

# CONFLICT IN MODERN DAY PLANNING

Investigating the approach to conflict in nomocratic planning processes in the Netherlands



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## Preface

In front of you lies my thesis for the bachelor program of Geography, Planning and Environment. This thesis is about the research I have done, investigating three different modern-day planning processes and their approach to conflict. Based on my own interest in new planning systems in the Netherlands – which surprisingly developed when I studied abroad- and my supervisor’s interest in conflict and its approach, the topic was found. It definitely proved itself to be as interesting as expected and I have learned a lot about different planning systems and the different ways of how actors are related and work together. I have also gained a lot of very useful practical research-experience, for example on how to prepare and conduct interviews. Last but not least, I have also gained more insight in myself as a researcher and what works for me and what does not work.

Before we start, I would like to thank everyone who had their share in the research and its process. In particular prof. dr. P.M. Ache, my supervisor for the thesis. Furthermore, I am very grateful to the respondents for the interviews, without them there would be no data and thus no research. I would like to thank them for their open and cooperative attitude in the interviews, especially because it were topics that are not that easy to speak about.

I sincerely hope you enjoy it as much reading it as I did working on it.

Tom van Sittert

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## Table of Contents

i. Summary	6
1. Introduction	9
1.1 Background	9
1.2 Objective	10
1.3 Main Question	10
2. Theory	11
2.1 Theoretical Background	11
2.2 Operationalisation	16
2.3 Conceptual Model	19
3. Methods	20
3.1 Strategy	20
3.2 Material	21
3.3 Cases	22
4. Case Study Results	30
4.1 Framework	30
4.2 Schieblock (Rotterdam)	31
4.3 Ebbingekwartier (Groningen)	35
4.4 Honigcomplex (Nijmegen)	39
5. Conclusion	43
5.1 Conclusion	43
5.2 Recommendations	45
5.3 Reflection	45
6. References	47
Appendix	49
A: Interview-guides	49
B: Codebook	59
C: Relevant transcripts	61



## i. Summary

In the last decade, the Dutch planning system had a significant transformation. It used to be known for its comprehensive integrated approach (Nadin and Stead, 2008) including a very hierarchical structure on all different levels of governance. This approach is referred to as teleocratic and resembles a centralised and institutional structure of land-use regulation (Moroni, 2010). Typical for the Dutch approach is the active land policy in which the local municipalities buy and prepare building-ground which they then resell to the private sector. The money earned with this, was used to invest in the quality of urban development (Krabben and Jacobs, 2012). This way of planning is referred to in this thesis as teleocratic planning or teleocracy (Moroni, 2012).

Since 2008, the planning system started to shift towards a more bottom-up and organic type of planning. This type of planning will be referred to as a nomocratic way of planning. It includes plans with a more strategic character, a facilitative government which provides space for local activities and a bottom-up decision making process (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016). This, perhaps temporary, shift towards a more nomocratic approach is caused by two factors, the new Spatial Planning Act in combination with the economic recession.

The Spatial Planning Act that is in use since 2008 ([wetten.overheid.nl](http://wetten.overheid.nl), n.d.), provided space for this shift in two different ways. First of all, it rearranged the whole distribution of power-relations and responsibilities between the different governmental levels. This was aimed to smoothen the planning processes and it focussed on decentralisation (Zonneveld and Evers, 2014). Secondly, the new act improved the urban development, cost recovery and social housing through public law. This used to be one of the main reasons to adapt an active land policy, but this active policy turned out to be unnecessary with the new planning act. Therefore, the government could adapt a more facilitative role (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016).

Although the new act provided the opportunities for a new way of planning, it was the crisis of 2008 that actually made planners switch to a different approach. The crisis and the collapse of property and housing markets showed the flaws of the teleocratic way of planning (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016) and a new system was therefore required. This system needed to be flexible to new, unpredictable developments with a strong involvement and participation of users (Bertolini et al, 2011). Furthermore, the crisis caused a decline in the demand for publicly prepared building ground of over 50% (Ploeg, 2014). This led to big losses for the government and to prevent those, they searched for alternatives which were mostly of a more bottom-up and organic kind.

A lot is already known about the nomocratic way of planning and it has been used in multiple cases in the Netherlands. However, there is one part that is immanent to planning of which a little is known in these cases, which is conflict (Ploeger, 2004). There is much theoretical debate about how conflict should be approached and one of the main thinkers in this topic is Chantal Mouffe. She introduces two approaches towards conflict: antagonism and agonism. According to her, antagonism is the traditional way to approach conflict in which actors are enemies and their only aim is to find a consensus as soon as possible (Mouffe, 2000, 2).

The problem with this approach is the fact that conflict is ignored as one of the central issues of planning, which would lead to less public engagement, mistrust and escalation of disagreements (Ploeger, 2004, Hilier, 2002, Mouffe, 2000, 1). Mouffe therefore introduces an agonistic approach which she claims to be more appropriate to deal with conflict. In this agonistic approach, there is less or no hierarchy and actors discuss their disagreements as adversaries to find solutions for their dispute (Mouffe, 2000, 2, Ploeger, 2004 and Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 1). One of the main assets of an agonistic approach is reciprocity: the ability to see yourself in the position of the other (Hilier, 2002).

Although a lot is known about this in theory, there has not been much practical knowledge about it yet. The aim of this thesis therefore to bridge the gap between the theoretical knowledge about conflict and

the practical use of the two different approaches. This will be done by answering the main-question: *How is conflict dealt with in nomocratic planning processes and why is it approached in that way?*

The answer to the main question is found by doing a qualitative research, investigating and analysing three cases of nomocratic planning. Two important aspects in a qualitative research are triangulation and the natural setting of the different cases (Vennix, 2012). Triangulation is the use of multiple ways of data gathering, which is done by a literature study, site-visits and last but definitely not least, interviews. The three cases that are studied are the Schiebblock in Rotterdam, the Ebbingekwartier in Groningen and the Honigcomplex in Nijmegen. In each case, an explorative interview was done to collect information about the case. These were analysed and reflected and used to choose the other respondents. Thereafter, at least two other actors were interviewed

All three of the cases are selected because they show characteristics of nomocratic planning. They were all destined areas for housing in large teleocratic blue-prints. However, the crisis slowed these plans down and municipalities were stuck with ground in which nothing happened. In Rotterdam, it was an architect-agency located in the block that initiated the new plans for the area. The Ebbingekwartier in Groningen was also initiated by the entrepreneurs in the area. Although the plans in Nijmegen were initiated from the 'top', it still showed enough characteristics of a nomocratic planning process.

The data that was gathered in the three cases has been thoroughly analysed and for each case, insight was gained in the targeted information to answer the sub-questions. First, the characteristics of the planning process were analysed in each case to find out if they were actually nomocratic or still more teleocratic. The processes in Rotterdam and Groningen both had a facilitative government, a bottom-up structure and the plans consisted out of strategic frameworks instead of blue-prints and are thus highly nomocratic. In Nijmegen, the process did show some more characteristics of teleocracy. The government was relatively active and there were more signs of a top-down structure. However, there was still a lot of user-involvement and social participation. Furthermore, the plans that were made were strategic frameworks as well. It could therefore be said that the Honigcomplex had a nomocratic character within a teleocratic structure.

Second, the conflicts that occurred during the processes were analysed and elaborated. In each case, generally similar conflicts occurred. These were discussions about the plans for the area and disagreements between renters themselves and between renters and other actors.

Thereafter, the approach to conflict was analysed in terms of antagonism and agonism. The general attitude towards conflict was open to a certain degree. Discussions were held and actors were provided with opportunities to share their opinions and visions. Furthermore, there was a good relationship between most of the actors in each case. There was a big sense of reciprocity and a proper bond of trust. Based on these characteristics, the approach to conflict could be seen as agonistic. However, the aim of the conflicts was to make a decision based on the discussions and take action upon that decision. Thus the aim of the conflicts was to build consensus, which is seen as antagonistic by Mouffe. However, Hilier (2002) is a bit less repulsive towards consensus and claims that agonistic decisions can be partly consensual as long as they are democratic. Hence, there cannot be a justified claim about antagonism and agonism, only based on the targeted outcome. The other characteristics of the approach to conflict are in fact agonistic and it can therefore be said that the general approach to conflict in these cases is agonistic.

At last, it is analysed whether or not the actors have made a deliberate decision about their approach to conflict in terms of antagonism and agonism. The actors did believe that discussions were relevant for the case and value the opinion and vision of other actors. In that way, they did deliberately choose for their approach to discussions and conflicts. However, it cannot be derived from the data whether this decision was based on only their beliefs or if it was based on terms of antagonism and agonism as well.

To answer the main-question *'how is conflict dealt with in nomocratic planning processes and why is it approached in that way?'* it can be said that conflict is dealt with in an agonistic way and that the approach was based on the beliefs of the different actors.

The objective to bridge the gap between the theories about antagonism and agonism, and the practical use of these concepts has partly been fulfilled. The thesis only focussed on nomocratic planning processes and did not touch any other approach to planning. Some of the respondents expected a different approach to conflict if the whole character of the planning process was more teleocratic. It could therefore be highly recommended to investigate the approach to conflict in more teleocratic processes. Combined with that information, a justified claim could be made about antagonism and agonism for the whole field of planning. For now, it is only for nomocratic planning processes.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

The Dutch planning system was widely known for its comprehensive integrated approach (Nadin and Stead, 2008). This approach includes a very hierarchical structure on multiple governmental levels, addressing spatial planning issues instead of economic development (Lalenis, 2007). This idea of planning is also referred to by Moroni (2010) as a teleocratic approach. According to him, teleocratic planning is the “*fundamental, unavoidable central means of (public) land-use regulation*” (Moroni, 2010, p. 138). It is the idea that certain goals cannot be achieved without institutional interventions (Alexander et al, 2012).

This teleocratic, comprehensive integrated approach is used by multiple countries in Europe, but typical for the Dutch approach was the huge responsibility for local authorities and their active land policy (Lalenis, 2007). With this active land policy, municipalities bought ground, prepared it for building purposes and sold it back to the private sector (Buitelaar, 2010). This policy was used to steer and ensure the implementation of plans made by the municipality. Besides, it was a great way to make a profit, which could be invested in public works that provide urban development (Krabben and Jacobs, 2012).

### 1.1.1. Change in the Planning System

Nowadays, the Dutch planning system is seen as one of the first innovative examples of replacing this traditional teleocratic planning with a more flexible approach, referred to as nomocracy (Alexander et al, 2012). This fundamental change started in 2008 with the new Spatial Planning Act (Ache and Hospers, 2016) in combination with the economic recession (Bertolini et al, 2011). The teleocratic approach has been replaced by a more open, flexible approach, described by Moroni (2010) as a nomocratic approach. Authorities should be focussed on providing a broad framework which gives cities the opportunity to organically improve themselves. This new approach is also referred to as a participatory design approach or participatory planning (Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 1). These two planning approaches – teleocratic, hierarchic planning and nomocratic, participatory planning- will be further analysed in chapter 2.

The Spatial Planning Act that has been in use since 2008 facilitated this change. It provided room for new ideas about planning and a more organic, participatory structure. The upcoming act in 2018 will even elaborate on this change and stimulate decentralisation (Ache and Hospers, 2016). At the same time of the new planning acts, the economic crisis occurred. This recession had a big impact on the Dutch planning system and it showed the flaws of the tightly coupled integrated approach we had in the Netherlands (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016).

An important aspect in combination with this new nomocratic, participatory approach are the concepts of antagonism and agonism. These are two different approaches on how to deal with conflicts during a process. The difference between these two terms is a little bit harder to describe, but it comes down to the different aims of it. The antagonistic approach is just looking for solutions and compromises with two or more stakeholders opposing each other. On the other hand, the agonistic approach is trying to constructively deal with disagreements and have a tolerant discussion about them with as much actors involved as possible (Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 1 and Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 2). These two approaches will also be further elaborated in chapter 2.

## 1.2 Objective

Interesting to see is that there are a lot of nomocratic, participatory processes going on in the Netherlands with some of them already completed and a lot is already known about them. Moreover, a lot is known about how conflicts -which are immanent to planning (Ploeger, 2004)- should be approached in such processes, theoretically. Especially Mouffe (2000, 1&2) claims that a more agonistic approach should be used instead of antagonism. This idea is further introduced in planning by Hillier (2002).

However, not much is known about the approach to conflicts in these processes, practically. It is therefore interesting to analyse and research the gap between the theory of antagonism and agonism in planning processes and the practical approaches. Hence, the objective for this thesis is to bridge the gap between theory and practice on how to solve conflicts in nomocratic planning processes. This is achieved by doing a qualitative research, comparing the conflicts and solutions in different processes.

### 1.2.1. Scientific Contribution

This research will contribute to the theories of Mouffe (2000, 1&2) and Hillier (2002) by giving a first indication of how conflict is approached in nomocratic planning processes. Different conflicts and cases will be analysed and it can thus be seen if the theories about agonism and antagonism are useful and already used in practice.

### 1.2.2. Social Contribution

Besides the scientific contribution, this thesis will contribute to society as well. It would give people insight in how to deal with conflicts, which are immanent to planning, but social life as well. By assaying the theories, people would have a clear understanding on how to approach conflicts and the different actors. This would make it easier to deal with conflicts in society and solve them easier.

## 1.3 Main Question

The objective of this thesis is to bridge the gap between the theory and practice on how to solve conflicts in nomocratic planning processes. This will be achieved by answering the following main question:

*How is conflict dealt with in nomocratic planning processes and why is it approached in that way?*

With this descriptive question, insight will be created in different examples of nomocratic planning-processes and their approach to conflict.

### 1.3.1. Sub-Questions

To come to an answer to the main question, the following sub-questions will be used:

1. What are the characteristics of the processes of the Honigcomplex, Schieblock and the Ebbingekwartier, when using a teleocratic and/or nomocratic framework?
2. What are the major conflicts occurring in the processes of the Honigcomplex, Schieblock and the Ebbingekwartier?
3. How are the conflicts approached by different stakeholders, when using the concepts of antagonism and agonism?
4. Why did the stakeholders approach these conflicts in such way?
  - a. Did it happen by incidence or was it a deliberate decision?

These sub-questions will help gaining insight in the different processes and their conflicts, and the approach used to solve or deal with these conflicts.

## 2. Theory

### 2.1 Theoretical Background

In this thesis, there are two major theoretical themes. The first one is the change from teleocratic, hierarchical planning towards the nomocratic, participatory planning, which is already partly discussed in chapter one. The second theme is the shift from antagonism towards agonism. First I will further elaborate the two planning designs and the differences between them. Then I will analyse the two approaches of dealing with conflicts; antagonism and agonism.

#### 2.1.1. From Teleocracy towards Nomocracy

A lot of different terms are already used to describe the two different planning approaches. Teleocracy, hierarchic planning and project planning on the one hand, and nomocracy, participatory planning and process planning on the other side. In this part, I will develop a clearer understanding of both approaches and elaborate on the change that has been going on.

##### *Teleocracy*

The first approach is the teleocratic, hierarchic, project approach. This teleocratic approach is introduced by Moroni (2010) and in this approach “*planning is the fundamental, unavoidable central means of (public) land-use regulation*” (Moroni, 2010, p.138). It is top-down planning with plans and policies constructed to achieve certain goals by executing particular interventions (Alexander et al, 2012). It could also be seen as project planning, with a clear goal and phasing (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016). This way of planning was regarded as a useful way of planning for a long time and the Dutch planning system was widely known and admired for it (Nadin and Stead, 2008).

Moroni (2010) was critical towards this way of planning. He claimed that it was impossible and undesirable to plan a city in a teleocratic way. Cities were way too complex to grasp in such a system and it would cause a drop in productivity, efficiency and creativity. This critical view towards teleocratic planning was shared among other scientists as well. The top-down perspective could not cope well enough with changing conditions, it lacked in promoting participation and the specifications were mostly too rigid (Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 2).

From now on, I will use the term teleocracy/teleocratic planning to refer to this approach to planning, even though the different concepts are not entirely the same. This will be further operationalised in section 2.2.

##### *Nomocracy*

The critical views on planning demanded for a new approach to planning. It had to be a more nomocratic, organic approach that called for user involvement and participation (for nomocracy, see Moroni, 2010, for organic, see Buitelaar & Bregman, 2016, for involvement and participation, see Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 2). Nomocracy was introduced by Moroni (2010) as well. He recommended this approach to be able to better deal with the complex systems in a city, by providing a framework in which cities could organically grow and improve themselves. A key-concept in this approach is the paradoxical notion of spontaneous order, in which self-organization leads to the creation of order (Moroni, 2010 and Alexander et al, 2012). It is spatial planning 2.0: organic, bottom-up planning with a larger role for self-organisation and societal initiatives (Willems, 2014).

This approach can also be seen as a participatory design or participatory approach. The shift from teleocracy towards such a participatory design is a shift from a design for predefined groups and predefined outcomes towards a design with public engagement in controversial issues. It is a shift from designing projects to designing processes and strategies (Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 1).

The last term that is used for this approach to planning is organic planning. Buitelaar and Bregman (2016) see this type of planning as an approach “in which plans get a more strategic character, development sites are smaller, the development process lacks a clear endpoint, where government is more risk averse and relies only on its statutory planning power and in which a greater role is reserved for individuals and small enterprises” (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016, p. 1291).

One might notice, that a lot of different terms are used to describe the same approach to planning, again. From now on, this second approach will be operationalised as ‘nomocratic/nomocracy’. This will be further elaborated in the operationalisation-section.

### What Changed?

What exactly changed with the shift from teleocracy to nomocracy can be seen in Figure 1 (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016). It can be divided into three major changes. The first change is the role of the government. In a teleocratic system, they had an active role managing the project. This role has become a lot more facilitative in nomocratic planning, providing opportunities to manage the process. There are also more and different stakeholders involved in nomocratic planning. Second is the different character of the plans. Teleocratic plans were often large scale blue-prints in which everything need to happen at once. The nomocratic plans have a smaller scale character and can be seen as strategic frameworks. The last groups is the distinction between top-down and bottom-up. This one cannot be derived from the figure, but is derived from the literature. This is the distinction between the, active, government making the decisions in teleocratic processes and those decisions and ideas coming from ‘underneath’ in nomocratic planning processes.

Interesting to see in this figure and the text from Buitelaar and Bregman (2016), is that they do not address the topic of conflict. Even though they talk a lot about organic/nomocratic planning, immanent conflict is not addressed. They do not provide insight in where this conflict happens or how it should be approached. However, I believe, based on the literature on agonism, that addressing conflict and the appropriate approach to it could be a great addition to their idea of nomocratic planning.

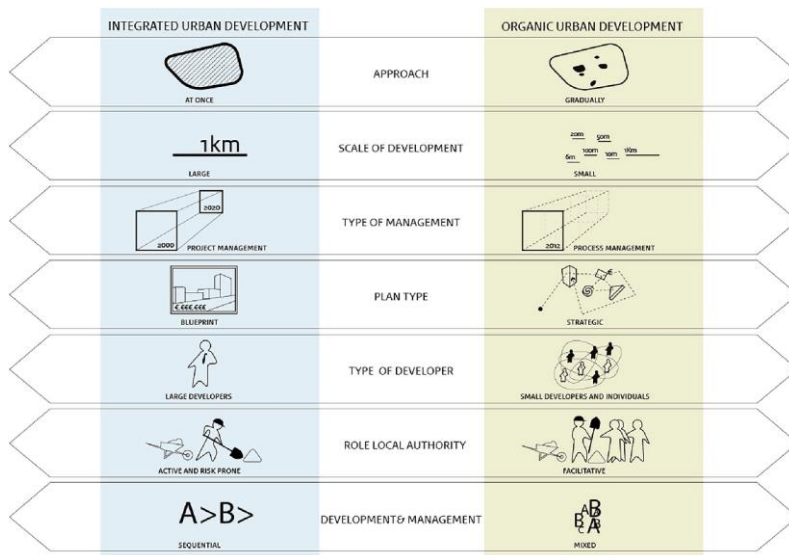


Figure 1: Integrated versus organic urban development. Source: Buitelaar et al. (2012), in Buitelaar and Bregman (2016), p. 1288

It has to be noted that the change from teleocracy towards nomocracy is still going on. There are examples of the nomocratic approach being in use, but it has not entirely replaced the teleocratic approach (yet). This replacement could become clearer when the consequences of the crisis are all restored and fixed. Then one could see if the nomocratic approach was temporary or if it really replaced the teleocratic way (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016)

#### *Why did it change?*

Now that we have a clear understanding of the change from teleocracy towards nomocracy, it is important to take a look at why this change occurred. As stated in part 1.1, the change was caused by a combination of the new spatial act (Ache and Hospers, 2016) and the economic crisis and following recession (Bertolini et al, 2011, Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016). The new policies provided a framework for the new approach, with the recession showing us the necessity of such a new approach, creating goodwill and opportunities to switch to nomocratic planning. In this part, both these aspects of the changing approach will be analysed. First, the policy changes will be analysed, with the Spatial Act of 2008 and the draft National Policy Strategy of 2011. Then, the impact of the crisis and recession will be analysed connected to these changing policies.

#### **Policies**

The new Spatial Act of 2008 catered for a change from teleocracy to nomocracy, rearranging the responsibilities, expectations and power-relations between multiple governmental layers. This rearrangement aimed to fasten planning processes and, more important, stimulate nomocratic planning. It focussed on decentralisation over centralisation and deregulation over regulation (Zonneveld and Evers, 2014). Furthermore, the new Spatial Act improved urban development, social housing and cost recovery through public law (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016). The urban development was one of the main reasons for Dutch municipalities to adapt an active role. With the money they received with this active policy, the improvement of these factors could be fulfilled (Krabben and Jacobs, 2012). With these factors already improved by the new policies, the necessity for an active role became smaller and the government could change to a more facilitative role.

After the Spatial Act in 2008, the Dutch government introduced a new National Policy Strategy in 2011. Whilst the Spatial Act of 2008 was using decentralisation as a tool to fasten the planning process, the National Policy Strategy of 2011 went a bit further and sees decentralisation as a goal in itself. In this policy, the responsibility for spatial planning should move closer to people and businesses affected by it (Zonneveld and Evers, 2014).

