The (mis)alignment of user involvement with development objectives



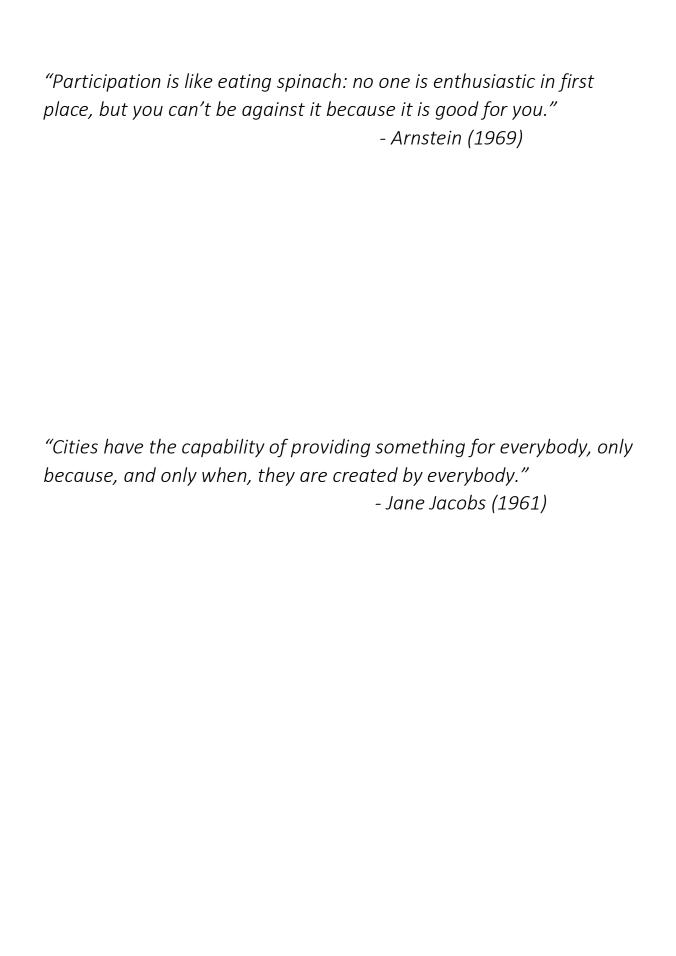
An exploration of the alignment of private-led user involvement with the objectives of the private developer, municipalities and users in urban renewal projects.

Master thesis Dana Visser

P5 report 21-01-2021







Prologue

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Foreword

Dear reader,

This thesis is the final report of my graduation for the master Management in the built environment at the faculty of Architecture at the Technical University of Delft. The research can be placed in the field of Urban Area Development, with the theme user involvement.

The research focusses on urban areas. The complexity of urban areas has always fascinated me: the different layers of an urban pattern, the people and how their individual lives come together and the governance behind it.

The social side of the built environment has interested me during my full study life in Delft. I believe that good designs can form great societies and vice versa. The discussion between top-down or bottom-up still inspires me and appears to be about much more than just the built environment. At the faculty of architecture, graduation takes one academic year. I was looking foreword to focus on my favourite topic and to become an expert over the year. In retrospect, I believe I am an expert in my own research, but not about the entire discussion, which makes my motivation to explore this topic even more in my future career.

Throughout the report, my personal motivation and experiences are undoubtedly noticeable. Hopefully, the report serves as a tool for experts to grow experience, as motivation for researchers to explore the topic even more and for urban planners to make cities even better.

Enjoy reading!

Dana Visser

Acknowledgement

The last year has been a challenging year, but it was a year I can be proud of. The influences of the COVID-19 pandemic had a serious influence on my motivation. The lack of informal contacts with peer students, holidays and recreation with friends has been a challenge for me, while I was distracted by the news reports and adaptation to the new ways of living. Therefore, I was pleased to have the opportunity to do my internship and part-time work at Van Wijnen. This internship offered me practical insights and had grown my motivation for the relevance of my research. Moreover, it was helpful to get in touch with colleagues who were experts in the field. The part-time work in a user involvement process provided the variety in work I needed, without losing focus on my research.

I want to thank my mentor Ward Koppejan, developer at Van Wijnen. With his uncomplicated view on the situation, I was able to make my research applicable to practice. His positivity and support had motivated me to keep going when I was struggling with the size of the project.

Of course, I want to thank my mentors from the TU Delft as well. Darinka Czischke has pushed me to the limit in terms of academic writing. Making the research academical was a challenge she got me through. By stressing the importance of consistency, relevance and correctness, my final thesis is now a relevant addition to the academic field.

My other mentor Céline Janssen has been a great help to find direction in the topic. Her PHD about social sustainable urban area developments was useful for finding sources and research examples. Meanwhile, she was of great help to translate my ideas into a structural report.

I want to thank my mom, who always has the patience to listen to my struggles and to review my work in detail. Her years of experience in the academic field were helpful to add guidance in person when my teachers were only available online (due to the COVID measures).

Next to that, the discussions I had with my father who shares my interests were a motivation to me. And of course, my boyfriend was of great importance for me to share moments of enthusiasm and frustration with.

Finally, I want to thank my friends, my brother and his girlfriend who helped me in English writing and offered mental support.

