COMPLEX COLLABORATION

HOW STAKEHOLDER COLLABORATION AFFECTS DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES IN COMPLEX BROWNFIELD AREA DEVELOPMENT

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SUMMARY

In the light of the current housing crisis in the Netherlands, combined with the need for sustainable urbanization in order to mitigate (the effects of) climate change, there is a need for inner-city housing development. Combined with a shift in mobility use from a car-oriented planning practice to one more focused on transit, the concept of TOD arises as a means to facilitate this sustainable urbanization. These brownfield areas in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are, however, also faced with difficulties in terms of their viability. This is caused by, among others, high land values, complex landownership and the costs of the necessary spatial interventions. Moreover, planning and land-policy regimes have shifted after the economic crisis of 2007/2008, affecting the balance between the involved parties in these developments. Therefore, development practice, but also collaborative practice has changed. The aim of this research is to explore how stakeholder collaboration (positively or negatively) affects processes of area development in the vicinity of urban transit nodes, as these can to some extent be seen as a magnifier for this new practice of development, raising the question:

> *"How does stakeholder collaboration affect the development process of private area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes and what success and failure factors can be identified in this respect?"*

In this thesis case-studies are used to explore the concept of stakeholder collaboration in three area developments. Data is collected from relevant stakeholders by semi-structured interviews in order to create a holistic image of the phenomenon. The development process is split up into three interconnected elements that play a role in this type of area development, namely *development speed, urban quality* and *comprehensiveness*. Collaborative practice and its potential factors of success and failure are observed through the theory of collaborative advantage.

This research has shown that development processes of private area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are inherently determined by the practices of collaboration between involved stakeholders. The structures of collaboration are, in turn, shaped by the context and circumstances in which the development takes place. Based on this, the necessity of stakeholders to sufficiently pay attention to these processes and the importance of gaining insight in mutual goals, aims and the sense of urgency should have a higher priority in area development, as it provides the fundament for fruitful development processes

KEYWORDS: Collaboration, Brownfield area development, TOD, Stalled sites, Urban area development, Dutch municipalities

PREFACE

Before you lies my master thesis '*Complex Collaboration*' for the *Planning, Land and Real Estate Development* specialization in the *Spatial Planning* programme at *Radboud University.* This work is the culmination of my academic studies and concludes a period in which I have delved into the topic of area development, a topic that has fascinated me for years. The development of cities and as to why they develop, transform, emerge and fade was my main motivation to start my studies at Saxion Hogeschool, after which Radboud University offered an additional opportunity to broaden and deepen my perspectives.

The writing of this thesis allowed me to dig into the topic of collaboration in area developments. I genuinely believed – and do even more so now – that the creation of the spaces that surround us in our daily lives are the result of how we manage to work together (or not). I try to see the positive in things and am convinced there is not necessarily always conflict between stakeholders, but rather a bumpier road to finding one another to realize common goals and aims. In this light, there were few places more fit for an internship than BPD. This is why I want to sincerely thank Jeroen Officier for the opportunity to conduct my research in the region NOM, where I genuinely hope to return at some point in my career.

In special, I would like to thank Erwin van der Krabben and Henri Schimmel for both their constructive feedback and reflections over the past months, which helped me significantly in keeping focus, no matter how tempting side paths might have been content-wise.

I would also like to thank the colleagues at BPD, who have continuously showed interest in my research and its progression. Your tips, tricks and lessons from practice allowed me to critically reflect on my work and helped shape the contents of this research. Without the atmosphere in the office, I would not have been able to deliver the product you have before you.

Furthermore, I would like to thank Rosanne, Sacha, Floriane and Mirjam for their sincere help at the moment I needed it the most. Your involvement has helped me to plow through some of the hiccups I had in the process of writing this thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank everyone who has helped make this thesis possible, interviewees from the municipalities of Leeuwarden, Zwolle and Tiel, City-Developers and NS, without your perspectives I would not have been able to create the image of the incredible developments you are all part of.

I hope you enjoy the read.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GEM	Grondexploitatiemaatschappij
GREX	Grondexploitatie (Land Development)
NvU	Nota van Uitgangspunten
PPS/PPP	Publiek Private Samenwerking (Public Private Partnership)
TOD	Transit Oriented Development
VEX	Vastgoedexploitatie (Real Estate Development)
VINEX	Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra
WBI	Woningbouwimpuls
Wro	Wet Ruimtelijke Ordening
Wvg	Wet Voorkeursrecht Gemeenten

1. INTRODUCTION

In 2019 the municipality of Utrecht and the Dutch National Railways announced the conduction of research on the potential of area development on top of existing rail infrastructure (NOS, 2019). It had the potential to re-connect neighborhoods that are currently separated, as this type of infrastructure can be perceived as a barrier in urban areas (AP+E, 2019). Most importantly however, it would be a solution to add a large number of dwellings in the existing urban area, serving a high demand due to major housing shortages in the city and its wider surroundings (BPD, 2020) (College van Rijksadviseurs, 2018). Developing dense urban neighborhoods close to urban transit nodes is widely supported in contemporary planning practice, as it contributes to sustainable means of urbanization in terms of transit, living, economic development and preservation of green spaces and nature (College van Rijksadviseurs, 2019) (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2020).

Although these plans were initially welcomed by various stakeholders, the responsible aldermen of the municipality of Utrecht announced in 2021 that plans for construction on top of existing rail infrastructure would be put on hold (Hermanides, 2019) (Stauttener T. , 2020) (RTV Utrecht, 2021). The reason for this was the high initial investments to ready the grounds for construction and the complexity of a project of this nature (Cobouw, 2021). Instead, building directly next to transit nodes or in their close vicinity (so-called '*Spoorzones*') would be a more fit and better achievable alternative (Bayer, 2021).

This deception is characteristic for the housing and construction markets in the Netherlands in the past few years. The Netherlands has a major housing shortage, with the statistical number of dwellings necessary in 2021 estimated to be ca. 279.000 and demand still increasing (Ministry BZK, 2021). Although some prominent figures in the field doubt whether there really is such a high demand for new houses, there is undoubtedly a task in terms of brownfield inner-city area developments and transformations (Bezemer, van der Krabben, Barendregt, & van der Vlugt, 2022). Not only in quantitative terms, but also in qualitative demand, these areas are key in resolving a part of the housing shortage.

Economic uplift and scarcity have put pressure on new developments and pushes traditional boundaries in the sector, but not everything is possible, contrary to what some literature might suggest (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021). The specific type of inner-city brownfield developments that functions as a magnifier for this issue is so-called '*Transit Oriented Development*', or TOD. TOD refers to area developments that are oriented at a transit node, such as an inner-city railway station (Janssen-Jansen & Smit, 2013). Through focusing on public transit accessibility and often high(er) building densities, they are exemplary for the sustainable type of inner-city brownfield developments as mentioned above.

After 2008, in the aftermath of the economic recession, the Netherlands has seen a new planning system sprout in which municipalities take up an increasingly facilitating role instead of actively initiating spatial development. Both the roles of government as well as private developers have shifted, bringing about new instruments and power relations (Mentink, 2021). Especially in brownfield areas with various (types of) stakeholders already present, it has made area development an increasingly collaborative task of a larger number of stakeholders. As the current situation is unprecedented since the introduction of the Wro, there is no uniform course of action on how to approach increasingly complex developments in ever changing contexts (van der Krabben, 2011) (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2016) (Bregman, Karens, Buitelaar, & de Zeeuw, 2018).

As development and collaborative practice are different in every municipality and every project, gaining insight in these differences, their extent and effects could contribute in taking away existing barriers and show success factors concerning viability of housing development.

1.1. RESEARCH PROBLEM STATEMENT

Dutch spatial planning culture has seen a graduate shift over the past years to developing within the existing city limits and densifying existing cities (in Dutch: *'inbreiding'*). It is a means to preserve open space and nature in an already relatively densely populated country and it therefore contributes to a more sustainable way of structuring our cities (Needham, 2014) (Glaeser, 2011). Urban planning with according investments/interventions in mobility are not a new phenomenon. The so-called 'VINEX'-era alone shows how these two elements can be aligned. Whereas in the early days of the VINEX-era, these investments were more focused on automobility, during this period and after, attention grew for connecting (new) neighborhoods through other modalities than primarily the car. In line with the shift to '*inbreiding*', the means of accessibility of dwellings has, to some extent, also shifted.

Increasing the density of urban areas also increases the use of its services. Combined with underinvestment in these services over the past decade due to economic downturn, increased investment are necessary in order to keep cities from clogging up. Whereas during the VINEX-era all layers of government were investing in the necessary infrastructures for new residential developments, municipal governments are currently paying a larger stake of these costs (Verheul, Daamen, Heurkens, Hobma, & Vriends, 2017) (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021). Capturing generated (additional) value in area developments tends not to be sufficient for municipalities to pay all of these extra costs, so other means need to be found. Thence, the national government is sporadically investing again through region- or city-specific deals, albeit insufficiently to tackle the existing need for development. This *status quo* requires creative solutions, of which collaboration between various stakeholders involved in complex area developments could be a part (Bouwmans, 2022).

During the same economic downturn the new planning system of the Wro has been introduced, which decentralized planning responsibilities significantly. 'Failing' active land policy during the crisis also sparked/enhanced a shift of municipalities from active to (more) facilitating land policies (Heurkens, Een nieuwe rolverdeling: privaat 'in the lead', publiek faciliteert, 2013) (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2016). It has put market actors increasingly in the lead, stimulating other power balances and forms of collaboration in area development.

With municipalities being less involved on the land market, it resulted in fewer land being offered and therefore more scarcity (Adams, Leishman, & Moore, 2009). Especially in inner-city areas, complex ownership makes a comprehensive approach to land development difficult. Existing functions will have to be moved or bought out on the land that is set to be redeveloped, contributing to high initial investments (Buitelaar, 2010). This is due to multiple parties which are aiming to develop the same positions, (artificially) driving up the prices of land and leading to a so-called '*unearned increment / windfall profit*' for current land owners (Buitelaar & Witte, 2011) (van der Krabben, 2021). This results in a situation where funds that would otherwise have been funneled back into the development 'leak out'. High costs early in the development process in inner-city transformation areas also increase the so-called *'badkuip-effect'* – referring to the form of a bathtub that takes place when visualizing the expenses and incomes from an area development over time – and forthwith the risks of a development, explaining to some extent the situation sketched in Utrecht (de Zeeuw, 2018b). Altogether, these elements lead to decreased viability of area developments.

In this respect, the Dutch planning system is moving more towards an Anglo-Saxon model, with more flexible spatial plans and facilitating municipalities (Adams, Leishman, & Moore, 2009). On the one hand this offers opportunities, but it also increases risks (Muñoz Gielen & Tasan-Kok, 2010). It is important for municipalities as responsible entity on spatial planning policy to safeguard (the process of) spatial development, yet the way in which they do so is rather unclear (Witting, 2020). Area developments have a more private character than before the economic crisis and municipalities have different instruments as well as issues to be addressed. This leads to development sites being stalled due to difficult viability, in the midst of a period with high demand for housing, eventually resulting in a situation in which there are sufficient plans, but too little construction (Groenemeijer, 2021).

The question arises on how development processes could be improved. Merely looking into the development speed (Adams, Leishman, & Moore, 2009) and the role of municipal land policy (Mentink, 2021) can be argued to be a too narrow scope. Whereas development speed determines the pace of new dwellings being realized, it does not necessarily improve the development process as a whole. Moreover, merely focusing on the municipal land policy does not take into account the potential impact of key stakeholders in development processes in the vicinity of urban transit nodes, such as the operator(s) of transport services of the nearby terminal. Instead, in this document it is argued the broader brownfield area development process – consisting of development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness – should be taken into account.

Research on how the broader brownfield area development process is organized and experienced/perceived by various stakeholders could narrow the knowledge gap on the subject and contribute to improving the more collaborative nature of this type of developments.

1.2. RESEARCH AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this research is to contribute to the existing academic debate and practice concerning complex brownfield area developments. This research will explore how stakeholder collaboration (positively or negatively) affects processes of area development in the vicinity of urban transit nodes. For this research, the development process will be split up into three elements, namely: development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of a development. Moreover, it aims to analyze comparable cases, in order to gain insight in what practices tend to be successful in and which do not. Through exploring how stakeholder collaboration is organized in various projects (stages) and contexts, this research explores how collaborative advantage could be achieved in the development process. In order to do so, the following main research question has been drafted:

> *"How does stakeholder collaboration affect the development process of private area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes and what success and failure factors can be identified in this respect?"*

This main question focusses on the development process in private area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes. The role of various stakeholders and the difference in their organization in multiple cases is investigated in order to determine to what extent it affects this development process, consisting of development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of a development. Privately initiated developments are being researched as this generally puts the municipality in a facilitating role, particularly this role by the municipality is still unclear. In order to answer the main question, the following sub- or research questions have been drafted:

Literature study:

1. *How do development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development manifest themselves and affect area development in the vicinity of urban transit nodes according to theory?*

2. *What elements of stakeholder collaboration can be distinguished that are of determinative nature on the elements; development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development, according to theory?*

Empirical study:

3. *How is stakeholder collaboration structured in area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes in practice?*

4. *How do development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development manifest themselves in practice and how are they affected by stakeholder collaboration?*

5. *What success and failure factors can be derived from the manifestation in practice according to the case-study?*

Management question:

6. *How can the results of this research be adapted in the practices of BPD?*

1.3. RELEVANCE

1.3.1. SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

This research aims to add to existing academic debate and practice through exploring what is currently still a knowledge gap on the topic in question. Adams, Leishman & Moore (2009) have researched the speed at which approved housing sites are developed in the UK (Adams, Leishman, & Moore, 2009). Similar to this research, these housing developments are private-led. However, in Netherlands, municipalities play a far more active role in spatial development than in the UK. This research therefore aims to contribute to existing research by the speed of housing-site developments in the Netherlands and offer insight in the role of municipalities in this process in the Netherlands, thereby decreasing the existing knowledge gap. Moreover, Mentink (2021) researched how active and passive land policy approaches impact the development speed of residential developments in the Netherlands (Mentink, 2021). In this research it is argued that focusing on merely the development speed or the land policy of a municipality is a too narrow scope to fathom the process of brownfield area development in the vicinity of urban transit nodes. By looking into more elements than merely development speed, namely also urban quality and comprehensiveness of a development, two additional items that are narrowly connected, a broader perception of the development process is researched. Moreover, by looking into stakeholder collaboration instead of merely the interaction between municipalities and developers, a broader range of relevant actors is included in this research. By doing so, this research digs into an existing knowledge gap on the subject.

1.3.2. SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

Although there is sufficient plan capacity for new residential developments in the Netherlands, there is still a major housing shortage (Groenemeijer, 2021). Although this is a wicked problem, as it has many causes and no set solution, one element that might contribute to it is a lack of collaborative advantage in stakeholder collaboration in brownfield area developments (Rittel & Webber, 1973) (Schilder, et al., 2021). This could impact the extent to which collaborate and reach agreement on organizing processes of new developments and how they do so. There are significant differences in why certain development processes are faster than others, of which the role municipalities pick up in an area development likely is one. This research is set to offer insight in why and how relevant stakeholders collaborate in this type of area development, how this affects the development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of a development and what success and failure factors can be identified in these processes. As municipalities, being a prominent stakeholder, are responsible for 'good spatial planning' and the public interest, research on this topic has a societal relevance.

1.3.3. PRACTICAL RELEVANCE

This research is written in combination with an internship at Bouwfonds Property Development (BPD), an area- and real-estate developer that is active in the Netherlands and Germany. In the region Noord-Oost & Midden (NOM) alone, there are ten brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes in which BPD is involved as (one of the) main stakeholder(s). The '*regioplan*', the strategic agenda of NOM for 2022, acknowledges the complexity and potential risk of this type of developments and points out this thesis could help improve the methods of approaching these developments within BPD (BPD | Bouwfonds Gebiedsontwikkeling, 2022).

1.4. READING GUIDE

This document consists of five chapters. The first chapter, this introduction, is followed by a chapter elaborating on the theoretical framework and concepts that are used in this research. After the theoretical framework, the methodology that is applied in the research is discussed in chapter three. This chapter consists of the overall philosophical approach, the research strategy and method, as well as the means of data collection and analysis, concluded by the research validity and reliability. In chapter four, the empirical study is presented, including the case studies included in this research, which are discussed afterwards. Chapter five will conclude on the sub- and the main research questions that are leading in this thesis, as well as reflect upon this research form a theoretical, practical and research-strategy perspective. Furthermore, in chapter five, recommendations for further research and practice are formulated. Table 1 displays which research questions are answered per chapter.

Research question	Chapter
1. *How do development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development manifest themselves and affect area development in the vicinity of urban transit nodes according to theory?*	Chapter 2.1., 2.2.
2. *What elements of stakeholder collaboration can be distinguished that are of determinative nature on the elements; development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development, according to theory?*	Chapter 2.3.
3. *How is stakeholder collaboration structured in area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes in practice?*	Chapter 4.4.1.
4. *How do development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development manifest themselves in practice and how are they affected by stakeholder collaboration?*	Chapter 4.4.2., 4.4.3., 4.4.5
5. *What success and failure factors can be derived from the manifestation in practice according to the case-study?*	Chapter 4.4.
6. *How can the results of this research be adapted in the practices of BPD?*	Chapter 5.3.1.

TABLE 1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS ANSWERED PER CHAPTER

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the core elements of the research will be elaborated upon, structured and operationalized in order to come to a framework for a case study. It is split up into the following three segments:

- The complexity of brownfield developments and TOD
- Development processes in brownfield developments and TOD, explaining development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development as elements of a development process
- Stakeholder collaboration in area development.

2.1. COMPLEXITY OF BROWNFIELD DEVELOPMENTS AND TOD

This thesis will focus on researching brownfield area developments, focusing in particular on area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes, which can also be referred to as TOD. Brownfield developments are inherently more complex than greenfield developments, which will be further elaborated upon in this paragraph. Complexity in the context of area development is mainly caused by a number of core elements.

Greenfield and Brownfield

Area development can be distinguished into the categories of brownfield and greenfield. Distinguishing these from one another is relevant in the light of this research, as brownfield characteristics determine the nature of these developments. Greenfield refers to undeveloped land that currently serves e.g. an agricultural purpose. Brownfield on the other hand refers to land that is to be redeveloped/transformed, where an existing function will have to be (re)moved. Brownfield developments are taking up a larger share of developments nowadays relative to earlier decades and are topic of discussion in the planning field (Hamers, 2020). Hamers (2020) states multiple pro's and con's in this respect. Most important in the context of the topic this thesis aims to address relate to TOD-ness. Adding dwellings to an existing urban center will increase its density and thereby the number of users of its services, including transport services. Therefore public transit infrastructure is more efficient and existing infrastructure is better utilized. Brownfield areas near urban transit nodes (in Dutch: '*Spoorzones*') are therefore attractive places for urban transformation.

Moreover, brownfield developments take place in areas that are being transformed. Contrary to greenfield developments, brownfields therefore have to compete with at least one existing function, but, more often than not, various ones. Greenfield and brownfield developments have some overlap in servicing costs, but also some notable differences. Briefly stated, brownfields have higher servicing costs that are more difficult to link to one particular development area and the value increase in these developments is usually lower, making it more difficult to cover these higher costs.

Transit Oriented Development (TOD)

Transit Oriented Development is a planning concept where land-use and (public) transit are intertwined. Usually rather high densities of dwellings in the vicinity of an urban transit node improve the efficiency of their function. Considering the necessity for more sustainable means of urban planning, it is socially desirable to develop cities in higher density and less oriented on cars, but instead more on public transit. With major brownfield areas in the vicinity of urban transit nodes, usually situated relatively close to inner-cities or points of economic density, TOD is a concept that is set to be implemented more often. However, although the terminology might have changed, transit oriented development has already practiced in the Netherlands for decades (Tan, Koster, & Hoogerbrugge, 2013).

2.1.1. SPATIAL COMPLEXITY

Inner-city brownfield locations are spatially complex, especially the ones that are focused on in this research, namely brownfield developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes. Figure 1 shows the bid-rent curve, as based on the work of Alonso (1964). It displays the concentration of services, economic activities and dwellings in relation to the distance to a city center. Based on this, the land value and willingness to pay for land also increases as land is situated closer to a central position. This, however, differs per function, as dwellings are less dependent on centrality than other functions (Buitelaar & Witte, 2011).

FIGURE 1. ALONSO'S BID-RENT CURVE, BY (BUITELAAR & WITTE, 2011)

Brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are consequentially rather often also situated nearby these before named concentrations. As a result, these lands have higher land values than comparable brownfields elsewhere (Teulings, 2019).

The model in figure 1 is based on a mono-centric city, yet in reality cities have multiple economic centers of gravity. Combined with the presence of an urban transit node (terminal), which also impacts land values as it increases accessibility to certain places, figure 2 shows a model that can be used in order to determine to some extent the (distribution of) impact of the vicinity of an urban transit node in an area development (Oosterhaven & Knaap, 2003). This can be distinguished as a determinant in why development areas are limited by certain borders or why e.g. density and programming is distributed.

FIGURE 2. IMPACTS OF POINT INFRASTRUCTURES (TERMINALS ETC.), BY (OOSTERHAVEN & KNAAP, 2003)

On the level of a single brownfield area, the connection between land-use and transit can be explained through the work of Wegener and Furst (1999). Based on their 'Land-use Transport Feedback Cycle', it can be stated that land-use is shifting in these areas. Not exclusively, but also not independently due to their accessibility as a result of their position relative to a transit node. Stimulating factors for this, as also pictured in figure 3, are factors as: Regional demand, Availability of land, Attractive sites, Adjacent land uses and Land use policy. These elements are important to be critically reviewed, as they affect the way in which this land use in the vicinity of an urban transit node is used optimally (Wegener & Fürst, 1999).
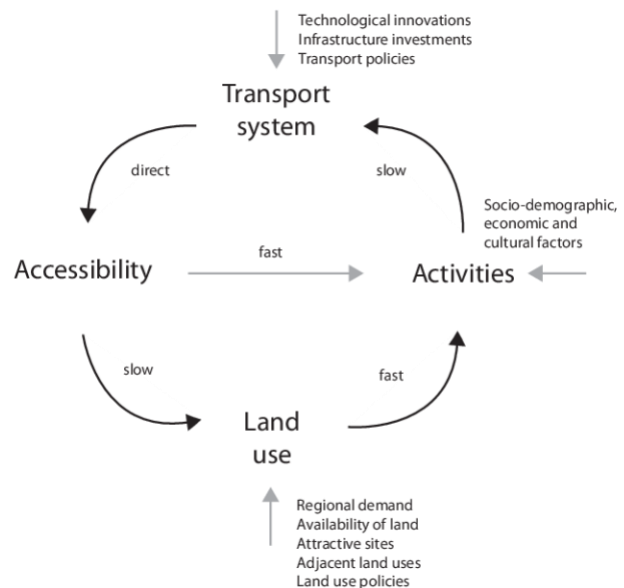
FIGURE 3. LAND USE TRANSPORT FEEDBACK CYCLE, BY (WEGENER & FÜRST, 1999)

In his work, Bertolini (1999) visualizes this balance between the use of land adjacent or in the vicinity of an urban transit node (place) and the value of the node in the so-called '*node-place*' model, as displayed in figure 4. It can be used to determine development potential near urban transit nodes in terms of land development (Bertolini, 1999). Brownfield areas in the vicinity of urban transit nodes can be classified as 'unsustained nodes', as the value of these nodes is not reflected in the surrounding space. This is influenced through the factors listed above and shows a shift in thinking on the use of space in these areas, towards a more comprehensive TOD planning culture. Former stabling yards that in various cases have historically been situated directly
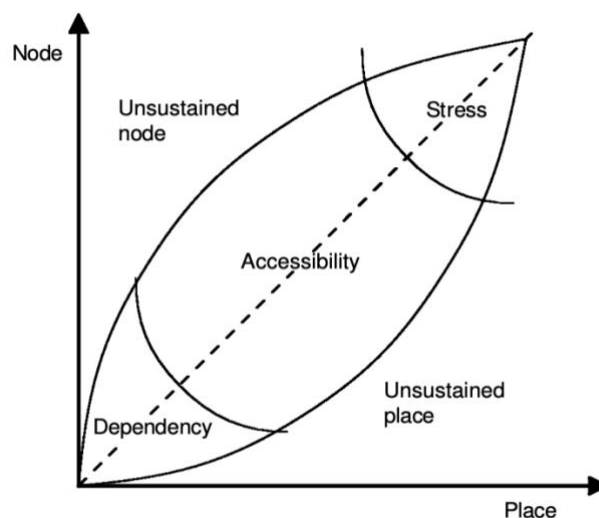
FIGURE 4. NODE-PLACE MODEL, BY (BERTOLINI, 1999)

next to or close to large terminals for rail traffic are being redeveloped as priorities over space in these areas shift. Due to their position, they inherently offer the potential for realizing mixed compositions of programming.

On the other hand, increased use of these transport amenities in such areas also increases the pressure on the infrastructure, which can lead to conflict over space. An example of this is an area development in Rotterdam, where plans for area development on top of- and directly next to rail infrastructure is halted by ProRail, which states it is more likely more rail infrastructure is needed rather than less, which was propagated for this plan. Moreover, ProRail argues that new infrastructure is needed as a means of compensation before the existing infrastructure can be demolished to make way for other land-use purposes (Weessies, 2021).

Although a large body of literature provides a fundament for stating that there is a certain impact of accessibility on land use, there is undoubtedly a variety of other factors that could be of an equally determinative nature. In this these values are not separately distinguished, but rather viewed holistically, which manifests itself through (the vicinity of) a transit node or terminal, including its accessibility, the value of the additional services present etc.

2.1.2. PLANNING PROCESS COMPLEXITY

Spatial planning in the Netherlands is organized based on the principle of subsidiarity, which means that government tasks are executed by the lowest possible layer of government. Moreover, with the introduction of the Wro in 2008, planning responsibilities have been decentralized and thereby shifted from the national government to provinces and municipalities (Needham, 2014). Simultaneously, due to economic downfall through the financial crisis of 2007-2008 and onwards, the house market cooled down significantly. In response to this new reality, municipalities have shifted from predominantly active land policies to predominantly facilitating land policies (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2016) (Woestenburg, van der Krabben, & Spit, 2017). This transition aligns with a broader shift from government to governance, where governments work together (in networks) with other stakeholders/actors rather than organizing and leading in a formalized approach themselves (de Zeeuw, 2007) (van Swam, 2008).