#### **Recession**

The new Dutch planning policies provided a new framework for Dutch planners to switch from a teleocratic approach to a nomocratic one. The fact that the change did actually happen can be attributed to the economic crisis and recession.

First of all, the recession required a different approach than the Dutch teleocratic way. It showed us the flaws of the tightly coupled teleocratic system in which a small change can affect the whole system. The field of planning can change rapidly and is unpredictable, which was proven by the crisis (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016). Therefore, a new approach was required. One that was more flexible to unpredicted developments, more efficiently in fulfilling the user's demands and smarter considering the required liquidities, thus a more nomocratic approach (Bertolini et al, 2011). This new nomocratic approach was already part of the new policies, with decentralisation and deregulation to stimulate proactive, nomocratic planning (Zonneveld and Evers, 2014).

Secondly, the crisis did not only require a new approach, it also changed to role of the government. It caused a decline of the demand for publicly prepared building ground of over 50% (Ploeg, 2014). Municipalities were stuck with this building ground and to prevent big losses, they searched for alternatives. These alternatives were mostly local ideas from involved actors, which had a nomocratic character. At the same time, the adaptation of the spatial act caused improvements which lead to a smaller necessity for an active government, as described in the previous section. Both the threat of big

losses and the opportunity to take a new role, made the government switch to a more facilitative role, providing space for societal initiatives and self-organisation (Willems, 2014). This new approach is typical for a nomocratic approach.

### 2.1.2. From Antagonism towards Agonism

The second major theoretical theme in my thesis is about the approach to conflict. According to Ploeger (2004) conflict between actors is immanent to planning. Conflicts -or strife as he calls it- are one of the most important and complex problems in contemporary planning and it has to be acknowledged as one of the central issues in it. There are two different approaches to conflicts, first introduced by Mouffe (2000, 1&2) and later introduced to planning by Hillier (Hillier 2002, in Ploeger 2004). These different approaches are antagonism and agonism and they will be described in the following section.

#### *Antagonism*

The common way to deal with conflicts in a planning process is the antagonistic approach. One of the most important thinkers on these approaches is Chantal Mouffe. She describes antagonism as an ineradicable conflict between an 'us' and 'them'. Within this approach, politics is used as the mean to smooth conflict and strife between actors (DiSalvo, 2010). Antagonism was the common way to deal with conflicts. It is seen as the conflict between enemies (Mouffe, 2000, 2) that could only be solved by the use of power, creating consensus or compromises (Ploeger, 2004), taking away the right and acts of protest, provocation and resistance (DiSalvo, 2010).

One of the ~~the~~ biggest problems with such an antagonistic approach ~~is~~ that strife and conflicts are ignored as one of the central issues in planning (Ploeger, 2004, DiSalvo, 2010). ~~Especially in~~ In an antagonistic, consensus-building process, strife is suppressed and public disputes are left out, instead of becoming important in the planning process

Another form of criticism is the us/them distinction. According to Mouffe, the distinction between the 'us' and 'them' is seen as necessary to create an identity, inherent to conflict. It is also necessary to overcome this distinction to solve conflict and reach consensus. However, the distinction is one of the aims of politics in a context of conflict. With this distinction being inevitable in modern day society, she argues that it is impossible to create consensus or compromise, thus another approach should be used in which those outcomes are not presupposed (Erman, 2009).

#### *Agonism*

The other approach introduced by Mouffe is called agonism. This approach is a constructive way to deal with problems without presupposing consensus or rational conflict resolution. Instead, solutions have to be found by challenging the hierarchy as actively engaged adversaries, discussing their disputes and tolerating other opinions (Mouffe, 2000, 2, Ploeger, 2004 and Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 1). Hillier (2002) is a bit less repulsive towards consensus, but also promotes the use of an agonistic system that welcomes conflict, includes marginalised groups and is flexible to be issue-dependent. She argues that antagonism can never be fully eliminated and that it therefore has to be constructed into a condition in which decisions have to be democratic and can be partly consensual.

An important concept in conflict and one of the assets of agonism, is reciprocity: being able to see yourself in the position of the other (Hillier, 2002). With this idea of reciprocity, one might be able to agree over disagreements, without solving them with a compromise. In antagonism, reciprocity is hard(er) to achieve because of the mistrust and suspicion caused by the wrong power-relations used to solve problems (Hillier, 2002).

Agonism is considered as a more appropriate way to deal with conflict in democratic processes. In this case 'deal' is used instead of 'solve', because it has to be accepted that some disagreements cannot be solved (Hillier, 2002, Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 2). Solving conflict is therefore not the main objective in an agonistic approach, but conflict and differences should be embraced and discussed to increase

the possibility of finding a solution. As said, the agonistic approach is considered more appropriate, especially in public spaces, which will be analysed in this research. The cases in this research are public spaces where different perspectives confront each other, according to Björgvinsson et al (2012, 1). To let these spaces grow to their full potential, it is necessary to provide room for these perspectives to actually confront each other. This will lead to respectful discussions to constructively deal with conflict. Because of this higher effectiveness – theoretically- of such an approach, it is said that democratic politics –and therefore planning processes- should transform from antagonistic into agonistic (Mouffe, 2000, 2, Björgvinsson et al, 2012, 2).

Based on these views, I would describe agonism as a tolerant conflict in which different actors embrace their conflict and are actively talking and discussing about their disagreements. This is done to find a possible solution or deal, but there is no presupposed compromise or solution. Antagonism would be operationalised as the aim for consensus and compromises without further goals in which conflict is ignored and avoided. This is visualised in figure 2 in which the antagonistic approach exists out of two actors, only trying to find a compromise/consensus. The agonistic approach exists out of two actors actively embracing their conflict and disagreement and looking for a possible solution together.



Figure 2: Visualisation of the antagonistic and agonistic approach, (Sittert, 2017)

#### Antagonism and Agonism in Planning

The planning system used to favour the antagonistic approach above the agonistic approach. By using an antagonistic approach, conflicts could be solved with a permanent solution, using legal, political or institutional force (Ploeger, 2004). This antagonistic approach could therefore be seen as top-down, with a hierarchic structure and with an active government. Additionally, antagonism would cause less public participation leading to less stakeholders involved in the process (Mouffe, 2000, 1). These are all aspects of a teleocratic approach.

The agonistic approach for dealing with conflict in planning processes on the other hand, shows characteristics of a more nomocratic approach. It promotes participation, includes marginalised groups and has a more open-ended approach, not presupposing certain outcomes.

With the planning process changing from a teleocratic approach to a more nomocratic one, one might expect to see a more nomocratic, agonistic approach in these processes as well.

## 2.2 Operationalisation

In this part, the four theoretical approaches introduced in 2.1 are operationalised to summarize the previous part and ease their application. Each term is summarised in one sentence and a list of characteristics have been made for each of them. These characteristics were used as bullet points in the interviews to get a better understanding of which approach they used for planning and towards conflict. It is also used to analyse the interviews. To make the characteristics easier applicable for the analysis, they have been divided into three groups, both for the planning framework and for the approach to conflict. This table can be seen on the next page. All information in it is based on previous parts and literature.

Based on the explorative interviews – of which the rationale will be explained in the method-section- it was necessary to operationalise conflict as well. Most of the respondents had an aversive response towards the term conflict and therefore it was necessary to take another look at it and operationalise it in a less aggressive way.

### 2.2.1. Conflict Operationalised

As explained before, it was necessary to operationalise conflict in a less aggressive way to create a less aversive reaction from respondents. It was still necessary to get information about the bullet-points provided in the previous parts. Therefore, the term conflict had been let go and it has been replaced by discussions and disagreements, mostly fixated on decision-making processes. This would still provide insight in the involvement of different groups when making plans and decisions, the disagreements that existed during these processes and how these disagreements were dealt with and valued.

For both the framework of teleocracy and nomocracy and the framework of antagonism and agonism, three groups of characteristics were distinguished. These will be described for each framework in the following section.

Term	Meaning	Characteristics
Teleocracy/Teleocratic planning	The top-down approach to planning in which hierarchical blue-prints are used and the government has an active role.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Top-down</li> <li>● Hierarchic</li> <li>● Active government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Government controlled</li> <li>○ Government planned</li> <li>○ Interventions from the government</li> </ul> </li> <li>● Blue-print planning</li> <li>● Large projects</li> <li>● Everything happens at once</li> <li>● Large developers</li> <li>● Few stakeholders</li> <li>● Project management</li> </ul>
Nomocracy/Nomocratic planning	The bottom-up approach to planning in which organic growth is important and the government has a facilitative role.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Bottom-up</li> <li>● Organic</li> <li>● Participation</li> <li>● Strategic framework/vision</li> <li>● Open-ended plans</li> <li>● Self-organisation</li> <li>● Facilitative government</li> <li>● Process grows gradually</li> <li>● Smaller scale projects</li> <li>● Small developers and individuals</li> <li>● Lot of stakeholders</li> <li>● Everyone is heard</li> <li>● Process-management</li> </ul>
Antagonism	The approach to conflict in which consensus/comprise is the main target and actors can function as enemies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Creating compromises/consensus as main target</li> <li>● Ignoring groups in discussions</li> <li>● Ignoring groups when making decisions</li> <li>● Us/Them-distinction</li> <li>● No reciprocity</li> <li>● Avoiding/ignoring conflict</li> <li>● Power used to solve conflict</li> <li>● Mistrust/suspicion caused by ignoring/suppressing conflict</li> </ul>
Agonism	The approach to conflict in which conflict is embraced and actively dealt with by all actors.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Talking and discussing disagreements to come to creative ideas</li> <li>● Embracing conflict</li> <li>● Involving groups in discussions</li> <li>● Involving groups when making decisions</li> <li>● 'We' -feeling</li> <li>● Reciprocity</li> <li>● Bond of trust between actors</li> </ul>

Table 1: Operationalisation of the four terms: teleocracy, nomocracy, antagonism and agonism, (Sittert, 2017)

### 2.2.1. Framework for planning

First of the three groups is the role of the government. The government can have two different roles that both belong to a different approach. It can have an active, teleocratic one in which they control the case, make plans and interventions themselves. Opposed, it can have a facilitative, nomocratic role, in which they provide space and opportunities for initiatives to develop.

Secondly is the distinction between top-down and bottom-up. These concepts are both part of the two different theories, with top-down being part of teleocracy and bottom-up of nomocracy. Top-down is seen as the hierarchic structure to make, decide on and implement plans with no or very little influence from other actors. Bottom-up is seen as the participatory way of planning, in which plans are based on social initiatives and actors can organise (activities) themselves.

Last but not least is the difference in presence and character of the plans. Within teleocratic processes, there are large blue-prints, both in the comprehensive character and the actual scale of it. They have been made and cannot be diverted from. In nomocratic processes however, plans are more structured as strategic frameworks or vision, they are long term end-goals and there is no clear plan on how to get there. In some scenarios, it is possible that there is no real vision at all and everything that happens is based on social initiatives.

### 2.2.2. Approach towards conflict

First is the attitude towards conflict and the goal of it. In an antagonistic approach, people are avoiding/ignoring conflict and try to create a compromise/consensus as soon as possible. Agonistic approaches on the other hand, embrace and value conflict and use discussions to come to creative ideas and possible solutions.

Second is the relation between different actors. When having an antagonistic approach, there is a distinction between 'us' and 'them', people are not able or not willing to understand the other and there is mistrust between the actors. The other, agonistic, approach shows a 'we'-feeling, has reciprocity and the actors trust each other.

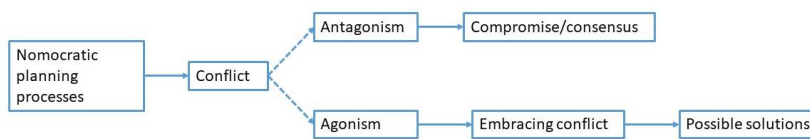
The third and last category is the involvement of groups in discussions and decisions, thus analysing marginalisation. Within antagonistic approaches, groups are marginalised in discussions. The aim of an agonistic approach is to involve these groups and hear what they have to say and understand them.

These three groups for the framework of planning and the approach towards conflict have been used to structure the analysis of the data. This will be further described in section 4.1.

### 2.3 Conceptual Model

In this thesis, a conceptual model will be used that can be seen in Figure 3. The model starts with the nomocratic planning process which will be analysed in this thesis. Immanent to such processes are conflicts or strife, which is the second arrow of the model. Then a distinction is made into antagonism or agonism, both with different outcomes. With antagonism, the expected outcomes are consensus and/or compromises, which are the main goals of an antagonistic approach. With agonism, it is important that the conflict is embraced and that disputes and disagreements will be discussed. This might lead to possible solutions, but this is not presupposed. The dotted lines represent the choices that actors need to make about their approach to conflict.

*Conceptual model*



*Figure 3: conceptual model, (Sittert, 2017)*

The objective of this research is to get insight in which approach is used and what the outcomes of this approach were. Furthermore, it aims to get a hold of the decisions made in the process. Why did they choose for which approach and if this was a deliberate decision.

### 3. Methods

This chapter will provide insight in the way the research is done. A qualitative approach has been used to provide an answer to the main-question. In this qualitative approach, multiple cases of nomocratic planning processes are studied and compared to gain insight in their conflicts and their approach to it. In the next sections, the rationales behind these decisions will be further explained.

#### 3.1 Strategy

When building a strategy, the first decision one has to make is whether it is going to be a quantitative research or a qualitative one. A quantitative approach is a more analytical approach, trying to gain relatively general information on a large scale for a large population. It is mostly used for answering “what, where and when”-questions. The qualitative approach gains more in-depth information about the respondents and provides answers to “how and why”-questions (Vennix, 2012). It is based on a smaller group and it is therefore easier to gain more specific information about them. However, because the group of respondents is smaller, it is harder to generalize the results (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2015).

For this research, a qualitative approach is used. The aim of it is to gain insight on “how” conflict is approached in different processes. A qualitative approach is more effective for answering such questions as it can provide more in-depth information about the different processes.

There are five strategies that one could use to do their research: survey-research, experiments, case studies, grounded theory and desk-research. The main strategy in this research are case studies, or more precisely: a descriptive case study. This strategy helps to gain deep insight in one or several objects or processes (Vennix, 2012). The decision is based on three conditions set by Yin (2013), the research question, the amount of control the researcher has on the subject and the importance of contemporary versus historical events.

Because the objective of this research is to bridge the gap between theory and practice, it might have demanded a grounded theory strategy. This strategy has a lot in common with case studies, as it investigates and compares different cases. The difference with case studies is that the grounded theory strategy is more oriented towards theories, whilst the case study strategy is more focussed on how things happen in practice. The grounded theory strategy compares multiple cases with each other and with theories, to find out if there are similarities or differences between them and the theory. On the other hand, the case study strategy just wants to compare different cases to get insight on how something happens (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2015).

However, the main objective in a grounded theory strategy is to develop a theory based on multiple cases (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2015). In this research, the objective is to assay a theory to Dutch practice. Therefore, the case study approach is more helpful and thus the main strategy for this research.

## 3.2 Material

As explained in the previous part, this research is built upon a qualitative case study. Multiple cases of nomocratic planning processes are analysed and investigated by conducting interviews and doing site-visits. In this section, the rationales behind this form of data collection will be explained and the multiple cases will be introduced.

### 3.2.1. Data Collection

Two important aspects of data collecting in a qualitative research are triangulation and the natural setting of the cases/objects (Vennix, 2012). Triangulation is the use of multiple ways of data gathering, for example face-to-face interviews, group interviews, observations and literature studies (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2015). The data in this research is collected by means of triangulation and the objects were studied in their natural setting. The triangulation will be explained in the next section, followed by a description of each case.

#### *Literature*

The first data collection is done through a literature search. It was not only about the scientific literature on which the theoretical framework is build, but it was also used to find cases suitable for this research. The literature about the cases is used to get a first impression of them and gain insight in the process they went through. To find these cases, the focus was less on scientific articles, but more on reliable news-sources, city-plans and websites of the cases.

The literature about the cases is also used to get insight in the conflicts that might have occurred. This will provide an overview of them, before any interview is done.

#### *Interviews*

Most of the data collected for this research, is collected through interviews. These interviews are used to gain more insight in the conflicts that occurred during the processes and how these were approached. The respondents were chosen, based on strategic sampling. This makes it easier and more reliable to generalize the results to similar situations (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2015). Theoretic sampling has been used to get such a strategic sample. With this approach, some relatively general information about the object was collected by doing explorative interviews. Those interviews were analysed and reflected upon and used to choose other respondents (Vennix, 2012).

The explorative interviews were conducted with actors that were centrally located within the field of actors and had connections with a lot of different actors. Following interviews were held with actors preferably involved in conflicts in the planning process. In the interviews, the characteristics of the operationalisation were used as a check-list to see which approach to planning and conflicts are used in the processes. This check-list was used to build an interview-guide which provided more structure for the interviews as well.

#### *Site-visits*

The last way of data collection are on-site observations. An important aspect of qualitative research is that the objects have to be investigated in their natural setting (Vennix, 2012). This means that all cases and interviews should be done at the location of the process. Therefore, site-visits have been done in every case. Not only to do the interviews, but also to create more 'feeling' with the cases. It created a better understanding of them, gaining insight in how they look and what the atmosphere is. This made the image of the cases more reliable and complete (Donkers et al., 2014).

### 3.3 Cases

For this research, three cases were selected in which the data was collected. It is important for these cases that they are similar, because it is easier to draw descriptive conclusion based upon them when they are relatively similar (Verschuren en Doorewaard, 2015). The three cases that were studied are the 'Honigcomplex' in Nijmegen (Figure 4), 'Schieblock' in Rotterdam (Figure 5) and the 'Ebbingekwartier' in Groningen (Figure 6). They are quite similar, as they all have the characteristic that they are located in the area of an old building that was intended to be torn down to make room for houses or offices. As a result of the crisis, the plans for these buildings slowed down and municipalities started looking for alternatives. All of the cases show characteristics of nomocratic planning, as they are innovative and creative, bottom-up and participatory. However, they are mostly still under control of the government, which makes them slightly teleocratic as well. Therefore, caution is necessary when claiming them to be nomocratic.

In the following section, the process and network of actors will be further elaborated for each case.



Figure 4: the Honigcomplex in Nijmegen

Figure 5: Schieblock in Rotterdam

Figure 6: the Ebbingekwartier in Groningen

Sources: <http://specials.han.nl/sites/cultuurbalie/nieuws/onderzoek-honigcomplex/index.xml>,  
<http://www.archmarathon.com/2016/tag/luchtsingel-pedestrian-bridge/>  
[http://www.ebbingekwartier.nl/open\\_lab\\_ebbinge.php](http://www.ebbingekwartier.nl/open_lab_ebbinge.php)  
Found with Google Images

#### 3.3.1. 'Schieblock' (Rotterdam)

The first case is the office-building 'Schieblock' in Rotterdam (Figure 5) and it shares some characteristics with the 'Honigcomplex'. It is an office building located in the area close to the central station. The building became vacant during the 90's and it soon started to deteriorate. In the early 2000's, an architect-agency could locate themselves in the building as a way to prevent squatting. They felt connected to the building and its area and started to come up with simple ideas like pedestrian-crossings to improve it. In 2007, the municipality started to develop a big masterplan for this area. They wanted to tear everything down and build high-rise office-buildings. Due to an already low demand for office-space which even completely dropped because of the recession in 2008, these plans failed. Moreover, it did stop when it was still a vision, causing a lack of a concrete development-plan for the area. The developer that owned the ground was forced to give the ground back to the municipality and they ended up being stuck with an expensive piece of land on which nothing happened. The masterplan was postponed to better economic times and suddenly, there was no vision anymore.

Postponing this plan and the lack of a certain vision/plan provided space for the architects and other local entrepreneurs to come up with their own creative initiatives. This opportunity was used to give the building a new function. For at least five years, creative entrepreneurs were allowed to locate themselves in this building for a rent-level that started relatively low, but increased over the years. The ideas they came up with, are a great example of self-organizing and societal-driven development, emerging out of vacancy and pauperization (Willems, 2014). This office-building was therefore chosen as a clear example of a nomocratic approach towards planning.

Nowadays, the municipality is creating a new masterplan for this area, together with some actors that are relevant in this case. In this masterplan, the values generated in these ten years of (temporary) creative activities are being taken into account as much as possible.

The time-lapse that will be analysed is from 2008, when the development of the plan itself was postponed, until now. Basically one could say the entire time that there has not been a concrete plan.

#### Actors

In the figure below, an overview is provided of the different actors involved in this case. These are the most relevant actors and their relation is described by using the arrows. The 'city development' and 'other departments' actors are both part of the municipality of Rotterdam. However, they have been divided into two different actors, based on their different role in this case. Additionally, the 'creators' and 'renters' are stuck together in this overview. This is because it is both a different function in the case, but actors can have both of these functions. An example of this is the architect-agency ZUS, which was one of the respondents as well. Each actor will be shortly described below and their relation to other actors will be described as well. It has to be noted that there are connections that are not visualised in the image. These are relations that have no additional value to the topic.

Network of Actors (Rotterdam)

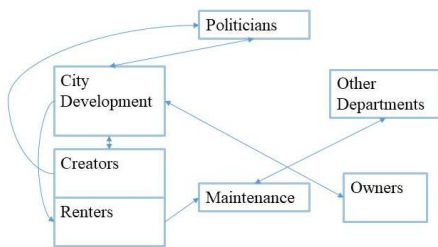


Figure 7, Network of actors in Rotterdam., (Sittert, 2018)

#### 1. City Development

The department of city-development of the city of Rotterdam are the ones that made the masterplan in 2008. They are responsible for the development of the quality of living and working in the city. Nowadays, they are working on the development of a new plan for this area. Their relations were with the creators, renters, politicians and owners. The creators came up with the ideas for the temporary activities in the block that were allowed by the department. They were also involved in the discussions for the new plans. The renters are informed about the new plans by the department, but do not have any influence on it. The politicians have the final call about the new plans and judge the work of the department. They will also receive information about the plans from the department. At last, they are connected to the owners of the area because they are dependent on the owners to fulfil the plans and they share and discuss ideas about them with this actor.

