelijk beleid?

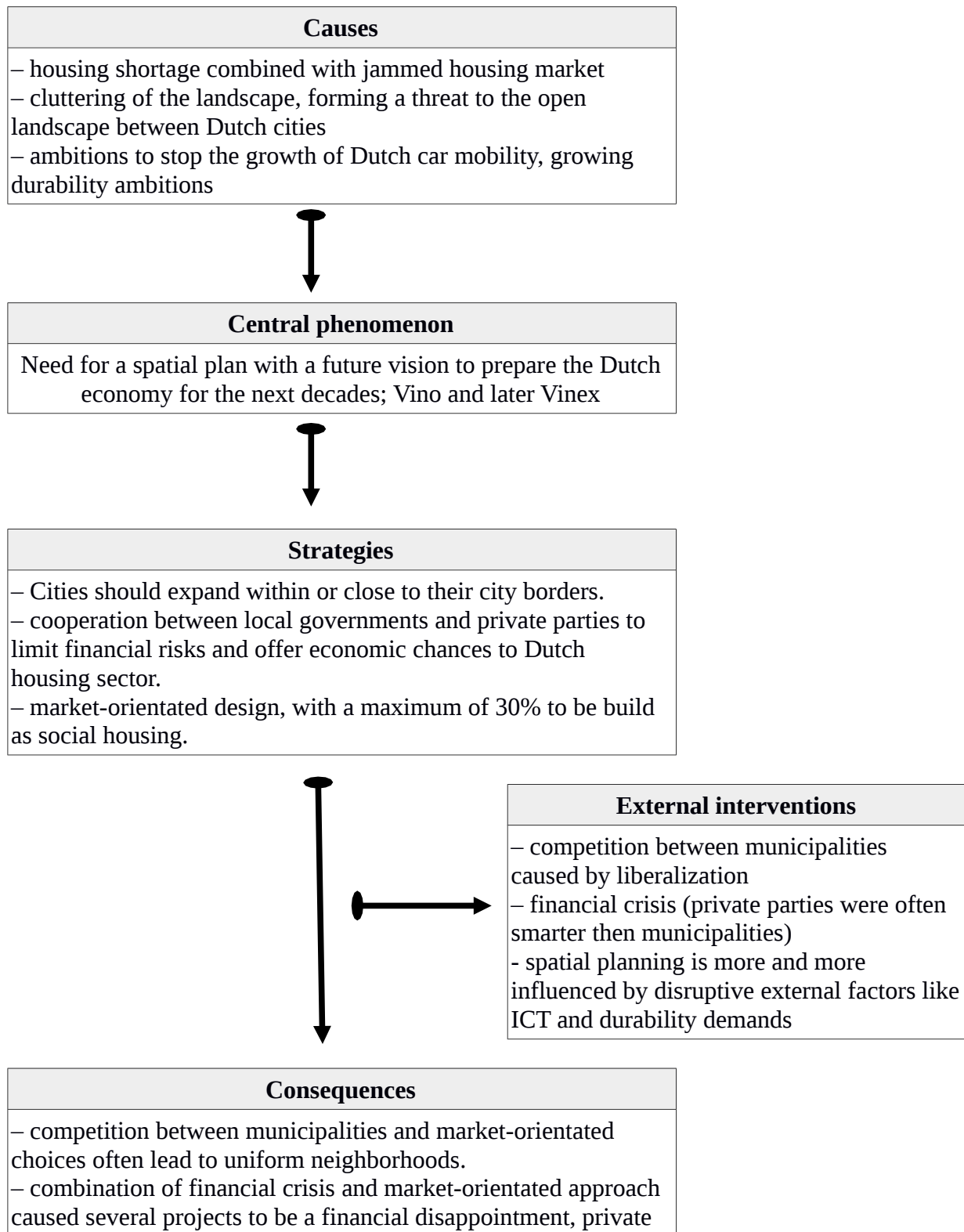
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Welke elementen zorgen voor performance (flexibiliteit, aanpassingsvermogen), een “inviting story” (Faludi). Had de Vinex deze dus? -
6 Is het tijd voor een Vijnex?	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - is rol/belang van performance gegroeid door grotere afstand tussen nationale overheid en implementatie? - Is er sprake geweest van bestuurlijke vernieuwing, “een revolutie”? - Wat vindt u van de “ruimtelijke alternatieven” waarvoor enkelen pleiten?
7 Visie	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - wat kun je zeggen over de genoemde doelen “Wezenlijke strevingen” → onzin of uitgangspunt van ieder plan van de overheid. - “beleidsrichting in plaats van beleid”: toekomst van de overheid? - Paste de in de Vinex genoemde maatregelen bij de gestelde doelen en visie? - Visie is als een olifant die het zicht ontneeft... heeft ruimtelijke ordening een visie nodig? - gasloos nederland, klimaatverandering, migratie, “disruptions”; kan lokaal beleid hierop een antwoord geven? - Hoe is concurrentie te voorkomen of te begeleiden? Kan performance zo hoog zijn dat ontvangers gaan denken in het algemene “shared” belang?

Thank the interviewee for his/her time,

After the video stops, don't forget to ask for the possibility to establish a second contact, to have the possibility to ask for additional information. Don't stop making notes and memo directly when the camera stops.

Appendix 2: Axial coding

Axial coding as described by Creswell (Creswell, 2007, p.67), applied on the results of the interview I had with prof. Priemus (Interview 4.).



parties turned out to be more cunning in limiting their losses.

- A large number of houses has been build, most of them at the appointed locations.

- Dutch planning is decentralized, implementation at a local level. A risk with a growing number of disruptive factors, often at a national or even global scale, that can effect the outcomes of spatial policy.