Also in terms of the planning process, brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are complex. Contrary to greenfield or other brownfield developments, there are various factors complicating such developments that have to be taken into account. As these areas are to be transformed from other functions to a new one, remnants of previous uses can in various cases have left traces in e.g. the soil in terms of contamination. With a change of zoning, the new (usually more vulnerable) function requires stricter limits in terms of measured values for this soil contamination, but also in terms of noise nuisance (Verheul, Daamen, Heurkens, Hobma, & van Zoest, 2019). These elements usually apply to an entire area, whereas land ownership does not necessarily correspond with this.

Figure 5 displays the interconnectedness of multiple elements in the preparatory phase of an area development, namely: support, programming, design and land development (Sorel, Buitelaar, van den Broek, Galle, & Verwest, 2011). These four are continuously interacting with one another, as a change in design also means a different land development as well as possible changes in support and programming. It shows the complexity of area developments and also the

FIGURE 5. PREPARATORY ELEMENTS FOR A ZONING PLAN, BY (SOREL, BUITELAAR, VAN DEN BROEK, GALLE, & VERWEST, 2011) [NL]

extent to which multiple actors in the development process are dependent upon one another in order to go through this process.

De Zeeuw (2018) sketches that, based on the work of Kingdon (1995), policy windows for action by the leading stakeholder(s) in a development are crucial in order to safeguard progress. This so-called '*doorwaadbare plaats*' is a moment in time where the involved stakeholders are more or less aligned in their goals/aims and can reach certain agreements (Kingdon, 1995). Closely aligning the four elements stated above provides a position in which legally binding agreements can be made that safeguard this progress, these moments are milestones in a development. In private-led developments, developers are more likely to fulfill this position and should act if necessary (de Zeeuw, 2018a).

Furthermore, Dutch planning culture is known for an integral and comprehensive approach (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2016). As area developments are getting more complex, an integral approach might make projects too big and therefore too risky to be financially feasible. Higher preliminary investments and longer development processes create higher uncertainty on whether or not these costs can be earned back (de Zeeuw, 2018b). On the other hand, a longer duration of a development process and altered circumstances might also affect a development in a positive way. The necessity to bring about a development, combined with the uncertainty over time might make it attractive for developing parties to cut a project into phases, yet this can detract from an integral/comprehensive approach. Nevertheless, comprehensiveness is an important aspect of brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes, as these places tend to have a central position in urban cores and are expected to serve various purposes and functions (Tan, Koster, & Hoogerbrugge, 2013).

2.1.3. OWNERSHIP AND LAND MARKET

Land ownership in the Netherlands offers a lot of rights for owners of land, among which the right to develop (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008). This right makes it attractive for parties that have sufficient capital to take in positions which they expect will be developed. Usually, large developers therefore have a strategy of land banking, that gives them direct access to future development potential. This kind of strategy makes that the land market takes on shapes of an oligopoly or sometimes even monopolist tendencies (Adams, Leishman, & Moore, 2009) (Buitelaar, 2021) (van der Krabben, 2021).

The locations that this research will focus on are known for complex land ownership situations. Contrary to greenfield developments, inner-city brownfield developments tend to compete with more existing activities and a larger number and/or variety of land owners over scattered plots throughout prospected development areas. This makes it difficult to buy larger plots of land, as multiple current land owners will have to be bought out under different conditions, creating complex stakeholder relationships. This can push costs for individual plots, but also costs in terms of time consumed and plan- and process related costs (Buitelaar, 2010) (Buitelaar & Witte, 2011). With a policy shift after VINEX to inner-city locations, there is a focus on brownfield rather than greenfield developments. Developers are aiming for their share in development potential in existing urban areas, therefore competing over the same amount of relatively scarce land. In order to acquire their development positions, purposely positive business cases are drafted in order to get sufficient funds for a bullish bid on the land in question. This leads to high prices being paid for the land, which is often sold again as a means of speculation, resulting in a value increase that is 'leaking out' of the development (van der Krabben, 2021). Especially in organic area developments, alterations in active stakeholders can also affect effective collaboration.

Investment behaviour

Figure 6 displays an adapted model of Adams (2002) by Beekmans (2008). Although his work is from 2008, it is still applicable to the current market. The model states that the (investment) behaviour of developers near railway stations in the Netherlands is influenced by two sets of factors that also influence one another, namely a high and a low level of structures. Individual developers can, to some extent, influence elements in the low level of structures, such as local spatial

FIGURE 6. INVESTMENT BEHAVIOUR OF DEVELOPERS NEAR RAILWAY STATIONS, BY (BEEKMANS, 2008)

policy and the local real-estate market, yet these are also affected by broader economic cycles and national spatial policy (such as e.g. large scale redevelopments of transit nodes). This also works the other way around, where the broader economic cycle is affected by local (real-estate) markets etc. (Beekmans, 2008). The two levels of structures in the model therefore determine the (investment) sentiment on the market to a large extent. Important in this respect is that a negative outlook affects financial feasibility of developments, as it comes with higher calculated risks and interests.

Whereas figure 6 explains what drives the (investment) behaviour of developers, figure 7 displays a model developers use to calculate what price bid for land. Developers make calculations based on the estimated earnings from real-estate, taking into account what information is known beforehand – such as e.g. the percentage of social housing a municipality demands in an area or additional demands in terms of sustainability for new developments. Based on these estimated earnings, the maximum cost of land can be determined (orange in real-estate development) (Schimmel, 2018). Less certainty on the variables in these calculations will also lead to higher costs for risk taking, which is especially the case in transformation areas, where these costs tend to be higher overall, reducing or completely nullify the land earnings in the GREX as a result (Buitelaar & Witte, 2011) (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021).
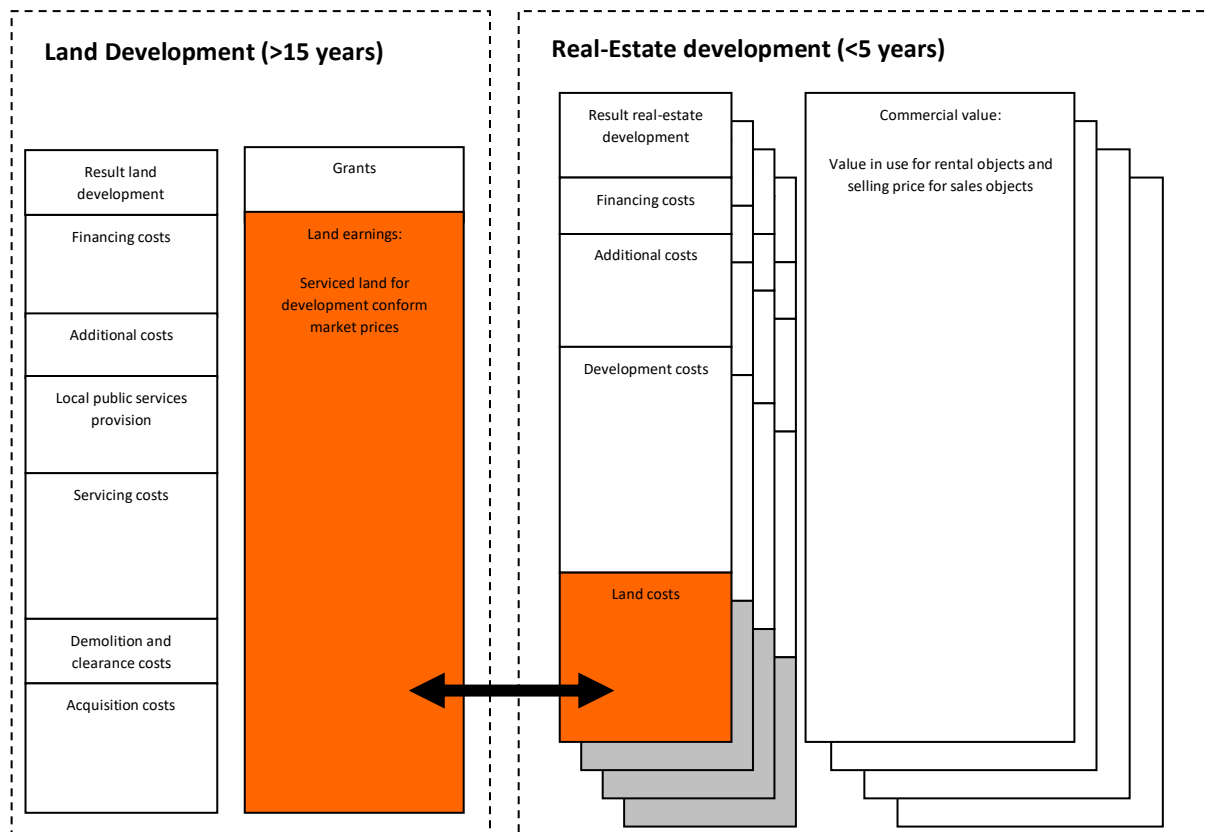
FIGURE 7. LAND DEVELOPMENT AND REAL-ESTATE DEVELOPMENT (GREX-VEX), BY (SCHIMMEL, 2018)

It can be stated that bids that are made by developers on lands – that are important to secure continuity of development potential – are to a rather large extent influenced by how the (market) outlook is on the moment of estimation, on the low as well as the high level of structures. Meanwhile, the land development is a process that tends to stretch over a decade in time, before the real estate development commences (Sorel, Buitelaar, van den Broek, Galle, & Verwest, 2011). This explains the shift in investment behaviour of developers during the economic crisis. Whereas speculative land banking was common practice before, developers are nowadays more hesitant to take positions without concrete plans for development (Doodeman, 2021a). As they bid for land that already has a prospect of development, this results in more certainty of earning back initial investments, making it a worthwhile investment for more parties, hence increasing competition over the same land and pushing developers to take in a bullish stance in their acquisitions (Doodeman, 2020).

The high land values and increased ownership complexity are reasons for municipalities not to strive for active land policies, as land acquisition and development are ought too expensive and complex, especially in inner-city brownfield developments (Buitelaar, 2010). These objections are connected to the position of a municipalities after the financial crisis, aiming not to have sizable (public) funds invested in land developments over a longer period of time, especially given their complexity and therefore also uncertainty (van Haersma Buma & Breed, 2015) (de Zeeuw & Hagendijk, 2015). Although municipalities tend to invest in some positions in order to have a stronger position in the development area, they rely on other stakeholders – (large) developers in special – to take the (financial) risks linked to the type of developments they strive to get realized (Ministry BZK, 2019) (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021).

It also means that existing landowners are in a more solid position of negotiation, as they are aware of the value of their land in terms of certain development potential (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008). This leads to a smaller value increase and in the case of inner-city brownfield developments, already tight margins becoming tighter and feasibility over a larger period of time can be at stake. On the other hand, in transformation areas, the ownership structure and existing economic activities allow for organic area development, where various mixed land uses can co-exist over a certain period of time (Hobma, Heurkens, & van der Wal, 2019). It is therefore not necessary to acquire all land that is originally incorporated in the area development plan. Whenever this owner does decide to develop in line with the plan in place, agreements can be made. This also allows stakeholders to benefit from economically attractive windows of opportunity to commence a development, whereas owners can decide to wait out on early phases of a development in periods economic downturn (de Zeeuw, 2018d).

Feasibility

Altogether, inner-city brownfield locations that are set to be transformed are rarely feasible. As these developments tend not to profit of a value increase (as high as in greenfield developments), there are inherently less funds available in the business case to cover related costs. Acquiring these positions can take up to 50% of the GREX costs, limiting the financial abilities for other spending in the GREX, whilst other costs in the GREX also increase, resulting in far less feasible or negative GREX results (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021). Two main reasons for this can be distinguished:

-   Firstly, developments are faced with the effects of internal aspects. During the period of market recovery after the financial crisis of 2008, development again commenced, with up to 60% of residential developments taking place in inner-city areas (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021). Whereas in the early years a lot of 'quick wins' – relatively less complex, small-scale developments – commenced, more complex and comprehensive area developments were gradually added to developer's pipelines (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008). Economic uplift, growing scarcity and positive market outlook result in higher expected land values are making acquisition once again more expensive, resulting in an upward value cycle. Although housing prices also increased, the additional earnings in the VEX do not cover the costs of additional requirements for the developments, which have emerged in the same period. Rising housing prices have led to increasingly strict requirements in terms of e.g. percentages of social housing involved in a development. Although this stabilizes land values to some extent, in a lot of cases, these

policies are effectuated after land acquisition supported with calculations based on old policies has taken place. Therefore expected margins on these lands are lower to non-existent, leading to stalled sites, since developers cannot execute development plans they anticipated to get a closed business-case (Adams, Leishman, & Moore, 2009) (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021). This is problematic, especially in large-scale developments, because the value increase in these projects takes place in a later stage of the development. This results in a larger 'badkuip', increasing the costs of the total development, due to relatively high initial investments and more uncertain and later revenue (generated by new function rather than new zoning) (de Zeeuw, 2018b). Therefore, large funds are 'stuck' in relatively more uncertain developments over a longer period of time. As this risk is translated into e.g. interests or risk-takings, it also pressures the total feasibility of a development (van Swam, 2008). Van Swam (2008) made a schematic overview of these preliminary investments in brownfields versus greenfields in relation to the level of certainty developers have in a development and the amount of influence, which is displayed in figure 8 (van Swam, 2008). In private area developments, developers have most influence on the development process in the early phases of initiation, exploration and vision making. Afterwards, public processes are of a determinative nature, like consolidating the zoning plan and granting building permits. This distribution likely influences leadership throughout development processes as well.
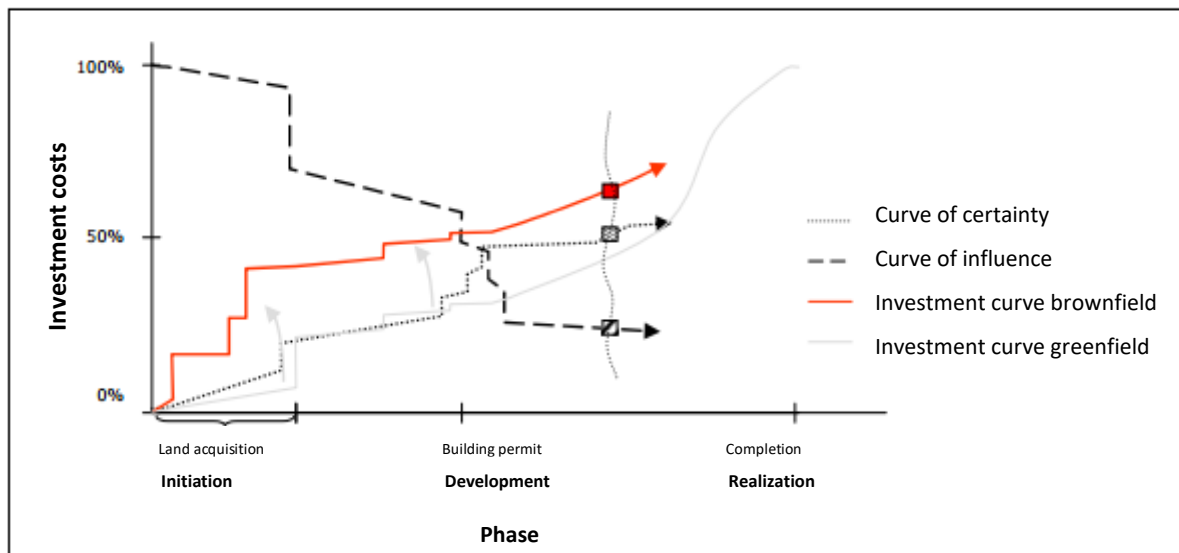
FIGURE 8. COURSE OF CERTAINTY AND INFLUENCE IN RELATION TO INVESTMENTS IN BROWNFIELD AREA DEVELOPMENTS, BY (VAN SWAM, 2008)

- Secondly, the feasibility of brownfield developments has been impacted by external aspects. As densities increase(d) in the existing urban area, pressure on existing facilities and services (among which public transit) also increases. Although small projects do not have a significant effect, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, resulting in a bottom line situation where significant investments are necessary to maintain the quality of these municipal services. Moreover, during the economic crisis municipalities cut these investments in order to make some developments still feasible, leading to delayed investments that are now required to create sufficient space for additional developments (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021) (Monster, 2022). Whereas investments of this size, that can be related to residential developments, used to be covered to some extent by national funds, municipalities are now faced with these costs (Mulder, Koedijk, Hamming, & Holt, 2021). Figure 9 displays a timeline of the national funds that have been available for compensating unprofitable tops in urban development projects over the years. It clearly shows how the availability of these funds has decreased, whilst on the other hand the cases that need additional (national) funding, have increased (Heurkens, Hobma, Verheul, & Daamen, 2020)
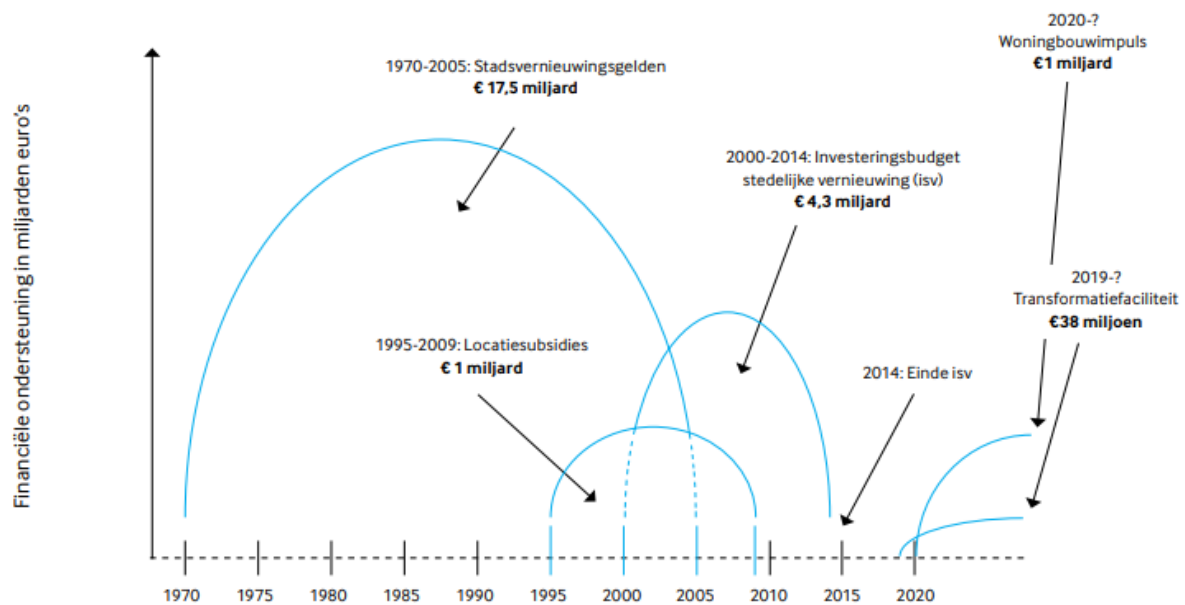
FIGURE 9. TIMELINE PUBLIC FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE NETHERLANDS, BY (HEURKENS, HOBMA, VERHEUL, & DAAMEN, 2020), BASED ON (VERHEUL, DAAMEN, HEURKENS, HOBMA, & VRIENDS, 2017) [NL]

In conclusion, it can be stated that the structure of the land market, which can have oligopolist or monopolist tendencies, combined with investment behaviour that is related rather strongly to market conditions and outlooks are of a determinative nature on the investment patterns of developers in private land developments. Scarcity and a booming market have led to increasing housing- and land prices, but in combination with increased municipal objectives (that are partly the result of this) and decreased grants, deficits have also grown, resulting in unprofitable tops for a large number of developments. An important factor in this is a mismatch in timing of land acquisition and effectuation of related policies, affecting brownfield area developments relatively hard due to the late value increase in this type of projects. Hence, there is a situation in which there is sufficient plan capacity and development potential, but as sites are stalled there is an increasing housing demand and deficit.

2.2. DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES IN BROWNFIELD DEVELOPMENTS AND TOD

Inner-city brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are increasingly coping with difficulties in terms of their feasibility. In the meantime, the already large demand for these developments is still increasing. In this research the development process in this respect is split up into three interacting elements; development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of a development. Firstly, development speed is a key element. Shifting and increasing housing and mobility demand are a reason to expect all involved stakeholders experience a certain necessity to commence development. For developers, it is a means to mitigate risks, because a shorter timespan means large quantities of invested capital are returned sooner rather than later, decreasing uncertainty which otherwise would be monetized in the same development. On the other hand, e.g. poor market outlooks can also be an incentive to wait with a development. Municipalities are also motivated to realize new dwellings in the light of the housing shortage. Development speed in this respect is essential, as it is obligatory in order to receive funds such as the WBI, which in transformation areas could be crucial in terms of feasibility of a project. This essentially links funding to development speed.

Secondly, urban quality is an element that on the one hand can be deployed in order to increase the quality of a development as a whole, but on the other hand is also an element that is rather often target of budget cuts. Both municipality and developer have certain stakes in this respect. Municipalities in particular are more often than not in charge of management of public spaces. This brings about the discussion about which party is in charge of the development. More importantly even, when common aims on this subject have been defined, (how) will these be safeguarded? Especially brownfield areas in the vicinity of urban transit nodes, that are likely to be situated closer to economic points of gravity in urban areas, safeguarding urban quality is important. These areas often function as a gateway and determine to an extent the general image of a city (Bureau Spoorbouwmeester, 2019) (Kamphuis, 2020).

Thirdly, as this research focusses on brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes, the interaction between an area (development) and a transit node can be of determinative nature in the plan-making process. On the one hand, comprehensive integration of a new area development and an urban transit node can result in positive effects for the modal split. As residents of this area are more oriented towards public transit, average parking norms can be lowered, leaving more space and funds for other purposes in the development. Additional density in the vicinity of an urban transit node is also likely to improve the function of the node itself, as the service is more actively utilized (Tan, Koster, & Hoogerbrugge, 2013). On the other hand, however, this vicinity can

FIGURE 10. TRANSFER OF VIBRATIONS, FROM (KENNISCENTRUM INFOMIL, 2022)

also cause negative effects, such as nuisance of rail traffic in the vicinity through vibrations or noise (see figure 10). These negative effects can also lead to increased investments, as structures might require alternative fundaments or noise-reducing alterations.

2.2.1. DEVELOPMENT SPEED

Process phases

It is not uncommon for a brownfield development to take up to 20 years from start to completion, on average taking ca. 15 years (de Zeeuw, 2018e). In order to gain insight in the pace of a development, it is necessary to define how a development process is structured, which steps are to be distinguished and what happens in these steps. Mentink (2021) distinguishes four phases in area development, namely the initiative phase, the feasibility phase, the realization phase and the management phase, marked red in figure 11 (Deloitte, 2017) (Mentink, 2021). Each of these phases is characterized by its own stakeholder dynamics and unique collaborative situations with complex micro-processes of participation (Huxham, Pursuing Collaborative Advantage, 1993) (Vangen & Huxham, 2010).

Figure 11 also displays various combinations of involvement and responsibility of either municipality, market or a form of collaboration of these both in area developments, which will be further elaborated upon in chapter 3.

Moreover, Mentink (2021) states a number of activities that are deployed in each of the four phases, which can be grouped under: programming, design, land development, support and
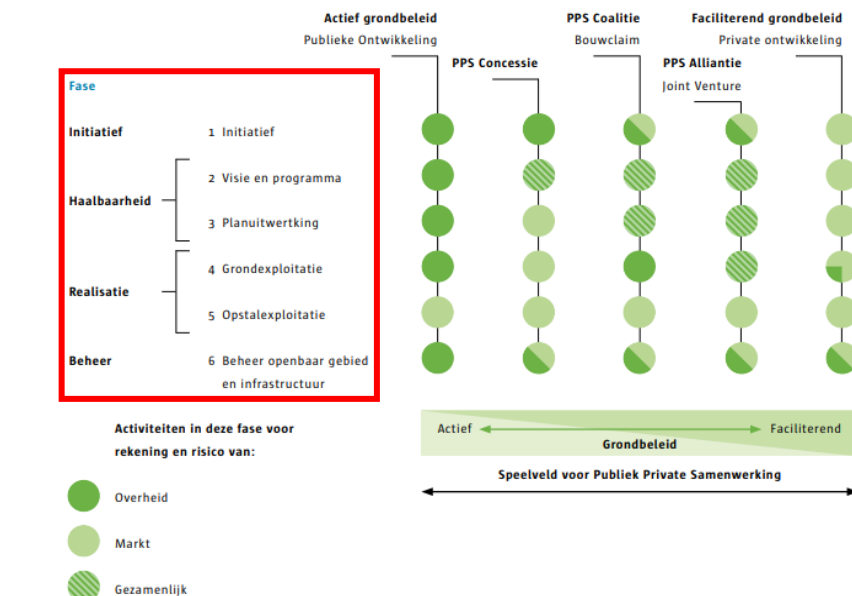
FIGURE 11. SPECTRUM OF LAND POLICY VARIANTS AND INVOLVEMENT IN PROJECT PHASES, BY (DELOITTE, 2017) [NL]

the spatial legal framework in which these four activities take place (Mentink, 2021). Each phase results in multiple outputs of related activities, which are schematically displayed based on the work of Mentink (2021) in appendix 1. She bases this grouping of activities on the model displayed in figure 5 (p.15), originally from (Sorel, Buitelaar, van den Broek, Galle, & Verwest, 2011). Design in this respect is directly linked to the concept of 'urban quality', which is elaborated on in the paragraph 2.2.2. of this chapter. These four activities are often referred to as '*knobs*' one can turn to alter the outcome of (a phase in) a development. Decisions made on these four activities (usually through a formal document) in each development phase determine to an extent the speed of

a development. An agreement on goals and aims in this respect closes a cycle within the framework of figure 5 and opens a new one, although the cyclical nature of area development could lead to a backward leap, as agreements might have to be renegotiated to establish a feasible business case (McAllister, Street, & Wyatt, 2016) (Mentink, 2021) (van Randeraat & Willems, 2021). Aligning various stakeholders and in order to reach an agreement is therefore a key element in establishing a certain pace in an area development (de Zeeuw, 2018a).