#### 2. Creators

The creators of this project are the ones that took the initiative for the creative activities during the time when there was no plan. There are two main creators that came forward during this research, which are the already introduced architect-agency ZUS and CODEM, which is an agency specialised in the transformation of old, vacant buildings. The creators are attached to the renters, because they – which is the case with ZUS - can be a renter as well. They are highly connected to the department of city-development as well, because they were and are still involved in the vision and plans for the area. Lastly, they sort of lobby with the politicians to give them a positive image of the area and inform them about the plans they have.

### 3. Renters

The renters are all the entrepreneurs that are located in the block. They are mostly connected to the maintenance, which takes care of their problems and listens to their ideas. Furthermore, they are connected to the department of city-development which informed them about the current ideas for the area.

### 4. Politicians

The politicians are the ones with the most power in this case. They are the ones that have to approve the plans made by the city-developers and they were supposed to be involved in the development of the plan itself. Additionally, they are invited by the creators to come and take a look at the case, create an image of it and listen to the ideas they have.

### 5. Maintenance

The maintenance in this case is done by VPS, an agency specialised in maintenance in temporary projects. They are the spider in the web between the renters and the other departments. They pay attention for the physical qualities of the block and make sure it is taken care of by them or another party. Moreover, they listen to the wishes of the renters and communicate them to the other departments, which will take care of them if possible.

### 6. Other Departments

This actor consists out of all other departments of the municipality of Rotterdam, besides the department of city-development. As explained before, they are responsible to fulfil the wishes of the renters as much as possible. They can tell the maintenance what to do and vice versa. Examples of these departments are the environmental-department, which is responsible for the garbage-collection and the neighbourhood-cop, taking care of the safety.

### 7. Owners

Last but not least are the owners of property in the area. Most of the ground is owned by the municipality itself, but some of it is still in hands of private corporations. They discuss ideas with the department of city-development, because it is their ground that the department want to develop.

## *Interviews*

In this case, three interviews were conducted with actors that came forward as important players. The explorative interview was done with Rafaël Azizahamad and Martin Broers from VPS. This provided a helpful image of what happened and is happening in the case and which actors were relevant. Secondly, an interview was conducted with Tim Peeters, who works as an architect at ZUS. He provided insight in his personal experiences and beliefs as a creator and a renter. The last interview was done with Arjen Knoester, senior designer at the department of city-development. This provided a lot of insight in the discussions and struggles during the previous plans and with creating the current plans/visions. It has to be noted that these last two interviews were based on personal views and beliefs and cannot be generalised for the respectively the entire agency and department.

### 3.3.2. 'Ebbingekwartier' (Groningen)

The second case that was studied is the 'Ebbingekwartier' in Groningen (Figure 6). It is an area close to Groningen's city centre in which for example an old gas-factory was located. The area became fallow and an ambitious blue-print was made during the 90's. Ideas were made about the biggest parking-garage of Northern-Europe and high ambitions were set considering housing. Those ambitions turned out to be too ambitious and most of the stakeholders retreated, especially when the crisis occurred. This had a negative impact on the image of the area, which was mostly felt by the entrepreneurs located there. It also provided space, literally, for new temporary initiatives (Kleiman and Graaf, 2012).

From the early 00's and onwards, local entrepreneurs came up with ideas to improve the area. This led to a covenant between the entrepreneurs and the municipality for some strategic plans for the area

in 2005. The plans developed and they came up with an idea to improve the image of the area by showing both the opportunities of temporary vacancy and the living-qualities of the area in 2008 (Inden et al, 2016).

These entrepreneurs ended up working together in a collaboration which was called the ‘Open Lab Ebbinge’ (OLE), which collaborated with the municipality as well. In 2011, they determined a new, temporary vision for the area. As a first step, they made sure that it was connected. It had a big fence around it at first and it was seen as an obstacle because people had to travel around it. They got rid of the fence and a bicycle-lane was constructed through the area. Later, events were held and new entrepreneurs located themselves in the area. Slowly but surely, the ideas made by OLE together with the municipality, created a creative hotspot and it improved the area and its image.

Nowadays, the temporary activities are over and they made room for the planned re-development. The area developed a positive image and it became a wanted place to live and work, which made the original plans achievable (Ebbingekwartier, web-page, 2).

The time-span that will be analysed is from the start of the bottom-up ideas in 2005, towards the end of the temporary activities in 2018.

### Actors

In the figure below, the most important actors and their relations can be seen. OLE is located as the ‘spider in the web’ in this network. The entrepreneurs and OLE are two different actors, because not all entrepreneurs were part of OLE. Each actor and its relations will be described in the following section.

Network of Actors (Groningen)

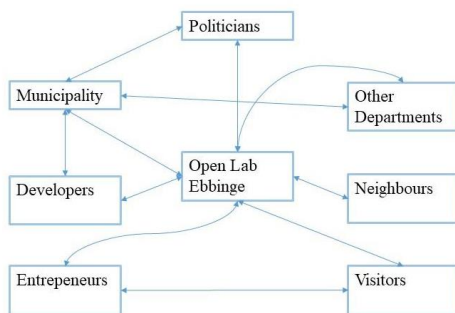


Figure 8, Network of actors in Groningen, (Sittert, 2018)

#### 1. Open Lab Ebbinge (OLE)

OLE can be seen as the spider in the web in this process. It emerged when the process became too big for the entrepreneurs to combine with their company and it consisted of a small board. They had contact with every other actor and in different roles. The contact with the municipality was mostly done with discussions and conversations about the ideas they had for the area. Other relations were more based on informing the actors and keeping them up-to-date about the process. In some cases, the other actors could come up with ideas as well, which makes those relations two-sided. The entrepreneurs are part of the open lab to some extent. OLE emerged out of the entrepreneurs and the entrepreneurs are represented in it. There was a two-sided relationship in which they both could share and discuss their ideas and vision. The last relation was with the developers which needed to be told that the plans were postponed and they needed to be convinced of the ideas of the temporary completion.

## 2. Municipality

The municipality had a big role in this process as well. They facilitated the ideas to develop in this area and had a strong collaboration with OLE to discuss and create ideas. This actor consisted out of the functionaries involved in city development. They also worked together with the politicians and the other departments of the municipality. The relation with the developers is the same as the relation OLE has with them.

## 3. Developers

The developers did have some influence in the process. They were the ones responsible for the development of the blue-print. When that blue-print was postponed, they could not build. They had to be convinced of the plans for the temporary activities by OLE and the municipality. Most of the developers became bankrupt or moved back from the project.

## 4. Politicians

The politicians needed to be convinced of the ideas for the area and could give their opinion about it. They were in contact with the municipality and OLE, to discuss the ideas for the area.

## 5. Entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurs were the ones that came up with the initial ideas. Their ideas are represented by OLE, which discusses them with other actors. They are also connected with the visitors, which are the ones that generate income for the entrepreneurs.

## 6. Other Departments

The other departments of the municipality of Groningen that were involved in this case are for example the environment-service and the police. They were informed about the plans by OLE and were instructed to do certain things according to these plans. They also had contact with the functionaries working on the case to discuss the process.

## 7. Neighbours

The neighbours in this case are the people living in and around the area. They also had their share in the original ideas for the temporary activities. Furthermore, they were informed by OLE about the whole process and what was happening. They had their say and could share and discuss the ideas with OLE as well. OLE then made sure that those ideas were communicated to the other parties, if they judged these ideas good enough.

## 8. Visitors

Last but not least are the visitors of the area. They are the customers of the entrepreneurs and the target-audience of the activities organised in the 'kwartier'. Their relation was mostly with the entrepreneurs, but they could share and discuss their opinion with OLE as well.

### *Interviews*

Two interviews have been done in this case. One with Gerrit Schuurhuis, the financial leader of OLE and one with Sikko Postma and Joost van Uhm, both working as functionaries at the municipality. It was also intended to do an interview with one of the entrepreneurs in the area. Unfortunately, the ones that could be reached, were not able to do an interview. In the end, I had e-mail contact with Wilma Naaijer, whom was part of the union of entrepreneurs. Although it is not the most academic way of information-gathering, it was the only possibility left to analyse the role and viewpoint of the entrepreneurs.

### 3.3.3. 'Honigcomplex' (Nijmegen)

The last case that will be elaborated is the 'Honigcomplex' in Nijmegen (Figure 4). This complex is a former soup-factory that is located in the 'Waalfront'. This is a masterplan for the city of Nijmegen, in which 2.000 new houses would be built in the Western part of the city (Municipality of Nijmegen, 2007). When the crisis occurred, the demand for new houses decreased (Ploeg, 2014), which slowed the masterplan down. The municipality bought the land, together with the Bouwfonds Property Development (BPD). To prevent big losses on the investments already made, they started looking for new solutions and alternatives. They came up with a new approach, providing room for small, local entrepreneurs within a broad framework of general rules, postponing the teleocratic blueprints of the master plan. The framework considered rules on health, safety, nuisance and the environment (Niederer, 2014).

Nowadays, the complex is the creative hotspot of Nijmegen, with a lot of creative and local businesses located there. This led to the start of a new discussion about the permanent possibilities of the temporary activities. In this discussion, all of the relevant actors are invited to share their ideas and opinions for a new design of it.

The time-span that will be analysed is from the start of the relatively nomocratic activities in 2012 until now.

#### Actors

Figure 9 provides an overview of the network of actors in this case. The relevant actors and their relationships are shown. One might notice the two different arrows between the 'Ontwikkelbedrijf Waalfront' and both the municipality and the developers. This is done to resemble the fact that both these actors are represented in the ontwikkelbedrijf, which is a public-private-collaboration between the developers and the municipality. It has to be noted that not every actor or relation is shown, just the ones that were relevant to my topic. An example of this, are the neighbours represented in 'Ons Waterkwartier' who have influence on the politicians and the press. However, this influence is not relevant enough to show in the figure and it would make it less clear.

Each actor and their relations will be described in the following section.

Network of Actors (Nijmegen)

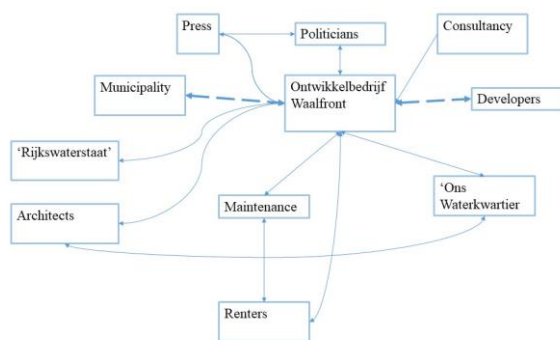


Figure 9, Network of actors in Nijmegen, (Sittert, 2018)

#### 1. 'Ontwikkelbedrijf Waalfront'

The actor responsible for the development of the whole area in which the Honigcomplex is located, is the 'Ontwikkelbedrijf Waalfront'. This is a public-private-collaboration between the municipality of Nijmegen and the developer: BPD. Each of those actors is represented in the ontwikkelbedrijf with one director each and they are both shareholder in the case. Those directors are responsible for the plans in the Honigcomplex and it thus the main actor in this case. They basically have contact with every other actor to discuss their ideas, opinions and vision for and about the area. Those relations will be described per actor.

#### 2. Municipality

This actor involves all people connected to this case that work for the municipality of Nijmegen. They can share and discuss their ideas with the ontwikkelbedrijf, which can use those ideas in the plans for the area. The province of Gelderland is also involved in the case, because they have invested in it and have their ideas about it as well. They are resembled in this actor too. The contact the municipality has with other actors, goes through the ontwikkelbedrijf. Therefore, they are not connected to another actor.

#### 3. Developers

The developers in this case are the 'Bouwfonds Property Development' (BPD). They have invested in the project and bought it together with the municipality. Working together in the ontwikkelbedrijf, they developed the plan for the temporary completion of the area. Their contact with other actors goes through the ontwikkelbedrijf as well and they are thus not connected to other parties.

#### 4. 'Ons Waterkwartier'

'Ons Waterkwartier' is the neighbourhood community for the neighbourhood in which the Honigcomplex is located. They people living there are resembled in this community in which they can share and discuss their ideas and opinion. The community itself judges those ideas and discusses them with the ontwikkelbedrijf. They also have contact with the architects working on the new plan for the area, with whom they can share their ideas and demands for the new design.

#### 5. Renters

There are a lot of, creative, entrepreneurs located in the Honigcomplex. They can share and discuss the ideas and their opinions with the ontwikkelbedrijf and come together in meetings. During those meetings, their demands, wishes and opinions are discussed which are communicated towards the ontwikkelbedrijf through the person responsible for maintenance. They also have direct contact with the ontwikkelbedrijf to discuss the new ideas about the permanency of the temporary activities.

#### 6. Maintenance

The maintenance in the Honigcomplex can be seen as the middle-man between the ontwikkelbedrijf and the renters. They are responsible for the physical state of the complex and for that everyday activities run smoothly. Problems with and between renters and between renters and the ontwikkelbedrijf need to be solved. Furthermore, they are invited to share their opinion about the project and process with the ontwikkelbedrijf.

#### 7. Politicians

The politicians are the ones to make the final decisions in this case. They need to approve the plans made by the ontwikkelbedrijf and need to make sure that their wishes are fulfilled. There are also discussions between them and other parties. The most relevant ones are the ones with the ontwikkelbedrijf, but it has to be noted that they have contact with the other parties as well, which were not relevant enough to show.

#### 8. Press

The people of the press are relevant actors for putting topics on the agenda. They can put pressure on the ontwikkelbedrijf to start discussing ideas and visions, by writing stuff about it. They also influence the politicians with what they write.

#### 9. Rijkswaterstaat

Because the complex is situated next to the river Waal, Rijkswaterstaat has an important share as well. They have to approve the ideas within a strict set of guidelines that they have set. Within these guidelines, there is room for discussion between them and the ontwikkelbedrijf. They also invested in the whole project, before the temporary activities started.

#### 10. Architects

There are already some architects involved to develop the new plans and implement the ideas for permanency. They talk about those ideas with the ontwikkelbedrijf and have discussed their ideas with 'Ons Waterkwartier' as well.

#### 11. Consultancy

The ontwikkelbedrijf sometimes called in the aid of consultancy-agencies which could investigate the possibilities for the complex. This was for example done in the early stage to find out what sort of renters they should attract and in a later stage to invest to possibilities for permanency of the temporary activities. They have their influence on the ontwikkelbedrijf and the further ideas and plans for the area, by sharing the outcomes of their researches. Therefore, they are relevant to this case.

#### *Interviews*

A total amount of three interviews has been done (yet) in this case. The explorative one was done with Wout van Hees. He is one of the two directors at the ontwikkelbedrijf, on behalf of the municipality. Based on this interview, interviews were done with Nico Wielhouwer, the current manager of the complex, and Ruud de Vries, the former chairman of 'Ons Waterkwartier'. Those three persons resemble the most important actors in the case.

## 4. Case Study Results

In this section, the three cases will be analysed one by one. In the method-section, an overview was already provided of what happened and the actors that were involved and interviewed. Therefore, this part will only provide answers to the sub-questions based on the analysis of the cases. The framework used for the analysis will be described in the following section.

### 4.1 Framework

For this analysis, the bullet-points provided in the operationalisation will be used. Each analysis for each case will be analysed in four parts, based on the four sub-questions. The first step in the process of analysis was to manually code the transcripts, using the characteristics provided in the operationalisation. Afterwards, these codes have been analysed with the use of the three groups divided for the planning-approach and the approach to conflict, provided in the operationalisation as well. This information is used to answer the four sub-questions used in this thesis.

There are references to the interviews in the analysis of the cases. This is done by putting the name of the respondent between brackets followed by a letter. Those letters resemble the relevant passage which are attached in Appendix C. Sometimes, passages involved different topics that could be used for different references. Therefore, there is referred to the same passage for different topics.

#### 4.1.1. Characteristics

The first part in each analysis will provide answer to the first sub-question: *What are the characteristics of the processes of the Honigcomplex, Schieblock and the Ebbingekwartier, when using a teleocratic and/or nomocratic framework?* To analyse the characteristics of the process in such a framework, the bullet-points of the operationalization will be used. These characteristics of teleocracy and nomocracy have been divided into three main groups: the role of the government, the distinction between top-down and bottom-up and the presence and character of the plans.

#### 4.1.2. Conflicts

The second part will answer the second sub-question: *What are the major conflicts occurring in the processes of the Honigcomplex, Schieblock and the Ebbingekwartier?* In this part the conflicts will be described and the different role of different involved actors will be described and analysed.

#### 4.1.3. Approach to conflict

This part will answer the sub-question: *How are the conflicts approached by different stakeholders, when using the concepts of antagonism and agonism?* The approach to conflict will be analysed by using the bullet-points provided in the operationalisation. These bullet-points were divided into three main categories: the attitude towards conflict and the aim of it, the relation between actors and marginalisation.

#### 4.1.4. Reasons for such approach

The last section will answer the last sub-question: *Why did the stakeholders approach these conflicts in such way?* This section will analyse the rationales behind the choices made in the conflicts and will provide insight in the knowledge of antagonism and agonism.

#### 4.1.5. Tables

There are two tables provided in the analysis of each case. Those tables resemble the manual coding of the transcripts for the characteristics of the process and the approach to conflict. An example of this can be seen in table 2 in which fictive numbers are used for the analysis of the characteristics.

Teleocratic	Grounded	Nomocratic	Grounded
Top-down	3	Participation	6
Active government	1	Organic	2
Blue-print planning	1	Process-management	2
		Facilitative government	2

Table 2, fictive example of the coding of the planning characteristics

This table provides insight in which characteristics are identified during the analysis and how often they are identified. There are thus six examples identified in the interviews done in one case in which there has been spoken about participation. There will be references to bullet-points that are often used in the further elaboration of the analysis. Therefore, one can expect references to ‘participation’ and ‘top-down’ in the analysis of this fictive case.

The different numbers in the table cannot be compared between different cases. This is due to the fact that the amount of interviews is not the same in each case. Furthermore, the length of the interviews also differs. The numbers can only be used to compare, for example, the nomocratic characteristics with the teleocratic characteristics in one case. For the example in table ..., this would mean that there are slightly more nomocratic characteristics used and that they are used more often. This would indicate a, fictive, example of predominantly nomocratic planning. Such a claim will be further elaborated in the further analysis of the case, in which references will be made to the bullet-points by using the transcripts of the interviews.

## 4.2 Schieblock (Rotterdam)

The first case that will be analysed is the Schieblock in Rotterdam. In the following section, the sub-questions will be answered for this case. There were three interviews done in this case, which were relatively long compared to other cases’ interviews.

### 4.2.1. Characteristics

In this part, the process will be analysed in the framework of teleocracy and nomocracy. As a tool, the codes –which are the same as the bullet-points in the operationalisation- will be used that were used to analyse the interviews. The outcome of this can be seen in the table 3.

There are two things that stand out in this table: the fact that there are more nomocratic bullet-points used and the fact that they are used more often. This makes it reliable to say that this case has a strong nomocratic character. In the following part, this claim will be further elaborated and described using the three main groups of characteristics.

Teleocratic	Grounded	Nomocratic	Grounded
Blue-print planning	1	Participation	5
Top-down	1	Strategic framework/vision	5
Active government	1	Bottom-up	4
Project-management	1	Open-ended plans	4
		Self-organisation	3
		Organic	2
		Process grows gradually	2
		Facilitative Government	2
		Process-management	1
		Lot of Stakeholders	1

Table 3, Planning characteristics in Rotterdam based on three longer interviews

### Role of the Government

With the start of the process that is analysed, the government adapted a facilitative role. They had an active role, developing the masterplan, but when this failed, they started to provide space for the local initiatives from ZUS and CODEM and thus adapted a facilitative role. An example of the facilitation of these initiatives is the restoration of the building to make it ready for use as office-space.

Nowadays, at the end of the analysed process, the government is slowly turning to its active role, by creating the new visions and plans for the area. However, they still facilitate the influence of other actors in these plans. It is therefore at least more facilitative then it was before this whole process started.

### *Bottom-up or Top-down*

The analysed case shows a lot of the characteristics of a bottom-up planning process. Ideas and initiatives that are used in this process all came from ‘underneath’. The whole completion of the block did happen because of the ideas of ZUS and CODEM, and the government did not have anything to do with those ideas. Furthermore, there is a strong presence of participation, for example with renters that want to have their say and are given to opportunity to do so in meetings (VPS, a). Additionally, there is the example of ZUS that came up with unsolicited advice for the area, which is also an example of the bottom-up character of the area (ZUS, a)

### *Presence and Character of the Plans*

In this case, no real plans are present. The department of city-development was working on a plan, but it was postponed before it was official. Therefore, everything that happened during the time that is analysed is based on ideas and visions from local initiatives. There were some ideas about a vision of framework for the process in which they start at a certain point and then move towards a certain direction with different phases (VPS, b).

#### *4.2.2. Conflicts*

In the Schieblock-case, two main conflicts can be identified. First, there is the discussion between the wishes of the renters and the possibility for the municipality to fulfil these wishes. Secondly, there is the conflict/discussion about the new plans that are produced. One might say that there is conflict about what is happening right now and what is going to happen in the future. Both of these conflicts will be elaborated in the following section.

#### *Wishes*

The first conflict is the discussion between renters and the municipality about the wishes and demands they have and whether or not they can be granted by the municipality. A lot of the renters have something to say about what they believe to be beneficial for the project. This includes for example demands and ideas about the maintenance and the completion of the space. To grant these wishes, or fulfil these demands, VPS and the ‘other departments’ of the municipality of Rotterdam has to investigate their options. They have to find the proper solution for these problems. To achieve these solutions, VPS has made a wish-list based on the wishes from the renters which they share with the municipality. In their turn, the municipality looks into the possibilities to fulfil them. Hence, together they all try to achieve the best result possible, with the least amount of costs.

This process between the renters, VPS and the municipality sometimes lead to “*healthy discussions*” as VPS (c) would describe it. Different parties have different interests and they discuss these interests to come to a solution.

#### *Plans*

The second conflict is about the discussions that occur in the process of producing new plans for the area. These discussions were held between different actors involved in the process. Every involved actor could give their opinion about the ideas for the plans or they could even come up with ideas as well. Based on the fact that most actors have, slightly, different demands, these conversations lead to discussions. Not every actor was included during this process of plan-development. Hence when they received information about what was going on, they felt ignored and rejected the current ideas that were being made.