Exogenous risks and cyclical structures

Apart from the internal process, development speed is to a large extent determined by exogenous influences (de Zeeuw, 2018a). Due to the duration of these developments, it is very likely for them to become subject to changing circumstances (de Zeeuw, 2018b). For example, when a developer anticipates on a future development in an area and acquires positions on 'warm' land, it will anticipate only to some extent to potential future (market) conditions, especially if these have shown a rather stable pattern over a period of time. However, if this developer anticipated on a programming of e.g. 30% social housing, 30% mid-range housing and 40% free sector housing, but due to changing political climate a new municipal council demands a minimum of 40% social housing, their business case could fail. In case the developer will make a 'bullish' bid, there will be (even) less flexibility to deal with potential setbacks.

In figure 12, Williamson displays the interplay between four levels of social analysis, together with a frequency of time and their purpose in relation to the other levels (Williamson, 2000).

Firstly, level one refers to the system a society functions in, referring to the type of institutions that are in place, what norms and customs a society has etc. This also entails the functioning of a capitalist market system. This level only changes with a frequency of 100 to 1000 years. (Williamson, 2000).

Secondly, the institutional environment that sets out the formal rules of the game is sketched through level 2. It changes at a frequency of 10 to 100 years. This defines e.g. property rights and legal frameworks (Williamson, 2000).

FIGURE 12. ECONOMICS OF INSTITUTIONS, BY (WILLIAMSON, 2000)

Thirdly, level three, which entails e.g. governance and certain policies has a timeframe of 1 to 10 years. This relates to for instance a change in land policy or social housing policy by a municipality (Williamson, 2000).

Finally, there is a continuous change in level four, relating to incentive alignment. This refers to e.g. costs of building materials (Williamson, 2000).

This model can be used to explain shifting conditions that impact area developments in brownfield areas. Due to the time they tend to take, they are prone to change on multiple levels. Although stakeholders can to some extent anticipate on changes in level 4, this is more difficult or practically impossible to do so on a higher level of social analysis (Williamson, 2000). As it is likely that area developments with an average development time of ca. 15 years are prone to changes in both level 4, 3 and perhaps even 2, they are inherently vulnerable processes. Changing conditions can bring about other perspectives on the development plan by various stakeholders, either during or after closing a cycle related to one of the development phases (Sorel, Buitelaar, van den Broek, Galle, & Verwest, 2011) (Mentink, 2021). This can cause tensions between stakeholders collaborating in area

developments, as e.g. changed market conditions or policy have a different effect on a developer – who might be faced with higher costs or even a budget deficit – compared to a municipality. Structures of collaboration in area developments are therefore the arena in which the effects of changes on various levels need to be resolved.

Certain events can pave the way for changes on various levels. The financial crisis of 2008 could be argued to have brought about changes on level 2 and 3, as legal instruments have since changed (Chw) and municipalities have shifted to some extent from active to passive land policies (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2016) (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021). Contrary to Dutch planning practice that was leading up until the financial crisis, more space for flexibility has been introduced in the planning system, breaking with a trend of rather comprehensive development before the crisis (Sorel, Buitelaar, van den Broek, Galle, & Verwest, 2011). In the context of this research it is relevant to ask to what extent this impacts the comprehensive approach of brownfield area development in relation to the node in its direct vicinity. This will be elaborated upon in paragraph 2.2.3 of this chapter.

Although flexibility offers opportunities to anticipate on unexpected changes in circumstances, it is also a factor of risk, as there is an uncertainty in leaving elements open for (later) interpretation. The way in which this issue is approached in collaborative organizations in area developments, determines to some extent the pace in which these processes are able to continue (van Randeraat, Versteijlen, de Veen, & de Graaf, 2022). In the light of the work of Van Swam (2008) and De Zeeuw (2018), splitting a development into multiple smaller projects through phasing can make it easier to steer on realizing maximal output on a short term, decreasing risk, decreasing the period in which stakeholders have very little influence and also make it easier to incorporate unexpected changes into development plans (van Swam, 2008) (de Zeeuw, 2018b). Flexibility, to some extent, in various parts of the development process, is therefore a key element in determining the development speed.

Collaboration and development speed

As this research aims to gain insight in the effect of stakeholder collaboration on the development speed in brownfield area developments. Theory from the financial, legal as well as the spatial perspective suggest that it is impossible to fully define what factors determine the development speed to what extent (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008) (Sorel, Buitelaar, van den Broek, Galle, & Verwest, 2011) (Buitelaar & Witte, 2011). The common denominator in this respect, however, is that the way in which the sorted effects from all these perspectives are resolved in the processes themselves is determined by the way in which stakeholder collaboration is organized.

The work of Mentink shows that active land policy by municipalities does not necessarily result in a higher development speed. The fit use of instruments however, depending on the situation, can speed up a development (Mentink, 2021). Exploratory research by Kadaster shows similar results. Interestingly, it also states that changing ownership over plots of land throughout the development process is not necessary a slowdown factor. Instead, a small number of developers, combined with sufficient absorption capacity of the housing market proved to be of more determinative nature (Doodeman, 2021b) (Doodeman, 2021a).

Adams, Leishman & Moore state that, due to their often bullish approach on land acquisition, developers in the UK sometimes stall developments on purpose in order to steer on sales rates. This is to some extent due to their ability to steer on one element of uncertainty, as they are able maintain a level of scarcity and therefore keep rates steady (Adams, Leishman, & Moore, 2009) (van der Krabben, 2021). This supports their interest for continuity (Mentink, 2021). On the other hand, it can also be explained by 'actual' difficulties in terms of feasibility. This behaviour is something municipalities could to some extent steer on in the Dutch context. Especially in brownfield developments, it is less likely a developer has a monopolistic position that enables such behaviour. Here municipalities are in the position to use instruments like Wvg or acquisition of pieces of land in order to gain influence in an area, safeguard e.g. urban quality and incentivize development (de Zeeuw, 2022). This could be translated to the 'sense of urgency' parties should feel before initiating or speeding up a development process (van Swam, 2008). More often than not, in brownfield areas with multiple land owners, stakeholders are not aligned in this respect. Private area developments have different underlying interests and incentives than public ones (Mentink, 2021). Therefore, a municipality's strategy of deploying certain

instruments in these developments in theory should also be different (van der Aa, Dinkla, & Holt, 2021). In reality there is a discrepancy between the policies and actions in reality by municipalities (Witting, 2020).

Practice also shows that a smaller group of stakeholders makes it easier to reach decisions and speed up a development (Doodeman, 2021a). Especially if, in a private development, the involved stakeholders have the same interests and sense of urgency and are appropriately facilitated by a municipality concerning the public elements in a development. Due to the amount of certainty and influence stakeholders have in area developers, often a situation arises in which developers and municipalities have the same goal, but not the same sense of urgency. They each try to influence the development phases where the other is '*in the lead*', because there is a large extent of interdependency. Developers want municipalities to safeguard and guarantee a certain progress for public elements in the process, such as drafting and implementing a new zoning plan as well as building permits. Municipalities on the other hand want developers to come up with plans for development rather quickly and see construction works commence (de Zeeuw, 2018a). This tension is a driver in collaboration as it is an issue that needs to be resolved and managed between stakeholders throughout the development process.

Concluding, from a theoretical perspective, the determinants for the development speed can only to some extent be influenced by stakeholders, partly because area developments tend to take long in general. How the effects of these determinants on the development speed are resolved in the area development as a whole, however, depends on how a structure of collaboration is organized.

2.2.2. URBAN QUALITY

As a large number of inner-city brownfield developments are faced with difficulties in terms of their feasibility, there are various (budgetary) elements to be considered in the development process. Cutting budgets on e.g. the initially planned public spaces or architectural/design features might offer a more feasible financial margin to operate area developments, but also impacts the urban quality, which to some extent affects housing prices (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008). Striking a balance in this respect can be a (sensitive) topic of discussion and negotiation between various involved stakeholders in such developments (Heurkens, Hobma, Verheul, & Daamen, 2020).

Urban quality might be difficult to directly monetize, but does represent a certain value and, equally important, create additional value (Heurkens, Hobma, Verheul, & Daamen, 2020). Especially in the vicinity of urban transit nodes, the importance of a high urban quality in terms of architecture and public spaces is important (Bureau Spoorbouwmeester, 2019). Their position in the existing urban fabric, often in close relation to city centers and centers with economic gravity causes them to be perceived as representative (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008) (Kamphuis, 2020). The redevelopment of these areas in general adds to urban quality in a city or town since the new function often replaces one with less general aesthetic appreciation (van der Aa, Dinkla, & Holt, 2021). In the case of brownfields, this sometimes also includes incorporating (industrial) heritage in the development plans, which can contribute to real-estate and land values (de Zeeuw, 2018f).

These redevelopments however also add dwellings relative to the old situation and thereby increase the density of an area. As a result, just as with infrastructures, public spaces like parks and squares will experience more intensive use which could lead to pressure (Monster, 2022). Especially considering that municipalities, in general, have deprived these public spaces since the financial crisis, effectively increasing the need for large investments in order to facilitate new area developments (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021). As they are obligated to recover these costs, the question why certain investments are made can be a factor of frustration between municipalities and developers in private area developments. This touches upon the underlying subject of transparency and trust, which is often a factor of stress.

Whereas developers might claim they can develop these public spaces more efficiently, municipalities tend to have a rather conservative approach. There is a preference for developing public spaces themselves in order to safeguard quality and an extent of standardization, which is easier and cheaper in terms of management, which is generally done by municipal organizations. Although this differs per municipality and there can be a large margin of variation in this respect, the hesitation for more experimental approaches also gives less space for developers to innovate and differentiate in adjusting public spaces to certain built environments (Verheul, Daamen, Heurkens, Hobma, & van Zoest, 2019). This doesn't mean there is no ambition to realize new concepts, but rather that complexity of the type of development pushes a more utilitarian attitude, whereas more flexibility might provide a better position to adjust a plan to changing conditions. As a result, the maximal additional value of high-quality urban spaces on an area development are difficult to achieve (van Rooy, 2009).

It can be stated that various involved parties in this type of area developments have shared aims in this respect. Stakeholders such as NS(real-estate) and ProRail, who represent rail-related interests value high quality (public) spaces around their terminals as valuable and complementary to their operations (Bureau Spoorbouwmeester, 2019). Developers benefit from high quality urban spaces as investments in these to some extent are reflected in real-estate and land values. Municipalities must safeguard urban quality and are therefore interested in maintaining a certain level of quality. Comparative research shows out that active involvement of municipalities in realizing these public spaces does not necessarily result in higher urban quality (van der Krabben, 2011). With shared aims and interests, it can be reasoned it might generally be beneficial to choose for a collaborative approach. Yet, the financial contributions necessary for large investments are more difficult to realize without a comprehensive approach.

In practice, these brownfields are faced with feasibility difficulties. As fewer funds are available, creativity is needed in order to reach these common aims and shared goals. Considering this, a comprehensive approach could bring about a certain cost saving effect, but it highly depends on stakeholder collaboration whether this potential additional value is realized (Heurkens, Hobma, Verheul, & Daamen, 2020) (Joosse, 2022). As stated earlier, urban quality or '*design*' is one of the '*knobs*' stakeholders can turn in order to reach a feasible development. It can be tactically used in order to sort positive effects for area developments in terms of e.g. marketing. Additionally, these brownfields are sometimes also negatively faced with their vicinity to urban transit nodes. Negative effects from rail infrastructure in terms of noise and vibrations ask for mitigation which can affect the quality of buildings and/or public spaces. Successful collaborative practices can contribute to better adapting these measures better into an area-wide vision.

The previous paragraph shows how these developments tend to stretch out over at least one decade in time, making them prone to changing conditions. As wishes and uses of space change over time, there is one the one hand a necessity for flexibility and adaptiveness and on the other hand an opportunity to create new value in an area over time, which could contribute viability of area developments (van der Aa, Dinkla, & Holt, 2021). *Placemaking* is usually initiated early on in an area development and is applied more often than before the economic crisis (de Zeeuw, 2018c). It brings about 'brand awareness', gives an area more character, increases its attractiveness and also generates additional land- and real-estate value. Therefore, there are public as well as private benefits generated by what is usually a compromise on certain investments by public as well as private stakeholders (Heurkens, Hobma, Verheul, & Daamen, 2020).

The urban quality in the resulting development is therefore the product of stakeholder collaboration. Throughout the phases of the development process design and urban quality features are formalized in agreements (e.g. NvU, BKP) in order to safeguard the results from the stakeholder collaboration that have lead there (Mentink, 2021). In line with other elements of the planning process, flexibility to some extent is lost as time progresses, but certainty is won.

Concluding, there is a situation in which investments in urban spaces will be significantly higher, but financial capacity for this in developments is inherently lower. A means of creativity and flexibility could provide an outcome, but establishing this in a development process depends on elements of stakeholder collaboration.

2.2.3. COMPREHENSIVENESS

Due to their position, brownfields in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are inherently central places where a large number of challenges need to be resolved in terms of sustainable urbanization. This is what makes these developments inherently complex and what is perhaps the main driver for the necessity of a comprehensive approach. A comprehensive approach offers the opportunity to link up various approaches, which can clear funds for other purposes, contributing to the overall feasibility. On the other hand, a comprehensive approach also brings about major risks, as it can establish interdependencies between parties or elements in a development that make an entire process tremble the moment one of them does (Joosse, 2022).

In the context of this research a comprehensive approach on the development of an area in relation to nearby transit node is important, because this generates additional value for the both, as discussed in paragraph 2.1.1 This relates to the concept of TOD, or Transit Oriented Development (Tan, Koster, & Hoogerbrugge, 2013). Based on the work of Bertolini (1999), a practical node-place model was drafted by the Vereniging Deltametropool, the so-called Butterfly (in Dutch: Vlinder) model, displayed in figure 13 (Bertolini, 1999) (Vereniging Deltametropool, 2013).
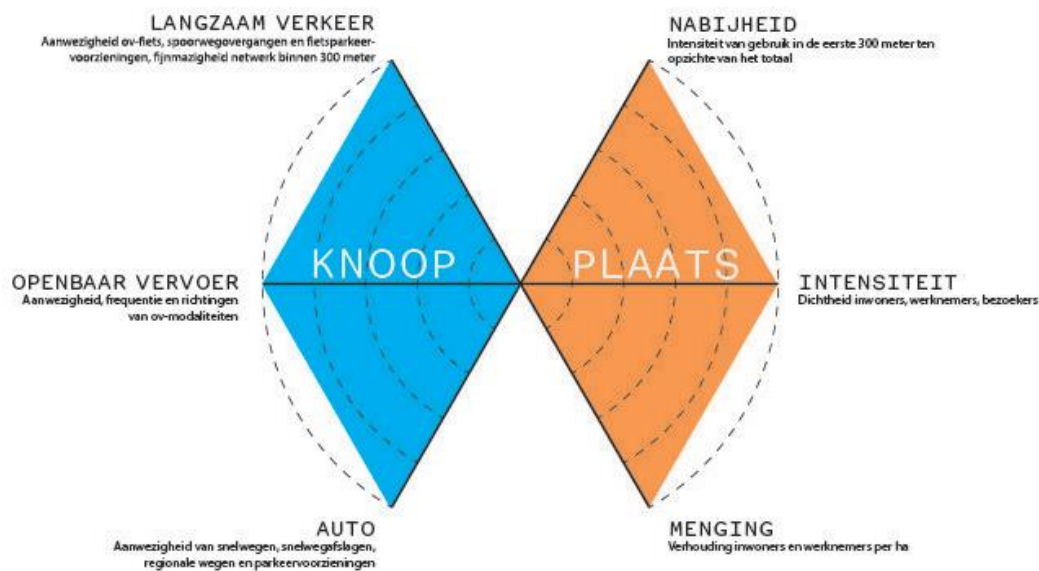
FIGURE 13. VLINDERMODEL (BUTTERFLY MODEL), BY (VERENIGING DELTAMETROPOOL, 2013) (NL)

The Vlindermodel can thus be used in order to determine whether the potential of an area is actually utilized. Theoretically, brownfields in the vicinity of urban transit nodes could therefore generate a lot of additional value relative to normal brownfield developments, but often this 'optimum' is not reached. This is problematic, since these areas are especially complex and their feasibility is under pressure.

Secondly, the interpretation of comprehensiveness in stakeholder collaboration proves to be a determinative factor in the success of developments. Buitelaar, Segeren & Kronberger (2008) state that a pitfall in trying to create a comprehensive approach for such complex developments is the urge to start off a development from a very broad perspective. This relates to broadness in relation to the initial themes and challenges that are to be resolved in an area, as well as the corresponding stakeholders. Especially the tendency to create interdependencies in order to bind stakeholders to a development is risky, because it can easily slow down a process if stakeholders work in different paces and have different stakes throughout the process itself (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008). Although these processes are indeed broader due to e.g. involvement of transit-related matters and stakeholders, it is important to carefully consider what stakeholders should be involved at what moment in time and what related matters should be resolved at what point in the process (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008) (Joosse, 2022).

A comprehensive approach also increases 'badkuip-effect', because the entity that is to be developed is larger. Although initial investments are larger, they can also be shared with a larger group of involved stakeholders. Yet, aligning them in order to reach the so-called 'doorwaarbare plaats', is also more difficult (Kingdon, 1995) (de Zeeuw, 2018a). Combined with interdependencies, putting single or minority groups of stakeholders in a position to slow down a development and frustrate collective efforts, developments as a whole can fail (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008). Considering the timespan of these developments, there will be a lot of critical moments throughout the development process where this could escalate (van der Aa, Dinkla, & Holt, 2021). This further underlines the sensitivity of a balance that is to be struck on the considerations referred to on the previous page.

The financial crisis was a driving force for 'organic' area development in the Netherlands. More small-scale and plot-oriented development, usually with a flexible underlying (zoning)plan and no clear timeline (de Zeeuw, 2018d). Focusing on feasible plan elements in order to commence a development might establish a value increase that makes other phases of a development feasible as well (van der Aa, Dinkla, & Holt, 2021). Yet, this type of approach on area development makes it difficult to achieve a coherent development, which is preferable considering the type of brownfield this research focusses on. Exemplary in this respect is the difficulty municipalities experience in recovering costs for public spaces, whilst these – as discussed earlier – are inherently high in these areas. Moreover, the possibility of combining challenges in order to tackle them in the wider area is necessary in order to establish collaborative advantage (Huxham, Pursuing Collaborative Advantage, 1993) (Huxham, 2003) (van der Aa, Dinkla, & Holt, 2021).

Therefore, elements of organic development practice could be deployed in order to contribute to feasibility of phases or elements of a development, but a comprehensive approach on the strategic level remains important to align key stakeholders in the development process (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008). This also relates to broadening a development and framing it as a comprehensive means to tackle various large challenges in the area, which could also relate to e.g. sustainable urbanization (van der Aa, Dinkla, & Holt, 2021). Van Swam (2008) refers to this as 'integration of stakes', stating that a collaborative approach by stakeholders can lead to the optimization necessary to make these developments viable (van Swam, 2008).

Concluding, due to their position, brownfields in the vicinity of urban transit nodes inherently have a certain potential for generating values and profiting of what they bring the area itself relative to other types of area developments. Their complexity however asks for careful consideration on what stakeholders are involved and what matters are resolved at what point in the development process. Although this seems like a comprehensive approach, elements of organic development practice, especially flexibility should be considered in order to establish a feasible development.

2.3. STAKEHOLDER COLLABORATION IN AREA DEVELOPMENT

The (spatial) complexity of brownfields in the vicinity of urban transit nodes results in a relatively complex development process. This, amongst other reasons, puts pressure on feasibility of these developments and makes appropriate stakeholder collaboration a necessity. On the one hand, the multiplicity of stakeholders and stakes offers a lot of opportunities, but can also pose risks. The way in which their collaboration is structured throughout the development process consequentially is of determinative nature for the viability of developments as a whole. Great demand and an according wish to increase development speed appears to negatively affect stakeholder collaboration throughout the development process, as time is needed in order to establish careful development of these brownfields that uphold or create a certain urban quality and manage to realize a comprehensive approach for an area.

In this light, the concept of '*collaborative advantage*' that has been introduced by Huxham (1993) can be applied to describe the effects of collaboration that can bring about a necessary synergy to, in this case, enable area developments to become (more) viable, where they otherwise perhaps would not have been (Huxham, 1993).

> "*Collaborative advantage is concerned with the creation of synergy between collaborating organizations. Collaborative advantage will be achieved when something unusually creative is produced - perhaps an objective is met - that no one organization could have produced on its own and when each organization, through the collaboration, is able to achieve its own objectives better than it could alone. In some cases, it should also be possible to achieve some higher-level 'meta-objectives'; objectives for society as a whole rather than just for the participating organizations.*" p.603 in (Huxham, 1993)

More frequently however, collaboration is characterized by the principle of '*collaborative inertia*', which is "*the tendency for collaborative activities to be frustratingly slow to produce output or uncomfortably conflict-ridden*". This tension is structured through themes in collaborative practice that tend to energize those who manage them or are in the lead. Vangen & Huxham (2010) therefore state their theory is of a descriptive nature, recognizing "*the idiosyncratic nature of collaborative situations and that there are positive and negative sides to alternative ways of managing*". It is therefore not merely the nature of an organization that participates in a development process, but rather the individuals that partake on behalf of these organizations (Huxham, 2003) (Vangen & Huxham, 2010).

Stakeholders have individual ambitions and goals on various topics throughout the development process, affecting the extent of dedication and effort spent on process elements. These are affected and to some extent shaped by external economic and societal circumstances. Such collaborative structures are therefore complex, as it is a continuous process of balancing between a degree of certainty and flexibility. These are important to either minimize risks and create standardized processes to safeguard development pace or to offer a framework within which collaborative structures are able to adapt to changing circumstances (van Randeraat, Versteijlen, de Veen, & de Graaf, 2022). A comprehensive approach on the strategic – or 'meta' – level is favorable in order to establish mutual understanding about each other's position, shaping a fundament for durable collaboration. Contrastingly however, also integrating stakeholder's execution of plans can bring about major risks, as interdependency on this level has direct effects on the actual development, rather than the underlying collaborative structure (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008). On the other hand, also integrating these stakes on the 'meta' level might actually safeguard development pace, due to its interdependencies (Verhees, 2013). Striking a balance in this respect could be stated to be the most important objective throughout a collaborative development process in order to achieve successful collaboration.

To achieve the beforenamed synergy of collaborative advantage, it is important for stakeholders to be aligned on the 'meta' level. Yet, differences in ambitions and goals of various stakeholders throughout a development process can bring about e.g. different paces of (internal) processes. The development processes referred to in this research are categorized by exactly this situation. The likelihood of involved parties not having the same 'sense of urgency' makes them more prone to discrepancies between stakeholders on the 'meta' level, troubling the possibilities for collaborative practice (van Rooy, 2009).

In practice a certain discrepancy should always be anticipated upon, but it should also be attempted to minimize it. Seeking common ground and similarities between stakeholders in different phases of a development process, a 'meta-strategy', requires leadership, inherently bringing about power structures that could also negatively impact a collaborative structure. Huxham (1993) describes this as:

> "[…] to be effective, a meta-strategy must surely be monitored - at least at a minimal level - to ensure that actions are consistent with it. Any organization taking on the role of monitoring, however, seems likely to be perceived as in a powerful position and, thus, as a threat to the others." p.608 in (Huxham, 1993)

Through the work of Kingdon (1995) and de Zeeuw (2018), it can be stated that utilizing the '*doorwaadbare plaats*' in a development process, where stakeholders are aligned on various levels is a means to minimize the discrepancies required on the 'meta'-level necessary in order to reach agreements in collaborative structures (Kingdon, 1995) (de Zeeuw, 2018a). This is therefore what should be attempted by the leading stakeholder(s).

The collaboration of stakeholders is a living process throughout a development. The intensity and combinations are likely to change depending on the phase of a development and the related goals and dependencies of stakeholders. In this case-study one certainty is given, namely that the municipality and a developer are always involved. The municipality is through its responsibility in terms of safeguarding spatial planning and developers are involved as they initiate specific developments, usually backed by land positions in an area. Although brownfield areas in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are also characterized by the involvement of transit-related stakeholders, these rarely initiate and lead a development process. For this reason, the municipality and a developer can be stated to be the key stakeholders in brownfield area developments and are therefore most likely to be in the lead.

Moreover, it is more difficult to align a large number of stakeholders than only a few (Doodeman, 2021b). A trend can be observed where especially commercial parties are attempting to establish a position earlier on in the development process than before to gain influence on elements in the development process that are important for them (Heurkens, Hobma, Verheul, & Daamen, 2020). Therefore, it should be carefully weighted what stakeholders are to be involved at what point in the process in order to prevent it from getting unnecessarily complex. So, although it can be useful to include a large number of stakeholders early on in the development process in order to align them on the 'meta'-level, it is important to balance out who to in involve at what point in the and to what extent (van Rooy, 2009).

2.3.1. TRUST AND LEADERSHIP

Two key elements of stakeholder collaboration that can be derived from literature and that are relevant for this research are the concepts of *trust* and *leadership*, both affecting the way in which aims and goals of stakeholders relate to one another (Vangen & Huxham, 2010).

Trust

Trust is essential in order to establish an atmosphere in which stakeholders are willing to truly invest in collaboration in order to achieve collaborative advantage (Ministry BZK, 2019). Vangen & Huxham (2010) state that:

> "*Trust can be developed over time, moving gradually toward initiatives where partners are willing to take greater risks because a high level of trust is present.*" p.169 in (Vangen & Huxham, 2010)

A higher level of trust therefore needs to be established gradually, in that sense impacting the speed of a development process. Considering that brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are inherently complex and bring about uncertainty and risks, Vangen & Huxham (2010) say that "*[…] a strategy involving incremental increases in resource commitments may […] be the preferred strategy.*" (Vangen & Huxham, 2010). This relates to the work of De Zeeuw (2018) on financial risks and uncertainties in area development processes. He states that a 'badkuip', with high initial investments and risks, can be replaced by 'wasbakjes', with

a multitude of small initial investments and risks. In this constellation, phasing is utilized in order to structure a multitude of smaller investment loops to decrease initial (financial) risks and uncertainties, incrementally increasing in line with mutual trust (de Zeeuw, 2018b). Considering there is an inherent uneven distribution of risks and uncertainty for various stakeholders throughout the development process, it is important to create mutual trust in an early phase of the development process and its corresponding collaborative practices (van Swam, 2008). Establishing mutual trust in e.g. the initiative phase paves the way for incrementally increasing (financial) investments in the feasibility phase, which is provides more funds to bridge gaps in later phases. This also contributes to negotiating a more even distribution of these risks and uncertainties, providing a more sustainable fundament for collaborative practice in later stadia of this process (Mentink, 2021). Alignment of stakeholders on the 'meta'-level is therefore key, because it contributes to a shared sense of urgency that is necessary to create willingness among stakeholders to reach an agreement on this distribution of risks and uncertainty throughout a process.

The investments in order to create mutual trust should therefore be done early on in the development process, providing the basis for larger investments (of a different nature) in the actual development phase. Otherwise, it could deteriorate the extent to which the development is approached in a comprehensive manner, as this inherently requires large initial investments in area wide services (de Zeeuw, 2018b). Coherent with the cyclical process of area development, the creation of mutual trust in the corresponding collaborative practices is likely also of a cyclical nature (van Randeraat, Versteijlen, de Veen, & de Graaf, 2022). Therefore, it can be reasoned that the process of coming to agreements throughout development phases is the arena in which the creation of mutual trust takes place (Mentink, 2021).

In the moments in which stakeholders come to agreements in the phases of a development process and where stakeholders are to a large extent aligned, the '*doorwaardbare plaats*' is utilized. Reaching these requires certain leadership, making it a 'point of power', as one stakeholder at that point in the process "*influenc[es] the way in which collaborative activities are negotiated and carried out*" (Huxham, 2003) (de Zeeuw, 2018a). Trust building is therefore intertwined with leadership in collaborative structures.

Leadership

As municipality and developer could be considered to be the two main stakeholders in the development processes referred to in this research, either one of them taking the lead is a likely scenario. In private area developments, the private party is often in the lead, as they aim to establish a public sense of urgency for the development of that area. A municipality, in that situation is the facilitator of an area development. Although this sounds – and is often also described as – 'passive' land policy, there is a large variation of possibilities in how to pick up this role (de Zeeuw, 2022).

Collaborative processes are vulnerable. As the position of stakeholders is likely to shift throughout the phases of the development process, it is never linear, let alone possible to accurately anticipate on. Mitigating these shifts in order to keep stakeholders to some extent aligned can be done through utilizing the window for action that is the '*doorwaadbare plaats*'. Although Huxham states that "*making collaboration work effectively is highly resource consuming and often painful*", it cannot be avoided in complex brownfield area development (Huxham, 1993) (Vangen & Huxham, 2010). On the contrary, as stated before it is to some extent necessary to make these area developments viable at all. Leadership can however shift throughout the development process, as developers are in the lead
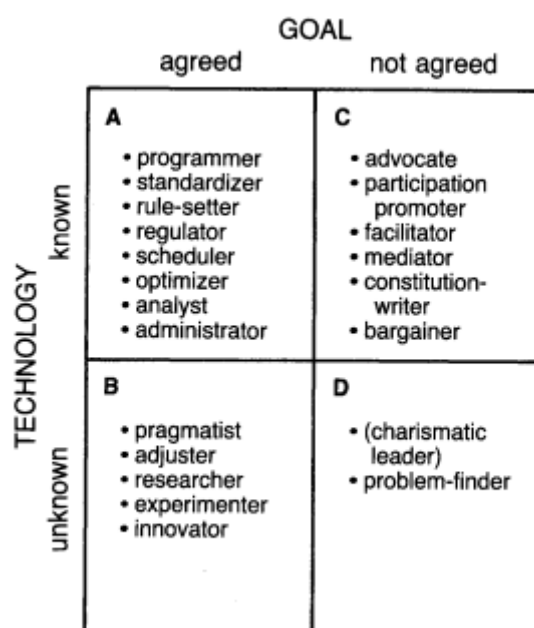
FIGURE 14. PLANNING ROLES CATEGORIZED BY PLANNING CONDITIONS, FROM (CHRISTENSEN, 1985)

on other issues than municipalities. Whereas developers will take commercial risks and invest more early on in the process, they depend on municipal leadership later on in the process, as described in paragraph 2.1.3 and pictured in Figure 8.

According to the situation or phase a development is in, the organization of collaborative structures shifts, as will its leadership. Christensen (1985) built a matrix that "*categorizes planning roles and processes associated with different theories of planning by the problem conditions they address*", pictured in figure 14 (Christensen, 1985).

She distinguishes two axes of '*technology*' and '*goals*'. Technology in her work "*is […] meant very broadly as the knowledge of how to do something, or means*", whereas goals refer to "*the purpose, desired outcome, or end*". The both are dichotomized according to certainty and uncertainty through either known or unknown and agreed or not agreed (Christensen, 1985). In the context of this research figure 14 offers insight in what types of leadership roles are ought fit depending on the situation a development process is in. Considering the involved stakeholders and the fact that their goals and aims continuously change according to the circumstances, changing leadership styles deployed by different stakeholders is a likely scenario. In this light, an important role in current-day planning and development culture in the Netherlands is that of '*gebiedsregisseur*', which can take in a 'neutral' position and is often appointed by the involved stakeholders in order to represent the project, process or collaborative organization as a whole rather than an individual stakeholder (de Zeeuw, 2018c).

2.3.2. MUNICIPALITIES

Proper organization of collaboration in development processes will make them resilient enough to withstand the changing circumstances as sketched in paragraph 2.2.1 As a stakeholder takes on leadership in a (phase of the) process, the way in which they take on this role determines to a large extent whether they are able to align involved stakeholders in the process. Exceptional in this respect is the role of the municipality, which has public instruments at its disposal which it can deploy in order to fulfill public obligations such as retrieving public investments and safeguarding '*good spatial planning*'. This research focusses on developments that are initially private, where municipalities take on a facilitating role.

Governance

Nevertheless, due to their nature, according responsibilities and obligations, municipalities have a crucial role to play in area developments (van Rooy, 2009). They tend to view area developments from a broader economic and societal perspective, relating to e.g. employment and wealth distribution (de Zeeuw, 2018c). As stated, the role of the municipality in development practice has shifted. Although at one point the *communis opinio* was that there would be a large shift from comprehensive to organic area development, reality is of a more ambiguous nature. Figure 15 shows an overview of seven elements in area development where a comprehensive approach differs from the organic approach (Buitelaar, et al., 2012). These seven elements can be adjusted to within a certain bandwidth in order to enhance development feasibility and viability. The new environment and planning act (*Omgevingswet*) is set to improve the toolkit of municipalities in order to be better equipped for the 'new' conditions in the planning and development field (van der Krabben, 2021). Specifically, it offers the opportunity for municipalities to more easily retrieve preliminary investments in organic area developments. Yet, it is argued that these improvements are outdated again now already and new instruments are necessary (van Randeraat & Willems, 2021).

FIGURE 15. COMPREHENSIVE AREA DEVELOPMENT COMPARED TO ORGANIC AREA DEVELOPMENT, FROM (BUITELAAR, ET AL., 2012) [NL]

The most important shift in this respect is the one that has been stated earlier, from *government* to *governance*, which is closely linked with the position of a municipality as a facilitator instead of the alternative of 'active' land development. Considering it is required to establ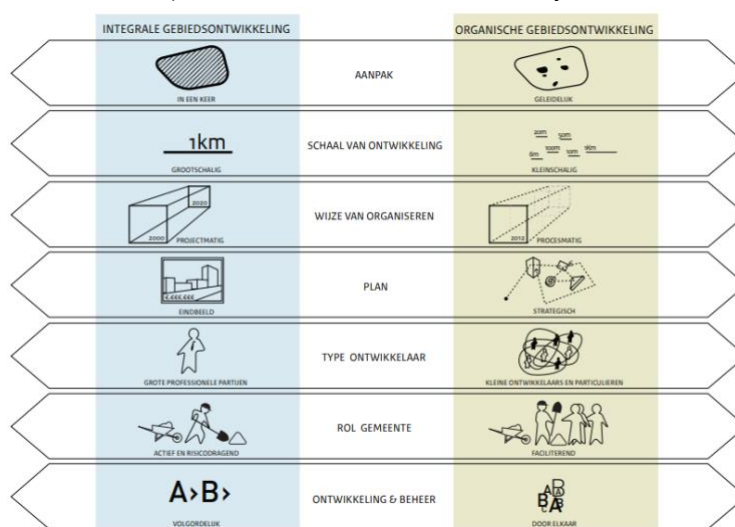ish *collaborative advantage* in order to make area developments that are complex from multiple perspectives viable, the definition of Williamson (2000) on *governance* provides a line of reasoning that is in line with current practice. He states that "*governance is an effort to craft **order**, thereby to **mitigate conflict** and realize **mutual gains***" p.599 (Williamson, 2000). Based on this, it can be reasoned that in order to establish collaborative advantage (*mutual gains*), municipalities are ought to appropriately facilitate (*order*) and thereby smoothen stakeholder relations (*mitigate conflict*).

Instruments and agreements

In paragraph 2.2.1, Figure 11 shows which land policy variants can be distinguished, the extent to which they are either active or facilitating and the involvement of market or government in multiple project phases. In this research, there will be a focus on area developments largely categorized as private developments. By choosing for this type of area developments, it is likely that inner-city area developments with higher risks in the development process – which tend to have more active involvement of a municipality in terms of land policy in order to push a wanted development that would otherwise likely not (yet) take place in this form – are unintentionally included (Mentink, 2021). This research will focus primarily on the facilitating/passive approach of municipalities, as inner-city development locations can be largely categorized as '*private*' area developments. This is due to the usually rather complex ownership situation in inner-city areas, making it difficult for municipalities to apply amicable acquisition (Buitelaar, 2010).

There is a variety of alternative instruments municipalities have at their disposal, which are displayed in figure 16. This figure is based on an overview as sketched by van der Krabben (2021). These instruments and the way they are deployed are not fixed. Instead, they form a toolkit municipality can use to steer spatial development in their territory to some extent in order to meet their obligation to safeguard '*good spatial planning'*. Even in private area developments, municipalities have a significant role, as they set out the frameworks in which developments can take place. This includes

Municipal instruments in active land policy	Municipal instruments in passive land policy
Active building land production	Cost recovery through anterior agreement (voluntarily)
Building claim model	Cost recovery through exploitation plan (obligated with PPT-criteria)
Public Private Partnerships (PPP) / Joint Venture / Grondexploitatie-maatschappij (GEM)	Contribution to local services and spatial developments
Wet voorkeursrecht gemeenten	Urban land readjustment
Expropriation	Cost recovery without fixed timeframe (in organic developments)*
Ground Lease	

FIGURE 16. INSTRUMENTS IN ACTIVE AND FACILITATING LAND POLICIES. BASED ON (VAN DER KRABBEN, 2021). *TO BE INTRODUCED IN THE ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING ACT

additional measures or demands in terms of e.g. sustainability. These can differ between municipalities and projects within municipalities and are referred to as the so-called discretionary powers (Woestenburg, van der Krabben, & Spit, 2017) (van der Krabben, 2021).

Municipalities, for as far as they can be generalized, are sometimes argued to be not well enough equipped for facilitating private-led area developments (Buitelaar, Segeren, & Kronberger, 2008). The question whether active or passive land development should be deployed by a municipality is overshadowed by the capacity and capability of these institutions in respect to their responsibilities in spatial planning. Firstly, there is a problem of capacity at municipalities to serve the abundance of development plans, which is expected to be a contributing factor to the ca. 50% of *stalled sites* that are owned by municipalities (Buitelaar & van Schie, 2018). Secondly, due to their democratic nature, municipalities are prone to temporary, cyclical political sentiments, often in line with municipal elections (Sorel, Buitelaar, van den Broek, Galle, & Verwest, 2011) (van Randeraat, Versteijlen, de Veen, & de Graaf, 2022). New political coalitions and representatives in the municipal council are likely to be unexperienced with what the role of municipalities in area development entails, slowing down public processes (van Rooy, 2009). Moreover, they are likely to bring about new ideas on development practice in their territory, resulting in e.g. demands for higher percentages of social housing or additional interventions on sustainability
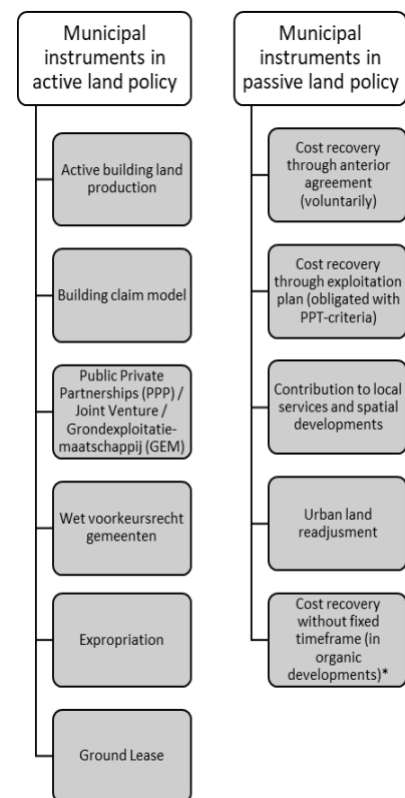
(Rli, 2017). Thirdly, this could be argued to be one of the reasons discrepancies can be observed between municipal policies and actual behaviour, posing an additional uncertainty for area developments as a lack of credible information upfront offers less fundament to anticipate upon (Muñoz Gielen & Tasan-Kok, 2010) (Langelaan, 2016) (Hoogduin, 2017). Moreover, this can to some extent also be caused by changing instruments over the past decade (Witting, 2020). The continuity of this type of area developments is highly dependent on the functioning of municipalities as facilitators, their (dis)functioning poses an additional uncertainty and therefore a risk that is likely to be monetized, putting pressure on feasibility of the development as well as trust and leadership in their corresponding collaborative structures.

Nevertheless, these critiques are inherent to the character of the municipality as an institute. Safeguarding '*good spatial planning*' includes ensuring realization of necessary public infrastructures. Municipalities can do so themselves or deploy their toolkit in order to make sure a certain level of these are realized. In terms of feasibility, it is problematic as they are obligated to retrieve as much as possible public funds, yet due to the unprofitable top in almost all brownfield developments, it is difficult to do so. The so-called '*macro-aftopping*', referring to a cap on retrieving related costs to a development. More specific, the total cost recovery cannot be higher than the total benefits of the developing party (van der Krabben, 2021). Moreover, besides this limit, public cost recovery is bound to the '*Afdeling Grondexploitatie*', section 6.4. in the Wro. This prescribes the so-called '*PPT-criteria*', referring to *Profit, Proportionality* and *Imputability* that dictate contributions are made according to the profit it has from public provisions, therefore proportionally contributing based on the imputability between a development and realization of public provisions (Kenniscentrum Infomil, 2022). Moreover, the list of cost categories (art. 6.2.4. Bro) provides an overview on what costs can be related to a development to be recovered.

Practice in the Netherlands however is that more often than not, anterior agreements are made due to the complexity of the time consuming and therefore expensive public process of an '*exploitatieplan*'. This offers the opportunity to be more flexible with the way of cost recoveries and contributions to public provisions (van der Krabben, 2021). As a result, this provides almost all area developments with a window of opportunity to realize an extent of collaborative advantage, as a stakeholder can *"[…] achieve its own objectives better than it could alone."* (Huxham, 1993) (van der Aa, Dinkla, & Holt, 2021). Doing so requires proper *ex ante* incentive alignment to establish mutual trust, as municipalities have to justify potentially not recovering public funds and developers want transparency on why specific costs are related to a development that might not be listed in public cost categories (Williamson, 2000) (van der Aa, Dinkla, & Holt, 2021).

In conclusion, more often than not brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are characterized by difficulties in terms of feasibility. Because of this, stakeholders cannot realize their individual ambitions without one another, creating interdependency. Without achieving collaborative advantage and establishing mutual understanding on the 'meta'-level by involved stakeholders, viable developments are practically impossible as it is difficult to establish a fundament of trust. On the other hand, these areas lend themselves, more than others, for flexible and experimental approaches. Unlocking this potential requires leadership, which can be taken by either a developer, municipality or a neutral entity installed by the both or a collaborative organization. Municipalities in this respect carry a certain responsibility, as they are ought to safeguard '*good spatial planning*' and have a toolkit to deploy that can be beneficial in achieving collaborative advantage.

2.4. OPERATIONALIZATION

2.4.1. CONCEPTUAL MODEL

This research focusses on private, brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes. As these developments are more complex than regular area developments in multiple respects, it is worthwhile to investigate how various elements of these development processes are affected by stakeholder collaboration. Based on sub-questions 1 and 2, the elaboration on theory in paragraphs 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 shows that the way collaboration is organized affects the three elements of area development processes that are used to structure this research. The collaborative structures as well as the elements of development speed, perceived urban quality and comprehensiveness of a development are all influenced by the local spatial context. Considering the areas at study in this research, this also encompasses the vicinity of an urban transit node. It can be stated that these areas magnify aspects of regular brownfield developments. Figure 18 displays the conceptual model that has been drafted based on these considerations.
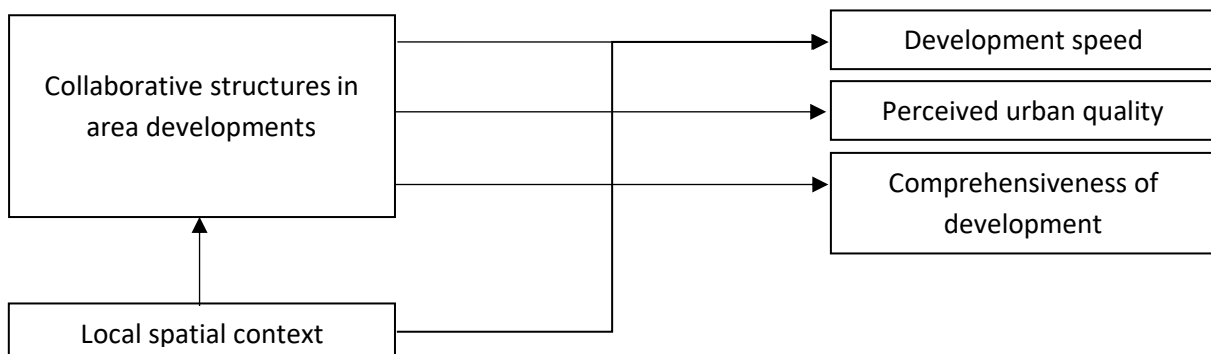
FIGURE 17. CONCEPTUAL MODEL

2.4.2. OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Several key concepts that are used in this research are rather abstract or open for interpretation. This paragraph provides an overview of these concepts and the definitions that are used in this research. Some of these may already have been stated elsewhere in this document, but will be repeated for the sake of completeness of an overview. Considering the effects of stakeholder collaboration on the development process is the phenomenon that is being researched, it is important to state that the development process is split up into three dependent variables.

1. The dependent variable of '*development speed*' in this research is viewed through a frame that has been deployed by Mentink (2021). She distinguishes three indicators that, together, comprise development speed, namely:
    a. *The speed individual activities are deployed at;*
    b. *The effectiveness and quality of interaction between groups of activities and*
    c. *The speed of policy making processes* (Mentink, 2021)

2. In this research, the dependent variable of '*urban quality*' is defined as: "*the quality of the objects, the quality of the connection of these objects to each other, the quality of materials and the quality of life and landscapes*" (author's translation) (van Rooy, 2009). The elements that are stated are also indicators.

3. '*Comprehensiveness*' as final dependent variable is when a development can be considered to have more characteristics of a comprehensive development, rather than organic, according to the work of Buitelaar, et al. (2012), as pictured in figure 15 (Buitelaar, et al., 2012). Moreover, in terms of the comprehensive approach of area in relation to an urban transit node, the Vlindermodel can be used in order to observe '*TOD-ness*' (Vereniging Deltametropool, 2013).

The independent variable on the other hand, *'collaborative structures in area* developments' is viewed through the work of Vangen & Huxham (2010). The elements of '*trust*' and '*leadership*' are considered in order to establish whether a case or elements thereof can be characterized as examples of '*collaborative advantage*' (success) or '*collaborative inertia*' (failure) (Huxham, 1993) (Huxham, 2003) (Vangen & Huxham, 2010).

3. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the methodological framework for the conducted research is discussed. Firstly, the research strategy will be discussed, followed by the philosophical approach. Afterwards, the methods used to collect and analyze data are elaborated upon, alongside the units of study and case-selection. Finally, the reliability and validity of this research, its applied methods and outcomes is discussed.

3.1. RESEARCH STRATEGY

The phenomenon at study in in this thesis has not yet been subject of a holistic research approach. Therefore this research has an inductive and explorative nature, in order to gain insight in how it manifests itself in various cases. The research strategy shows that the theoretical framework from chapter 2 provides the basis for an empirical study that is to be conducted, the case study. Through comparing the cases, conclusions can be derived that offer insight in how collaborative structures in area development affect the development process. These could contribute to existing academic literature and provide insight in success and failure factors.

Theory Literature study	Empirical Case study	Analysis Assessment & Comparison	Conclusion & Recommendations
• Organization of stakeholder collaboration in urban area developments • Complexity of brownfield (TOD) area developments • Explaining development process	• Elaborating on spatial context • Determining organization of stakeholder collaboration • Inventory perceived urban quality and comprehensiveness of developments • Measuring development speed	• Assessing the impact of collaboration organization on the development process • Comparing different approaches and determining their effects	• Answering research questions • Answering main question • Answering management question • Further research recommendations

FIGURE 18. RESEARCH MODEL

The research model for this research is displayed in figure 19. Four steps are distinguished in order to facilitate the inductive and explorative nature of this research to eventually formulate an answer to the main question. Firstly, theoretical backgrounds on the topic are gathered through literature- and policy studies and explorative semi-structured interviews in order to gain a complete picture of the phenomenon at hand. With this, the concepts of the organization of stakeholder collaboration, complexity of brownfield (TOD) area developments and the three elements of development processes can be explained. This theoretical basis then forms the lens through which an empirical study – the case study – will be conducted, which is further elaborated in paragraph 3.3. The outcomes of the case study form the input for the analysis, where the cases are compared and reflected upon through the theoretical context in order to explain certain behavior and events. Based on this, the sub-questions and main research question can be answered, as well as the management question for the internship company, BPD.

3.2. PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

Van Thiel (2014) states case study is fit for research with an inductive and explorative nature. Moreover, she states it is often applied in research concerning real-life settings, or '*the field*'. She also underlines the applied nature of the method (van Thiel, 2014). These considerations make the use of case study fit for this research, as it aims to gain an understanding of real-life phenomena in order to offer insights that can also be applied in practice, through answering the management question of this research. The philosophical approach of Merriam (1998) on case study is leading, which can be described as being '*pragmatic constructivist*', focusing on inductive reasoning and interpretation (Merriam, 1998) (Harrison, Birks, Franklin, & Mills, 2017). The constructivist research paradigm is considered suitable for gaining understanding in '*social facts*', recognizing different interpretations of reality, especially relevant given the social character of the phenomenon and the importance of individuals in this (Moses & Knutsen, 2012).

Guba & Lincoln (1994) describe this ontological stance as being '*relativist*', stating that "*realities are apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature, and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions*" and that "*constructions are alterable, as are their associated 'realities'.*" p.110-111 in (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This corresponds with the nature of collaborative practices as social constructs and takes into account the unique circumstances and complexity of individual cases. Consistent with the description of Guba & Lincoln (1994), Merriam (1998) deploys case study as a method in order "*to provide a rich holistic description that illuminates one's understanding of the phenomena*" p.10 in (Harrison, Birks, Franklin, & Mills, 2017) (Merriam, 1998).

Therefore case study is deployed in order to gain understanding by exploring the phenomenon through inductive reasoning rather than to obtain generalizable conclusions through the testing of hypotheses. Guba & Lincoln (1994) also state that elements of '*realities*' are often shared among many individuals, which in this case would form the basis for elaborating on the various cases in order to find common denominators (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

3.3. CASE STUDY RESEARCH

In order to construct a holistic image of the phenomenon, the perspectives or '*realities*' of individuals are to be examined. As stated, this research will make use of a qualitative approach and view the phenomenon at hand through case study. Case study is fit for this research as it serves the nature of the phenomenon at study, which is of a unique character and is approached through an inductive and explorative lens (van Thiel, 2014). As the phenomenon that is being researched has not yet been explored, inductive research through in-depth study of multiple cases provides a method to gather knowledge on how the phenomenon manifests itself in practice.

The case study conducted for this thesis has a multiple-case design, in order to make a comparison between various cases with variation in the independent variable, where various cases are researched within their own context. The cases themselves are organizations of collaboration in area developments and the units that are being researched are the development processes in cases. By gathering in-depth knowledge on the manifestation of stakeholder collaboration in three brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes, research aim is expected to be fulfilled.

The case study has a heterogeneous design, as several different cases will be compared in order to ascertain what the effect of this variation of the independent variable on the dependent variables is (van Thiel, 2014). In doing to, this research setup aims to acquire insight in what the effects of various ways of collaboration in complex brownfield area developments are on the development process. Important to note in this respect is the case selection based on the type of area development and its according collaborative structures. Although three different cases are selected, which are all influenced by their own unique circumstances, complexity and context, elements of the structure of collaboration are similar throughout cases in order to have the opportunity to compare them.

The case study is structured in two separate chapters. Firstly, chapter four provides brief and factual descriptions of the phenomenon at study per case, based on the results from the interviews. Secondly, in chapter five these cases and the manifestation of the phenomenon at study in each case will be compared in order to obtain an idea of how the creation of '*realities*' could more generally be stated to take place. This provides a fundament for identifying factors of success and failure that are necessary to answer research questions five and six.

3.4. DATA COLLECTION

Multiple sources of information have been consulted to gather information for this case study. Firstly, literature study, policy study and explorative interviews provided the fundament for the theoretical framework. In order to obtain sufficient background information on the cases and their contexts. For this, document study and interviews have been conducted. This paragraph will further elaborate upon the selection of cases for this research as well as the use of interviews to gather information.