### 4.2.3. Approach to conflict

This part will analyse the approach to conflict in the framework of antagonism and agonism. The outcome of the analysis of the interviews can be seen in table 4 on the next page. Two things can be noticed in this table: 1. the difference between the amounts of characteristics is a lot smaller than it was with teleocracy and nomocracy. 2. The characteristics of agonism has been used a lot more than those for antagonism.

It can therefore be claimed that the approach towards conflict was of a more agonistic kind, even though it does show some antagonistic characteristics. This claim will be further explained in the following sections.

Antagonism	Grounded	Agonism	Grounded
Creating compromise/consensus	5	Involving groups in discussions	12
Ignoring groups in discussions	3	Talking and discussing to come to creative ideas	12
Ignoring groups when making decisions	3	Reciprocity	8
No reciprocity	2	Embracing conflict	6
Us/Them-distinction	2	We-feeling	4
Power used to solve conflict	1	Bond of trust	4
		Involving groups when making decisions	3

Table 4, Approach to conflict in Rotterdam based on three longer interviews

### Attitude towards conflict

Based on the interviews, it is legitimate to say that the actors had a positive image of conflict and discussions. They all embraced the idea of talking about and discussing different opinions and provided, physical, space for these discussions to happen. This is based on claims such as “*healthy discussions*” (VPS, c) and “*just that discussion already makes the experiment successful*” (Tim Peeters, b). It is even said that “*it is not the aim to have a heated argument, but to bundle the powers to come to a synergetic effect and look for a proper solution*” (VPS, c) Therefore, one can say that the actors embraced discussions as a way to find solutions for their conflict. Thereby it has to be noted that it did not have to be conflict in the more aggressive image of the word, but that communication and the discussion on different opinions always had to happen.

However, the discussions were almost always aimed to find a solution or have an outcome. This came forward in words such as “*de middenweg*” (VPS, c). Solutions were the targeted outcome of the discussions, based on the different “*flavours*” (Tim Peeters, c) of all the different actors. It might therefore be said that even though the attitude and the embracement of conflict is agonistic, the target of these conflicts is to find compromises/consensus, thus antagonistic. However, an agonistic approach does not repeal a solution, which can be a compromise. It just does not presuppose such outcomes. A compromise might therefore be an outcome of an agonistic approach as well. Especially in a process in which action has to be taken based on the different opinions and wishes, a solution and/or compromise is needed. It is thus difficult to make a claim in a framework of antagonism and agonism based on the targeted outcome of the conflict.

### Relation between actors

The relation between actors is analysed on three different bullet-points: the us/them-distinction, reciprocity and mistrust. In general, the actors had the feeling that they were working together, thus a feeling of ‘we’. They all wanted to develop the area and make the process successful. However, the owners of the ground were the only party that had a different attitude as they only thought of their own interest. Additionally, some of the politicians were opposed to each other, which led to an us/them-distinction. This can be blamed to the elections for the council and it is expected that this distinction will decrease in the coming months.

Between the actors, there was a big sense of reciprocity. Most of the actors were able to and wanted to understand the choices and opinion of the others. This could be noted in simple short sentence as *"which I can understand though"* (VPS, c). One of the preconditions for reciprocity was for decisions that were and will be made to have a logic explanation that can be followed and understood by the other actors. If that precondition is accomplished, most of the actors are willing and able to place themselves in the position of the other. Some actors did not want to place themselves in the position of the other, these were the ground-owners and the politicians during the time of the election. Interesting to see is that these were also the actors that did not have the 'we'-feeling.

Additionally, there was a strong bond of trust, at least between the respondents. They firmly worked together over the years and trusted each other, based on previous collaborations and on each other's knowledge and experience (Arjen Knoester, a & b). This bond of trust might be an indicator of an agonistic approach, because it is said that an antagonistic approach would lead to mistrust and suspicion due to wrong power relations (Hillier, 2002). At least, the bond of trust is necessary to have useful and respectful discussions. At some point, a bond of trust was broken. This was when the politicians found out about the creation of the ideas for the plan. This might have caused the fact that they were repulsive towards the new ideas.

#### *Involvement of groups*

Another aspect in the framework of antagonism and agonism is marginalisation, analysed as the way in which different groups are involved in this process. This is divided into being involved in discussions and being involved in decisions. During the process, most groups were involved in the conflicts that occurred. Everyone was allowed to give their opinion and measurements were taken to provide space where necessary. A great example of this is the involvement of ZUS in the first ideas for the plan and how most other actors were kept up-to-date and could share their opinion as well. This was also exemplary for the discussions about the wishes of the renters. It is furthermore claimed that taking everyone in account is the most important lesson that can be derived from this case (Arjen Knoester, c)

Not every actor was involved though. Due to different circumstances, the politicians were left out of the process of the creation of the plan. This might have led to the fact that they were repulsive towards the ideas. However the aim was to involve them, they failed in achieving this, which is seen as one of the biggest points of critique on this process (Arjen Knoester, c).

On the other hand, when decisions and plans had to be made, it was done by the department of city development. The discussions and conflicts mostly needed to have an outcome. Thus when the different opinions were heard and people were able to share their ideas, the department of city-development or the other departments made a decision based on that input. Therefore, the other actors did not have a direct impact on the decisions that were made. However, they did have an indirect impact on those decisions due to their involvement in the discussions. Therefore they were not fully involved in all parts of the conflicts and decisions, but most of them were involved enough to claim that they were not marginalised. The only actor that still had a strong influence on the plans were the people at ZUS. This influence is based on their knowledge and experience with the area (Arjen Knoester, b)

#### 4.2.4. Reasons for approach

The actors did not have clear reasons for their approach in terms of antagonism and agonism. Based on the interviews, one does not get the image that they deliberately chose one of the two approaches. However, the respondents did have a strong opinion about aspects of the approaches. It was lesson one not to marginalise groups and take everyone in account (Arjen Knoester, c), communication and discussion had to be present (VPS, e) and it was very important that actors could understand and trust each other. It can therefore be claimed that they did have a deliberate approach towards conflict in which they embraced the conflict and discussions with all different actors to find a suitable solution or compromise. In the end, they did have an agonistic approach, but it was not a decision based on the

two approaches, it was based on their beliefs on how to approach it in a process like this. Hence it is not that they did not think about how to approach conflict, it is that they did not think about it in a framework of antagonism and agonism.

It has to be noted that it might seem a bit hypocrite that the respondent of the department of city-development sees it as lesson one to include and involve groups, but failed to do it themselves. It actually was their aim to involve and include these groups, but that failed due to circumstances. Bureaucracy made it for example too difficult to schedule a meeting with the right persons.

#### 4.2.5. Summary

The analysed process was highly nomocratic. A lot of actors were involved and the plans were structured from a bottom-up framework. During this process, two main conflicts could be noted. First is the discussion about the wishes/demands of the renters and how the departments could fulfil them. Second was the discussion on the new ideas about the development-plans and the conflict that occurred with the politicians. Both these conflicts were approached in a generally agonistic approach. Conflict was embraced, groups were involved as much as possible and the relation between actors was good. However, the aim of the discussions was to find a solution or compromise, which can be seen as a more antagonistic approach. These solutions/compromises could actually be an outcome of agonism as well, it is only not presupposed. There has not been a deliberate decision between agonism and antagonism. However, this decision has been based on beliefs of different actors about the way to act in the process. It can therefore be said that this was a nomocratic process in which the conflicts were approach in an un-deliberately chosen agonistic approach.

### 4.3 Ebbingekwartier (Groningen)

The second case that will be analysed is the Ebbingekwartier in Groningen. In this case, two longer interviews have been done and one respondent has responded to some questions over e-mail.

#### 4.3.1. Characteristics

First, the process has been analysed using a framework of teleocracy and nomocracy. The outcome of this can be seen in table 5.

Teleocratic	Grounded	Nomocratic	Grounded
Top-Down	2	Bottom-up	9
		Participation	5
		Organic	1
		Process grows gradually	1
		Self-organisation	1
		Strategic framework/vision	1
		Lots of stakeholders	1

Table 5, Planning characteristics in Groningen based on two longer interviews and e-mail contact

This table clearly shows that this process shows more different characteristics of nomocratic planning and shows them more often as well. It is therefore clear to claim that this was a nomocratic planning process. This will be further explained in the following section.

#### Role of the Government

The role of the government in this case has a bit of a paradoxical character. They were actively involved in this case, but it can be said that they were active in facilitating the bottom-up ideas of the entrepreneurs and OLE. In the interview with Gerrit Schuurhuis (a, CODEREN) for example, he told that the importance of the municipality in this case was not just to give their permission, but that they would partake in this case. The project was never just government controlled, planned or intervened, but they did have an active collaboration with some of the other actors. This was for example done by requesting funds which facilitated the financial input for the project. Therefore, the role in this government can be seen as facilitative and thus nomocratic.

#### *Bottom-up or Top-down*

The ideas and visions that came up in this process are examples of bottom-up ideas, thus nomocratic. The government asked for people to come with their own ideas and this was done by the entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs were highly connected to the area (Municipality of Groningen, a) and had an important role in the beginning of the plans (Municipality of Groningen, b). It were those ideas that were used by OLE, the municipality and the developers to come to a temporary vision for the area. Furthermore, everyone was allowed to share their ideas and opinion about the area with the (end-)users of it coming in the first place (Inden et al, 2016). This created and facilitated a lot of participation.

#### *Presence and Character of the Plans*

At the beginning of the analysed process, plans were made by the involved actors in which the guidelines for the area were written down (Gerrit Schuurhuis, b). There was a two-sided end-goal for the area in which they wanted to show the possibilities of temporary vacancy and to show the great living-quality of the area. Those plans can be seen as guidelines and a framework for the area and are thus an example of nomocracy. There was no distinction in time for when something had to happen and there was still space for new initiatives during the whole process.

#### *4.3.2. Conflicts*

There are three examples in this case that can be described as conflicts or discussions. Those are the discussions about the plans in the early stage of the process, the discussions about plans in a later stage and a discussion between renters and OLE during the process.

#### *Early stage*

During the early stage of the process, the entrepreneurs and later OLE had to convince the municipality and developers about the plans they had. One of the biggest concerns during these discussions was the fact that those other parties were a bit sceptic towards these ideas. It was a completely new concept for them and even though they facilitated those ideas, not everyone was convinced at the beginning. This was slightly caused by the fact that OLE worked in a nomocratic way and both the municipality and developers were not used to such an approach (yet). They were not repulsive towards such ideas, but they were careful and had their doubts in the beginning.

These discussions between those actors were held in later stages of the process as well, but mainly occurred during the early stage of it.

#### *Later stage*

The discussions in a later stage occurred mostly between the people of OLE and the people that came up with ideas. In general, the discussions had the same character as in the early stage, but were held between different actors. The ideas were brought up by for example users and entrepreneurs and it was OLE that had to judge them on their achievability and sustainability. Afterwards, the ideas were structured in plans by the initiators, OLE and the municipality.

#### *Renters*

During the process, OLE was responsible for the re-investment of the earned rent. Some of the renters did not agree on how that was done, which lead to discussions. They did not agree on the power and influence they had and tried to undermine the position of OLE. Especially one party made these discussions difficult. It is said that this was due to the fact that their only ambition was to earn money and they had no positive intentions to improve the area.

### 4.3.3. Approach to Conflict

In this part, the approach towards conflict has been analysed, using the concepts of antagonism and agonism. The coding used in this analysis of the interviews can be seen in table 6.

Antagonism	Grounded	Agonism	Grounded
Mistrust/suspicion	4	Involving groups in discussions	9
Power used to solve conflict	3	We-feeling	8
Ignoring groups when making decisions	3	Bond of trust	3
No reciprocity	2	Talking and discussing	3
Avoiding/ignoring conflict	2	Reciprocity	3
Creating compromise/consensus	1	Involving groups when making decisions	2
us/them-distinction	1	Embracing conflict	2

Table 6, Approach to conflict in Groningen based on two longer interviews and e-mail contact.

The table shows that this case shows as many characteristics of antagonism as agonism. However, the characteristics of agonism are shown more often. Based on this analysis of the interviews and the literature, it can be said that an agonistic approach has been used more often in this case. This will be further elaborated in the following section, using the three different categories of characteristics.

#### Attitude towards conflict

The attitude towards conflict was a bit mixed in this case. They had a positive attitude in those discussions/conflicts, but to a certain extent, because *“trees do not grow all the way into heaven”* (Municipality of Groningen, c). Ideas were discussed and those outcomes were highly valued. It was also the intended outcome of those discussions to come to creative solutions in which the ideas could be fulfilled in line with the (financial) possibilities of the area. However, in some cases, conflict and discussion were a bit seen as time-consuming processes in which everyone just wanted to have their say (Gerrit Schuurhuis, c). Additionally, some parties did not have a discussion to come to solutions, but just wanted to achieve their own wishes. They did not fully think about the broader perspective.

It is also said that an agonistic approach would have been the best approach to conflict, but that it was not always possible. The fact that it was not possible could be caused by the mistrust in the beginning of the project in which the actors did not know each other well enough (Gerrit Schuurhuis, d).

Therefore, it can be said that they have an embracing attitude towards conflict. However, when reading between the lines, this positive attitude was there as long as conflict was leading to something, to a certain outcome. This is both an indication of embracing conflict, thus agonism, but also of presupposing an outcome, thus antagonistic.

#### Relation between actors

In general, the relationship between the actors has been a good one. The entrepreneurs, OLE and the municipality had a strong bond and definitely had the feeling that they were working together on this case (Wilma Naaijer, a). However, a bond of trust had to be built during the process. At the beginning, different actors were a bit sceptic towards the nomocratically developed ideas (Municipality of Groningen, d). During the process, the ideas proved themselves to be rightful and working and the scepticism slowly disappeared and made room for a bond of trust (Municipality of Groningen, e). In most cases, the actors were able to understand each other and willing to place themselves in the other's position. But this reciprocity was not always there, especially not in the case of the conflict about the rent. The involved actor did not (want to) place themselves in the ideas of OLE, which lead to a break between those parties.

Therefore, the we-feeling, reciprocity and bond of trust is there between most actors, especially those highly involved in the case. However, it does not count for all of them. Based on this, the approach would be predominantly agonistic, with some conflicts and discussion being approached in a more antagonistic way.

#### *Involvement of actors*

The involvement of actors was a big aspect in this case. A lot of different actors were heard and they all had the chance to speak about their ideas. This could for example be seen in one of the ten commandments in the process “*provide opportunities for influence without power*” (Gerrit Schuurhuis, e) and the “*klankbordgroep*” (Municipality of Groningen, f) that was arranged.

Some of the actors also had their influence in the plans and decisions in the area, but that privilege was not destined for all actors. These were mostly OLE and the municipality and the developers. However, the other actors did have their indirect impact by sharing their ideas and discussing the activities in the process.

Nevertheless, it can be stated that the, targeted, involvement of the different actors in the process is an example of an agonistic approach.

#### *4.3.4. Reasons for approach*

The actors in this case feel and know the importance of involving actors in the process and talking and discussing about each other’s ideas. It was necessary to create contact and collaboration between actors to improve the chance of success and support for the project. Thus, they provided opportunities and literal space for contact and collaboration to happen (Inden et al, 2016). It could therefore be said that an agonistic approach was intended as the main approach for conflict in this case.

However, sometimes a more antagonistic approach was in use in reality. This had to do with the character and duration of the discussions which made some parties wish that the discussions would be over sooner. This antagonistic approach might also been caused by the fact that the actors wanted to do as much as possible in the short time they had. They therefore did not have the time for discussions that took (too) long.

Considering the reasons for approach, one could say that a more agonistic approach was intended and that they had thought about it at the beginning of the process. During the process, some discussions did lead to a more antagonistic approach, but the main intention was an agonistic one.

Once again, it can be discussed whether the decision for an approach was based on the concepts of antagonism and agonism or whether it was solely based on their beliefs on marginalisation and discussing ideas.

#### *4.3.5. Summary*

The case of the ‘Ebbingekwartier’ in Groningen is a lot less black-and-white than the one in Rotterdam. It is clear that this is a fine example of nomocratic planning, with all ideas coming from bottom-up in a collaboration between different parties. However, the distinction in an approach to conflict is not that clear. When discussing ideas in an early and later stage, the actors had a predominantly agonistic approach. They would not avoid a discussion about their ideas and beliefs. Caused by the temporary character of the process and the negative attitude of some parties, the attitude towards conflict/discussion changed a bit. Talking and discussing was still regarded useful, but only as long as it would lead to something. Therefore one could say that the predominant approach is an agonistic one, but there are signs of an antagonistic one as well.

#### 4.4 Honigcomplex (Nijmegen)

The last case that will be analysed is the Honigcomplex in Nijmegen. The analysis is based on transcripts of three different interviews. One of them is relatively long, one relatively short and one interview was relatively long, but half of the recording has been gone missing. Therefore, it is based on one long interview and two shorter ones.

##### 4.4.1. Characteristics

Once again, the first things to be analysed, are the characteristics of the planning process. An overview of the coding of the interviews is provided in the table below. This table shows that this case shows more characteristics of a nomocratic planning approach. Although, it has to be noted that it does show some characteristics of teleocratic planning, especially when compared to the other cases. This will be further analysed in the following section according to the three groups distinguished in the operationalisation.

Teleocracy	Grounded	Nomocracy	Grounded
Active government	3	Strategic framework/vision	4
Few stakeholders	1	Participation	4
Top-down	1	Bottom-up	2
		Process grows gradually	1
		Process-management	1
		Facilitative government	1

Table 7, Planning characteristics in Nijmegen based on one longer interview and 2 shorter ones.

##### *Role of the government*

The case of the Honigcomplex is different than the other two cases in terms of the role of the government. While the other cases have a facilitative government that provides opportunities for the bottom-up initiatives, the municipality of Nijmegen has a more active role. The plans for what happened in the complex are set by the ontwikkelbedrijf, the collaboration of the municipality together with BPD. It is said that the government has a leading role to direct the project towards the goals they have set. Furthermore, it is claimed that the government has an active role in making the plans and that they will keep this role in the future (Wout van Hees, a).

##### *Top-down and bottom-up*

In line with this more active role of the government, the process in the Honigcomplex is a lot more top-down as well. As said, the government has a leading role in directing the process in the direction they aim for. Furthermore, they are the ones working on the plan and the decisions that will be and have been made are in hands of those people at the 'top'. However, there are opportunities for other actors to participate in the ideas about the complex. They do not have a direct influence in the plans, but can share their vision and opinions.

An example of this are meetings between the ontwikkelbedrijf and the renters in which they can have their say. In these meetings, the renters can share their own initiatives as well (Wout van Hees, b). It is said that those parties need to be included in the process, for example the neighbourhood (Wout van Hees, c). Therefore, the participation within this top-down structure is relatively high. It could be said that the structure is top-down, with decisions coming from the top, while the character is more bottom-up, with a lot of participation and opportunities for parties to share their ideas.

##### *Presence and character of plans*

The plans for the complex are of a more strategic kind. It is clearly said by the ontwikkelbedrijf that they need to have a dot on the horizon which will be achieved bit by bit (Wout van Hees, c). They have this goal set within a certain amount of time and budget and they had to be clear about it to the other actors. Furthermore, there is a framework for the renters of the complex with agreements in which they can work (Nico Wielhouwer, a).

Based on the analysis of these characteristics, it could be said that the process of the Honigcomplex is a bit mixed considering teleocracy and nomocracy. The ideas and vision for what happened and what is happening is clearly nomocratic, with a strategic framework. However, the structure of the process is more teleocratic, with an active government and a top-down decision-making structure.

#### 4.4.2. Conflicts

The conflicts that occurred during the process are a bit similar to the ones analysed before. There are three different conflicts that can be distinguished, which are basically the same as in the Ebbingekwartier. The conflicts and discussions about the plans in the early stage, those discussions in the later stage and the conflicts between renters during the process

##### Early stage

The discussions in the early stage of the process were mostly between the municipality and BPD. Those discussions were about the ideas and visions for the complex to prevent the big losses. The municipality was more eager to start with the idea of place-making and BPD was a bit more sceptic. After a lot of “*trek- en duwwerk*” (Wout van Hees, d), they came to a vision for the complex. This conflict is less interesting to analyse, because it was just between two major players who have the same kind of structure. There have not been a lot of stakeholders involved in it and the ones that were involved, are on the same level –as far as we can still use that term- of hierarchy.

##### Later stage

After one or two years into the process, it became a big success. This led to the discussion about the temporary character of the process and whether or not this could be made more permanent. Politicians, the press and the neighbourhood exerted so much pressure on the ontwikkelbedrijf that they needed to re-evaluate the plans and look for permanent ideas.

In these discussions, a lot of different parties are heard and involved. Basically every party that is shown in the network of actors (figure 9) is involved and heard. They can all share and discuss their ideas and opinions.

##### Renters

Finally, there are also some conflicts between renters. These conflicts can for example be caused by different interests or different target-groups that cause problems for the other. An example of this is a day-care located to a woodwork-firm, which causes trouble because the children damage the woodwork (Nico Wielhouwer, b). When these problems occur, the relevant renters are invited for a discussion to talk about the problems.

#### 4.4.3 Approach to conflict

In the table below is shown how the data is analysed in terms of antagonism and agonism. Based on this analysis, it could be stated that the approach to conflict is of a more agonistic kind. This will be further elaborated in the following section.

Antagonism	Grounded	Agonism	Grounded
Ignoring groups when making decisions	5	Involving groups in discussions	14
Compromise/consensus	4	Reciprocity	9
Us/them-distinction	2	We-feeling	6
Mistrust/suspicion	1	Bond of trust	6
Avoiding/ignoring conflict	1	Talking and discussing	5
Power used to solve problems	1	Involving groups when making decisions	2
Ignoring groups in discussions	1	Embracing conflict	1

Table 8, Approach towards conflict in Nijmegen based on one longer interview and two shorter ones

#### *Attitude towards conflict*

In this process, the attitude towards conflict is a bit mixed. This can be best described by using a quote from the interview with Wout van Hees “*you have to be clear about what you want to achieve at a certain point (...), within that, you should have a discussion with each other, but you need to make a decision at some point. That is the role of the government*” (Wout van Hees, c). Hence, they do talk about and discuss the different views and opinions about what to do in the process. It could therefore be said that they do not actively ignore or avoid conflict and actually embrace it. However, as it is in the other processes as well, the aim of the discussions is to come to a decision, which is a presupposed outcome of conflict and thus antagonistic. The presupposed outcome could therefore be considered as antagonistic, while the whole attitude and openness towards conflict can be seen as agonistic.

#### *Relation between actors*

It is clear that the relation between the actors shows characteristics of an agonistic approach. There is a lot of reciprocity between actors which is strengthened by the bond of trust that has been built over the years (Ruud de Vries, a). Furthermore, there is a strong we-feeling between the different actors, which can be seen in the mutual benefits for activities in the complex, for example (Nico Wielhouwer, a). However, the top-down character of the process sometimes causes an us/them-distinction at meetings (Ruud de Vries, b), but people have the feeling that they are working together in general.

#### *Involvement of actors*

The data collected through the interviews does not provide signs of marginalisation. Every actor is allowed and invited to share their ideas and opinions about the process and is actively doing that. However, there are just a few actors that actually have their share in making decisions, which should not be a surprise considering the top-down character of the process. A good example of this is the involvement of the neighbourhood-community. They do not really have a direct influence, but they are invited in discussions and meetings in which they can try to convince the other parties (Ruud de Vries, c). Therefore, they are involved in the discussions, but not directly in the decisions. Additionally, the data shows the importance of involving actors in the process. An example is provided by Wout van Hees (e) in which they did not involve actors enough, which lead to some fierce reactions.

#### **4.4.4. Reasons for approach**

The approach to most conflict was not an approach that was deliberately chosen. Off course, there has been thoughts and discussions about what would be the best option to deal with it, but there has not been a certain decision. It is said that the best approach was found through action, when the process was going on (Wout van Hees, f).

Only in the case of the conflict between renters, it became clear that there was a certain approach. The manager clearly had an idea of how discussions and meetings between renters should happen and what his role would be in such talks. He needed to find the problems and chances and steer the renters into that direction, without giving them the feeling that they were forced to do so (Nico Wielhouwer, b). It also helped a lot that there were guidelines already set to which could be referred in case of an argument (Nico Wielhouwer, a).

It could therefore be said that there has not been a deliberate decision between an antagonistic or agonistic approach. Actors did have their idea about what would work and what would not, but this was not valued in terms of antagonism or agonism.

#### 4.4.5. Summary

The Honigcomplex-case can be seen as the least nomocratic case of all three. There is a teleocratic structure with plans and decisions coming from the top. However, the character of the case can be seen as nomocratic. There are a lot of opportunities for actors to share their ideas and the plans are set as a strategic framework. Conflicts occurred between different actors, which had the same character as in previous cases. They were about the early plans for the case, the later plans for the case and between different renters. The approach to these conflicts is predominantly agonistic. They were open towards conflict, but a decision had to be made at some point. Furthermore, every actor had the opportunity to share their opinion and view and the relationship between actors was a proper one. Although actors had their beliefs on what should work best when approaching a conflict, there was no deliberate decision made based on agonism or antagonism. The best approach would be found through action.

## 5. Conclusion

This part will provide an answer to the main-question of this thesis: *How is conflict dealt with in nomocratic planning processes and why is it approached in that way?* Additionally, scientific and social recommendations will be provided and this will be followed by a reflection of the progress of the thesis.

### 5.1 Conclusion

The three cases that were analysed show many characteristics of nomocratic planning. Especially the Schieblock and Ebbingekwartier are appropriate examples of it. Even though the Honigcomplex was structured in a bit more teleocratic way, it did show a lot of nomocratic characteristics as well. Therefore, the cases are of a nomocratic kind, which provides an actual insight in nomocratic planning processes. There has been conflicts and discussions during the processes that were relevant to analyse. Most of them were discussions about the plans or small conflicts regarding the renters.

#### 5.1.1. Approach

The approach to these conflicts can be seen as a more agonistic kind of approach. Discussions and conflict were valued and embraced to a certain degree and actors were involved and their relation was beneficial for the conflict. However, it has to be noted that the intention of the conflict in every case, was to find an outcome on which decisions could be made. This will be further explained in the following section.

In every case the aim in discussions and conflict was to have an outcome. The aim in Rotterdam was to find a 'middenweg', the people in Groningen did sometimes see it as too time-consuming and there had to be decisions in Nijmegen as well. Therefore, every case shows the importance of finding a consensus or compromise. This is an important aspect that needs to be released according Mouffe's idea of agonism. Hilier (2002) is a bit less repulsive towards consensus-building and claims that decisions can be partly consensual. Therefore, even though the cases aim for an outcome of the conflict, the approach could still be agonistic. The aim for a solution in these cases might be strengthened by the temporary character of the cases, which did not give them enough time to discuss the topics endlessly. There needed to be decisions at some point to move on with the process.

Looking at other aspects of the approach to conflict, one would see a lot of the agonistic characteristics distinguished in the operationalisation. Conflict is embraced and there are a lot of possibilities for actors to talk and discuss their ideas with other actors. Furthermore, each case shows a strong presence of reciprocity and the actors mostly have the feeling that they are working together. The research did not indicate marginalisation, at least not for the respondents, and finally, there is a strong bond of trust that developed between the actors over time.

Even though the aim for consensus in each case can be seen as antagonistic, I would still say that the approach to conflict is of a more agonistic kind. It shows a lot of characteristics of it and it is not claimed that consensus cannot be an outcome of an agonistic approach.

#### 5.1.2. Reasons for approach

In every case, actors have thought about their way to approach discussions and deal with conflict. They all value the discussions and highly regard the opinion and vision of other actors. It can thus be said that they deliberately chose an approach in which discussions were held and actors were involved, which can be seen as agonistic.

However, the analysis did not provide enough insight in whether the actors did make a decision based on a framework of antagonism and agonism. Hence, the actors unknowingly did have thoughts about which of the two approaches to use, but perhaps did not make this deliberate decision based on the theory of those approaches. They did chose for a certain approach, but it is not clear if they made a decision between antagonism and agonism.

### 5.1.3. Main question

Thus, as an answer to the main question ‘*How is conflict dealt with in nomocratic planning processes and why is it approached in that way?*’, it can be said that conflict is dealt with in an overall agonistic way. It is approached in that way based on the actors’ beliefs of how conflict should be dealt with, but it cannot be claimed whether this is based on their ideas about antagonism and agonism.

### 5.1.4. Model

Based on the answers and findings of this thesis, the conceptual model has to be adjusted a bit. In figure 10, one can see the conceptual model used for this research.

Conceptual Model

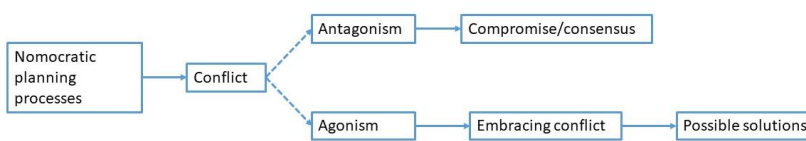


Figure 10, Conceptual model, (Sittert, 2017)

The flaw of this model is that it is too much emphasized on one option or another. In reality, the approach to conflict has proven itself to be less black and white. The approach to conflict was generally agonistic, but it still did show some characteristics of antagonism. Furthermore, within the old conceptual model, there is a distinction between the outcome of antagonism and agonism. Antagonism aims for a consensus or compromise and agonism looks for possible solutions. However, the thesis proved that within an agonistic approach, a compromise or consensus might be a possible solution as well. Based on the findings, I would therefore present a new model, which can be seen in figure 11. In this model, there is interaction between antagonism and agonism, because there is not just one approach with only those characteristics. Furthermore, conflict is embraced to a certain extent and possible solutions are still tried to be found, but they can be compromises or consensus as well.

New Model of Conflict in Nomocratic Planning Processes

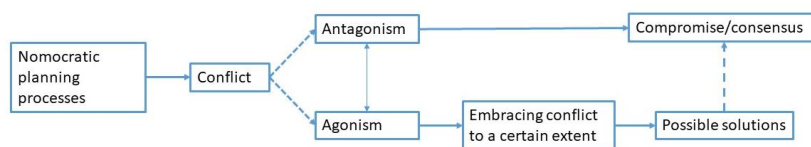


Figure 11, New model of conflict in nomocratic planning processes, (Sittert, 2018)

## 5.2 Recommendations

Some recommendations can be made based on my findings, both for further research and on how to use my findings in practice.

The aim of this research was to bridge the gap between the theories about conflict and the approach to it in practice. By analysing the cases and their conflicts, I was able to conclude which approach was used in three nomocratic planning processes. However, the approach has only been investigated in just a few examples of planning and all of them were in a nomocratic setting. It would therefore be recommended for further research to analyse the approach to conflict in different and more teleocratic cases of planning.

Additionally, it is stated by some respondents that the approach to conflict and the embracement of it would probably be different if the character of the planning process would be more teleocratic (VPS, e and Arjen Knoester, b). This gives reason to investigate the approach to conflict in such teleocratic processes as well and I would highly recommend that. Combined with that information, a justified claim cannot be made about antagonism and agonism for the whole field of planning. For now, it is only for nomocratic planning processes.

The social contribution was to gain more insight in how conflict should be approached, which would benefit to all kinds of conflict. By investigating the approach in the three cases, a lot of information was gained about the most appropriate ways to deal with it. Based on this, I would recommend to include all actors that are related to a topic in a discussion. Talking and discussing ideas and disagreements is seen as the more appropriate way to deal with conflict. Opportunities need to be given to all certain kinds of groups, to have their influence and their say in what needs to happen. It is furthermore important for different actors to understand each other's points of view.

## 5.3 Reflection

By doing this research, I have learned a lot about the topic itself, about how to do research and about myself as a researcher. Although the process did have its ups and downs, it started pretty good I would say. The research proposal was drafted pretty quickly and I soon had permission to start on the research. I was motivated to work on this proposal, partly caused by the assignments I had already done on this topic, partly by the fact that I was motivated to start on the process of the thesis. However, this research proposal might have given me too much satisfaction, as it took me too long to actually start fulfilling the proposal. This was due to insufficient self-discipline and internal and external motivation. The following section will describe to good and bad parts of the process and my learning-process in it.

### 5.2.1. Strategy and process

The chosen strategy for my research has proven itself to be helpful and suitable for what was investigated. The quantitative data-collection gained a lot of insight in the different cases and also gave me more opportunities to read between the lines instead of having black-and-white statements. However, the decision to analyse three different cases might have been a bit too much. It might have been better to analyse less cases with more respondents per case. This would have provided a better insight in each case, but it can be argued whether this would have provided enough diversified information to actually make statements about it. I believe that the used strategy of three cases with three interviews was a rightful one, but it was something that should have been considered in the proposal.

At some points, it was hard to contact respondents for the interviews. Especially the municipality of Rotterdam and the entrepreneurs in Groningen were difficult to contact. Eventually, I received the contact-information Arjen Knoester of the municipality in Rotterdam via-via. The entrepreneurs in Groningen were more difficult to reach, because the ones I did reach did not have any new information or did not have time for an interview. It was also more complicated due to the fact that the project in Groningen was already finished, which meant that most of the entrepreneurs were not located there

anymore or were not connected to it anymore. I believe that this is something that could not have been approached in a very different way than what I did.

The process after the moment I found my motivation and discipline to finish the thesis, was a very structured one. There was a clear strategy of how to analyse the data and I had a clear image of the conclusions that could have been drawn upon them. I believe that this was very beneficial to the end-product.

#### 5.2.2. Flaw

My biggest flaw during the process was the insufficient amount of self-discipline and internal motivation. I found it hard to motivate myself and to actually start working on the research, doing interviews or analysing them. This was strengthened by the fact that there were no strict deadlines in the beginning. There were deadlines, but those could be better seen as guidelines and targets than strict arrangements. It might have been too naïve not to set those strict deadlines, especially because the discipline and motivation are no new information for me.

However, as soon as the strict deadlines were set together with my supervisor and the end of the year was approaching, this urge developed itself. It was that moment as well, that my motivation and self-discipline grew. I did not have the option not to work on it anymore, which was very beneficial for the process. It is therefore an important lesson for me to set those strict deadlines in the beginning of the process and not in the end.

The lack in motivation and self-discipline might have had something to do with the fact that I did not have a clear plan for the next year for a long time. It is not very motivational to finish something when you do not have a plan to do afterwards, not for me at least. I have the feeling that conducting the interviews and visiting interesting places that were related to my field, made me more positive about what I was doing and gave me more ideas what to do next year.

#### 5.2.3. Learning-process

Beside the information gathered about the topic, one of my biggest learning-processes during this thesis were the interviews. The first ones I did went all right, but could have gone a lot better. I was already able to respond to what was being said, but I think I was not secure enough to actually do this in a critical way. By doing more interviews, I felt more confident and was better able to critically respond to what was said by the respondents. It was beneficial in those interviews to use the information that was already gathered. Therefore, I feel that the strategy to have explorative interviews was a strategy well chosen.

However, these explorative interviews had their downside as well. Because the first interviews were explorative, they were not as deep as they were with other actors. The aim of them was to gather as much information on all topics, the planning-process, conflicts and the approach towards conflict, in which they provided a very helpful insight. However, due to the fact that information was discussed on all these topics, there was not enough time to actually dive into everything. Relevant topics were therefore not discussed as much as they could have been.

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## Appendix

### A: Interview-guides

#### Explorative interviews:

This is an interview-guide for the first interviews, which were exploratory interviews. They were held with Rafael Azizahamad and Martin Broers from VPS, the managers of the Schieblock, Gerrit Schuurhuis, financial leader of OLE (Ebbingekekwartier) and Wout van Hees, one of the directors of the 'ontwikkelbedrijf Waalfront'. With these interviews, more insight was gained in the process and decisions that have been made. It also provided more insight in the involved actors, their relations and, most important, the conflict that occurred and the approach towards them.

This guide will provide a framework to receive information about the process, actors and (the approach to) conflict. It will be build up in order with the sub-questions of my research proposal in combination with the operationalisation of the four major terms. Compared to the more in-depth interviews, this interview will be relatively more focussed on the whole process and the different actors involved. This is necessary, because its focus is to gain more information about those topics. In this document, the questions are English. However, the interviews will be in Dutch, as all of my respondents will be native Dutch-speakers. Hence, I will use a translation of this guide for the interviews.

#### Introduction:

- Thanking respondent for their time
- Explaining the target for the interview
  - Aim of my thesis is to get to know more about these kinds of processes and how conflict is approached in particular.
  - Start of my research project, doing exploratory interviews to:
    - Get more info about the process and a better understanding of the involved actors and their relations
    - Get more info about the conflicts and how they were approached
- Asking if it is okay to record it

#### Process

- Can you tell me something about the process?
  - Short summary of what happened and why it happened?
  - Why did the process happen in such way?
- Can you tell me something about your role/role of the government in this process?
  - Facilitative/Active
  - Strong control/lose control
  - Top-down/bottom-up
  - Making sure that the outcome was right, or making sure the process went smooth?
    - Project management/process management
- Can you tell me something about the plans/strategy for this project?
  - Scale:
    - Large/small scale
    - Big steps/small steps
  - Blue-print planning/strategic planning
    - Open-ended? To what extent?
  - Actors:
    - Large developers/small developers
    - Few stakeholders/lots of stakeholders
  - Participation
    - User involvement
    - Social initiatives
    - Participation of marginalized groups

#### Actors

- Which actors are involved in the process and how are they linked?
  - Hierarchic approach?
  - Are they united in groups
    - For example: renters, entrepreneurs etc.
  - How would this look in a figure?
    - Every actor on the same level or some above/below them?
    - Groups linked together?
  - How do they contact each other?
    - For example: meetings

#### **Conflicts**

- What conflicts did occur during the process?
  - Between which actors?
  - What was the topic?
- How was this conflict approached?
  - Aiming for consensus/compromise?
  - Was conflict seen as a bad thing or as a necessity?
- How was the relation between actors in conflict?
  - Enemies/adversaries
  - Toleration and respectful discussions
  - Reciprocity: understanding the others vision
- Was it a deliberate decision to approach conflict in such way?
  - Just happened?
  - Wish from the actors?
  - Was it intentional?
- Where they solved?
  - What decisions were made to solve them or not solve them?
  - Did your municipality have to intervene?

#### **Conclusions**

- What is your opinion on the outcome?
  - Glad they are solved?
    - If they are solved
    - Satisfied with the process?
      - Conflicts are not necessarily solved, but the approach and relationship between actors was right.
- What would be your recommendations for following interviews?
  - Which actors should be approached?
    - Do you have their contact-information?
  - Which conflicts should be analysed?

#### **Closure:**

- Thank you for the interview
- How can I refer to you in the interview?
  - Full name?
  - Only last name?
  - Title?
- Do you want to stay up-to-date about my research?

### Tim Peeters (ZUS)

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of May, I had an interview with Tim Peters. He works at ZUS, which is an architect-bureau located in the Schieblock. They are also guardians of the concept of the Schieblock. The interview is a follow-up interview after the one I did with VPS. For this interview, I used this interview-guide, with the questions being in Dutch.

#### Introductie

- Kort vertellen waar mijn scriptie over gaat
  - o Onderzoek naar verschillende projecten, zoals het Honigcomplex, met daarbij de nadruk op de besluitvormingsprocessen. Hoe zijn de verschillende actoren betrokken, hebben ze allemaal evenveel invloed gehad en wat waren de knelpunten en hoe is hier mee omgegaan?
- Kort vertellen wat het doel is
  - o Inzicht krijgen in de rol van de omwonenden in het proces en daarbij de relatie tussen hen en de andere instanties analyseren.

#### Algemeen

- Kunt u mij vertellen op welke manier u betrokken bent geraakt bij project?
  - o Hoelang al betrokken? (oktober 2015 begonnen)
  - o Wat is uw rol?
  - o Wat is de rol van ZUS in het project/proces
    - Niet alleen huurder, maar ook conceptbewaker/architecten
- Hoe wordt ZUS betrokken in het proces?
  - o Vergaderingen/inspraakavonden/voorlichtingen
- Met wie hebben jullie vooral contact?
  - o VPS, andere huurders, of ook de gemeente?

#### Ondernemers

- Zijn alle ondernemers evenveel betrokken (geweest) in het proces?
  - o Was dit dan ook een eigen keus, of is er bewust gekozen voor wie betrokken zou worden?
- Spreek je nu ook een beetje namens de andere ondernemers, of kan je echt alleen spreken namens ZUS?

#### Besluitvorming

- Bij welke belangrijke besluiten zijn jullie betrokken geweest?
  - o Op welke manier?
  - o Inspraak/voordracht van ideeën/goedkeuring/dingen op de kaart zetten?
- Zijn er op dit moment dingen waar jullie bij betrokken zijn?
  - o Bijvoorbeeld bij het opstellen van de nieuwe plannen voor dit gebied?
  - o VPS was heel duidelijk dat dit alleen door de gemeente opgesteld wordt, maar hebben jullie hier wel iets van invloed op?
- Zijn er ook dingen geweest waar jullie niet bij betrokken zijn geweest?
  - o Was dit dan erg?
  - o Wat voor processen waren dit?
- Kwam het bijvoorbeeld wel eens voor dat de gemeenten een beslissing maakte waar jullie het niet mee eens waren?
  - o Hoe werd daar mee omgegaan?
  - o Konden jullie begrijpen waarom die keuzes uiteindelijk gemaakt zijn?
  - o Hebben ze die beslissingen dan genomen, zonder jullie te informeren, of hebben ze jullie informatie dan gewoon 'genegeerd'?
  - o Hadden dit soort kwesties beter aangepakt kunnen worden?
- Zijn jullie het vaak oneens geweest met andere partijen?
  - o Hoe werd daar mee omgegaan?
  - o Om de tafel zitten en zo snel mogelijk oplossen of elkaar beter begrijpen?

- Had u sowieso het idee dat de actoren elkaar wel goed begrepen in dit proces?
- Heeft dit wel eens echt tot conflicten geleid?
- Voorbeeld uit interview VPS: staat van onderhoud
  - Het is maar tijdelijk, dus er wordt vrij weinig geïnvesteerd in het gebouw zelf. Hier zijn denk ik niet alle ondernemers het mee eens?
- Vinden jullie dat jullie voldoende gehoord worden?
  - Is dit voor alle ondernemers zo?
  - Ligt dit dan ook aan de ondernemers zelf?

#### **Actoren**

- Hoe was de verstandhouding tussen de actoren?
  - Idee dat iedereen er met z'n allen wat moois van ging maken?
  - Actoren tegenover elkaar
- Was er een hiërarchie aanwezig bij de actoren?
  - Iedereen gelijk, of toch partijen met meer macht/invloed
    - Afankelijk van bepaalde partijen?

#### **Arjen Knoester (Municipality of Rotterdam)**

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of April, I had an interview with Arjen Knoester who is working at the municipality of Rotterdam. The interview is a more in-depth interview about the role of the municipality and their relations towards other actors. The interview was done in Dutch and therefore this guide will be in Dutch as well.

#### **Introductie**

- Kort vertellen waar mijn scriptie over gaat
  - Onderzoek naar verschillende projecten, zoals het Schieblock, met daarbij de nadruk op de besluitvormingsprocessen. Hoe zijn de verschillende actoren betrokken, hebben ze allemaal evenveel invloed gehad en wat waren de knelpunten en hoe is hier mee omgegaan?
- Kort vertellen wat het doel is
  - Inzicht krijgen in de rol van de omwonenden in het proces en daarbij de relatie tussen hen en de andere instanties analyseren.

#### **Algemeen**

- Kunt u mij vertellen op welke manier u betrokken bent geraakt bij project?
  - Hoelang al betrokken?
  - Wat is uw rol?
  - Hoe zou u de rol van de gemeente willen beschrijven in dit proces?
    - Sturende rol, faciliterende rol?
- Waar bemoeit de gemeente zich allemaal mee in het blok?
  - Zijn er ook dingen waar ze geen inspraak op hebben/willen?
- Met wie hebben jullie vooral contact?
  - VPS, huurder, andere overheidsinstanties, ontwikkelaars?