3.4.1. CASE SELECTION

Cases have been selected based on limited comparability and relevant differences. All cases are examples of brownfield area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes that at the moment of conducting this research have a certain '*momentum*'. This means that activities related to these developments are (still) being deployed at the measuring point. The core determinant for cases is the portfolio of BPD region NOM, as this is the internship company of the researcher providing access to studying the phenomenon in practice. Figure 19 schematically displays how cases have been selected for this research. Firstly, there is a large number of brownfield

All possible cases in practice

Case portfolio BPD region NOM

Case selection for research
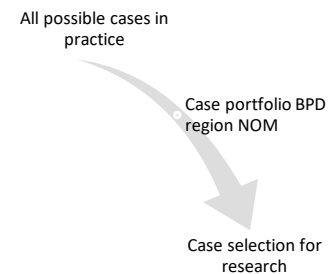
FIGURE 19. CASE SELECTION

area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes in the Netherlands that could be used for the purpose of this research. Secondly, a fraction of these are part of the development portfolio of BPD, which is the internship company of the researcher. It is expected this increases accessibility to information concerning the researched units (van Thiel, 2014). Thirdly, a selection is made from these cases that will be used for this case study.

Besides the '*momentum*' this third selection is based on the factor of (1) private initiation of a development, followed by (2) relevant differences and similarities in the structure of collaboration. Thereby, variation in the independent variables is established (van Thiel, 2014). Private initiation is important in order to ensure comparability on facilitating municipal land policies and potential explanation of municipal as well as developer behaviour. Private initiation is a broad term for area developments that have been started by a private part – in this research exclusively the developer – and/or are executed primarily by this private party. Relevant differences refer to different structures of collaboration and case contexts. It is likely these two also affect one another, as structures are often shaped by and adapted to the circumstances of a development. Relevant similarities are elements of structures of collaboration, such as the use of 'coalitions' and 'development fields' in Leeuwarden and Zwolle, or a relatively regulated approach in Tiel and Zwolle.

Three cases have been selected, namely (1) Leeuwarden Spoordok, (2) Zwolle Spoorzone and (3) Tiel Veilingterrein. Key characteristics of the cases are stated in table 1. Their typology is a brief summary of main characteristics of the development process, for as far as these were possible to identify prior to conducting the case study.

Case	Case typology	No. of interviewed stakeholders	Area size	City size
Leeuwarden Spoordok	Experimental, organic features, facilitating municipality, large no. stakeholders	3	~160.000m2	~100.000 inhabitants
Zwolle Spoorzone	Structured approach, masterplan, large no. stakeholders	4	~100.000m2	~125.000 inhabitants
Tiel Veilingterrein	Traditional approach, active facilitating municipality, small no. stakeholders	4	~55.000m2	~42.500 inhabitants

TABLE 2. CASE OVERVIEW, OWN FIGURE

3.4.2. Interviews

Merriam's (1998) '*pragmatic constructivist*' approach to case study does not prioritize a particular method for data collection or analysis, yet interviews are most commonly used for qualitative data collection (Merriam, 1998) (Harrison, Birks, Franklin, & Mills, 2017). For the purpose of this research, interviews are also the primary source for gathering information. The three cases are described through multiple interviews with key stakeholders, leading to different measuring points in cases, although this is ought to be insignificant considering the average timeframe of area development processes of this nature (van Thiel, 2014) (Stauttener & Boelman, 2021). Interviewing the primary relevant stakeholders is a means to reconstruct the '*realities*' of the individuals representing them, enabling the creation of a holistic view on the case and acquiring in-depth knowledge.

As cases from the portfolio of BPD are used, the area developments and corresponding collaborative structures are initially identified through a *semi-structured* interview with the responsible developer from BPD. In this interview, information on other relevant stakeholders is gathered that is then used to identify potential interviewees. These relevant stakeholders are in every case 'the municipality' and 'the developer', although the appearance of these actors can differ per case and institution. Moreover, various general interviews have been conducted with e.g. NS and developers that function as input for this type of stakeholder and their position in the development processes and corresponding structures of collaboration. Although these are not always case-specific, case-specific elements are referred to and their general position in all cases can be distillated from these interviews.

These will then also be interviewed in a semi-structured manner, attempting to retrieve information on a fixed set of topics from each stakeholder. Therefore, the 'structured' part of the interview consists of the variables referred to in the research questions, also referred to as so-called '*sensitizing concepts*', which supports the inductive nature of this research (van Thiel, 2014). It is attempted to ensure that the interviewee does not merely give socially desirable answers, but instead disclose non-factual information in the form of their personal perspectives, opinions and relationships. This is the core of stakeholders' '*realities*' and therefore crucial to retrieve in these interviews. Guidelines drafted for this by Van Thiel (2014) have been incorporated and attempted to be adapted in the interview guides and interviews themselves (van Thiel, 2014). The interview guides referred to can be found in appendix. Interview transcriptions can be provided by the author upon request.

3.5. Data Analysis

As stated, the data that is obtained in the individual case studies will be compared in chapter five in order to sketch what practices can be identified based on the three cases that are researched. By comparing them, the manifestation of the phenomenon and specific patterns can be identified. This provides a fundament for separating case-specific manifestations from case-transcending ones. Although both are considered as valuable knowledge for getting a holistic and in-depth image of the phenomenon, they serve different purposes in terms of what they can be used for. This relates to identifying factors of success and failure in collaborative practices, which requires the comparison.

The processing and analysis of the interviews is conducted using Atlas.ti, where interview transcripts are coded and grouped. This provides insights in individual stakeholders' '*realities*', but also allows for comparing similar stakeholders or give in-depth perspectives in cases through grouping these interviews. Triangulation is established through reviewing conflicting theories in the theoretical framework and the use of multiple sources to gather factual information – which is then sporadically validated in interviews and document-study related to the various developments (van Thiel, 2014). Additionally, there are three cases at study which each provide their own information on the phenomenon at study, contributing to triangulation. Van Thiel (2014) describes this as "*taking a diversified approach, the researcher gathers as much information as possible, so as to ensure that the data collected are valid, irrespective of the number of units studied*" p.92 (van Thiel, 2014).

3.6. GENERAL VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Construct validity

Construct validity is safeguarded through the description on case selection in paragraph 3.4.1. This provides the argumentation behind the choice for the three cases in question to have been selected. Through this, too much *subjectivism* in this choice is prevented and it can be argued that the case choice supports the study of relevant *'realities'* that fit the purpose of this research, making it *specific* enough (Yin, 2008) (Wiering, 2021). Moreover, by using the operationalization key concepts from paragraph 2.4, operational measures are clearly determined before the case study is conducted.

External validity

External validity is expected to be low, as the results are not statistically generalizable, as the cases and their context are each unique. Van Thiel (2014) wrote about this: "*the findings of a single case study will be valid only for the case in question, yet often findings can be regarded as representative for other situations in the same research domain, even when these have not been actually studied.*" p.89 (van Thiel, 2014). Therefore, the conclusions from this case study could offer insights that are also relevant for comparable cases that have not been researched. This is also caused by the specific type of area developments at study, which are each unique but due to their specificity are to some extent comparable. Through exploring how a case fits within the current knowledge domain of other cases as well as existing theory, a form of *analytical generalizability* does therefore occur (Wiering, 2021).

Internal validity

Internal validity is not necessarily relevant for explorative studies, but contrary to the inductive nature and relevance for explorative research, there is to some extent an aim to identify a causal relation between the independent and dependent variables (van Thiel, 2014) (Wiering, 2021). In order to secure internal validity a variation in the independent variable is created in the case selection. Van Thiel (2014) states that "*by creating variation in the independent variables* […]*, the causal relationship can be established more directly, and factors influencing success or failure can be identified with greater certainty. Having said all this, in research with contrasting cases, the effects that are measured will be conditioned by the context of the cases studied; internal validity will be high, and external validity will be low*" p.90 (van Thiel, 2014). This is possible because the right independent variables are already known beforehand, as of how they manifest themselves can to derived from the theoretical framework, providing sufficient fundament for research into potential causal relations as well as factors of success and failure.

Reliability

In terms of reliability, there are two notable considerations. Firstly, as the portfolio of BPD in the region NOM is used, cases that otherwise might have been more fit for a case study have not been considered. Van Thiel (2014) says about this that "*the selection of cases should preferably be guided by theoretical arguments. In reality, though, often a more pragmatic approach is needed. Practical issues such as having to gain access to cases or getting individuals or organizations to cooperate nearly always play a role.*" p.90 (van Thiel, 2014). For the sake of this research and its aim to gather and construct in-depth knowledge on the phenomenon at hand, this consideration can therefore be defended, because of the additional opportunities it opens in this respect.

Secondly, as only cases with '*momentum*' are taken into account, situations that are potentially worthwhile to investigate – where processes were stalled as a result of e.g. collaborative inertia – are left out. On the other hand, this is also a means of ensuring comparability of cases as a means of analysis, which is important to secure construct validity. This reflects especially on defining success- and failure factors, because, as Van Thiel (2014) states, "*success or failure is time-dependent: an initially successful change can turn out to be a failure in the long run, after the moment of measurement, and vice versa.*" p.90 (van Thiel, 2014). Due to having only a single measurement point in time, it is important to be prudent.

Reproducing this research might therefore offer different insights at a different moment in time per dependent variable, but the conclusion as based on the analysis – where case comparison is used to establish causal relationships and identify factors of success and failure – is expected to be similar. Moreover, the set-up of interviews contributes to reproducibility and traceability, as there is a somewhat standardize approach in each interview and therefore for all cases (van Thiel, 2014). This is also a means of decreasing errors and biases (Wiering, 2021). These interviews are all transcribed and coded and thereby retraceable and complimentary to meta-analysis of cases (van Thiel, 2014).

4. CASE STUDIES

This chapter covers the case studies as defined in the previous chapter. The cases of Leeuwarden Spoordok, Zwolle Spoorzone and Tiel Veilingterrein will be elaborated upon using the information gathered through interviews with the relevant stakeholders in these development processes. Per case the structures of collaboration in area developments and the manifestation of elements of the development processes are elaborated upon. This is done through brief and factual descriptions of the phenomenon at study per case, based on the results from the interviews.

4.1. LEEUWARDEN SPOORDOK

Leeuwarden Spoordok is an example of a development in an area that only recently came into scope for concrete development. The responsible municipal project manager stated that "*Actually we never wanted- or had to develop in Spoordok, because our focus was on other areas*"[1]. Considering the municipality and the type of area development, it also has a rather experimental character. For this case, three interviews have been conducted. Firstly, a developer from BPD (C.) has been interviewed, who has taken on the role as '*gebiedsregisseur*', a role for which BPD was deliberately approached. This developer is asked to specifically act in the interest of the area development, rather than the company. Secondly, as BPD is a commercial developer, another developer (P.) has been interviewed who acts as the counterpart in this development, taking on the commercial role, acting more in the interest of the company relating to this specific development. Finally, a municipal projectmanager has been interviewed, who is responsible for this area development (R). The development is currently in the feasibility phase.

4.1.1. COLLABORATIVE PRACTICE

As stated, the way this area development and its corresponding collaborative structures are structured is relatively experimental considering the spatial and institutional context. Leeuwarden as a city has not had similar brownfield area developments and also has little experience with a facilitating role. This land policy is, in this case, shaped by the fact that the municipality has little land ownership and is therefore more dependent on commercial landowners and developers who are already present in the area. These factors can be stated to have led to a participatory approach, where stakeholders with land ownership in the area are involved through so-called '*club-sessions*'. Moreover, this can also be stated to be the reason the R. has been appointed as municipal projectmanager, considering previous commercial experience. The collaborative approach with BPD as commercial counterpart and '*gebiedsregisseur*' also fits this line and serves the purpose of adapting plans better to the circumstances in the area.

Continuously involving stakeholders is the participation strategy that has been adapted by BPD and the municipality as '*gebiedsregisseurs*' concerning stakeholder engagement. Transparency in choices made and offering plenty opportunity for feedback on concepts that are communicated through e.g. 'club-sessions' appear to be a fundament for creating trust between stakeholders, as well as a sense of involvement in the process, which contributes to certain continuity in the development process. Yet, municipal elections have contributed to a lack of involvement over a period of time. This instance, directly related to the institution of the municipality, can therefore have contributed to deprived stakeholder relations. This starting point for the upcoming development phase, which is expected to bring about friction on details concerning plot- or '*ontwikkelveld*'-level requires a fundament of mutual trust, which, in this case, is connected with certain continuity in stakeholder

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[1] R. Q2.22 – 12-05-2022 (author's translation)

participation. Moreover, the early involvement of stakeholders has been very important in order to obtain a clear image of the goals and aims of the affected parties in the area. C. states that:

> "*I think the biggest success is, 'alone you go faster, together you get further' and then ultimately I think that helps accelerate as well, because you now have so many people on the 'bagagedrager' and you know the goals and aims so well, that you can actually avoid conflict.*"[2]

This practice, which includes involving all potential stakeholders from the very beginning of the process, might therefore delay the process slightly in the beginning, but provides a fundament for more solid collaboration further on in the process. Smoothening relations can thus mitigate conflict and accelerate collaborative processes.

This approach also brings about conflicts due to two reasons in specific. Firstly, other landowners, which are often (collaborating with) developers, do not necessarily appreciate BPD as a 'competitor' to have the amount of influence it has now. Whereas BPD initially did not have any positions in the area, it has acquired this soon after getting involved as '*gebiedsregisseur*'. Although with P. getting involved in the project, internally C. and P. have different roles, but BPD's position still is one that offers more opportunity for influencing the development process. This can frustrate mutual trust between participating parties in the development, which is at risk to become a factor of delay in the development process, although more stakeholders are to be involved on the strategic level for the next phase of the development process.

Secondly, as a new phase of the development process commences, the municipality and BPD are confronted with the differences in nature of both organizations. They each have clear ideas on the distinctions between both organizations, especially concerning the municipality's public role regarding the use of instruments in order to e.g. mitigate speculation. Although both parties prefer other means of dealing with the issue, this remains a municipal responsibility. The same goes for requesting WBI funding, which is something only a municipality can do, as well as upkeeping relations with transport related stakeholders in the area. As this type of elements in the development process are set to be become more concrete, the balance between BPD and the municipality as equal '*gebiedsregisseurs*' is likely to be lost. The municipality of Leeuwarden prefers BPD maintain its current position throughout the next development phase and to deal with this issue in another way. This difference in perception and expectation of the role of BPD might frustrate the upcoming phase of the development. Given the critique by other relevant stakeholders in the area, it is therefore logical for a larger group of stakeholders to participate as '*gebiedsregisseur*', like e.g. VanWonen.

Like VanWonen, there are several stakeholders in the area that have consolidated positions and are set to stay in the area. In some other places however, there are notable shifts in land ownership, together with several existing owners who do not want to move their business elsewhere. In order to cover the investments that are necessary for this area, it is important for all new functions to contribute their fair share, otherwise it is likely budget deficits will arise. Therefore, proper mechanisms will need to be implemented in rather short notice, as the current situation allows for funds to leak out of the development area. Although it is important to make elements like this concrete, BPD and the municipality are not aligned with regard to programming and urban quality requirements per '*ontwikkelveld*'. Whereas the municipality rather has certainty, C. states:

> "*I also think a pitfall is that we might just start having conversations later on, that the municipality might want to work it out somewhat precisely, but I think, developers should also just be able to develop.*"[3]

In various aspects there is therefore a friction between a degree of certainty and flexibility. P. refers to this as:

> "*To get certainty now, you would like to make very clear agreements. There is always some kind of contradiction in that, conflict.*"[4]

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[2] C. Q3.104 – 04-05-2022 (author's translation)
[3] C. Q3.144 – 04-05-2022 (author's translation)
[4] P. Q1.102 – 23-05-2022 (author's translation)

4.1.2. Development speed

Considering the development speed, progress up until now has been faster than expected by the interviewees. This can be explained by the conceptual nature of the process up until now. As there are few concrete plan elements, there is only little reason for conflict to originate between stakeholders. With the '*gebiedsvisie*', or area vision being finalized and ratified, drafting the '*ontwikkelkader*' or development framework is up next. Yet, this has been slightly delayed due to the municipal elections, which have led to a period of ca. half a year in which there has barely been any communication with the '*club*'. This likely has affected to deterioration of mutual relations between stakeholders. C. indicates that the municipal elections have been a driving force for accelerating the drafting and ratification of the area vision, because if this timeframe was not met "*[…] indeed, you need a new college and so you have a six-month delay.*"[5], referring to the installation of a new college of major and aldermen. Therefore, acceleration has been caused by pressure from external factors, which would have influenced the speed of the policy making process.

Although progress has slowed since the municipal elections, the prospect of WBI-funding to cover the gap in funds for e.g. infrastructure and linked social- and mid-rental housing can function as a similar drive for acceleration. As applying for WBI funding requires a level of specificity on e.g. financial aspects of the development, quick progress on these matters is required. All stakeholders in the area benefit from this funding, as it contributes to overall project viability. Bullish investment behaviour by some landowners make it necessary to utilize these types of funding. Moreover, the WBI itself also requires acceleration of the development process, as it puts strict targets on development commencing and finalization.

However, P. is rather cynical about the development speed, especially concerning the development framework phase in which a balance is to be struck in a degree of flexibility and certainty in the development. As an agreement will have to be drafted with a variety of stakeholders, P. expects difficulties concerning mutual understanding between these stakeholders on municipal provisions. The upcoming phase in the development requires a lot of consolidation and quantification of elements from the area vision. As these include projections of programming and volumes on individual plots, friction is expected between various stakeholders, but also between landowners and the '*gebiedsregisseurs*'.

Therefore, it is the extent of commitment of various stakeholders to the development that determine the outcome of the next phase. As some stakeholders have consolidated positions which they are planning to develop, they have an incentive for contributing to the process of drafting the development framework and accelerating this process. Other stakeholders however, that are speculating with land do not necessarily benefit from active contribution. This is because they either are not willing to contribute to a plan with this standard of urban quality, which requires certain contribution to municipal provisions or they prefer to wait out the result of this development phase, so they are able to profit of a value increase from potential ratification of this framework.

As the WBI-funding will have to be requested in late 2022, depending on the timing of this tranche, Q1 2023 will be the aim for finalizing the development framework, as ratification and preparatory works will push commencement of construction into 2024.

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[5] C. Q3.44 – 04-05-2022 (author's translation)

4.1.3. URBAN QUALITY

The area vision sketches a high standard of urban quality in the area, which is the result of the position of this area in relation to other places in the urban area, such as the station and the inner-city. The type of area that is aimed to be developed here is complimentary to other areas in the city of Leeuwarden, with programming aiming to attract users that are different from those currently present in Leeuwarden. R. sketches this as:

> *"It's not going to be the same as the inner-city, it's going to be a different area, it's going to be an addition to the city - so it has to have a quality to it that makes you think 'hey, I think that's interesting, this time I'm going to go to Spoordok'."*[6]

Urban quality is considered through the use of qualities in the existing area. This connection provides proper integration with the surrounding urban fabric, as qualities such as water are reflected in the development area. Moreover, R. states the area does not have any rear sides, which fits the urban profile of the area. As it is situated by road, water as well as rail entrances of Leeuwarden, it is an area that is highly representative and therefore requires a high urban quality. High quality public spaces meet the expected building density, which in its turn is determined by the nearby urban transit node. Urban quality is also reflected in the further comprehensive approach of the spatial setup of the area. New harbors offer the aspect of water to be reflected in the area, but in terms of comprehensiveness of design, the parking garage functioning as sound wall for rail-related activities, whilst also having a rooftop park is perhaps the most unique aspect of urban quality represented in the area. The design of the spatial setup of the development is therefore determined by the vicinity of rail as well as an urban transit node.

Given the conceptual nature of the existing plans, little is certain about the exact level of urban quality that will be set for the area. Moreover, urban quality is also subject of discussion, as the development framework is set to provide the framework for the quality of objects, their relations, the quality of materials and of public spaces. Both BPD and the municipality agree there needs to be certain flexibility in the choices developers can make in designing and developing their *'ontwikkelvelden'*, yet the extent of this flexibility is a topic of debate. This friction between certainty and flexibility is mostly on what matters to determine beforehand or have safeguarded throughout the process. R. says about this:

> *"Well, exciting. I think it's interesting, I think it's fun to see how you can make agreements with each other that are binding, but still keep room for maneuver within them. Developers must feel that they have that leeway. As a municipality we have to give them enough room to maneuver so that it's not completely fixed."*[7].

Although this shows an extent of flexibility regarding what items should be pinned in a framework beforehand, P. notes that instead it is important "*that you do, roughly, state your ambitions and your preconditions, but you do not say, on this and that plot comes exactly this and that program.*"[8], because according to P. urban quality of public spaces "*[…] has to do with program. If you put in a lot of ground-level housing, you get a very different public space than if you use stacked housing. If you use stacked buildings, then more public spaces will be required. They become a bit of an extension of your outdoor space.*"[9]. This interdependency, according to P. is reason for safeguarding urban quality standards throughout the development process, rather than pinning these in a framework beforehand, as it offers more flexibility to act on unexpected circumstances.

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[6] R. Q2.96 – 12-05-2022 (author's translation)
[7] R. Q2.125 – 12-05-2022 (author's translation)
[8] P. Q1.99 – 23-05-2022 (author's translation)
[9] P. Q1.173 – 23-05-2022 (author's translation)

4.1.4. COMPREHENSIVENESS

Comprehensiveness in development approach is reflected in Spoordok through various instances. The common approach for Spoordok is one that explicitly rejects plot-development and instead embraces a comprehensive approach. The area vision and development framework safeguard comprehensive development of the various '*ontwikkelvelden*', which in turn have a degree of freedom and flexibility in reaching agreements on how coalitions of developers structure the project(s) in these '*ontwikkelvelden*'. This means that on multiple levels there are large extents of interdependency of stakeholders coming to a development. As plot-development is out of the question, developments by coalitions in these '*ontwikkelvelden*' almost by definition exceed cadastral boundaries. Collaborative structures originating in these coalitions might therefore be equally or more complex as the area-wide one, since this could include pooling of land and agreements on development rights. R. nicely summarized this as:

> "*We have tried to say that with the area vision. We don't do plot development, so no individual development, but with everything you do, you will instead add value to the total area.*"[10]

Although this overall approach for the area development paves the way for deviating paces in the various '*ontwikkelvelden*', the WBI-funding will likely harmonize this to some extent, as necessary performances in terms of commencing and completing constructing offer a common frame. Therefore, whereas the initial plans might have had a more organic character, circumstances have caused this to shift more to a comprehensive one, yet it does not appear to be the result of collaborative practices necessarily.

Spatially, the setup of the development is to some extent determined by its position relative to the inner-city, an urban transit node as well as rail infrastructure. As stated, the nature of the area and its overall character are planned to compliment the inner-city. In terms of programming, the area is planned to attract target groups who currently are not yet facilitated in Leeuwarden. Regarding the potential of the area in relation to the node in its vicinity, the development of Spoordok is set to utilize the potential additional value to be realized in this area. This is done through adding dwellings in relatively high densities, combined with services, culture and economic programming. This mixed-use area will therefore add to the intensity of use of space directly by the station. Moreover, the vicinity of the station is also a reason for accepting a lower norm in terms of parking, which saves space and funds for other purposes. This would not have been the case without its position relative to the station. C. states that:

> "*[…] if this hadn't been a station location, the area would have been developed differently.*"[11]

Therefore, it can already be stated that the TOD-ness of the area is set to improve due to the development of Spoordok in the vicinity of the urban transit node. Moreover, the situation of the area directly by rail infrastructure is a source of nuisance. Therefore, a comprehensive intervention comprising a sound barrier, mobility hub/parking garage as well as a rooftop park is a clever design feature that will solve various issues at once. Yet, there are also limiting factors to this comprehensive approach. Two important ones can be derived from the interviews, namely the internal organization of the municipality, as well as a variety of stakeholders who have conflicting aims or goals.

Firstly, internally, the municipality has a very sectoral organization. Although individual advices might prove a point given their sectoral background, the lack of a comprehensive and overarching executive can be a factor of delay in the development process. This has been somewhat tackled in the case of Spoordok, since R.'s role is to safeguard internal harmonization between sectors in the municipal organization, but she also appears to sometimes struggle with this same issue.

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[10] R. Q2.40 – 12-05-2022 (author's translation)
[11] C. Q3.171 – 04-05-2022 (author's translation)

Secondly, there are various stakeholders in the area who have conflicting goals or aims relative to the area vision. This is e.g. Stadler, who wants to be able to do its rail-related activities in the area, as well as Zandleven, which is not willing to more its business elsewhere. Although rail-related stakeholders have stated they are willing to move if there is an alternative location, the process of finding and developing an alternative location for this type of stakeholders will take longer than the development of Spoordok itself should take. Having these stakeholders makes it difficult to make plans for their locations, as they tend to object this. Yet, in the light of a comprehensive approach, it is important to include these locations in the broader plan, to ensure potential future development will also be in line with the area vision, development framework and contributions to public amenities.
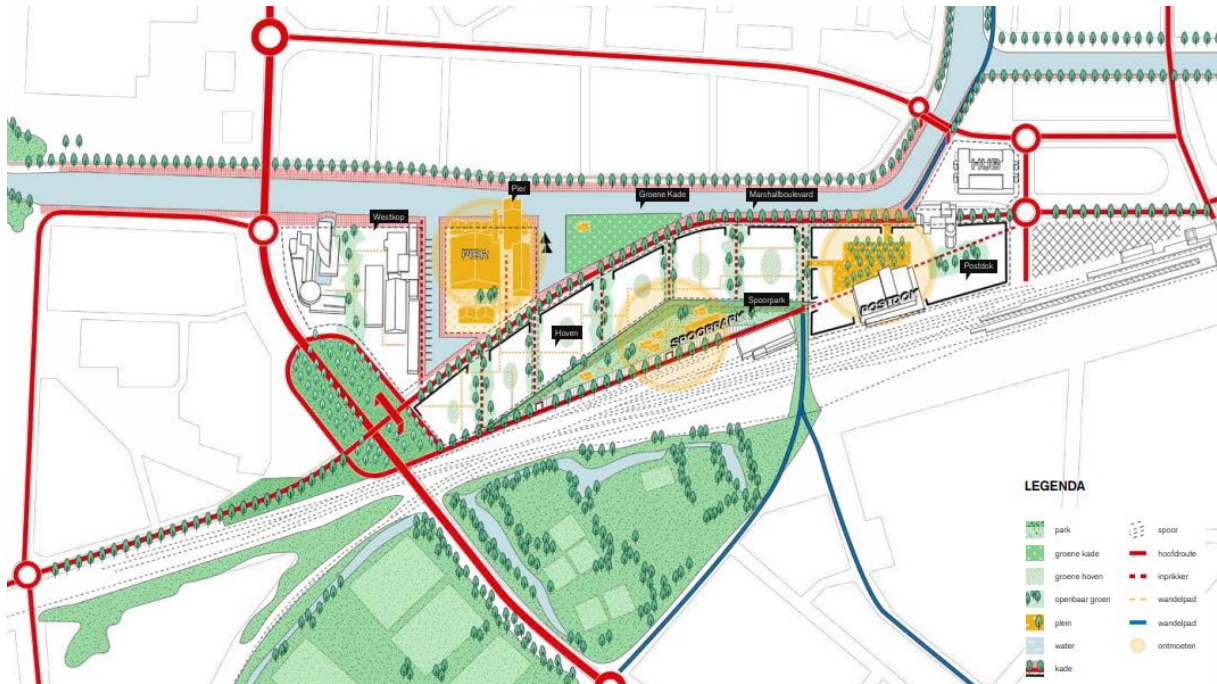

FIGURE 20. LEEUWARDEN SPOORDOK AREA VISION (SITE, ZUS [ZONES URBAINES SENSIBLES, 2021)

4.1.5. CONCLUSION

It is difficult to make statements on how the development process of the Spoordok generally progresses and what relation collaborative structures have on this. Concerning the phase of the development process that has recently been completed, the structure of collaboration between various stakeholders has proved to serve the underlying objectives, namely drafting a vision for the area. An open attitude from both municipality and BPD who collaboratively are in the lead and are supported by neutral parties, provided a fundament for support amongst the most important stakeholders, namely the landowners, inhabitants and the municipal council. Moreover, it can be stated that the local spatial context is to some extent the cause of the collaborative structure that has been adapted, as the lack of municipal land positions have caused them to choose a more market-oriented approach.

The upcoming phase can be characterized by ambivalence. As stakes are higher, due to a narrowed focus on plot- or '*ontwikkelveld*' level, more friction is expected between stakeholders. Whereas the vision was broadly supported and approached with a generally open attitude, more concrete plans directly impact specific landowners. The approach of collaboration by the municipality and BPD has been transparent with continuous communication up until ratification of the area vision, building up trust amongst stakeholders. Yet, this might have deteriorated due to a period of absence related to the municipal elections. Variation of willingness of different types of landowners to contribute to urban quality can be a determinant for the next phase of the development. Installing a framework for contribution to public amenities could ease speculation and further consolidate landownership by willing stakeholders. This upcoming phase therefore requires certain leadership as concrete decisions have to be made.

4.2. ZWOLLE SPOORZONE

Spoorzone Zwolle is a large-scale area development, comprising multiple existing land uses. It is being developed using a coalition structure. The redevelopment of Spoorzone Zwolle could be argued to be the result of the relatively recent redevelopment of the station itself, according to T. "*with that, suddenly the area was at the front of the station instead of the back*."[12]. For this case, four interviews have been conducted. Firstly, D. from BPD, which has a position in the Hanzekwartier, one of the coalitions and development fields in Spoorzone. BPD is in a partnership with CityDevelopers (CD), which, secondly, is represented by T. CD is one of the initiating parties regarding the redevelopment of Spoorzone and kickstarted the Hanzekwartier in specific. Thirdly, E. was interviewed, who is a station developer of NS, which has a large land position in Spoorzone and which in itself is a separate coalition developing a development field. Finally, the municipal projectmanager has been interviewed, who is responsible for the Hanzekwartier in specific (F). The Spoorzone consists out of four coalitions and development fields, which are all categorized by different speeds in the development process.

4.2.1. COLLABORATIVE PRACTICE

The collaborative practice in Spoorzone is, as stated, one of *'coalitieontwikkeling'*, in which various coalitions bring their development fields into development, meaning there is no practice of individual plot-development. D. frames this as:

> "*If you say, 'I own this plan and I want to do something here', the municipality says 'you should contact the coalition, because they are making a plan together', then this owner must ensure that its interests are represented in it. So, on the one hand it is a forced marriage, and on the other hand it ensures that you make comprehensive plans.*"[13]

The four development fields in the Spoorzone have a logical spatial demarcation, but are also logically in terms of notable characteristics. The development ambitions for the entire area have been elaborated upon in the so-called *'ontwikkelkader'*, but remain rather abstract. Whereas some items can be resolved within coalitions, multiple crucial ones are to be resolved among coalitions, creating interdependencies in the various development processes. These individual processes however, are inherently different, which could be a result of the stakeholders involved and their sense of urgency. The Hanzekwartier is exemplary for this, as it includes e.g. schools as developing parties, which is not their core business, but as they are actively involved, their pace determines the overall pace of the coalition. Although the collaboration in this coalition is characterized by being a *'coalition of the willing'*, different paces within as well as between the coalitions make it difficult to come to reach necessary alignment.

This is especially troubling for coalitions that are depending on other coalitions to meet the necessary minimal requirements to come to a viable development. Concerning these coalition-transcending items, T. and D. state the municipality should be more active in safeguarding their execution, according to what is stated in the *'ontwikkelkader'*. The municipality should, according to them, take more responsibility concerning the actual development of the crucial infrastructures, whereas this is currently stalling. D. states:

> "*What I notice here is that the municipality actually said 'it's your party' after the 'ontwikkelkader'. So, you have to do everything yourself as coalition, whereby they actually, I think, took too little responsibility on themes that you can't solve within a coalition.*"[14]

Especially concerning the topic of mobility, where the Hanzekwartier aims to collaborate with the NS to realize shared infrastructures, this issue arises.

> "*We've had quite a few conversations with the municipality about that. There is only one party that the NS can appeal to, that the NS depends on, and that is the municipality. The NS can just say to us, great,*

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[12] T. Q6.78 – 20-06-2022 (author's translation)
[13] D. Q8.28 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)
[14] D. Q8.45 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)

but we're not going to do that. They can't say that to the municipality, because they have to cooperate with their plans eventually."[15]

In general, however, NS is keen on realizing crucial infrastructures before commencing further area development, in order to also sort the desired effects of interventions, such as a modal shift. Besides, NS as a developing party only switches into action-mode when a municipality shows commitment to an area development, as this gives certainty of available organizational capacity. Yet, NS also focusses on its core-business and therefore does not develop lands in which they do not necessarily serve their customers. In the case of Zwolle, the municipality showed commitment to the development of the Spoorzone, resulting in plans of NS for tendering parts of their land and developing others under its own supervision. The fact NS might tender the lands which are relevant for the coalition of Hanzekwartier to collaborate with concerning the realization of a mobility hub could be identified as a reason for NS to be hesitant in closing agreements at this point, as it will be another party or consortium developing the position itself. On the role of the municipality, E. states that:

> "*I also see the municipality as the facilitator, but also as the one who can ensure that the infrastructure is built, and that the costs that have to be paid in advance are met. Because if you ask market parties to build a parking garage first and only then see what they can add in terms of housing, I think that's asking too much of the market. The government should play a leading role in this, it should really take the initiative.*"[16]

The municipality appears to have a similar perspective on the collaborative structure in Spoorzone. F. states:

> "*We said 'there are tasks that you have to manage in your own area'. So, the housing challenge, all those sorts of things, density, no. of dwellings, building height, all those sorts of things. But there are also themes that actually transcend subareas which you want to coordinate, align with one another. For example, facilities, you can't fit 3 hotels.* [...] *we need to look at this with a comprehensive perspective on the Spoorzone-level. And we do so with the key stakeholders of the coalitions.*"[17]

T. summarizes about adapting the structure of '*coalitieontwikkeling*':

> "*I think we've found an interesting middle ground with this, which also keeps it manageable. Of course, there is also tension, because how will it work between the coalitions? It's almost like a political game now and then. And what I did say is that you have to make sure that those critical area systems don't fall between two stools.*"[18]

It could be derived from this that those stakeholders who are in a coalition that is in a dependent position relative to those coalitions that in turn have a position of power concerning the negotiation of these crucial items, are experiencing a lack of municipal support. The element of speed/pace, regardless of its underlying cause, could be stated to be a reason for the tensions between coalitions and stakeholders, which cannot move faster or slower, but instead are 'stuck' in the same framework. Altogether, the interdependencies created between the coalitions are a means of safeguarding comprehensiveness, which is essential for the viability of the overall plan. Sharing facilities and exchanging sweet and sour on the area-wide level by working out the meta-objectives from the '*ontwikkelkader*' appears to be the synergy sought and hoped to achieve through the collaborative structure in place.

Two elements in the development process could change this. Firstly, a granted WBI-funding requires certain pace of development, for which the municipality is put in a responsible role concerning execution. Moreover, the municipality has a double role in the Hanzekwartier because of a land position. This private as well as public 'hat', means the municipality itself is also dependent on maintaining continuity and collaboration.

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[15] D. Q8.53 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)
[16] E. Q7.42 – 15-06-2022 (author's translation)
[17] F. Q10.18 – 14-06-2022 (author's translation)
[18] T. Q6.23 – 20-06-2022 (author's translation)

Concludingly, differences in pace of (organizations within) coalitions are putting pressure on the area-wide meta-objectives regarding e.g. crucial infrastructure. A (experienced) lack of municipal leadership in safeguarding the '*ontwikkelkader*' and the way the objectives are to be worked out could cause necessary synergy not being achieved, which could essentially put the viability of (parts of) the development of Spoorzone at risk. Yet, a shift in the municipal role could be expected in the case it is faced with (excessive) delay or collaborative inertia.

4.2.2. DEVELOPMENT SPEED

Whereas all coalitions and development fields started of parallelly in terms of development speed whilst drafting the '*ontwikkelkader*', currently all coalitions appear to be progressing in different paces. Most interviewees state the development process is progressing slower than expected. One reason can be found in the municipal elections, but various other instances affecting the development speed of Spoorzone can be distinguished.

The multiplicity and variety of stakeholders appears to affect the pace of development processes. The strategy of '*coalitieontwikkeling*' means no stakeholder is able to develop its individual position without committing to the coalition in place. This is important in order to safeguard comprehensiveness within the coalitions themselves. For NS, being the only stakeholder in its coalition, this does not require any internal alignment, therefore it is easier to determine the pace of the process in this development field. For the Hanzekwartier however, this is significantly more complex, as there are more stakeholders involved who also have different goals and aims that need to be aligned internally before the coalition is also able to reach alignment in the overall Spoorzone. F. sketches the struggle of alignment as:

> "*That's where it does get very complicated, because everyone has his or her speed in a process. The needs of all parties are different, the way of thinking is different. But you also need each other.*"[19]

In order to cope with this and prevent development stalling completely, the Hanzekwartier coalition is a so-called '*coalition of the willing*'. This is also a result of the current spatial setup, in which almost all existing functions will remain intact. Therefore, plans are only made for the plots of stakeholders that are willing to actually develop. This means programming is not divided over the entirety of the Hanzekwartier, but only those plots of land that are brought into the coalition. This serves as an accelerating factor, as early involvement gives stakeholders more influence on the programming they might receive on their plot, effectively shaping a sense of urgency amongst those involved in the area. This effect is also visible for the Spoorzone as a whole, where stakeholders are competing over functions such as supermarkets. This would appear to be a factor of acceleration, but according to T. this in reality is not the case:

> "*You'd expect it, but in practice that doesn't catch on... There are too big obstacles to make that possible*"[20]

Therewith referring to the area-wide objectives that need to be resolved, potentially posing a factor of delay. Infrastructures need to be realized before most of the development can commence, especially in Hanzekwartier, yet this development takes longer than expected. Lack of municipal involvement on area-wide investments (meta-level) therefore lead to inefficient and incomprehensive development of the Spoorzone, whilst a comprehensive approach is necessary to obtain the synergy needed to make the developments viable. F. states:

> "[…] *that alignment is taking place. But those very things just take a lot of time, alignment, alignment takes time. And you do notice that, I think, the bigger the area development the harder it is to keep speed in it.*"[21]

D. states that "*actually, everything here is a bit of the art of seduction*"[22], concerning the strategy on reaching alignment in the Hanzekwartier, referring to exchanging sweet and sour within the coalition.

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[19] F. Q10.22 – 14-06-2022 (author's translation)
[20] T. Q6.36 -20-06-2022 (author's translation)
[21] F. Q10.40 – 14-06-2022 (author's translation)
[22] D. Q8.75 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)

Ultimately, the coalitions are in a position of interdependency. This could be stated to cause faster coalitions like NS to be delayed to some extent by slower coalitions such as the Hanzekwartier, which in turn might be experiencing certain acceleration due to its dependency on the NS positions.

Moreover, in Spoorzone, the difference of some areas being tendered and some being developed by the existing parties also causes a difference in speed of development processes. As a tender requires certainties before being put in the market, the stakeholders which are tendering positions are moving faster in the development process than the coalitions developing positions themselves. This puts pressure on the realization of area-wide infrastructures, as 'sharing' might at first be experienced as more of a burden. This could also slow down these processes after they are tendered, because there will be 'new' parties joining in the area-wide and coalition-transcending negotiations.

A factor of acceleration can be identified in the standardization of methods through the so-called *'Zwolse Methode'*, although it only does so to a certain extent. This is especially the case concerning the alignment of processes. F. states:

> *"Look, it helps that you know where you stand and you no longer have to discuss 'hey, what are we going to do now'. A uniform process helps with that [...] So yes, I definitely think it helps, but you can't say that it saves two years, I don't know. In any case, you are in the same boat with each other."*[23]

In line with that, NS is realizing a higher development pace through creating certainties early on in the planning process. It invests beforehand in conducting research that could be necessary for the zoning plan, more than might be needed, but by doing so it is in the position to get a clear and holistic image concerning what issues are at play in their development field. Although investments beforehand might be higher, cutting out such uncertainties could in the end also save money. E. elaborates on this as:

> *"We did it in such detail that we immediately did all the research needed for a zoning plan. We did the research right down to that level, so that - well, it's never relatively simple - but that the municipality can now make the transition to the zoning plan relatively quickly - or at least, that was the idea - because you don't have to do all the research again when things arise that make you think, 'oh, wait a minute, we'll have to start all over again. I think we have been able to considerably shorten the process duration."*[24]

Concludingly, three levels of speed can be identified that are relevant for the comprehensive development of the Spoorzone. Firstly, the level concerning the entire Spoorzone, in which visions are drafted for area-wide infrastructures such as the passerelle, green structures and energy-systems. Secondly, another level can be distinguished in the processes between some coalitions, regarding e.g. mobilityhubs or the Koggetunnel. Thirdy, internally the coalitions have different speeds. For Hanzekwartier this is due to the complexity caused by the multiplicity and variety of stakeholders involved, whereas for the NS land this might be caused by the desire to relatively quickly tender their lands. Eventually leading to very different development speeds throughout the Spoorzone. This can be problematic as interdependencies between stakeholders and coalitions regarding shared investments are yet to be crystalized, which might require municipal intervention in order to maintain the quality of the individual developments.

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[23] F. Q10.53 – 14-06-2022 (author's translation)
[24] E. Q7.79 – 15-06-2022 (author's translation)

4.2.3. URBAN QUALITY

The Spoorzone largely is a relatively new area. Large scale office parks in Hanzeland have been developed in the 1990's or 2000's, among which is also the Hanzekwartier. D. concludes that:

> "It's quite disappointing to realize that within 20 years you're already in the process of redevelopment."[25]

The spatial setup of the Spoorzone allows the three other development fields to demolish significant portions of the existing buildings. Whereas there a value-increase can be realized through realizing new functions, most of the existing functions and structures in the Hanzekwartier will stay intact. This means high-value existing land use 'competing' with the new land use, resulting in a lower value-increase. Space for development here and in the broader Spoorzone is realized through lowering the parking norms as well as increasing the quality of the public spaces. The increase of urban quality is ought mandatory in order to obtain the conditions in which development can take place. D. states the following on the hypothetical case there would be no intervention:

> "I wouldn't dare to develop a home here if this would be it. If we say, this is the image of your future neighborhood. Yes, we can currently basically sell everything, but this is obviously not the quality of living that you want to have here."[26]

The position of the Spoorzone inherently contributes to the quality increase that has to be realized in the area. Without the urban transit node in the direct vicinity, the lower parking norms could not have been realized and the ambitions regarding densification would not be realistically feasible. This position is strengthened by the development of the area-wide infrastructures, according to the 'ontwikkelkader', which improves not only the urban quality of public spaces through replacing roads with parks, but also includes the development of a new passerelle that will cut travel time to e.g. the inner-city. D states that for the Hanzekwartier "such a park, that that's just conditional on making this an interesting living environment."[27].

T. summarizes the task in the Spoorzone as:

> "It is now a somewhat monofunctional office park with an industrial part added, the NS workshop. Yes, if you want to turn it into a multifunctional residential and work district, an economic district, then a lot of things have to change."[28]

With those 'things', referring to the realization of infrastructures, which is to a large extent a municipal responsibility. As stated, the realization of infrastructures often takes longer than the construction of housing. Therefore, in order to make sure the necessary investments are made before most dwellings are realized, certain pace is required from the municipality. D. says about this:

> "A passerelle like that is just a public investment that has to be paid for, so the municipality should be building it at some point.."[29]

In line with this, the municipality should clearly express its position and commitment to the area, as T. states:

> "[…] it is of great importance that the municipality also shows what the Spoorzone is going to be, defends that and stands for that."[30]

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[25] D. Q8.14 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)
[26] D. Q8.144 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)
[27] D. Q8.147 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)
[28] T. Q6.64 – 20-06-2022 (author's translation)
[29] D. Q8.105 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)
[30] T. Q6.19 – 20-06-2022 (author's translation)
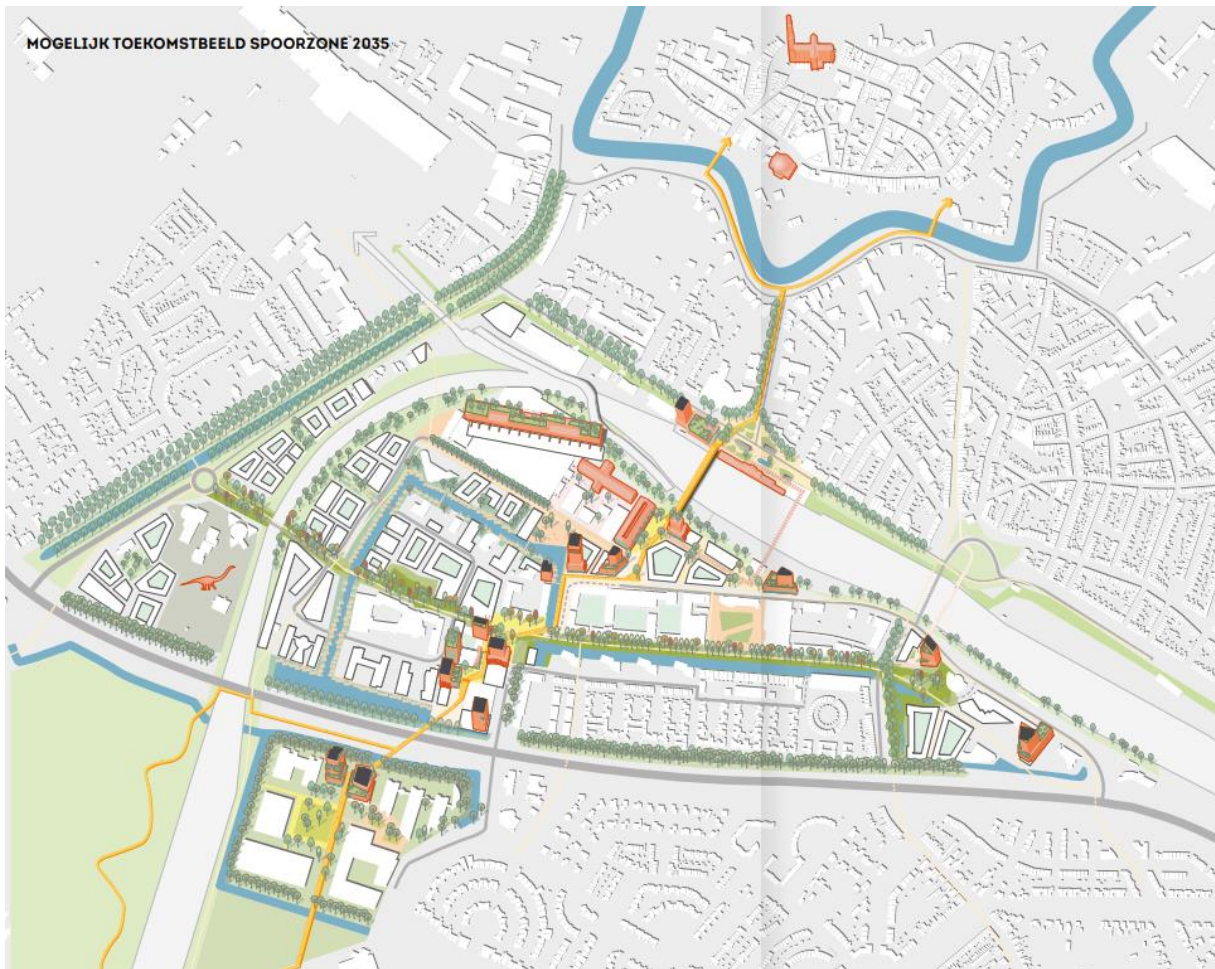
MOGELIJK TOEKOMSTBEELD SPOORZONE 2035

FIGURE 21. POTENTIAL FUTURE IMPRESSION SPOORZONE 2035 (GEMEENTE ZWOLLE, SITE URBAN DEVELOPMENT, 2020)

The complex task of safeguarding the timely development and at the same time maintaining a high urban quality might be the reason for the municipality to choose a different approach on the urban design than usual. F. describes this as:

> "*Because in order to keep the quality of the Spoorzone high, we have appointed a Q-team, normally the assessment takes place from the local architecture committees, but we have said that we will not do this in the Spoorzone. This is because we have a different level of ambition and a different task.*"[31]

F. describes the municipal role as being "*a reviewing, monitoring, maybe directing role to ensure quality*"[32], which points at a discrepancy between what developing stakeholders expect and the role the municipality sees for itself.

Concerning the relation between rail and the area that is set to be developed, E. states that for the lands that will be tendered by NS, this is taken into account from the very beginning of designing. In doing so, an optimum is reached in urban quality without too many compromises.

> "*I think that, because you do that from scratch, you still achieve a very high quality. [...] I think because you design it right from the beginning with this, if you rotate those houses a little bit or make sure that the sound doesn't hit it full on, but just a little bit different, then you can bring those two to an optimum.*"[33]

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[31] F. 10.7 – 14-06-2022 (author's translation)
[32] F. 10.9 – 14-06-2022 (author's translation)
[33] E. Q7.84 – 15-06-2022 (author's translation)

Altogether, there is a framework for safeguarding the urban quality that is to be realized in the Spoorzone. This urban quality is crucial for the overall development, because the value-increase it is set to realize is necessary to make the neighborhood fit for the programming and densities that are planned. The vicinity of rail as well as station play a major role in the setup of the area and have been carefully considered from the early planning phases up until now.

4.2.4. COMPREHENSIVENESS

Developing the Spoorzone is characterized by a comprehensive approach. Although the area is separated into various development fields and according coalitions, the '*ontwikkelkader*' functions as a framework to ensure a comprehensive approach on area-wide items. Interdependencies inside and between coalitions put stakeholders in a 'forced marriage', but also cause them to actively collaborate on making shared plans that are transcending the plot- and development field levels. As stated, this is necessary to realize synergy, in which stakeholders and coalitions will realize shared services instead of developing everything themselves, in order to save money that can be spent elsewhere as well as space that can be used for other developments. Moreover, by sharing e.g. a mobility hub, the Spoorzone as a whole also functions more as a system, instead of multiple separate areas.

Furthermore, the urban quality realized is important to create an environment that matches with the programming and target audience for the development. D. defines this objective as follows:

> "*For everything you take away from people, you have to make something better in return. So, if you can't park here, or you have a small house, or you don't have a garden, you have to give them something better back. That can be a park, that can be a community garden.... You do have to give them back something better than what you are taking away from them.*"[34]

By doing so, a value increase is realized and the conditions are met to create a high-density urban neighborhood. This, finally has to be supported by proper infrastructures, in this case most prominently the station in the area itself, but also the passerelle as a connection to overcome the barrier of the railroad. Considering these elements, parking norms can be lowered, which free up the space in the area to densify. In the Hanzekwartier especially, as here existing land use is largely maintained and development will take place on what are now parking lots or car-infrastructures.

The success of the development of the Spoorzone as a comprehensive urban ecosystem therefore depends on a complex web of intertwined requirements that need to be met. Although these are identified and pinned in the '*ontwikkelkader*', the main critique is that the municipality is not taking sufficient responsibility for safeguarding this approach. Especially the order of interventions appears to be critical, as infrastructures should largely be in place before most dwellings are completed. T. says that the municipality "*should also proactively take up the issues that remain underexposed but are crucial to development. If necessary, they should also invest in them, perhaps even act as a kind of market party in them.*"[35]. T. also states that coalition-transcending issues are "*also very time-consuming. It would be nicer if you had some kind of brain organized across the coalitions with a certain authority who could occasionally just pull the cart out of the muck.*"[36].

In order to craft an area-wide ecosystem, an ecoteam has been installed that is set to safeguard the desired character the '*ontwikkelkader*' portrays for the area. It does so through reshaping the use of existing and future real estate in the area, effectively steering programming up until the level of individual tenants. Yet, this approach is currently not functioning, because in line with the general municipal role, it is too voluntary. The municipality does not have funds or other capacity dedicated for this purpose and legally no authority to enforce these ambitions. D. is therefore critical and states about the municipal role in general:

> "*The funny thing is that they then start to interfere with elements that I think we can handle ourselves, such as the height of the buildings. Of course, it's much easier to have an opinion on that, whereas I think*

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[34] D. Q8.147 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)
[35] T. Q6.17 – 20-06-2022 (author's translation)
[36] T. Q6.31 – 20-06-2022 (author's translation)

you have to take a stand now and then and make choices. It may well be that the choice sometimes turns out to be to our disadvantage, but at least we know where we stand."[37]

Not only from Hanzekwartier this is the *communis opinio*, also NS preferably has a less *laissez faire* approach of the municipality in the current development phase. E. states:

"*I think the leadership of the municipality is very important. You do have to try to prevent it, that you don't get the synergy that's possible, is not acquired.*''[38]

Concludingly, the original starting point for the development of Spoorzone could be seen as a well-defined plan. It sets ambitions and required conditions that need to be realized to successfully come to a comprehensive development of the Spoorzone through the use of *'coalitieontwikkeling'*. Yet, in the execution, it can be observed that multiple stakeholder experience too little leadership from the municipality concerning the safeguarding of the development principles, which could potentially put the comprehensiveness and therewith the success of the total development at risk.