#### **Besluitvorming**

- (Hoe) bent u betrokken bij de besluitvorming?
- Welke besluiten liggen er op dit moment?
  - Bijvoorbeeld de permanente invulling waar nu met een nieuwe gemeenteraad naar gekeken moet worden.
  - Hoe worden actoren daarin betrokken?
  - Geluisterd/mee laten denken/mee laten beslissen
    - Worden ze dan ook écht gehoord?
- Wat gebeurt er als partijen het duidelijk niet eens zijn met een gemaakte beslissing of aankomende beslissing?

- In gesprek gaan, zoeken naar oplossingen, uitleg geven waarom er voor A is gekozen i.p.v. B?
- Is dit vaak voorgekomen?
  - Heeft u hier een voorbeeld van?
- Is het dan uiteindelijk wel dat partijen elkaars keuze/standpunten kunnen begrijpen?
  - Zien vanuit het perspectief van de ander?
- Wordt iedere actor (vooral huurders) voldoende gehoord in de besluitvormingsprocessen?
  - Wordt er ruimte geboden door de gemeente voor inspraak?
    - Veel huurders kunnen zelf de juiste kanalen vinden, dus is het dan wel echt nodig?
- Hebben jullie vooraf nagedacht over de rol die iedere actor zou 'mogen' spelen?

#### **Conflicten**

- Zijn er knelpunten/conflicten geweest?
  - Staat van onderhoud
    - Te weinig onderhoud in verhouding tot de huur
- Hoe werd hiermee omgegaan?
  - Zo snel mogelijk oplossen/consensus bereiken, elkaar beter begrijpen en samen oplossingen verzinnen?
- Zijn er dingen die u achteraf beter op een andere manier aan had kunnen pakken?

#### **Actoren**

- Hoe was de verstandhouding tussen de actoren?
  - Idee dat iedereen er met z'n allen wat moois van ging maken?
  - Actoren tegenover elkaar
- Was er een hiërarchie aanwezig bij de actoren?
  - Iedereen gelijk, of toch partijen met meer macht/invloed
    - Afhankelijk van bepaalde partijen?

### Sikko Postma, Joost van Uhm (Municipality of Groningen)

This is the interviewguide that I used for the interview I had with Joost van Uhm from the municipality of Groningen. While the interview was in Dutch, the questions were in Dutch as well.

#### Introductie

- Kort vertellen waar mijn scriptie over gaat
  - o Onderzoek naar drie bottom-up projecten, Ebbingekwartier, Schieblock en Honigcomplex. Kijken hoe er in die drie projecten de besluiten tot stand zijn gekomen en welke problemen daarbij kwamen kijken.
- Kort vertellen wat het doel is van dit interview
  - o Op basis van een eerder interview met Gerrit Schuurhuis van Open Lab Ebbinge
  - o Meer informatie vergaren over de besluitvorming binnen dit proces
    - Welke rol speelden verschillende actoren?

#### Algemeen

- Hoe bent u precies betrokken geweest bij dit project?
- Hoe lang bent u hierbij betrokken (geweest)

#### Proces

- Wat ik heb gehoord in een eerder interview is dat er vanuit ondernemers/Open Lab Ebbinge contact is gezocht met de gemeente. Hoe werd hier in eerste instantie op gereageerd?
  - o Was dit wennen voor de gemeente?
- Uiteindelijk heeft dit een jaar of drie geduurd voordat er echt een overeenkomst was tussen jullie en het open lab
  - o Waarom duurde dit zo lang?

#### Besluitvorming

- Bij welke belangrijke besluiten bent u betrokken geweest en hoe zijn de meeste besluiten tot stand gekomen?
  - o Bijvoorbeeld de verlenging van vijf tot tien jaar
  - o Bijvoorbeeld de aanpassing in het bestemmingsplan
    - Ideeën Open Lab met toestemming van de gemeente?
    - Besluiten en ideeën ontstaan in samenspraak met verschillende actoren?
      - Ook ondernemers/omwonenden
- Wat gebeurde er wanneer partijen het niet eens waren?
  - o Langdurige discussie met als doel elkaar in ieder geval te begrijpen?
  - o Hebben jullie als gemeente wel eens in moeten grijpen, omdat iets niet volgens jullie plannen ging?
    - JA: Was iedereen het daar mee eens?
    - NEE: was iedereen het dan altijd gewoon eens met elkaar, of is er dan gewoon goed overlegd?
      - Als dit gebeurde, of wanneer jullie een ander standpunt hadden, hadden jullie toen het idee dat de andere actoren begrijpen waarom dit gebeurde?
      - Konden jullie het andersom ook begrijpen als andere partijen kritiek hadden/andere ideeën hadden?
  - o Zijn er ook wel eens dingen geweest waar partijen het echt niet over eens konden worden?
    - Een agreement to disagree?
- Hebben jullie het idee dat de verschillende partijen voldoende zijn gehoord?
  - o En is er uiteindelijk ook daadwerkelijk iets mee gedaan?

#### Relatie actoren

- Hoe was de verstandhouding tussen de actoren?
  - o Idee dat iedereen er met z'n allen wat moois van ging maken?
  - o Actoren tegenover elkaar
- Was er een hiërarchie aanwezig bij de actoren?
  - o Iedereen gelijk, of toch partijen met meer macht/invloed
    - Afhankelijk van bepaalde partijen?

#### **Hiërarchie**

- In een eerder interview kwam ook naar voren dat het contact tussen gemeente en het Open Lab even wennen was, vooral door de verschillende structuren. Het Open Lab was daarin erg bottom-up, terwijl een overheidsorgaan als de gemeente toch meer top-down is.
  - o Heeft u dit zelf ook zo ervaren?
  - o Hoe was dit bijvoorbeeld met de projectontwikkelaars

#### **Kritiek**

- In dat eerdere interview kwam ook naar voren dat sommige ondernemers kritiek hadden op het Open Lab, omdat ze vonden dat de inkomsten van de huur niet goed werden geïnvesteerd.
  - o Hoe heeft u dit ervaren?
  - o Wat vond u daar zelf van?
- Uiteindelijk is er zelfs een ondernemer uit het project gestapt.
  - o Wat vond u hiervan?
  - o Was dit te voorkomen

#### **Wlima Naaijer (Entrepreneurs-community Ebbingekwartier)**

Voor mijn scriptie doe ik onderzoek naar drie verschillende plannings-projecten die alle drie een meer bottom-up karakter hebben. Binnen deze projecten ga ik kijken hoe de besluitvormingsprocessen verlopen, welke actoren daar op welke manier bij zijn betrokken en wat daarbij de knelpunten zijn. Voor het Ebbingekwartier heb ik hiervoor al een interview afgenomen met Gerrit Schuurhuis van het Open Lab Ebbinges en met Sikko Postma en Joost van Uhm, beiden werkzaam bij de gemeente Groningen.

Op basis van deze interviews ben ik al veel te weten gekomen, alleen de rol van de ondernemers is nog onderbelicht. Vandaar een paar vragen om ook daar meer over te weten te komen.

1. Op welke manier bent u betrokken (geweest) bij dit project en voor hoe lang?
2. Wat is de rol van de ondernemers in de plannen en besluiten omtrent het Ebbingekwartier?
3. Heeft u het idee dat de ondernemers voldoende worden gehoord in de plannen en besluiten omtrent het Ebbingekwartier?
  - a. Indien nee: hoe zou dit beter kunnen/hoe had dit beter gekund?
4. Had u het idee dat de ondernemers onderling echt samenwerkten om het project tot grotere hoogte te tillen?
5. Had u het idee dat de ondernemers t.o.v. andere actoren echt samenwerkten om het project tot grotere hoogte te tillen?

Tijdens de eerdere interviews kwam naar voren dat sommige ondernemers het niet eens waren met de manier waarop hun huur werd geïnvesteerd in het project. Uiteindelijk leidde dit er zelfs toe dat er partijen zich terug trokken (wat ik heb gehoord).

6. Kunt u hier wat over vertellen?
  - a. Had dit anders en vooral beter aangepakt kunnen worden?
  - b. Hoe stonden deze partijen in de discussie? Waren ze (te) koppig in hun standpunten, of wilde ze wel tot een oplossing komen maar lukte dit gewoon niet?

- c. Is er voldoende ruimte geboden aan de discussie of is er in uw ogen te snel en te veel gefocust op een snelle oplossing?
- d. Had u het idee dat partijen zich goed konden verplaatsen in de standpunten van de ander?
- e. Indien nee: had u het idee dat ze dit wel probeerden?

### Nico Wielhouwer (Manager Honigcomplex)

On 1-2-2018, I will do an interview with Nico Wielhouwer, responsible for the maintenance at the Honigcomplex in Nijmegen. The interview will be a follow-up interview after the exploratory one, being more in depth about the conflicts and relation between actors. The following guide will be used for this interview, with the questions being in Dutch.

#### Introductie

- Kort vertellen waar mijn onderzoek over gaat
- Doel van het interview uitleggen
  - o Inzicht krijgen in de conflicten/discussies en de houding van actoren hierin

#### Algemeen

1. Kunt u mij kort vertellen wat precies uw functie is binnen het Honigcomplex
  - a. Hoelang bent u betrokken?
  - b. Met welke actoren bent u vooral betrokken?

#### Eigen ervaring

2. Wat zijn conflicten/discussies waar u zelf mee te maken heeft?
  - a. Wat is uw doel in deze discussies?
    - i. Zo snel mogelijk oplossen/met iedereen kijken voor een geschikte oplossing?
3. Hoe is de verstandhouding tussen actoren in deze discussies/conflicten
  - a. Hiërarchisch, macht gebruiken om beslissingen door te voeren
4. Hoe kijkt u aan tegen andere actoren?
  - a. Bepaalde partijen met meer macht?
  - b. Hiërarchie?
  - c. Partijen als tegenstanders of juist samenwerken om er iets moois van te maken?
  - d. Verschilt dit per actor?
5. Hoe denkt u dat de actoren onderling naar elkaar kijken?
  - a. Bijvoorbeeld de gemeente/Waalfront, benaderden ze iedereen op dezelfde manier

#### Relatie tussen actoren

6. Heeft u het idee dat de actoren het gevoel hebben dat ze hier samen iets moois van moeten maken, of zien ze elkaar meer als concurrenten?
  - a. Werken ze samen
  - b. Eigenbelang
  - c. Aversie jegens beleidsbepalers omdat zij beslissen?
7. Heeft u het idee dat de actoren elkaar begrijpen/zich in elkaars standpunten kunnen verplaatsen?

#### Houding t.o.v. conflict

8. Had u het idee dat er genoeg aandacht werd besteed aan conflict/onenigheid?
  - a. Zoeken naar de juiste oplossing, of zo snel mogelijk oplossen
9. Werd er naar iedereen goed geluisterd?
  - a. Wordt iedereen betrokken?
  - b. Is iedereen betrokken?

### **Tijdelijkheid**

In het verkennend interview kwam voornamelijk de discussie over de tijdelijkheid naar voren. Er wordt nu gekeken wat daarvoor de opties zijn.

10. Hoe bent u hierbij betrokken geweest?
11. Hoe ging het contact hierbij tussen de actoren?

### **Ondernemers**

12. Wat zijn interessante ondernemers om een interview mee te doen?
  - a. Ondernemersvereniging
13. Wijkvereniging
  - a. Contactpersoon

### **Afsluiting**

14. Hoe kan ik naar u verwijzen in mijn scriptie?
  - a. Hele naam
  - b. Quotes
15. Wilt u up-to-date blijven?
16. Wilt u de scriptie checken voor publicatie?

### **Ruud de Vries (Ons Waterkwartier)**

On the 1st of March, I had an interview with Ruud de Vries of the neighbourhood-community ONS Waterkwartier (the surrounding neighbourhood of the Honigcomplex). The interview was a follow-up interview after the ones I did with Wout van Hees and Nico Wielhouwer. For this interview, I used this interview-guide, with the questions being in Dutch.

### **Introductie**

- Kort vertellen waar mijn scriptie over gaat
  - o Onderzoek naar verschillende projecten, zoals het Honigcomplex, met daarbij de nadruk op de besluitvormingsprocessen. Hoe zijn de verschillende actoren betrokken, hebben ze allemaal evenveel invloed gehad en wat waren de knelpunten en hoe is hier mee omgegaan?
- Kort vertellen wat het doel is
  - o Inzicht krijgen in de rol van de omwonenden in het proces en daarbij de relatie tussen hen en de andere instanties analyseren.

### **Algemeen**

- Kunt u mij kort vertellen op welke manier u betrokken bent geraakt bij dit project?
  - o Hoe lang al?
  - o Wat is uw rol?
- Hoe wordt de wijkvereniging meegenomen in dit project?
  - o Bij wat voor soort besluiten?
  - o Vergaderingen/inspraakavonden/voorlichtingen
- Met wie staan jullie vooral in contact?
  - o Voornamelijk het ontwikkelbedrijf/gemeente, of ook bijvoorbeeld de ondernemers?

### **Houding omwonenden**

- Waren jullie gelijk positief over het idee voor het Honigcomplex?
  - o Is iets nieuws, kan zowel positieve als negatieve dingen met zich meebrengen

### **Besluitvorming**

- Bij welke belangrijke besluiten zijn jullie betrokken geweest?
  - o Op welke manier?
  - o Inspraak/voordracht van ideeën/goedkeuring/dingen op de kaart zetten?
- Zijn er op dit moment dingen waar jullie bij betrokken zijn?
  - o Bijvoorbeeld de discussie over het permanent vestigen van bedrijven

- Zijn er ook dingen geweest waar jullie niet bij betrokken zijn geweest?
  - o Was dit dan erg?
  - o Wat voor processen waren dit?
- Kwam het bijvoorbeeld wel eens voor dat de gemeenten of het ontwikkelbedrijf een beslissing maakte waar jullie het niet mee eens waren?
  - o Hoe werd daar mee omgegaan?
  - o Konden jullie begrijpen waarom die keuzes uiteindelijk gemaakt zijn?
  - o Hebben ze die beslissingen dan genomen, zonder jullie te informeren, of hebben ze jullie informatie dan gewoon 'genegeerd'?
  - o Hadden dit soort kwesties beter aangepakt kunnen worden?
- Heeft u wel het idee dat jullie voldoende invloed hebben op wat er in jullie wijk gebeurt?
- Zijn jullie het vaak oneens geweest met andere partijen?
  - o Hoe werd daar mee omgegaan?
  - o Om de tafel zitten en zo snel mogelijk oplossen of elkaar beter begrijpen?
  - o Had u sowieso het idee dat de actoren elkaar wel goed begrepen in dit proces?

#### **Actoren**

- Hoe was de verstandhouding tussen de actoren?
  - o Idee dat iedereen er met z'n allen wat moois van ging maken?
  - o Actoren tegenover elkaar
- Was er een hiërarchie aanwezig bij de actoren?
  - o Iedereen gelijk, of toch partijen met meer macht/invloed
    - Afhankelijk van bepaalde partijen?

## B. Codebook

The codebook will provide information about the codes that were used when analysing the transcripts. Almost every code is based on the operationalisation in which the characteristics of the four theories are distinguished. Furthermore, there have been some codes about passages providing relevant information for the research. This could be an example of a conflict/discussion or an interesting opinion or viewpoint on a certain topic. These codes are added to the codebook as well.

Term	Characteristics
Teleocracy/Teleocratic planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Top-down</li> <li>• Hierarchic</li> <li>• Active government               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Government controlled</li> <li>○ Government planned</li> <li>○ Interventions from the government</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Blue-print planning</li> <li>• Large projects</li> <li>• Everything happens at once</li> <li>• Large developers</li> <li>• Few stakeholders</li> <li>• Project management</li> </ul>
Nomocracy/Nomocratic planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bottom-up</li> <li>• Organic</li> <li>• Participation</li> <li>• Strategic framework/vision</li> <li>• Open-ended plans</li> <li>• Self-organisation</li> <li>• Facilitative government</li> <li>• Process grows gradually</li> <li>• Smaller scale projects</li> <li>• Small developers and individuals</li> <li>• Lot of stakeholders</li> <li>• Everyone is heard</li> <li>• Process-management</li> </ul>
Antagonism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Creating compromises/consensus as main target</li> <li>• Ignoring groups in discussions</li> <li>• Ignoring groups when making decisions</li> <li>• Us/Them-distinction</li> <li>• No reciprocity</li> <li>• Avoiding/ignoring conflict</li> <li>• Power used to solve conflict</li> <li>• Mistrust caused by ignoring/suppressing conflict</li> </ul>
Agonism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talking and discussing disagreements to come to creative ideas</li> <li>• Embracing conflict</li> <li>• Involving groups in discussions</li> <li>• Involving groups when making decisions</li> <li>• 'We'-feeling</li> <li>• Reciprocity</li> <li>• Bond of trust between actors</li> </ul>

Extra codes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Waarschijnlijk minder ruimte voor conflict wanneer plannen strikter zijn</li><li>• Solutions</li><li>• Hoeft niet over alles mee te praten</li><li>• Naar elkaar toe groeien</li><li>• Discussie/conflict</li></ul>
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## C. Relevant transcripts

### VPS

- a. huurders die dit zeg maar gewend zijn, die allemaal hun zegje willen doen over wat er van hun ruimte is, hoe we het qua onderhoud aan moeten pakken eh.. daarvoor wordt dan ook bijvoorbeeld wel een meeting ingeschoten. Club schieblock, en daarvoor worden dan wensen van huurders geïnventariseerd. Eh.. ja, het instandhouding, zijn gewoon veel eh.. huurders en eh.. iedereen wil wat anders, dus ja het is ook gewoon.

R: iedereen vindt ook wat anders

M: ja, dat is, kijk, hoe ga je daar mee om. Wie kunnen, wat kunnen we bieden. Hoe kunnen we de beste oplossing verzorgen zodat toch iedereen een beetje zijn eigen zin heeft.  
(10:13 – 10:53)

- b. En de bedoeling, toen we de aanbesteding eh.. eh.. hadden gewonnen, is dat de gemeente ook aangaf is dat de ontwikkeling hier dan zou beginnen en dan gefaseerd die kant op. Of dat nog steeds het geval is, ik weet het niet. Ik houd de media nauw in de gaten, misschien jij ook wel he, je ziet dat afgelopen week in het ad het schiekadeblock, ja een hot item was. Ja, dat kan je nog opzoeken.

T: dat zal ik inderdaad nog even opzoeken

R: AD Rotterdam, zie je eh.. aantal publicaties over het schieblock maar ook het stukje, publicatie over het stukje herontwikkeling wat ze hier willen gaan doen. Maar ook, daar speelt de politiek weer een grote rol bij. Gemeenteraadsverkiezing die er maart, uit m'n hoofd, volgens mij weer aankomen. T is niet de standaard projectmanagement wat je hier doet. Je bent echt met iedereen bezig. Wat ik al zei, de gemeente is natuurlijk je opdrachtgever, maar de gemeente is een heel groot orgaan, dus je bent met heel veel verschillende partijen, daarmee ook om de tafel.

T: En eh.. ja, in hoeverre heeft de gemeente echt invloed hierop? Hebben die wel echt een visie gemaakt waar je je aan moet houden of..

R: interessant hoe je dat zo zegt. De visie die eh.. die was er niet, maar die wordt eh.. gedurende de periode dat wij het beheren, was hun bedoeling dat er een visie geformuleerd wordt en daar is men nu ook drukdoende mee.  
(05:21 – 06:37)

- c. Ik moet wel zeggen dat wij vanuit VPS altijd het initiatief moeten nemen, dat is ook niet heel gek, omdat wij de dingen constateren. Dus dat de initiatieven worden ontplooid, vindt de gemeente ook een pluspunt. Wij evalueren ook eens in de zoveel tijd en de gemeente is ook tevreden dat wij zo betrokken zijn met het project. Het projectkantoor, dat wij hier kantoor houden en dat we die initiatieven nemen om alle betrokken partijen bij elkaar te voegen. Eh.. of daar een conclift voor ons ontstaat.. Soms heb je een gezonde discussie, zoals ik dat mooi kan zeggen. Omdat jij als beheerder iets voor elkaar wil krijgen want je hebt ook een pet op voor een huurder, want jij wil het beste voor die huurder, maar de gemeente die kijkt naar het budget wat zij daarvoor hebben. En.. eh.. afdeling Milieu die kijkt naar de richtlijnen die er gevoerd mogen worden in dit stukje. Als het aan mij ligt komt er dan een hele grote container, waarin iedereen zijn spullen kan dumpen. De gemeente kijkt, past dat in het kostenplaatje? Om dat gefinancierd te krijgen. De afdeling Milieu die kijkt dan, past dat wel binnen onze richtlijnen en beleid om daar zo'n grote container neer te kunnen zetten. En dan zit je aan tafel met die partijen. Ja, Martin en ik vinden dít, omdat wij vinden heel praktisch gezien, dat iedereen zijn vuil kan dumpen met al die horecapartijen. De gemeente zegt, dan praat ik over mijn directe opdrachtgever, financieel gezien is het best duur, dus ik wil naar een goedkopere

oplossing. En afdeling milieu zegt, dat kan niet eens, want dan is de kans heel groot dat er een milieu-delict ontstaat. Praktisch voorbeeld he, want dan spreek je elkaar toch al snel tegen. Maar, jouw doel is niet een verhitte discussie, maar de krachten te bundelen en naar een synergetisch effect en kijken naar een goede oplossing. Want zij verwachten van ons, dat wij weten wat er speelt bij die huurders.  
(21:18 – 23:10)

- d. nee, dat is maar een klein voorbeeldje, maar dat hier bijvoorbeeld besloten wordt dat we een beetje deze kant op willen gaan met het pand met de gemeente en dat de gemeente zegt, maar jongens leuk en aardig, wij hebben dit plan, dus dat gaan we niet doen.

R: die neemt wel een aantal standpunten in en dat kan ik ook wel goed begrijpen. Waarom zou je, om op dat voorbeeld door te gaan, een paar ton investeren, als je niet zeker weet of dat pand blijft staan of niet. Dan ben je bezig met kapitaal vernietiging vanuit de gemeenschapsgelden. De gemeente moet dat kunnen onderbouwen naar de burgemeester toe en de burgemeester moet daar ook iets van vinden. Uiteindelijk denk ik als je het helemaal naar de top bekijkt. En als zo'n bw zeker weten dat schieblock blijft staan, en als er dan wordt geïnvesteerd met een paar tonnen of zelfs miljoenen is dat dan niet heel gek, omdat je dan een onderbouwd plan hebt. Maar omdat je hier met een stukje ontwikkelgebied zit, weet je dat nog niet. Dus dan, dan, en daar neemt de gemeente echt wel standpunten in. Die zegt ook duidelijke aan VPS, maar ook tijdens de club Schieblock-meeting, waar ook alle huurders zitten. Ja, dat gaat hem gewoon niet worden.  
(29:58 – 30:48)

- e. ik weet niet of het persé een conflict moet zijn, maar misschien is dat wel heel vaag dat ik dat nu zeg. Communicatie is wel hetgeen wat moet gebeuren. En of dat nou om een stukje afval gaat of een lekkage, weet ik veel wat. Martin dan het voornaamste in deze, is wel diegene die met zijn telefoon, e-mail en natuurlijk zichzelf, blijft communiceren. Dat ben je als beheerder, jij bent de spin in het web en moet met alle betrokken partijen communiceren. Wij kunnen niet een eenduidige oplossingen aanbieden. Of een eenduidige oplossingen hanteren, wij zijn afhankelijk van alle betrokken partijen. Soms leidt dat tot een conflict waarin dat leidt tot een goede oplossing. Soms heb je dat conflict wel nodig. Dat je die verschillende partijen hebt. Club schieblock-meeting is daar soms ook een goed voorbeeld van. Gemeente zit daar ook bij, wij zitten daar ook bij, en huurders, betrokken huurders van elke etage in het pand. En dan heb je deze conflicten, omdat de huurder wil zus, en de gemeente zegt ja daar is het geld niet voor. Dus eh.. of de gemeente ziet dat anders, hoeft niet altijd om geld te gaan.

M: en ook onderling met huurders..

R: ja, en ook onderling met huurders. Dus eh.. in zekere zin, heb je soms conflicten nodig, vooral in het gebied waar er heel veel onzekerheid heerst hier. Maar soms kan het ook zonder een conflict zijn. Het enige wat er altijd plaats moet vinden..

T: is communicatie..

R: ja, dat je elkaar moet kunnen vinden en moet zoeken.

T: ja, conflict is misschien ook een groot woord, dat het dan vaak, ja een agressieve conflict krijgt. Maar het is meer de discussie die kan ontstaan, waardoor er weer nieuwe ideeën kunnen komen.

R: ja, dat moet wel echt ontstaan. Vooral dat je .. met zoveel verschillende mensen te maken hebt, eh.. met zoveel onzekerheid, denk dat er hier al meer dan tien jaar. Enige, niet enige, gewoon onzekerheid is. Eh.. die onzekerheid wordt nu wel steeds meer afgenomen en wordt steeds zekerder. Doordat de gemeente nu ook steeds meer concreet aan het kijken is naar wat

ze hier willen gaan doen. Eh.. maar zal wel altijd wel blijven. Omdat de huurders die hier contracten tekenen, weten dat ze hier op tijdelijke aard zitten, maar die hier wel met heel veel plezier ondernemen.

T: oké, dus je zou eigenlijk zeggen dat zo'n project dat het belangrijker is om dat conflict te hebben, die discussie te hebben, dan in projecten die wat strakker geregeld zijn?

R: nouja, ik denk eh.. als hier een herontwikkeling heeft plaatsgevonden als voorbeeld. En Martin en ik zijn eigenaar van die opstallen. Dan heb ik hier geld in geïnvesteerd en dan weet ik precies wat ik hier wil doen, ik wil mijn geld terug verdienen. En dan ben ik als eigenaar diegene die aan de touwtjes trekt, als commerciële jongen. Dat is het lastige hierzo, dat de gemeente eigenaar is, maar de gemeente moet ook iets vinden van het gebied. Willen ze iedereen erbij betrekken, dat is ook de taak van de gemeente. Dat maakt het ook zo speciaal. En zij verwachten ook van VPS dat wij hier iedereen bij betrekken.

T:.. zit echt precies tegen de zon in te kijken.

R: dat wij eh iedereen betrekken bij deze ontwikkeling. Maar wat ik zeg: als er straks een nieuwe ontwikkeling plaatsvindt en belegger X is eigenaar ervan. Nou, dan weet ik zeker dat belegger X dan ook zijn eigen plan trekt daarop. Die investeert hier dan heel veel miljoenen en die wil dat ook op een bepaalde termijn weer terugverdienen. Dus wie zegt dan dat hoe wij nou als beheerder met iedereen om de tafel zitten, wie zegt dat hij dat dan gaat doen? Maar goed, dan is er ook wat meer zekerheid, dan zijn de randvoorwaarden geschetst, dan weet hij in welke kaders hij kan handelen. Anders gaat hij ook niet zoveel geld beleggen. Dus dan is de context ook heel anders.  
(25:04 – 28:49)

#### Tim Peeters

- a. Wij zijn vaak, dat is niet normaal voor een ontwerpbureau, maar wij zijn vaak ook opdrachtgever of initiatiefnemer en dan moet je al die instrumenten dus ook echt leren te bedienen, anders krijg je dingen niet voor elkaar. Eh..

T: want jullie waren ook volgens mij zag ik in de mail, dat jullie ook conceptbewakers zijn hiervan? Dus dat jullie hier ook initiatiefnemer zijn van dit idee hoe nu de invulling is of niet?

TP: nu minder eh.. dus hoe het ging, ZUS was hier opgericht, was een ontwerpbureau en ze zijn eigenlijk..

T: even in de chronologische volgorde blijven..

TP: ja dat is wat logischer, dan werken we toe naar hoe het nu is.. eh.. dus eigenlijk meteen begonnen met ongevraagd advies en dat in de vorm van ontwerp, want er zijn een ontwerpbureau voor dit gebied. Dat was, Rotterdam is natuurlijk gebombardeerd en toen opgebouwd eh.. je kan het heel lelijk vinden, maar ook een hele mooie stad, maar de stad is niet op alle plekken even vriendelijk richting voetgangers bijvoorbeeld. Dus hee veel asfalt, heel veel verharding. De gebouwen staan vrij ver uit elkaar en gebouwen zijn ook alleen om in te werken of alleen om in te wonen, er is weinig mix. Er is ook een gezegde over mensen vroeger uit Rotterdam, die zeggen altijd vroeger kon je in het centrum een kanon afschieten na vijf uur en je raakte niemand. Het was totaal uitgestorven betonwereld eigenlijk. Eh.. dat de plek wel potentie heeft, het is superdicht bij het station en het centrum. Rotterdam is vrij groot en divers, dus er is een potentie voor heel erg bruisende eh.. bruisend sociaal leven. Maar dat kwam gewoon totaal niet uit de verf en eh.. ZUS is toen begonnen met gewoon, begonnen met, oké, dus makkelijke collages van, we maken eerst overal maar eens zebrapaden bijvoorbeeld, dan ga je laten zien..  
(03:36 – 05:31)

- b. maar goed, toen hebben we dus door die 4 miljoen subsidie, heeft de gemeente dus wel deze brug gefinancierd, maar niet het idee aangedragen. Dat is dus een soort eh.. en de brug dus met mandaat van alle stemmers eh.. daar is heel veel discussie over trouwens. Toen al, maar er zijn mensen die zeggen die zeggen ja, dat is de meest directe vorm van stadsplanning die je kan hebben, met burgerparticipatie. Er zijn ook mensen die zeggen: ja maar, eh..

T: indirect alsnog de gemeente..

TP: ja precies, die zeggen: ik kom hier nooit, ik hoef nooit met die stupide brug, daar is wel 4 miljoen aan uitgegeven, wat is het voor ding, slaat nergens op, verspild geld..

T: dat zal er altijd wel zijn denk ik..

TP: ja, en alleen al die discussie maakt het voor mij dat het een geslaagd experiment is  
(46:00 – 46:50)

- c. nee, er zijn nooit echt definitieve dingen gebeurd, denk ik. En zelfs, ik heb ook wel vertrouwen in dat wie er ook de verkiezingen gaan winnen en in welke configuratie dan ook.. heb ik het idee dat iedereen er op een gegeven moment genoeg van doordrongen is. Dat je dit maar één keer kan doen, dat is ook belangrijk. Je kan dit maar een keer ontwikkelen en daarna zit je er 50/60 jaar aan vast. Eh.. en ik heb het gevoel dat dat in ieder geval dus goed naar de smaakjes gaan kijken. Misschien is dat dan niet je lievelingssmaakje, maar als dat een logisch te volgen smaakje is, dan eh.. dan denk ik in ieder geval dat er iets goeds is gebeurd.

T: zolang ze het maar goed verantwoord dan?

TP: ja, ja, en als er eh.. er gaat hoe dan ook een compromis worden gesloten, als dat op logische gronden is gedaan, dan komt dat denk ik wel goed.  
(54:46 – 55:46)

#### Arjen Knoester

- a. tijdelijk gebruik was daar eigenlijk al gaande, ZUS zat daar al een tijd. Ik ken ze trouwens ook heel goed ZUS, vanaf het allereerste begin heb ik, toen werkte ik nog bij een ander bedrijf. Toen heb ik ook een project met ze gedaan. Dat is acht jaar geleden toen ik hier weer kwam. Toen speelde het allemaal al, ze zaten toen ook al in dat Schiekadeblok.  
(02:04 – 02:30)
- b. Uiteindelijk hebben we het als gemeente wel overgenomen. Dus na de eerste verkenning hebben we wel gezegd, als gemeente trekken we daar wel onze eigen conclusies uit. Want het is wel belangrijk..

T: als in van: dat jullie eigenaar zouden worden, of dat jullie echt weer zelf het plan zouden maken?

A: dat laatste, ja. We zijn al eigenaar, dus eh.. voor een groot deel. Maar eh.. nee, het bleek toch wel op een gegeven moment dat, je komt een heel eind met elkaar, maar laten we zeggen, aan het eind van dat proces wat we samen deden, lag er nog geen model op tafel waar iedereen nou van zei: wauw.. dat wordt het, weet je. Dus, nou, toen eh.. dat was natuurlijk ook best lastig.

T: dat was in eerste instantie wel het idee om met iedereen helemaal tot een concreet plan te komen, of was het echt meer het idee om iedereen in het begin te horen en daarna dat jullie er zelf mee gingen kijken?

A: nou, niet iedereen dus hè, alleen ZUS. Ik heb niet met allerlei andere mensen uit het gebied gesproken. We hebben echt gezegd: we doen het exclusief met ZUS. Gewoon vanwege hun betekenis voor dat gebied en hun kennis, hun vakkennis  
(09:16 – 10:27)

- c. T: is het dan misschien zo geweest dat eh.. als die partijen wat eerder waren geïnformeerd in die besluitvorming dat het dan anders had kunnen zijn?

A: ja, natuurlijk..

T: dat is natuurlijk makkelijk gezegd achteraf..

A: ja, inderdaad..

T: dat als ze wat eerder geïnformeerd zouden zijn, dat ze dan wat meer begrip hadden voor de situatie?

A: ja.. ja.. mijn eigen bescheiden rol van kritiek of eh.. vorm van kritiek op de projectleiders is ook dat ze dat, dat ze dat veel te braaf gedaan hebben. Ze hebben veel te braaf eh.. gewacht op de voorzitter van de commissie die zei: ja, je mag met ons praten. In die commissie zitten gewoon partijen, als je daarop afstapt en zegt: joh, kom eens kijken want we hebben wat eh.. wat volgens mij jullie best interessant zullen vinden. Je weet gewoon, iedere maand dat je verder merkt en die lui niet meeneemt, ja, dat is gewoon eh.. stap dichterbij naar de afgrond toe. Als je scriptie gaat over besluitvorming en de belangrijke processen, dan is dat wel les 1. Les 1 is: neem iedereen mee, zeker. Tenzij je politiek zo sterk staat weet je wel. 25 jaar geleden was de PVDA de baas in de stad, echt alles werd gewoon de PVDA beslist.

T: dat is ook gewoon omdat het nu wat meer vanuit onderaf het idee is gekomen, en vanaf onderaf die tijdelijkheid is gaan groeien, dat misschien ook meer het idee is van het concept dat iedereen gehoord wordt, denk ik?

A: ja, ja precies.  
(16:05 – 17:37)

#### Gerrit Schuurhuis

- a. Want wij waren natuurlijk wel zo dat we zeiden: moet je eens luisteren, wij zoeken samen, zo is dit project gefinancierd, we zoeken samen met de gemeente naar financiering. Dat hebben we ook gedaan. Wij hebben alles uitgezocht, anders waren we er nooit uitgekomen.

T: dus eigenlijk het top-down vanuit de gemeente is dat zij het groen licht kunnen geven?

G: ja, dat ze meewerken, dat ze medewerking verlenen aan een aantal mensen eh.. ja opdracht geven. Ik bedoel, als jij tegen een directeur zet ik ben voor de jongens van OLE (Open Lab Ebbinge) aan het werken, dan vraagt de directeur je gelijk wat dat is, OLE. En die weten dat dan nog niet. Wij hebben dus ook gezegd, dat was ook een beleidsambtenaar, die heeft ons ontzettend meegeholpen. We hebben toen geld losgekregen bij Mooi Nederland. Dat was een project voor de VROM. Dat hebben we ingeschreven voor een prijsvraag. Dat deden we allemaal samen met de gemeente, omdat ik in mijn vorige functie ook vaak met subsidies had gewerkt. Ons idee van OLE was dat wij zo een klein mogelijke organisatie moesten zijn. En op het moment dat we iets organiseren worden we groter en daarna weer kleiner. Het bestuur dat bestond uit drie parttimers waar ik er een van was, daar was ik ook zakelijk leider. Ik had een medewerker, dat was eigenlijk de assistent en ik had een iemand die ik inhuurde voor PR en communicatie. En voor de rest waren het eigenlijk allemaal ZZP'ers die ik inhuurde als er iets moest gebeuren. Dat was zo'n kleine organisatie, dus als je dan met subsidiegelden moet

werken en je moet dat verantwoorden, dan moet je al wel iemand van administratie inhuren en daar zijn we veel te klein voor. Dus gezegd, wij vragen dat aan namens de gemeente en die sluiten het geld door naar ons.  
(28:23 - 30:45)

- b. Dus daar ging zich een plan ontwikkelen, dat wij zeiden van nou, weet je wat wij eigenlijk zouden willen? Dat is tweemaal: om te laten zien wat je met tijdelijke leegstand kunt doen én om te laten zien dat dit een, middels allerlei activiteiten te ontwikkelen, hun laten zien dat dit een mooie woonomgeving is. Nou, daar hebben we een plan voor geschreven, staat ook in dit boek. En, eh.. toen zijn we aan het lobbyen gegaan met eh.. een aantal ondernemers die hier aan het bouwen waren. Dus de, dat moet je dan zo zien. Dit was een oude gasfabriek en dat is in het verleden is daar een consortium opgericht, om zegmaar dit hele gebied te gaan saneren. Dat was natuurlijk erg vervuild, dat is het nog steeds eigenlijk. Want je mag hier nog steeds niet zomaar iets in de grond stampen om groentes te verbouwen ofzo. Dus wat men gedaan heeft, is dit hele stuk, zo hier helemaal naar toe, dat is één grote parkeergarage geworden. Dat is de grootste parkeergarage van Noord-Europa, 1200 plaatsen. Met het idee, dat wij gaan bovenop die parkeergarage, gaan wij woningen bouwen. Dat was dus de blauwdruk. En die 1500 woningen, 1500 plaatsen, 1200-1500, plaatsen. Die waren dan bedoeld voor zoveel mensen \* 1.5, zoveel woningen \*1.5 en dan kwam je tot dit aantal. Nou dat was door de tijd heen, door de tijd is dat helemaal veranderd. Nu wordt het verhuurd aan het UMCG, dat zit hier, dat kun je daar zien.

T: dat hoge gebouw daarachter?

G: dat hoge gebouw ja. Het UMCG, het academisch ziekenhuis dat zit hier in de binnenstad. En die huren ook een gedeelte van die parkeergarage. Toen wij met dat plan begonnen, dat was even het uitstapje over van wat er lag, eh.. hebben wij de bouwers, dat was BAM in die tijd nog en MOES. En de gemeente, en de woningbouwcorporatie Nijensteek, die hier ook een groot aantal bezittingen had qua grond, hebben wij uitgenodigd en hebben we gezegd zo van, nou, wij willen dit gebied op deze manier gaan exploiteren. Daar eh.. dus dan moet er een plan komen, voor dat plan hebben we geld van jullie nodig. En hoeveel moet je hebben vroegen ze dan. Nou €60.000,-. Dus iedereen heeft €60.000,-, nou iedereen heeft zijn deel betaald. Dus we hebben een bidboek gemaakt toen, staat ook op onze site. Wat in grote lijnen de bedoeling was van dit gebied. En daarin hebben we gezegd, nou kijk, we willen dit stuk hebben om te laten zien, wat je in de tijdelijkheid kunt doen, met tijdelijke gebouwen. Nou die zijn er ook gekomen..  
(03:34 – 06:52)

- c. G: ja, je komt dan van wij moeten eerst dit, maar dan zegt de andere partij ja wij moeten dit. Nee, het is nog steeds niet aan de orde dat het niet doorgaat, maar we moeten nu wel bepaalde dingen uit gaan zoeken. Dat voert te ver in detail, maar zo ging het hier ook. Dat we vier maanden over de hekken gedaan hebben...

T: maar dat is dan weer gewoon allemaal omdat iedereen zijn procedure moet volgen?

G: iedereen moet zijn plasje doen zeg ik dan.. iedereen moet zijn zegje daarover doen. Het rare was, het begon met het voorbeeld van de hekken, dat hield de projectleider van dit gebied heel stoicijns aan vast. Toen kwam er iemand van zijn werk hier met wijkcoördinatoren. Toen zei die coördinator tegen die projectleider dat het helemaal niet kon wat hij wilde. Je hebt hier helemaal niks, je hebt hier of openbaar of semi-openbaar. Semi-openbaar is alleen maar van de hofjes. Hier in Groningen heb je nog een aantal van die oude hofjes, met hun eigen bestuur. Daar gaat 's avonds de deur dicht. Die is dan ook ommuurt, niet omhekt. Die wijkcoördinator zij dat dus tegen die projectleider, waarop die antwoordde: oh, zei tie, is dat zo? Ja, dus wat jij wil kan helemaal niet, dus nou dan moet je het maar anders doen. Daarvoor is dus al een hele welles-nietes discussie aan vooraf gegaan. Zo gaat dat dan..

(38:28 – 40:21)

- d. T: ja, zeg maar over dat communicatieproces, zou je dus best wel kunnen zeggen dat eigenlijk die eerste manier, gewoon de communicatie lijnrecht tegenover elkaar, ik vind dit, jij vindt dat en zo eigenlijk door blijven gaan, dat dat eigenlijk is gebeurd waardoor het heel lang duurde? Dat eigenlijk die tweede optie dus de dialoog aangaan, het echt verplaatsen in de ander, dat dat een betere optie is geweest?

G: ja, maar zo werkt het vaak niet. Dat is vaak in het begin aftasten, wie ben jij en wat moet je?

(41:38 – 42:11)

- e. Nou wij hebben ook tien geboden hoe je het aan zou kunnen pakken. Dat is dus niet eh.. er komen wel dingen in naar voren waarvan jij zou zeggen hoe heb je dat dan aangepakt. Nou, wij hebben geloof in de creatieve industrie als een hefboom voor stedelijke transformatie. Geef invloed zonder macht een kans, bottom-up en top-down werken samen. Dat hebben we heel goed meegemaakt. Wij hebben zoiets, neem een aanloop voordat je met z'n allen in het diepe springt. Wij hebben ook gemerkt dat we die steen in de vijver dat dat een behoorlijke werking heeft. Met nieuw plan komen, dat ze aanvankelijk zeggen wat is dit voor ongein, maar je merkt dat die mening verandert. En dat we geloven in maakbaarheid van een plek. En de traffic is een key voor het verbeteren van een plek op de mentale map. Ik zeg altijd tegen iemand, als die een tijdelijke plek heeft en die is niet ontsloten, dan hoef je er niet aan te beginnen.

(25:37 – 26:55)

#### Municipality of Groningen

- a. Dus in die zin is die betrokkenheid, met name van die winkeliersvereniging. Die hadden denk ik in eerste instantie, voor hun eigen bedrijfsvoering hadden ze een belang. Een deel woonde er ook, dus ook als bewoners/bedrijfseigenaar eh.. hebben ze zich daar hard voor gemaakt. Ik denk eh.. het feit dat die mensen gewoon hard getrokken hebben, dat een aantal mensen binnen de gemeenten, die er vanuit de gemeente bij betrokken waren, enthousiast geweest zijn. Dat heeft ertoe geleid dat er hier ook gewoon, hier, toen was er nog een dienst ruimtelijke ordening. Dat die mensen er vertrouwen in hadden gekregen.. en de eh.. de politiek in feite natuurlijk zich daar ook mee heeft, van we gaan hier achter staan, dit moeten we doen want uiteindelijk gaat dat positief werken.

(14:04 – 14:49)

- b. het was met name de bedrijvenvereniging die daar een trekkende rol in had. Die zei we moeten wat doen, want we zien, dit is eigenlijk een winkelstraat..

T: ja, ik heb toen in het studentenhotel gezeten en toen was het volgens mij dat tie naar een zijstraat wees en dat dat dan, hier is inderdaad..

S: ja dit straatje..

T: dat daar heel veel ondernemers zaten die gewoon merkten dat het minder liep..