4.2.5. CONCLUSION

The area development of the Spoorzone can be seen as a result of recent interventions on the station of Zwolle, which is situated in the direct vicinity, which have made the area more open towards what used to be the 'rear' of the station. Large variation in land uses throughout the Spoorzone, combined with the size of the area could be identified as reasons for choosing a collaborative structure of '*coalitieontwikkeling*'. Considering the position of the area it is important to make it look and feel like a comprehensively functioning neighborhood. Working in coalitions therefore requires a framework to ensure proper integration and realization of important infrastructures. The variety and multiplicity of stakeholders in the different coalitions cause this collaborative practice to be experienced as a delaying factor. The different paces of stakeholders in and between coalitions also appear to make it difficult to reach sufficient alignment, posing a risk for a comprehensive approach to the area.

In order to make the development viable, conditions need to be created that enable the coalitions to develop sufficient new housing in the Spoorzone. This cannot happen without lowering parking norms in order to cut costs on new developments as well as to make space on existing parking lots to densify the area and an increase of the quality of public spaces to generate a value-increase. As these interventions are conditional and take a certain amount of time, it is important they are done before most dwellings are realized. Safeguarding this process could be seen and is also thought by developing stakeholders to be the responsibility of the municipality, which is, according to them, currently not sufficiently picking up this role in this regard. The WBI-funding that has been received brings about an obligation to commence and complete certain housing developments within a specific period of time, which could potentially be a driver for increased municipal action, realizing development speed whilst not compromising on the comprehensiveness that is conditional for viability.

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[37] D. Q8.66 – 20-05-2022 (author's translation)
[38] E. Q7.106 – 15-06-2022 (author's translation)

4.3. TIEL VEILINGTERREIN

The Veilingterrein in Tiel is a case of an area development that has been in scope for redevelopment for a longer period of time, but up until the moment it was reinitiated in its current form never proved to be successful. The current projectmanager who got assigned to this development described this as:

> "*Because the project had been stalled for decades, it was not even on the 'warmhoudplaatje', but actually in the freezer.*"[39].

For the case of Tiel, three interviews have been conducted. Firstly, two developers from BPD (G. & H.), both of which had more active involvement in a different phase of the development process. BPD is involved through a shared land position with a local housing corporation, Thius. This was a double interview, as it offered the opportunity for the both developers to complement each other's stories, giving a more holistic image of their realities. Secondly, B., who got involved as an external '*gebiedseconoom*', or area economist, but now shifted to a that is more '*projectmanager*'-like, as B.'s involvement covers more areas than merely the financial one. Thirdly, Pa. has been interviewed, who is involved as an external '*processregisseur*', coordinating most activities regarding the development process in a broader sense and doing so with the interest of the area itself as primary concern. A 50 – 50% PPS construction by the municipality of Tiel and BPD is set to be created as entity to harbor the area development. Pa. will be appointed as the municipal director of this '*GEM Veilingterrein*', taking on a management role, whereas H. will be appointed as BPD's director, taking on an executive role.

4.3.1. COLLABORATIVE PRACTICE

The eventual creation of a '*GEM Veilingterrein*', as an entity to harbor collaborative development of the Veilingterrein, has been the result of a shift of land policy by the municipality of Tiel. Whereas the municipality had always applied a facilitating and risk-avoiding land policy, the involvement of external parties to run the project resulted in a shift in strategy. The previous land policy was partly the result of lack of organizational capacity of the municipality, as there was no executive capability to run a project of this nature. B. says about this:

> "[…] *you see the management has changed more than 6 times in, I think, about 6 years. […] So you didn't get the permanent staffing fixed and then what you get is that, of course, there's not going to be any vision and leadership. Nothing.*"[40]

This underpins the importance of individuals rather than organizations involved in a collaborative process like this. The ambition of other individuals however, have laid the fundament for more active municipal involvement and taking on certain leadership, which was cause for self-confidence. This, in turn, to some extent, led to some overreach in involvement, as the municipal organization was uncertain on how to interpret the new role. This eventually balanced out, but it required reflection on what the sole purpose of the municipality was in this development and what it was trying to establish through its involvement, the *meta-level*. B. sketches this development in thinking as:

> "*What you see is that, for the municipality, it is a case of 'Well, I have a lot of land, but what is my role now, really?'. The most important thing that the municipality actually wants - and then I say, you have to go back to your public task, what do you actually stand for? - is to realize housing.*"[41]

There has been friction between various stakeholders throughout the development process up until now. BPD and Thius are said to be in a so-called '*forced marriage*', as BPD initially cooperated with a corporation that merged into Thius. This clearly sketches the impact of time on such relations. The social housing corporation also 'abuses' its land position in Veilingterrein to force or pressure the municipality to cooperate with plans elsewhere. This interdependency makes the Veilingterrein a stage for other, unrelated agendas or conflicts by

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[39] Pa. Q4.32 – 13-06-2022 (author's translation)
[40] B. Q5.121 – 01-06-2022 (author's translation)
[41] B. Q5.18 – 01-06-2022 (author's translation)

these stakeholders, which damages mutual trust and relations, frustrating effective collaboration in the area itself. Pa. says that:

> "there have been a few times when it damaged trust very badly, or caused a lot of noise, for example, because the corporation and the municipality misused the Veilingterrein to get things done elsewhere."[42]

Stakeholders also appeared to have strong prejudices. The municipal organization was afraid to get a bad deal with BPD as developer and Thius lived with the idea of BPD draining the project for financial benefit. As stated, these hurdles have been resolved through the involvement of external (and neutral) parties. As Pa. and B. got involved, the municipality gained experienced capacity necessary for this project, bringing about a shift of mindset throughout the organization concerning this means of area development. Together with the involvement of Stadskwadraat as an external party concerning the financial aspects of the land development, misunderstandings have been resolved and a fundament for mutual trust has been shaped. The current organization of a the 'GEM Veilingterrein' can be stated to provide all three stakeholders that are directly involved with the development with a framework for constructive collaboration with sufficient flexibility as well as certainty.

4.3.2. DEVELOPMENT SPEED

The development speed in the current development process for Veilingterrein has, overall, been relatively fast, although the original planning aimed for an even shorter period of time. This pace can be explained through the consolidation of a dedicated and experienced team within the municipal organization, that is committed to this development. Previous attempts to develop the area, according to G., stranded on inflation of the plan. Increasing the goals therefore does not necessarily also increase the (resource) commitments involved stakeholders are willing to make, but rather increase uncertainty about investments that are already made. Without a fundament for incremental increases, this poses a risk for collaborative structures, essentially stalling these projects. G. states:

> "Ultimately, it is part of a very large master plan, the 'Spoorzone'. There has been talk in the past about this, where it got inflated so much! If you make it that big, you fail to proceed with action, you don't get anywhere together."[43]

This could now again be identified as a potential factor of delay, which is also a financial risk. The current development has there is a significant interdependency with other areas that are set to be developed. In order to receive WBI-funding, which is essential for the feasibility of the Veilingterrein, a minimum threshold of 500 dwellings is necessary. The Veilingterrein alone does not comprise this development capacity, therefore it is linked with two other areas, namely the *Teisterbantlaan* and an old factory site of *Oostendorp*. The risk involved in this the order and interdependency of the developments. As the Veilingterrein is up for development first, a new location for the school currently situated on the site at the Teisterbantlaan will be realized. Yet, it is the responsibility of the municipality to take care of this school moving in time for development to commence at the Teisterbantlaan. Whereas BPD is involved in this location, this is not (yet) the case for the Oostendorp one, where Oostendorp itself also still owns large fractions of the land. Differences in the pace of internal organizations, such as the school Lingecollege could pose a risk. This risk is translated into a financial one, as the WBI-funding is linked with an obligation to complete all developments within a timeframe of 10 years. This interdependency creates an uncertainty for BPD, who is eager to pick up a role in these intertwined developments, considering their shared role and responsibility with the municipality in Veilingterrein. Early involvement could improve mutual trust and relation in Veilingterrein, as well as Teisterbantlaan and Oostendorp. H. states about this:

> "Of course we can help with that, but then you have to involve us in the process in time. Only then we can also take on a role in it."[44]

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[42] Pa. Q4.102 – 13-06-2022 (author's translation)
[43] G. Q9.12 – 16-05-2022 (author's translation)
[44] H. Q9.40 – 16-05-2022 (author's translation)

WBI-funding also proved to be a delaying factor, due to the complexity of creating an entity that safeguarded financial purposes, as well as executive and collaborative ones, or in other words, striking a balance between a degree of certainty and flexibility. Pa. described this as:

> "*What has been a bit of a delaying factor in recent months is the complexity of contract formation, and that is also related to, among other things, the complexity of the money flows and the subsidies that are linked to them. It has therefore been quite a puzzle to incorporate all of this properly into all of the legal agreements, but also into the financial agreements.*"[45]

Pa. also identifies the relatively high pace of the development process up until now as a factor for slight delay at this point, stating that:

> "*You notice, of course, that when you move very quickly, at some point in the process the awareness of 'oh, now we're going to do it definitively' sinks in. Then everyone takes another good look and everyone actually becomes slightly more critical.*"[46]

Furthermore, for the development of the Veilingterrein, land and installations that are currently owned and operated by ProRail play a crucial role. Land needs to be acquired by the GEM and installations need to be moved. Although ProRail has been involved at the very beginning of the development process, the different pace and structure of this organization, combined with the lack of sense of urgency caused collaboration between ProRail and the other stakeholders to be difficult. Escalation of the issue to a directive level was necessary in order to realize the required pace and level of involvement. Eventually, a trade-off was made, in which ProRail bargained for the construction of a tunnel and Tiel got the cooperative attitude it needs to maintain development speed.

Altogether, what characterizes the development speed of Veilingterrein in Tiel up until now is the importance of a certain momentum. Circumstances like devaluation of existing functions in the area due to the pandemic and a shift in the internal organization of the municipality, combined with the prospect of additional funding to balance out the land development have led to the current *GEM Veilingterrein* as an entity for collaboration. This can be stated to be the product capacity of involved stakeholders to coordinate through these circumstances together properly, which requires certain leadership and mutual trust.

4.3.3. URBAN QUALITY

In terms of urban quality, the redevelopment of the Veilingterrein will make a piece of the town of Tiel, situated between station and inner-city more representative. Pa. describes this transformation as:

> "*As seen from the railroad, it is the entrance to the city.* [...] *Now it's just kind of sad, but it's really going to be a very high-quality residential area.*"[47]

The standard of urban quality is the result of a shared picture of both BPD and the municipality on what is necessary for making this development successful. The position close to an urban transit node has resulted in an ambition concerning programming that requires high standards of urban quality, complimenting the existing town. Pa. summarizes in what respect the plan deviates from 'standard' development practice in Tiel:

> "*What is also quite exceptional for Tiel is the urban allure, not too standardized parceling, lots of greenery, urban blocks, parking as much as possible out of sight* [...] *also a relatively high density, at least for Tiel* [...] *that makes it special.*"[48]

This standard is important in order to realize the potential the development needs to become a success. Tight feasibility however, puts pressure on these standards, therefore a balance needs to be struck in which sufficient

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[45] Pa. Q4.115 – 13-06-2022 (author's translation)
[46] Pa. Q4.117 – 13-06-2022 (author's translation)
[47] Pa. Q4.58 – 13-06-2022 (author's translation)
[48] Pa. Q4.59 – 13-06-2022 (author's translation)

value is realized in order to facilitate the high-end programming, but there is also a feasible land development. B. describes this as:

> "It will also have to be seen [...] when it starts to wring. It goes two ways, either you cut back on the public space, you look for austerity or a different way of designing, or of course you look to adjust your density slightly [...] in itself a station area lends itself for that."[49]

Considering the current balance, there is a certain flexibility in design. Determining the standards of urban quality in the area is characterized by a process of balancing and pinning. Balancing takes place between a maintaining a degree of flexibility relative to having certainty on certain issues. Exemplary for this is how both parties aim to maintain a certain pace in drafting the new zoning plan, but as research on specific elements is not yet completed, the zoning plan has a very flexible nature in this respect, requiring mutual trust. Although this could lead to uncertainty later on in the process, items on which both parties agree are instantly pinned. Slowly but steadily a shared plan is thus emerging. B. describes this as follows:

> "It's fair to say that there is quite a bit of flexibility sought there, but there is some differentiation. That does not happen in all policy areas. Occasionally you have to, for example, what you were saying about railroads and noise barriers, that is already fixed, because that has already been established. [...] Where that is not the case, you really do try to find the space. Is the choice made when you can fix it directly, where there is no longer a difference of opinion [...] that is then fixed quite hard."[50]

According to G. the current balance is satisfactory, underlining the collaborative approach that led to it:

> "Then you're all calculating, either you don't have a plan, or you do have a plan. But I think everyone is just happy that this is the outcome, because it simply is quality."[51]

FIGURE 22. URBAN DESIGN PLAN VEILINGTERREIN (BGSV | BUREAU VOOR STEDENBOUW EN LANDSCHAP, 2022)

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[49] B. Q5.67 – 01-06-2022 (author's translation)
[50] B. Q5.122 – 01-06-2022 (author's translation)
[51] G. Q9.82 – 16-05-2022 (author's translation)

The standard of urban quality that is realized in the area required a different means of safeguarding, which also contributed to maintaining development speed. H. elaborates on this as:

> "*We also agreed not to have the plan reviewed via the traditional route. We have installed a Q-team here, which includes the city architect of the municipality and the urban planner. Together they determine the ambition we have. [...] Because we then also have the people at the table who produced that document, so those who can talk about it, then you can make those quick decisions together.*"[52]

4.3.4. COMPREHENSIVENESS

As stated, the Veilingterrein is more of a kickstart of the broader development of this area and adjacent ones, rather than a stand-alone one. Therefore, it is part of a comprehensive approach of the broader area, bringing about certain interdependency. This strategy also offers the certainty that at least two of the three areas involved will be developed according to a certain standard within a set period of time, effectively making it a comprehensive plan in essence.

Moreover, there is a clear relation between the way in which the area is developed and its vicinity to an urban transit node. Pa. states:

> "*We have at least responded to that by applying a lower parking standard. [...] It's not all earth-shattering, but for Tiel it really is quite a step [...] Especially with the understanding 'we are near a station'.*"[53]

As stated, the development of the Veilingterrein aims to attract a type of people that falls for the urban allure and is likely to use the station to commute to places such as Utrecht. This demands urban quality standards to be higher than they otherwise would have been if this would not have been the target audience.

> "*And also, in terms of the target groups we attract here, the ambitions are high. [...] predominantly the higher segment, which should appeal to a target group that works in Utrecht, so to speak.*"[54]

Doing so also serves a higher meta-objective, namely that of boosting the node itself. The station of Tiel does not necessarily have a prominent position in the broader network. This can also be identified as a reason for the lack of sense of urgency of ProRail to cooperate with in this area development. Yet, by improving the area in the vicinity of the node and actively aiming for a target audience that will increase the use of the node, Tiel is altering the place, which can function as a starting position for improvement of the node itself, as it will create an unbalance.

By broadening the development of the Veilingterrein on the meta-level, but keeping it rather compact in the spatial sense, viability of the development appears to be improved relative to previous attempts. Framing it as a comprehensive means to tackle various large challenges in the area – regarding the redevelopment of a representative area, improving an urban transit node and adding dwellings to the town – could be identified as one of the reasons why provincial and national funds have been attracted and a sense of urgency has been realized at ProRail. Although this is to a large extent a result of mere momentum, utilizing various opportunities through proper management as a result of improved organizational capacity at the municipality can generally be identified as a determinant for success of the development of the Veilingterrein.

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[52] H. Q9.129 – 16-05-2022 (author's translation)
[53] Pa. Q4.48 – 13-06-2022 (author's translation)
[54] Pa. Q4.49 – 13-06-2022 (author's translation)

4.3.5. CONCLUSION

The development of the Veilingterrein in Tiel is an inherently complex one. After initiation had failed multiple times, a certain momentum now resulted in an opportunity to develop not only the Veilingterrein, but also two interconnected sites. Linking them provided the municipality, BPD and Thius to receive WBI funding, which on the one hand resulted in a viable business-case, but also makes the organization of their collaborative structure complex, to some extent slowing down the development process.

Since the involved stakeholders aim to attract a certain target audience, a high standard of urban quality is necessary. This required balancing the land development, due to its tight feasibility margins, which resulted in a degree of flexibility in the design framework. In order to maintain development speed, directly including relevant stakeholders ensures certain decisiveness. By developing this area with a rather urban allure, the value of the place increases relative to the node in the vicinity, which could be a starting point for future improvement of what is now a relatively weak node.

4.4. DISCUSSION: CASE COMPARISON

This paragraph will discuss the practices of collaboration in the three cases that have been described in this chapter through reflecting on the similarities and differences that can be observed in the development process, specifically regarding development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness. The framework displayed in table 2 provides a very brief overview of the elements of the development process as well as the collaboration typology per case.

Case	Typology	Effects on development process >	Effects on development speed	Effects on urban quality	Effects on comprehensiveness
Leeuwarden Spoordok	Experimental, organic features, facilitating municipality, large no. of stakeholders		Deploying specific drivers have an accelerating effect, but upcoming concretization of plans pose a risk.	High level of urban quality is established. The framework agreed upon is flexible, making it prone to potential changes.	The area is developed according to the envisioned standards due to its position, which led to e.g. lower parking norms.
Zwolle Spoorzone	Structured approach, masterplan, large no. of stakeholders		Development speed is lower than expected by stakeholders due to different internal paces of stakeholders and coalitions, making alignment difficult.	Urban quality standards are high, which is a requirement for facilitating the anticipated programming. Quality is at risk due to lack of safeguarding.	The area is developed according to the envisioned current standards due to its position, which led to e.g. lower parking norms. Creating a functioning urban area requires more municipal involvement in order to align coalitions.
Tiel Veilingterrein	Traditional approach, active facilitating municipality, small no. of stakeholders		Momentum as a result of new circumstances and key figures caused a stalled site to be revived. A shift in municipal land policy resulted in active involvement.	The level of urban quality is high, as the area is in a representative position and it is required to attract the target audience for the area.	The area will be highly oriented towards the nearby transit node and likely improve it functioning. For securing WBI-funding the area is combined with two other areas, creating interdependency.

TABLE 3. CASE COMPARISON FRAMEWORK

4.4.1. COLLABORATIVE PRACTICE

Collaborative practice in the three cases involved in this case study differs to some extent. In each case, the situation regarding e.g. landownership or the spatial context is different and at the same time appears to be of a determinative nature in the creation of the collaborative structures. The case of the Tiel shows that acquiring land from passive owners put the municipality in a more active role in the development of the Veilingterrein. In Leeuwarden, on the other hand, where land was already owned by developing parties and the municipality had little strategic landownership, it led to the current market-oriented approach of area development. In Zwolle, tensions in the collaborative structure area to some extent caused by the few land positions the municipality has. The double role causes conflict in aims and goals between their private and public actions. Moreover, NS also strategically uses their land ownership in order to steer developments that might impact their nodes. In this respect, the conceptual framework proves to be correct.

Through the practices in these three cases, it can be observed that in order for stakeholder collaboration to sort positive effects (*collaborative advantage)*, the phenomenon of '*alignment'* needs to take place. This refers to the '*doorwaadbare plaats*' (de Zeeuw, 2018a). Although this does not necessarily have to be the case in any area development, the three cases underline the importance. Alignment can be realized through the creation of certain conditions.

Trust or *mutual trust* between involved stakeholders is important, as it creates a situation in which involved stakeholders are dare to take certain risks and therewith commit resources to a cause they otherwise would not have. For this to take place, it is important that stakeholders have a similar *sense of urgency* towards elements of the development. In the case of Zwolle, the developers and schools in the Hanzekwartier have different senses of urgency, leading to different paces and different resource commitments. Because this inherently puts one party in a dependent position relative to the other, it can undermine trust. On the other hand, this can be overcome with proper *leadership*. Creating a shared vision on a meta-level, where each stakeholder feels an urgency towards one or more shared goals instead of focusing on conflicting ones, a basis for trust and resource commitment can be laid, which is necessary to reach alignment. It can also help to call in '*neutral*' partners, in case conflict-prone subjects are at stake, in order to reach outcomes that are more commonly accepted. Even if these are not necessarily positive for certain stakeholders, they are more willing to accept these if a neutral partner points it out. Moreover, shared achievements appear to play a role in this as well, as it generates trust and certain energy regarding the collaborative process when achievements are made in the development process.

An important limitation for this can be identified in *organizational capacity.* In all cases, notion is made of lack of capacity in varying organizations. A lack of capacity could mean a key figure is not in the right position at the right time in a project in order to utilize the '*doorwaadbare plaats*' and make progress. This links to an element ought important in all cases for all stakeholders, crucial to safeguard the development process, namely *continuity*, which has also been identified as an important factor the work of Mentink (2021) (Mentink, 2021). Another instance this links to is *the importance of the individuals* who participate in a development, even more so than the organizations they might represent, the idiosyncratic nature of collaboration. Personal traits are of determinative nature for collaboration between stakeholders to succeed, because it shapes the group dynamics.

4.4.2. DEVELOPMENT SPEED

Multiple elements can be observed that affect the development speed in the area developments of the three cases. As stated, continuity is an important factor of success in the area developments. Lack thereof can cause existing relations to deteriorate, which in itself is a factor of delay. Moreover, another element that was identified in all three cases is the early involvement of stakeholders. Although not in all cases all stakeholders were involved from the very beginning and in Zwolle Hanzekwartier development processes are organized with a '*coalition of the willing*', early involvement proves effective in gaining insight in one another's needs, goals and paces. The very early involvement of NS in Tiel proved crucial in order to commence development in time, as only then internal processes concerning relocating installations became apparent.

Another instance regarding development speed is the prospect of a common goal. In Leeuwarden ratification of plans by the municipal council before the upcoming municipal elections was an important moment in order to maintain certain pace in the development process. Furthermore, WBI-funding in all three cases proves to be effective. Not only due to the clear obligations concerning commencement and completion of developments, but the collaborative process of securing these funds appears to be equally important. It requires certain mobilization of capacity and resources, which stakeholders are willing to make, as this WBI-funding can contribute to overall feasibility of the area development. Besides, securing these funds is therefore also experienced as an achievement and result of the collaborative process, which could lead to better dynamics and relations. Therefore, having a shared prospect – which could be related to a '*meta-objective*' – can be seen as a driver for '*alignment*'.

WBI-funding also be a risk, because a lack of sufficient organizational capacity on a project can lead to funds being wasted. An example from one of the interviews sketched the urge for an area to be developed, which blinded the involved stakeholders for the lack of capacity there was in reality. Although the early process got accelerated, it stalled at a later moment because of this, leading to funds being allocated inefficiently. It also brings about the risk of selective calculation in the GREX/VEX, where a feasible case might appear not to be feasible in order to incorporate the funds in question into the project.

Whether it are municipal elections or deadlines concerning WBI-funding, such prospects – which could potentially even be merely virtual – can function as accelerating factors. This relates to two other instances that are of a determinative nature for development speed, namely momentum and (un)certainty. Momentum can be seen as the result of coincidental occurrences, but can be to some extent 'artificially' created through for instance these (virtual) prospects. The other instance, (un)certainty is one that can be mitigated. Uncertainties can delay the development process, as it can put stakeholders in a '*wait-and-see*'-mode. This is for instance the case with municipal elections, which can bring about new situations, which require anticipation. Other uncertainties can also be mitigated to some extent. NS tackles uncertainties by initially investing more than what might be necessary in preliminary research in order to create a holistic image and reduce the risk of potential surprises. Although this might not always to be necessary, it is worthwhile for those moments where it does prove to be effective.

4.4.3. URBAN QUALITY

Regarding urban quality, from the three cases it can derived that these brownfields in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are inherently situated in representative positions in the urban fabric, which requires a high quality standard. These high standards encompass in particular the public spaces, such as parks or relate to infrastructures. In Zwolle for instance, the development leans heavily on the realization of the passerelle as a new connection to the inner-city. In Leeuwarden on the other hand, new harbors will be dug out to bring in the element of water. In Tiel, industrial heritage is brought back in the design.

What becomes clear is that in most cases the designs are rather flexible, which provides space for alterations in case e.g. feasibility issues occur and cutbacks can be made on certain interventions, not requiring entire plans to be altered. It also depends on what programming is set to be realized in a specific area. In all cases, a higher density results in higher quality public spaces. Realizing these densities is to a certain extent only possible due to the station in the direct vicinity, allowing for alterations in parking norms. In Zwolle this is the only way to make a viable case for area development in the Hanzekwartier, which relies solely on densifying the existing neighborhood. Therefore, in the Hanzekwartier, conditional interventions are also more fixed. It shows that the entire 'package' consists of interconnected elements, where the interplay as pictured in Figure 5 comes in (Sorel, Buitelaar, van den Broek, Galle, & Verwest, 2011).

The result of urban quality being determined by such careful processes, combined with the large public investments that need to be made to meet the conditions necessary to commence housing development, is that safeguarding this quality is organized through so-called '*Q-teams*' in all three cases. The '*Q*' literally refers to Quality and these teams are basically municipal instruments to ensure quick alignment, because the responsible figures are included in it. Therefore, decisions can be made more easily and flexibility is won, as well as an extent

of certainty. All cases also show a narrow balance between feasibility and urban quality. In Tiel, sizable subsidies are the main reason the aimed level of urban quality is likely to be realized. In Zwolle, the investments in urban quality are mandatory for a viable development altogether, as the value-increase is not realized through a shift in land use, but instead the improvement of quality that facilitates a high-quality living environment.

As stated, these ambitions regarding the level of urban quality can be stated to be owed to the positions of the area developments in the cases, in the vicinity of an urban transit node. This also brings about negative elements, such as nuisance caused by noise and vibrations from railroad-tracks, posing design challenges. In all cases, design features are incorporated in the very beginning, in order to maintain a high standard of urban quality, which could otherwise have been compromised as a result of 'too late' interventions. Finally, all three developments aim to attract a similar target audience and has finetuned its programming according to this. Although this group of people is growing as a result of a movement into cities, combined with a modal shift, the question remains whether all developments are able to sufficiently attract this audience.