S: ja, die Ebbingestraat die eh.. verloederde wat. Dus er was veel last, leestand en mensen hadden zoiets van ja, dit draagt niet bij. Iets wat eigenlijk stil ligt qua ontwikkeling. Daar kon ook niemand iets aan doen want er was ook geen mogelijkheid om woningen te verkopen. Het lag gewoon stil en er kwam ook geen beweging in.. en die hebben gezegd wat kunnen wij samen doen, om het gebied eh.. toch aantrekkelijker te maken en toen ontstond ook het idee van tijdelijkheid.. eh.. er waren een paar mensen binnen de gemeente, waaronder tjeff van Hiemsdijk, die projectleider, die op zich een eh.. ja, de oren goed open hadden zeg maar. Eh..

die ideeën van die vereniging in feite, de bedrijven, ook omarmde. Er was ook iemand bij beleid, ie dat omarmde. En die hebben binnen de gemeente gepromoot om ja, toch gehoord te geven aan die gedachten van die dingen..  
(06:17 – 07:40)

- c. T: heeft u het idee dat daar dan eh.. voldoende aandacht aan is gegeven. Als in, die spanning ontstond, of was het dan vooral het is maar tijdelijk, dus doe nu maar even snel dit.. dat je niet echt naar de beste oplossing zoekt, maar naar misschien de makkelijkste?

S: durf ik zo niet te zeggen.. Ik denk dat eh.. iedereen gewoon met een positieve instelling daar mee bezig is geweest. Dat de aandacht vanuit Ole er zeker is geweest, de aandacht vanuit de gemeente ook zeker. Maar ook, bomen groeien niet tot in de hemel.. Er moet wel, als het tijdelijk is, maak je toch elke keer wel de afweging, als we een investering moeten doen, kan het eraf  
(24:13 – 24:56)

- d. En dat was wel duwen en trekken ook hier intern, want er waren toch nog wel mensen die er toch wat vraagtekens hadden, gaat dit wel werken en hebben we daar wel wat aan.. Op een gegeven moment zie je dan toch dat mensen daar langzaam enthousiast voor worden end an krijg je er beweging in..

T: is het dan ook misschien dat mensen sceptisch zijn omdat het niet vanuit de gemeente zelf komt maar vanuit die mensen?

S: nee, dat valt dan op zich wel mee. Maar je merkt wel iets van aarzeling meer op het moment dat je zoiets daar neerzet.. Wat je eh.. traditioneel bij eh.. de vastgoedafdelingen ziet is dat ze zeggen op het moment dat wij gewoon eh.. in vinger geven is de hele hand weg. Dat ze bang zijn dat dingen niet meer terug te draaien zijn.  
(09:23 – 10:04)

- e. T: dus eigenlijk is het eh.. in grote lijnen goed verlopen, soepel verlopen alles. En dat is vooral te danken aan goeie communicatie tussen jullie en OLE? Als ik het zo samen kan vatten?

J: ja, met dat gezamenlijk overleg..

S: ja en dat de klik er gewoon was, dus ook het vertrouwen in elkaar.. ja, als dat er niet is.. wordt het lastig..  
(38:28 – 38:50)

- f. Volgens mij waren wel in die tijd, maar dat is al voor dat ik erbij betrokken was, vanuit de eh.. *hokters*? Enzo schoven mensen aan, ook in de klankboordgroep. Bewoners van die complexen die hier dus, de bloemhof enzo, die zijn op een gegeven moment daar ook bij betrokken geweest. Maar echt invloed van welke functies enzo komen, dat is denk ik beperkt geweest.  
(12:47 – 13:12)

#### Wilma Naaijer

- a. Heeft u het idee dat de ondernemers voldoende worden gehoord in de plannen en besluiten omtrent het Ebbingekwartier? **ja**  
Indien nee: hoe zou dit beter kunnen/hoe had dit beter gekund?

Had u het idee dat de ondernemers onderling echt samenwerkten om het project tot grotere hoogte te tillen? **Zeker wel waar het nieuwe, innovatieve ondernemers betreft. Voor bestaande ondernemingen is het vaak een project wat verder van hun bed staat**

Had u het idee dat de ondernemers t.o.v. andere actoren echt samenwerkten om het project tot grotere hoogte te tillen? **Ja zeker!!!**

Wout van Hees

- a. W: ja, en het is zo dat je ook wel een visie op de lange termijn moet hebben en ja een soort visie, noem het maar een visie. Eh.. die ook wel flexibel moet zijn, dat je mee kunt bewegen in de steeds snellere hervorming in de tijd. Maar je moet wel een stip op de horizon hebben en dat punt moet je dan ook actief mee aan de slag gaan. Zal de overheid ook wel een belangrijke rol in houden. Zeker in dit soort transformatiegebieden, binnenstedelijk. Daar moet gewoon geld bij.

T: hoe zou je de rol van de overheid in dit project beschrijven? Want je bent zelf dan de directeur vanuit de gemeente.. Hebben jullie dan ook echt een sturende rol, of is het meer een soort ondersteunende rol, zogen dat alles goed gaat?

W: nee het is wel echt een sturende rol. De gemeente moet sowieso al publieke besluiten zoals bestemmingsplan en vergunningen moeten ze ook afgeven.  
(15:32 – 16:25)

- b. Hebben die mensen daar zelf ook inspraak op, of gaan die waarschijnlijk, in hoeverre hebben zij?

W: hoe zij erin zijn gekomen?

T: nee over wat er met het complex gebeurt, hebben zij daar iets over te zeggen?

W: nouja, we hebben dus dat kringgesprek gehad met alle ondernemers, als directie. Nou hoe zien jullie je eigen positie, dat is nu een jaar geleden denk ik, in dit complex, vooral voor de toekomst. Dan merk je dat ondernemers vaker wat verder zijn dan dat wij zijn. Die zijn al aan het nadenken over andere locaties. Die denken ook aan, omdat ze gewoon te groot groeien, te veel massa nodig hebben en ook weten dat ze dat hier nu vrij goedkoop hebben, maar dat dat niet zo kan blijven. Omdat het natuurlijk ook commercieel gaat worden. Dus die zijn zelf al aan het kijken naar andere locaties. Hebben daar allerlei initiatieven al toe ontwikkeld  
(18:14 – 18:59)

- c. W: en vervolgens hoe ga je dat dan invullen. Dus het is goed als eerste stap die stip op die horizon te hebben. Hoe ga je het dan invullen? Ja, wat is dan de ruimte die je hebt? Want je hebt natuurlijk met eigenaren te maken, of ga je heel eh.. planmatig te werk.

T: eigenaar is dan de grondeigenaar?

W: ja, dus je hebt het ook niet allemaal meteen in de vingers. Je moet ook, dat vraagt ook tijd en jaren om aan te kopen, of niet. Want mensen kunnen misschien ook zelf plannen ontwikkelen. Dus die belangen spelen er ook. Maar we kunnen er niet meer omheen en je moet het ook niet willen. Dat merk je ook wel dat je gewoon je gesprek met de buurt, met belanghebbenden.. Cultuurhistorisch is het plangebied een heel belangrijk ding, cultureel erfgoed, industrieel erfgoed. Er ligt hier ook nog een oud fort, nou daar wil men ook iets van terugzien. Hier onder ligt de Romeinse stad, ja daar wil men ook iets met associëren met wat dat betekent en hoe we dat terugzien, wat betekent dat voor het plan, krijgen we dan Romeinse huisjes of badhuizen, noem het allemaal maar op. En daar kun je niet omheen, dat soort dingen. Daar zul je in je planontwikkeling rekening mee moeten houden en als je dat niet doet wordt je daar wel op aangesproken. Zo van hallo, dat komt vanuit de politiek vanuit moties, dat komt van uit media en de pers die daar invloed op hebben, met belanghebbenden en instituten zoals een cultuur platform.

T: dus eigenlijk is het dan dat je schematisch wil weergeven toch eigenlijk een soort wisselwerking daarin. Dus een pijltje in beide richtingen.

W: ja, het is ook niet meer zo dat we hier starten en dan gaan we hier luisteren en hier luisteren.. nee het is echt een iteratief proces noemen ze dat dan. Dus, het is ook wel eens teruggrijpen op en weer een stapje vooruit en weer terug en links en rechts en uiteindelijk moet je natuurlijk wel een keer.. je moet wel heel duidelijk zijn in waar je uit wil komen op enig moment. Ook een tijdshorizon moet er zijn en geld mee gemoeid is. Daartussen moet je de discussie met elkaar aangaan, maar er moet wel een keer besluit genomen worden. Dan kom je bij de overheid.  
(21:23 – 23:23)

- d. Eh.. heel veel discussie over gehad of we dat nu wel of niet zouden doen. Gemeente wilde heel snel, bouwfonds wat minder snel. Die hadden ook sterk het gevoel dat er dadelijk huurders en gebruikers in het pand zouden zitten die je er nooit meer uit krijgt. En wat betekent dat dan voor de toekomst, willen we dat wel? Eigenlijk niet, want we willen gewoon slopen. Nou eh.. na heel veel trek- en duw-werk hadden we samen toch wel de visie van placemaking, dat dat belangrijk is. Honigcomplex gaan we daarvoor inzetten, met alle risico's die erbij horen.  
(03:14 – 03:45)
- e. T: Dan weet ik u weer te vinden haha. Eens even kijken.. ehm.. zijn er in het proces dan ook dingen waarvan je nu denkt dat jullie dat misschien beter aan hadden kunnen pakken, of dingen in de communicatie dat je door had moeten geven

W: oh, zeker, oh jee..

T: dat heb je altijd wel denk ik..

W: en het is vaak dan ook geen onwil, maar het is vaak dan dat je zo met de dingen van de dag bezig bent en zo aan het voortgaan met zaken. Op een gegeven moment denk je dan ja, natuurlijk hadden we dat moeten doen. Hadden we even moeten zeggen, even mee moeten delen. Dat is er dan vaak gewoon bij ingeschoten en dat kan soms best, best heftige reacties opleveren.

T; is dat dan dat groepen zich daardoor buiten gesloten voelen, of wat is dat dan precies?

W: nou, onvoldoende gehoord. Voorbij eh.. gelopen.. Soms moet je daarin ook, dan moet je wel wat antenne voor hebben om dat goed te doen. Dat gaat niet altijd goed.. gaat niet altijd goed. Maar ook daar, als je zorgt dat je een goede band hebt en open en eerlijk bent en ook sorry kunt zeggen, ik ben het gewoon vergeten en had anders gemoeten. Dat werkt natuurlijk ook wel. Mensen moeten niet het gevoel hebben dat ze gesodemieterd worden. Dat er achter hun rug dingen bekonkeld worden, dan heb je wel echt de poppen aan het dansen..  
(39:22 – 40:36)

- f. T: ehm.. hmm.. en dan nog even terug naar de aanpak van het conflict he, zeg maar voor die keuze voor de groene optie of de rode optie. Is daar van tevoren ook echt over nagedacht? Van nou, we vinden het fijn om tijdens dit proces..

W: nee, dat is niet zo besproken.

T: dat is dan eigenlijk gewoon gaandeweg ontstaan?

W: ja dat is actie inderdaad, gewoon uitvoeren. Dat bespreek je dan hier wel aan tafel natuurlijk, hoe gaan we dat doen, hoe richten we dat proces in. Laat je ook vaststellen door de aandeelhouders van zo gaan we het. Want dat is wel iets waar wij voorstellen van maken op dat moment, maar er komt wel een voorstel, maar zo heel expliciet zoals jij het nu spiegeld gaan we voor de polderoplossing of voor de beste oplossing. Dat hebben we niet zo besproken. Uiteindelijk vinden we dat we voor de beste oplossing moeten gaan, maar dat kan ook de oranje oplossing zijn.

T: ja klopt, dus dat zie je dan vanzelf ook wel wat dan het beste is?

W: ja..  
(34:39 – 35:32)

#### Nico Wielhouwer

- a. u zij net al even dat iedereen eigenlijk wel het idee heeft dat ze hier samen iets moois van moeten maken. Is dat voor alle actoren hetzelfde, of is dat vooral vanuit de ondernemers gesproken?

N: eh.. ik denk vanuit alle actoren, maar wat ik net bedoelde was voornamelijk vanuit de ondernemers. Waarbij het ontwikkelbedrijf een hele belangrijke rol speelt om gewoon te faciliteren en mogelijkheden te creëren. Eh.. mooi voorbeeld is bijvoorbeeld hier de Beachfabriek. Je hebt de laserloods, je hebt de smeltkroes.. of de Meesterproef.. en als er een evenement is, dan heb je Simon, de evenementencoördinator hier, en die weet vaak voor verschillende bedrijven samen één concept te maken waarmee de klant bediend kan worden. Dan komt er een klant binnen, waar wel drie of vier bedrijven ja.. plezier van hebben.

T: is er verder ook wel dat iedereen op een gelijk niveau staat? Of er is dan nog wel echt verschil in hiërarchie dat bijvoorbeeld het ontwikkelingsbedrijf kan zeggen, van nou jongens, we gaand dit, dit en dit doen, dat iedereen dan moet luisteren?

N: nou, volgens mij werkt het zo dat als je tegen de meeste mensen zegt wat ze moeten doen, dat ze dit juist niet gaan doen.. en dus dat is ook niet echt de manier van werken. Het ontwikkelbedrijf heeft natuurlijk de eerste stem in de overeenkomst die er is. En als jij een goede huurovereenkomst maakt met duidelijke afspraken daarin.. ja dan kan je hen daarop aanspreken. Maar het is niet zo dat wij ze moeten gaan vertellen wat zij wel en niet moeten doen. Er zijn kaders afgesproken waarbinnen gewerkt moet worden. Kijk, dat is ook een van mijn rollen om dat..

T: om die kaders te behouden?

N: ja.. En dat valt niet altijd mee, vooral als het om verkeer gaat..

T: stel je moet dan zeggen, van nou jongens, ja dit kan gewoon niet, want dat hebben we niet afgesproken. Hoe reageren ze daar dan op?

N: eh.. als ik dat zeg, heb ik daar meestal ook wel een hele duidelijke zichtbare reden voor en dan reageren ze meestal ook van ja, je hebt gelijk..  
(06:43 – 07:49)

- b. N: voorbeeld eh.. twee bedrijven die met de deuren pal naast elkaar zitten. De een werkt met jongeren met een achterstand op de arbeidsmarkt en de andere heeft heel veel jonge kinderen, die het bedrijf in en uit rennen en dat zit elkaar af en toe stevig in de weg. Eh.. dat bedrijf, de stadsboom en het gebouw, die heeft ook, die maakt meubels, mooie meubels van..

T: ik ben er inderdaad wel eens binnen geweest ja..

N: schitterend spul.. als er dan allemaal jongeren over die meubels heen klimmen en klauteren, dan kan hij ze niet meer verkopen. Dus dat heeft eh.. ja, dat stoort elkaar en op een gegeven moment gaat die irritatie gaat oplopen. Maar goed, gisteren hebben we daar met elkaar over aan tafel gezeten en goede afspraken gemaakt.

T: hoe gaat dat dan zo'n gesprek in zijn werking? Is het dan dat u als bemiddelaar daartussen zit?

N: eh.. ja, hoe gaat zo'n gesprek? Je probeert natuurlijk te voelen, van waar liggen daar de gevoeligheden, waar liggen daar de kansen. Daar probeer je dan naartoe te sturen zonder hen te vertellen wat ze moeten dan.

T: dat ze er dan uiteindelijk allebei mee eens zijn?

N: dat het dan eigenlijk een beetje het idee is dat het hun idee is, dan werkt het.  
(04:00 – 05:15)

#### Ruud de Vries

- a. T: even kijken, de gemeente had dus geld laten liggen, waar ze eigenlijk dus eh.. waar ze dat fort mee terug hadden kunnen bouwen?

R: ja kijk, heel logisch van eh.. daar moet je dan ook gewoon begrip voor hebben.. ik geloof dat ze 120 miljoen hebben, op tafel hebben moeten leggen voor de grond enzovoort..

T: het kostte al genoeg..?

R: ja, kijk.. en men vergeet eigenlijk dat eh.. misschien heb je de discussie gelezen dat slachthuizen 21 miljoen gekost hebben..

T: nee, niet meegekregen..

R: om dat te verkrijgen.. maar om het Honigterrein te verkrijgen heeft 80 miljoen gekost.. weet je wel, dat soort dingen. Dus, dus, dan is het ook heel logisch dat je als je 80 miljoen investeert voor die grond voor de Honig, dat je daar niet eh.. 70 miljoen in het water kunt gooien omdat er niet gebouwd mag worden. Dat kan niet..

T: nee, zeker..

R: dat begrip dat eh.. dat kun je met je klompen aanvoelen, dat is heel logisch..

T: is dat misschien dan ook een van de belangrijkste factoren binnen dat eh.. ja, dat hele contact tussen jullie en de gemeente en het ontwikkelbedrijf? Ook al zijn jullie het niet eens, dat jullie elkaar wel begrijpen?

R: jawel, dat is een.. juist in de loop van de jaren. Die vertrouwenspositie die ik hier opgebouwd heb eh.. ja.. kijk..

T: is het dan ook dat je elkaar zeg maar zo goed leert kennen dat je weet waarom mensen bepaald handelen of ja.. of dat de gemeente bepaalde keuzes maakt?

R: eh.. een voorbeeld: we hadden aan tafel gezeten met Waalfront en daar werd gezegd dat bepaalde dingen onder embargo aan ons mede zijn gedeeld, prima. Daar houd je je dan ook aan.. Twee dagen erna staat de hele Gelderlander helemaal vol van eh.. over de situatie die wij

als embargo gehoord hadden. Dan klim ik behoorlijk in de pen, want dan schiet me helemaal in het verkeerde keelgat! Toen heb ik een hele kwaai brief geschreven naar eh.. naar Wout van Hees, naar de directie Waalfront onder andere Wout van Hees. Ook naar de gemeente Nijmegen en de Gelderlander. Toen.. eh.. die brief die is behandeld, toen belde Wout van Hees mij op: god Ruud, zei tie, waarom, waarom heb je dit gedaan? Ik zeg: omdat jullie zo achterlijk zijn om het wel in de krant te publiceren en wij twee dagen van tevoren onze bek moeten houden. Dat vind ik dan gewoon niet eerlijk.. wees dan eh.. zeg dan gewoon van: eh.. over twee dagen is het publiekelijk, maar niet dat wij totaal niks mogen zegen en dat een ander er mee gaat lopen.. En we hebben toen behoorlijk met de koppen tegen elkaar gestaan en hij zij ook, nou als je zoiets nog een keer hebt, trek aan de bel of kom langs of weet ik veel. Of ik kom bij je langs en dat doet die dan tegenwoordig ook..

T: dan komt tie ook even paaseitjes eten?

R: nee, maar dan weet je ook wat je aan elkaar hebt.. en dan moet ik heel eerlijk toegeven, daar ben ik een vreselijk eigenwijze gozer in.. gelukkig ben ik nog steeds bereid om namens de wijk dat soort dingen dan heel even op te pikken. Want wie ben ik? Ik ben gewoon maar een burger, ik moet keihard werken voor mijn centen, om m'n hoofd boven water te houden, heel simpel. En dan ga je je ook nog eens bemoeien met de wijk. Je kunt ook zeggen: weet je wat je kunt, dikke lul drie bier, ik woon hier, maar zoek het heel even uit.. Gelukkig ben je namens de wijk en dan durf ik af en toe te zeggen, waar haal je het recht vandaan om namens de wijk te praten? Ook dat hè. Want als je je kop boven het maaiveld uitsteekt, die is er zo vanaf gemaaid. Ook als je een bedrijf hebt.. Dan laten ze je ook links liggen. Maar je bent bereid om dat te doen en zonder eigenbelang hè. Want bij alles wat ik de 50 jaar dat ik eh.. sociaal bezig ben, heb ik nog nooit mijn bedrijf voorop gesteld. Ik doe het niet om, om een winstbejag voor het bedrijf te krijgen. Ik heb, stroop altijd mijn mouwen op voor de wijk. En eh.. dat begrip is heel duidelijk aanwezig.  
(18:49 – 23:40)

- b. de verstandhouding tussen de actoren. Hadden jullie echt met z'n allen.. dus met de wijk, met de ondernemers, met de gemeente eh.. het idee dat jullie echt samen aan het werken waren, of was het ook wel eens momenten dat jullie toch elkaar tegen aan het werken waren?

R: nou, bij de.. nee.. tegenwerken niet. Ik geloof dat eh.. als je met de directie van het Waalfront, er zijn enkele, er zijn avonden geweest dat men dingen presenteert wat er allemaal mogelijk is en dan, dan staat de Rabobank en de gemeente aan een kant en de wijkbewoners en de ondernemers aan de andere kant. En dan kun je zien dat je wel samen optrekt richting eh.. het grote logge blok hé. Dat wel.. maar, ja.. je blijft toch altijd eh.. aparte belangen houden. Wij willen een leefbare wijk overhouden, met in de achterhoofd dat je het industriële verleden terug wilt zien. En die bedrijven willen ruimte hebben om alleen maar te werken en of dat de vrolijke vierkante meter aan de buitenkant leuk aangekleed is, dat interesseert ze dan geen bal, als de huur maar laag is. Dus die belangen zijn heel tegenstrijdig eigenlijk. Maar, je probeert wel gezamenlijk voor elkaar te krijgen dat die mogelijkheden aanwezig blijven.  
(07:18 – 08:51)

- c. Maar dat zorgt er dan wel voor dat vanuit de gemeente de wijk zeg maar.. jullie in het gesprek een stuk serieuzer genomen worden?

R: ja, we worden wel zeker serieus genomen.

T: zou u dan omschrijven dat jullie een echt inspraak hebben of meer invloed op de besluiten? Dus dat je echt kunt zeggen wat gedaan zou moeten worden, of dat jullie suggesties kunnen geven?

R: ja.. inspraak is een groot woord eh.. overleg. In het overleg kun je elkaar proberen te overtuigen. Ik vind inspraak eh.. zo'n vies woord. Je mag binnen drie minuten je zegje doen en dan wordt er niks mee gedaan. Nee, maar het is, het is echt gezamenlijk consensus proberen te bereiken. Vertrouwen proberen voor elkaar te begrijpen. Dat je elkaar serieus blijft nemen. En dat gevoel, dat gevoel dat is er. Dat is moeilijk geweest.. we hebben echt met de koppen tegen elkaar gestaan. Zowel directie waalfront over de Honig-situatie en alles wat daarbij komt. Maar gelukkig zijn we het laatste half jaar dichter tot elkaar gekomen. En Wout van Hees bijvoorbeeld, die ken ik al jaren vanuit de gemeente. Daar had hij eerst een andere functie. Dus we kennen elkaar ook op andere fronten. En we weten ook wat we aan elkaar hebben  
(02:29 – 04:04)