4.4.4. COMPREHENSIVENESS

In terms of comprehensiveness, all three cases have various instances that can be identified. These can be roughly split up in comprehensiveness regarding the structure of collaboration, comprehensiveness regarding the node and the area and comprehensiveness regarding the setup of the development. Firstly, the comprehensive collaboration in the areas is safeguarded through the use of coalition- or PPS constructions. These structures of collaboration make that the stakes of individual parties involved are always considered and the products of these structures are likely the result of combined efforts and alignment of goals and aims, as is also described in paragraph 4.2.14.4.1. The creation of interdependencies between (groups of) stakeholders area means of ensuring comprehensiveness, although doing so might delay the development process, because required alignment is more difficult through this practice.

Secondly, the three cases are characterized highly by the urban transit node in their vicinity. High accessibility has led to lowered parking norms in all three cases, which appears to be necessary in order to obtain densification and alteration of public spaces. Moreover, the developments of Spoorzone and Spoordok can be seen as the result of an improved node, which led to shifting land-use. This is mostly the case in Zwolle, but also a factor for the development in Leeuwarden, where the station is currently still under construction. In Tiel on the other hand, changing land-use and programming might contribute to the functioning of the node, which appears to be necessary for it to maintain its current status. The area development potentially is also reason for improvements on the node itself. Therefore, the dynamics from the land-use transport feedback cycle can be observed (Wegener & Fürst, 1999). Also, the work Oosterhaven & Knaap is visible, as the shift in economic density through the improvement of the 'rear' entrance of the station in Zwolle altered the impact of the point infrastructure in place (Oosterhaven & Knaap, 2003).

Finally, the setup of all developments is one that aims for a comprehensive area development. In Zwolle and Leeuwarden, working in coalitions is a means of dividing the development area into smaller pieces – which often have certain characteristics – to make it more approachable. Yet, both have a framework in place that sets out the guidelines to safeguard the area becoming a comprehensively functioning urban system, also with its surroundings. In Tiel, the Veilingterrein has been pooled with two other areas that are set to be developed in order to include relevant stakeholders, but also as a means to acquire the required size for receiving WBI-funding. A risk in all cases however can be observed in safeguarding this level of comprehensiveness, which in general is a municipal responsibility, as they ratified the frameworks for these developments.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research aimed to gain insight in how stakeholder collaboration affects the development processes of private area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes. By analyzing the manifestation of this phenomenon in three cases, this thesis has shown how collaborative practice influences various instances regarding the development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness. In this paragraph the sub-questions are answered and sequentially the main research question is addressed.

How do development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development manifest themselves and affect area development in the vicinity of urban transit nodes according to theory?
Theoretical exploration has shown that the three elements of a development process; development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness, can manifest themselves in a variety of forms and also interact with one another. Development speed of brownfield developments can only to some extent be accelerated through shortening phases in the development process. More importantly appears to be preventing delays, which occur through e.g. changing circumstances as a result of the duration of development processes. This makes them inherently vulnerable and requires a balance between certainty, flexibility and an extent of leadership. According to literature, urban quality is highly valued by all types of stakeholders in this type of area developments, due to their representative positions in the urban area. Additional investments can be earned back through value-increases, which is crucial considering tight feasibility margins. Maintaining an extent of certainty and safeguarding is therefore important, which is won throughout the process, as elements are pinned. Comprehensiveness can be observed from multiple perspectives. The element of TOD-ness refers to comprehensiveness in the relation between the area and the nearby transit node and whether benefits of this proximity are utilized. Comprehensiveness can also refer to a means of stakeholder collaboration and development practice through the creation of interdependencies between stakeholders (coalitions) to prevent separate plot-development.

What elements of stakeholder collaboration can be distinguished that are of determinative nature on the elements; development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development, according to theory?
Various elements of stakeholder collaboration, according to literature, appear to affect the three elements of development processes. Positive effects can be categorized as forms of collaborative advantage and negative ones as collaborative inertia. Theory also shows that stakeholder collaboration is in essence an idiosyncratic process, meaning that individuals partaking in them are equally, if not more important than the parties they represent. Most important is the element of alignment, which enables stakeholders to use the '*doorwaadbare plaats'* in processes. An extent of this can be realized through having shared '*meta-objectives'*, which allows stakeholders with different goals and aims to get a shared sense of urgency. These can be identified as means of safeguarding comprehensiveness and development speed. Moreover, the element of leadership is important in order to mitigate inherent differences in the position of stakeholders, as well as conflicts among them, leadership by the stakeholder in the lead of safeguarding the development process – which is likely the municipality – is important. Finally, trust might be the most important element of stakeholder collaboration affecting the three elements of development processes. It contributes to (resource) commitments by stakeholders, as they tend to dare to take larger risks. Trust can be obtained through e.g. shared achievements such as securing WBI-funding.

How is stakeholder collaboration structured in area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes in practice?
The case study shows collaborative structures are pluriform in the sense that they are not alike in any case, but instead are shaped by the circumstances and context in which they emerge. Landownership, land-use, the location of the area in the urban fabric and factors such as size can be found as determinants for the way stakeholder collaboration is structured. Instances of trust, leadership, alignment, sense of urgency and idiosyncrasy are identified in practice and manifest themselves according to what can be found in literature. Moreover, the instances of organizational capacity and continuity have been observed. Organizational capacity refers to the capacity of organizations to take on a workload at a given moment and assign this to the fit person or team. On the other hand, continuity refers to maintaining a certain momentum in the development process, which is important to keep stakeholders involved and aligned.

How do development speed, urban quality and comprehensiveness of development manifest themselves in practice and how are they affected by stakeholder collaboration?

Concerning development speed, multiple instances have been observed that relate to collaborative practice. Having a shared prospect appears to be an important driver for acceleration of the development process, caused by collaborative process of determining e.g. 'meta-objectives'. Moreover, early involvement of stakeholders in the collaborative process proves effective in gaining insight in one another's needs, goals and paces, which is a means for maintaining or obtaining pace in the development process. Furthermore, momentum, which can be seen as the result of coincidental occurrences, but can be to some extent 'artificially' created through for instance the beforenamed (virtual) prospects is another observed instance. Finally, (un)certainty is an instance that can be mitigated. Uncertainties can delay the development process, as it can put stakeholders in a 'wait-and-see'-mode.

Urban quality in practice is obtained through (re)developments. In itself a shift in land-use often increases the urban quality in brownfield areas, but in order to optimally use the potential of these areas, investments in public spaces are necessary. As feasibility is tight, value-increases are created by these investments, minimizing some uncertainty. Because investments in urban quality serve multiple purposes, they usually appear to be widely shared amongst stakeholders, as each benefits from investments in their own way. On the other hand, they also appear to be conditional in order to realize certain programming, density and/or attract a specific target audience. Safeguarding urban quality appears to be done through different constellations than usual, which offer greater flexibility and the opportunity to take swift decisions. This also leads to more flexible designs, making the developments more prone to changing circumstances.

Finally, the vicinity of an urban transit node also brings about negative elements, such as nuisance caused by noise and vibrations from railroad-tracks, posing design challenges. Comprehensiveness is observed in the relation between urban transit nodes and areas in development. The vicinity leads to high accessibility, allowing for lower parking norms and higher building densities, which appear to be necessary in order to obtain densification and alteration of public spaces. Collaborating and aligning developments with rail-related stakeholders can be seen as a means for utilizing the potential of these areas. Moreover, working in coalitions is found to be a means of dividing the development area into smaller pieces – which often have certain characteristics – to make it more approachable. Creating interdependencies between developing stakeholders might slow down development processes because the dynamics get more complex, but it is also an instrument to maintain comprehensiveness. A risk is found in safeguarding this level of comprehensiveness, which requires a responsible party to take on a leadership role in order to mitigate conflict. Logically, this party is the municipality, as it is responsible for frameworks they ratified.

What success and failure factors can be derived from the manifestation in practice according to the case-study?

Success factors that have been identified are early involvement, shared prospects and managing uncertainties. Early involvement of stakeholders in the development process provides a better starting position regarding the knowledge of goals, aims and objectives. This makes alignment and trust-building possible before development commences. Having shared prospects make it easier for parties to get aligned, as they are working towards a shared (meta)objective, increasing the pace of development processes. Managing uncertainties through e.g. mapping potential risks early on in the development process can prevent delay later in the process. A failure factor is found in a lack of leadership, which is needed in order to prevent conflict and to safeguard certain standards, often directly affecting the overall viability of projects.

How does stakeholder collaboration affect the development process of private area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes and what success and failure factors can be identified in this respect?

This research has shown that development processes of private area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes are inherently determined by the practices of collaboration between involved stakeholders. The structures of collaboration are, in turn, shaped by the context and circumstances in which the development takes place. Success or failure of these developments therefore depends on whether or not involved stakeholders manage to succeed in achieving alignment and utilizing the opportunities of collaboration.

5.2. REFLECTION

5.2.1. THEORETICAL REFLECTION

This research aimed to narrow the knowledge gap on the subject of collaborative practice in brownfield area developments. In addition to the work of Adams, Leishman & Moore (2009), exploring the concept of development speed in Dutch housing development contributes to existing academic literature (Adams, Leishman, & Moore, 2009). Although the concept is researched from the perspective of collaborative practice in a niche of the development market, this explorative research provides a starting point for further and more specific research on the topic. Moreover, collaborative practice has been researched from a broader perspective than what existing academic literature by e.g. Mentink (2021) had, as it includes more than merely the developer and the municipality as stakeholders (Mentink, 2021). Furthermore, whereas Mentink (2021) and Adams, Leishman & Moore (2009) focus on the element of development speed, this research has shown a broader and intertwined set of elements plays a role, adding to this urban quality and comprehensiveness (Adams, Leishman, & Moore, 2009) (Mentink, 2021). This is particularly relevant considering the specific type of area developments this thesis has focused on, which aimed to magnify the manifestation of the phenomenon at hand.

This research also contributes to academic practice through the conceptual framework that was drafted in order to grasp the phenomenon at hand, which still stands and is in fact backed up by empirical findings through the case study that was conducted. It also supports findings by Vangen & Huxham, as it essentially proves that "*making collaboration work effectively is highly resource consuming and often painful*" (Vangen & Huxham, 2010). Moreover, findings by Mentink (2021) are also supported from the empirical findings, especially regarding continuity, which is found to be an important trait in collaborative practice (Mentink, 2021).

5.2.2. PRACTICAL REFLECTION

Regarding practical applications of the research outcomes, multiple lessons can be learned for future complex area developments in the vicinity of urban transit nodes. Firstly, some causes are posed as for why plan capacity might not be used. As expected, this can be caused by a lack of collaborative advantage or even collaborative inertia, which cause developments to stall due to viability issues. Some outcomes of the research were unexpected but particularly relevant in the light of their potential practical uses. This research aimed to explore the connection between collaborative practice and the development process and found that municipalities can be stated to have a more prominent responsibility than was beforehand expected concerning the mitigation of conflicts and therewith safeguarding the bandwidths of differentiation of stakeholder's alignment in order to utilize the '*doorwaadbare plaats*'. In particular, the differences in goals, aims and urgency of rail-related stakeholders and other actors in the area development, make this type of brownfield development especially prone to this discrepancy in alignment.

Moreover, another finding that is relevant for practice and could be more carefully considered in development practice is the implications the size of a location can give. It is a reason for choosing certain collaborative structures, such as the one of '*coalitieontwikkeling*'. Careful crafting of collaborative structures that serve the purpose of a development and safeguard crucial elements in e.g. the development process therefore appears to be more important than initially expected. The same goes for the impact of size of developments, which can put additional pressure on comprehensiveness and at the same time contributes to more complex stakeholder relations.

Finally, an outcome that was not necessarily expected was the double accelerating factor of the WBI. This is acquired directly through obligations regarding commencement and completion of developments, but also indirectly due to it being a shared prospect stakeholders aim for, which is a driver for stakeholder alignment, making it easier to utilize the '*doorwaadbare plaats*', effectively accelerating the development process. In general, having a shared prospect can be regarded a valuable tool to utilize in such development processes. This can also be e.g. the prospect of municipal elections, which can otherwise be a factor of delay.

Given the explorative nature of this research and the expected and unexpected outcomes in regard to the research problem of this research, it can be stated that this thesis has had a relevant contribution to practice, which also comprises the usefulness of research results for the practices of BPD.

5.2.3. REFLECTION ON VALIDITY AND RESEARCH STRATEGY

As to the way this research has been conducted, in case of repetition some considerations should be made. To begin with, all three cases have similarities but also major differences. It is difficult, if not impossible to make general statements based on this comparison, especially considering the extent to which the local circumstances and contexts shape the structures of collaboration and the development process. Brownfields in the vicinity of urban transit nodes might therefore display traits that are uncommon to regular brownfields, not just magnifying the effects taking place in regular brownfields. This does not mean no valuable insights can be obtained from this analysis, but instead that the conceptual framework suffices, given the scope of this research.

Moreover, the research for this thesis has been conducted in combination with an internship at BPD. Although this granted more and easier access to (re)sources, it also makes the researcher more vulnerable for biases throughout the conduction of this research. This is due to the use of BPD's portfolio for selecting the cases, leaving out a large number of other potentially relevant cases that might show different collaborative practices as a result of different involved stakeholders. Also, the internship at BPD might have unconsciously caused a certain bias, because the working environment of a developer exposes the researcher to their practices, potentially influencing their thoughts and opinions on subjects.

5.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

5.3.1. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR BPD

According to the Regional agenda of BPD, the internship company is working on ten area developments in the vicinity of transit nodes in the region NOM. This research brings forward various lessons learned that could be adapted in the practice of BPD.

First and foremost, what exemplifies these locations is their relation to rail infrastructures. Integrating this into the development process can be done through three of the variables of this research. In collaborative practice, early involvement of rail-related stakeholders is proven valuable, as their internal processes are different from other involved stakeholders. Involving them early on gives more opportunity to adapt plans to conditions from this direction, such as moving installations. In the light of urban quality, plans should be drafted according to potential nuisance, so mitigating measures can be integrated in the design early on, leading to higher urban quality to be realized. In terms of comprehensiveness, contributing to a modal shift parallel to land-use changes offers the opportunity to lower parking norms and attract a certain target audience. This does require crucial infrastructures to be present before dwellings are realized, as otherwise behavioral change is much more difficult to realize. Municipalities have an important role in safeguarding this order and take on a leadership role in this respect, as they usually have ratified certain underlying frameworks and have instruments to intervene, which other stakeholders do not have. Pointing out this responsibility where necessary can be worthwhile to raise consciousness on this.

Moreover, a valuable lesson is to try to plan moments in the development process that create a sense of urgency for all stakeholders involved, like working towards an application for WBI funding. By doing so, stakeholders are likely to be more willing to give in on certain aspects in the development process which can generate trust. Trust, together with a degree of continuity are likely to contribute to gaining collaborative advantage in development processes. The Dutch saying: "*onder druk wordt alles vloeibaar*" truly proves itself right in this respect.

Finally, safeguarding continuity is important. Practice of NS proved worthwhile in doing so, as it is willing to make more and perhaps too many costs beforehand in order to get a holistic image of the development area from various perspectives. This way, unexpected surprises of additional research and potential delay in the planning process can be avoided. Moreover, it can be a sign of commitment towards other stakeholders, including the municipality. This can also have a beneficial effect. On the other hand, the current practices of BPD in this respect are likely already based on a balance between this certainty and the willingness to pay for this.

5.3.2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Based on the research aim and the outcomes of this thesis, various recommendations for further research can be made. Firstly, this research has found that shared prospects such as WBI-funding or municipal elections can have an accelerating effect on development processes, because they align involved stakeholders and create a fundament of mutual trust due to the shared achievements that are made. It is expected 'virtual' prospects can also provide for this effect, but as of which and how, further research should be conducted.

Moreover, this research found the direct and indirect effects of WBI-funding in the development process. Additional research focusing on the (potential) effects of WBI-funding on the area developments that it was (and wasn't) granted to can shine a light on a relatively recently adapted instrument and help fill in what can now be seen as a knowledge gap on the subject.

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APPENDICES

A. APPENDIX 1: OVERVIEW OF ACTIVITIES AND FORMALIZATION PER PROCESS PHASE

Phase	Program	Design	Land Development	Support	Legal Spatial Framework	Formal document
Initiative	Explorative conversations with share- & stakeholders	Exploring history and context of development area	Global market analysis	Municipal executive support	Drafting municipal zoning plan	Start agreement / Intention agreement
	Inventory of ideas	Global spatial design	Financial exploration based on global programming	Concent of municipal council on	Planmer / Quickscan surroundings aspects	
	Formulating ambitions		Global risk inventory for land acquisition	Explorative conversations with primary stakeholders in the surroundings		
Feasibility	Market study and formulating target audience	Drafting masterplan	Land Development	Participation and communication process	(Optional) Area specific structure vision	Cooperation agreement?
	Determining programming and phasing	Drafting urban design including plot layout	Public value capture through anterior agreement	Municipal executive commitment on contents of zoning plan	Drafting zoning plan	
	Scouting potential contractors	Conducting MER-, mobility-, and environmental research	Drafting plan for area-specific investments	Support and consent of municipal council		
		Drafting preliminary and final design		Coordinating with other stakeholders (e.g. water bodies, railway companies, Province, etc.)		
Realization	Controlling construction based on program requirements	Quality control and assessing constructed buildings	Keep land development up-to-date	Communitcation with surroundings and stakeholders	Executive permits (WABO)	Permits / Contracts
		Assisting and controlling delivery of public spaces	Finish project administration			
		Preparation of works	Monitoring financial agreements			
			Closing sales deals			
Management		Monitor management and maintenance of public spaces	Management operations	Communication with inhabitants and users of area		
		Drafting policies and rules concerning management	Monitoring financial agreements			

B. APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDES

B.1. DEVELOPER AND MUNICIPALITY

Introductie

Allereerst bedankt voor de bereidheid mee te werken aan een interview. Graag zou ik nog een aantal punten aanstippen. Allereerst zou ik graag willen vragen of ik dit interview op mag nemen. Alle data zal vertrouwelijk en geanonimiseerd worden meegenomen in het verdere onderzoek. Mocht je op enig moment, om welke reden dan ook het interview willen beëindigen, dan kan dit.

Mijn onderzoek focust zich op herontwikkeling/transformatie van gebieden die in de directe nabijheid van een OV vervoersknooppunt gesitueerd zijn. Concreet onderzoek ik hoe bepaalde manieren van samenwerking het ontwikkelproces beïnvloeden, daarbij focussend op de doorlooptijd van een gebiedsontwikkeling, de borging/ontwikkeling van de ruimtelijke kwaliteit in het gebied en de integraliteit van een ontwikkeling vanuit de TOD gedachte. Om dit in kaart te brengen interview ik verschillende stakeholders binnen een drietal van deze ontwikkelingen. Heb je naar aanleiding hiervan nog vragen?

Q1. Zou u uw rol binnen de organisatie toe kunnen lichten?

Q2. Hoe bent u betrokken (geraakt) bij de deze gebiedsontwikkeling?

Samenwerking

Q3. Welke stakeholders zijn er momenteel actief betrokken bij deze gebiedsontwikkeling?

➔ Is dit veranderd gedurende het ontwikkelproces?

Q4. Hoe ziet u de rol van de gemeente hierin?

Q5. Hoe zou u de samenwerking(svorm) binnen deze gebiedsontwikkeling typeren?

Q6. Wat voor samenwerkingsafspraken worden er voor dit ontwikkelproces gehanteerd?

Q7. Hoe ervaart u het samenwerkingsproces vanuit uw rol en uw rol hierin?

Q8. Welke successen en valkuilen zou u tot op heden toeschrijven aan de samenwerking tussen verschillende stakeholders in het ontwikkelproces?

Development proces

Q9. In welke fase zou u deze gebiedsontwikkeling momenteel categoriseren?

Q10. Vordert het ontwikkelproces zoals u initieel verwacht had?

➔ Wat zijn concrete punten waar u/jullie tot op heden tegenaan gelopen zijn in het ontwikkelproces?
➔ Zijn deze punten te linken aan het type gebied waar deze ontwikkeling plaatsvindt?
➔ Wat is de invloed van de manier van samenwerking binnen deze gebiedsontwikkeling hierop?

Q11. Wat is de tijdlijn van de ontwikkeling tot op heden en hoe ziet deze er voor de toekomst uit?

➔ Wat is de invloed van de manier van samenwerking binnen deze gebiedsontwikkeling hierop?

Q12. Hoe wordt binnen de ontwikkeling met de ruimtelijke kwaliteit van het gebied omgegaan?

➔ Zijn de doelen op dit gebied bijgesteld sinds de aanvang van het ontwikkelproces? Waarom en hoe?
➔ Wat is de invloed van de manier van samenwerking binnen deze gebiedsontwikkeling hierop?

Q13. Hoe wordt de positie van het te ontwikkelen gebied meegewogen in de ontwikkeling?

→ Krijgt de ontwikkeling integraal vorm in relatie tot het vervoersknooppunt in de omgeving (TOD)?

→ Waarom wordt dit gebied op deze manier herontwikkeld?

→ Wat is de invloed van de manier van samenwerking binnen deze gebiedsontwikkeling hierop?

Afsluiting

Q14. Zijn er naar uw idee belangrijke elementen van de ontwikkeling niet aangesneden in dit gesprek en zo ja, welke zijn dit?

Q15. Wat zou u mij nog mee willen geven voor mijn onderzoek?

Q16. Mag ik u voor eventuele vervolgvragen benaderen?

Graag wil ik u nogmaals bedanken voor uw tijd en bereidheid mee te werken aan dit interview en daarmee ook mijn onderzoek. Daarnaast wil ik u nogmaals wijzen op de vertrouwelijke omgang met de verzamelde data, deze zal geanonimiseerd worden meegenomen in het onderzoek.

B.2. NS

Introductie

Allereerst bedankt voor de bereidheid mee te werken aan een interview. Graag zou ik nog een aantal punten aanstippen. Allereerst zou ik graag willen vragen of ik dit interview op mag nemen. Alle data zal vertrouwelijk en geanonimiseerd worden meegenomen in het verdere onderzoek. Mocht je op enig moment, om welke reden dan ook het interview willen beëindigen, dan kan dit.

Mijn onderzoek focust zich op herontwikkeling/transformatie van gebieden die in de directe nabijheid van een OV vervoersknooppunt gesitueerd zijn. Concreet onderzoek ik hoe bepaalde manieren van samenwerking het ontwikkelproces beïnvloeden, daarbij focussend op de doorlooptijd van een gebiedsontwikkeling, de borging/ontwikkeling van de ruimtelijke kwaliteit in het gebied en de integraliteit van een ontwikkeling vanuit de TOD gedachte. Om dit in kaart te brengen interview ik verschillende stakeholders binnen een drietal van deze ontwikkelingen. Heb je naar aanleiding hiervan nog vragen?

Q1. Zou u uw rol binnen de organisatie toe kunnen lichten?

Q2. En hoe bent u betrokken (geraakt) bij gebiedsontwikkelingen?

Samenwerking

Q3. Wat voor samenwerkingsvormen werden/worden er gehanteerd tussen verschillende aanwezige stakeholders binnen deze gebiedsontwikkelingen?

→ Wat voor samenwerkingsafspraken hoorden bij deze samenwerkingsvormen?

→ Veranderde dit ook gedurende het ontwikkelproces?

→ Is dit in de loop der tijd, gedurende de periode dat u daar werkte, ook veranderd?

→ Hoe heeft het samenwerkingsproces ervaren vanuit uw rol en uw rol hierin?

Q4. Hoe ziet u de rol van de gemeente in dit type ontwikkelingen voor zich?

Q5. Hoe ziet u de rol van uw organisatie in dit type ontwikkelingen voor zich?

Q6. Hoe zou u de samenwerking(svormen) binnen de verschillende gebiedsontwikkeling typeren?

Q7. Welke successen en valkuilen zou u tot op heden toeschrijven aan verschillende manieren van samenwerken tussen verschillende stakeholders in een ontwikkelproces?

Development proces

Q8. Hoe zou u de doorloop van de verschillende ontwikkelprocessen (achteraf) beschrijven?

→ Wat zijn concrete punten waar u/jullie tegenaan gelopen zijn in het ontwikkelproces?
→ Zijn deze punten te linken aan het type gebied waar deze ontwikkeling plaatsvond?
→ Wat is de invloed van de manier van samenwerking binnen de gebiedsontwikkeling hierop?

Q9. Zou u in het verlengde hiervan een tijdlijn kunnen schetsen van de ontwikkeling(en) en de belangrijkste momenten hierin?

Q10. Hoe is binnen de ontwikkeling(en) met de (borging van) ruimtelijke kwaliteit van het gebied omgegaan?

→ Zijn de doelen op dit gebied bijgesteld gedurende het ontwikkelproces? Waarom en hoe?
→ Wat is de invloed van de manier van samenwerking binnen de gebiedsontwikkeling hierop?

Q11. Hoe wordt de positie van het gebied meegewogen in de ontwikkeling(en)?

→ Kreeg de ontwikkeling integraal vorm in relatie tot het vervoersknooppunt in de omgeving (TOD)?
→ Waarom werd dit gebied op deze manier getransformeerd?
→ Hoe wordt het station in (de nabijheid van) het gebied vanuit uw organisatie meegewogen in het opzetten en uitvoeren van een ontwikkeling?
→ Wat is de invloed van de manier van samenwerking binnen de gebiedsontwikkeling hierop?

Afsluiting

Q12. Zijn er naar uw idee belangrijke elementen van de ontwikkeling niet aangesneden in dit gesprek en zo ja, welke zijn dit?

Q13. Wat zou u mij nog mee willen geven voor mijn onderzoek?

Q14. Mag ik u voor eventuele vervolgvragen benaderen?

Graag wil ik u nogmaals bedanken voor uw tijd en bereidheid mee te werken aan dit interview en daarmee ook mijn onderzoek. Daarnaast wil ik u nogmaals wijzen op de vertrouwelijke omgang met de verzamelde data, deze zal geanonimiseerd worden meegenomen in het onderzoek.