Abstract

Urban renewal is seen as an opportunity to improve the environmental and socio-economic performance of cities. Yet, it appears hard to tackle the social challenges by a focus on spatial interventions only. A more participating society and more user involvement could help to improve the social environment. Dutch urban area development, such as urban renewal, is becoming more privateled, while the government is trying to shift responsibilities. The Environment and Planning Act is a tool to ensure the involvement of users during private-led developments.

In theory, an involvement process can contribute to the objectives of the most important stakeholders in urban renewal projects: the government, users and private developers. Since these potentials in practice are often not achieved, literature advises to involve users early and intensively in the development process and to develop with flexibility along the process. However, for each project, boundaries limit the development options for a private developer and therefore, as well the options to involve users. It seems that private developers do not have enough room for involvement to align the involvement process with the objectives of the three stakeholders. This study explores that hypothesis. Considering the perspective of the private developer, the main question of this research is: to what extent do the development boundaries leave enough room for private developers to align user involvement with the objectives of users, the municipality and the developer themselves?

The research is conducted through a case study analysis of three private-led urban renewal projects in which users were involved. Developers, municipal officials and users were interviewed to gain insights.

The analyses show how development boundaries are defined, what room is left for user involvement and how the involvement process aligns with the objectives of the three parties. By considering the developers perspective, it is explored why the current involvement processes are not reaching their full potential as described in theory.

This study shows that full alignment is difficult due to conflicting demands. Municipal broader, cross border objectives often conflict with those of the local users. It appears that the boundaries defined by the municipality are quite fixed, while those of the developers are flexible. This flexibility could be used when there is a lack of support for the plans. Since full alignment seems impossible, a second interview round provides insights into what extend of alignment would be important for private developers to aim for. For developers, long term business continuity and a positive corporate image are important to ensure profit gaining in the future. For them, this is more important than profit gaining in the short term. Flexibility can be found in the development boundaries when these long term objectives seem to be threatened. Game theory, approaching user involvement as a negotiation process and integral development offer opportunities for private developers to improve the alignment of everyone's objectives with user involvement without having to adjust their development boundaries, unplanned. This will need to be further explored in new research.

The insights from this study provide knowledge about the relation between the important stakeholders in urban renewal projects and how they influence a user involvement process. This new knowledge can help to reach more potentials of user involvement in practice.

Keywords

Urban renewal/ Social city performances/User involvement/Private-led development/ Development boundaries/Alignment of objectives/Environment and Planning Act

Summary

This summary leaves out references. For the full argumentation, the original texts can be consulted.

Introduction

1. User involvement

Due to rising housing pressure and lack of development ground, there is an increasing focus on urban renewal. Urban renewal is seen as an opportunity to improve the environmental and socio-economic performance of cities. Yet, it appears hard to reach social challenges, when looking at previous attempts to improve neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. According to critics, spatial planners and politicians focus too much on spatial interventions, without considering the users and the effects on the surrounding. Therefore there is a call for more user involvement, to improve the social effects of developments. Meanwhile, the responsibilities for developments and the corresponding user involvement are shifting from government to private parties. And although private developers could benefit from user involvement, this seems not to be acknowledged enough. User involvement seems to be seen as just a legal check-off which costs money, without participants actually having an influence on the decision making.

This research explores the alignment of private-led user involvement processes of urban renewal projects with the objectives of governments, users and finally the private developers. By understanding why private-led user involvement does not reach its full potential, this research aims to contribute to the enhancement of social performances of cities by urban renewal projects.

The Environment and Planning Act aims to reach social objectives with development projects. With that, the importance of private-led user involvement in the Netherlands increases, which makes this research societal relevant. The scientific relevance is that it provides an elaboration of the objectives, influence and perception of the stakeholders throughout user involvement processes. The findings would therefore be relevant for governmental parties and users too, even though this research focusses on the perspective of private developers.

The research is conducted in an internship at Van Wijnen West. The projects for this research are all private-led urban renewal projects by Van Wijnen.

Theoretical framework

2. User involvement

Users are all those who have an operational connection to what is built. User involvement is the activity of the (private) developer considering the views and demands of users on decision making, along the various steps of the ladder of involvement. Finally, the definition of user involvement process in this report is: user involvement that consists of *who* is involved, on *what level*, *in what* and *when*.

3. Social city improvements

Urban renewal projects can improve the performances of cities in three aspects: environmental, social and economic. Social improvement needs social sustainable developments. However, there is a lack of (common) understanding of social sustainability. A social sustainable development facilitates the needs and well-being of individuals and the community of current and future generations. The definition is a triad: consisting of physical elements, non-physical elements and perception. It appears to be challenging for spatial planners to design for the non-physical elements and perception since there is a gap between public thinking and experts. User involvement can help to fill that gap and therefore, to improve the social sustainability of developments.

4. Shifting responsibilities

In the Netherlands, it is argued that the government should retreat. The belief is that the government currently is limiting local initiatives, innovations and market forces. By shifting responsibilities to the

market and society, the view is that local challenges could be tackled more effectively and that public expenditures would be made more efficient. In the new responsibility model, there are more private liabilities, more contribution from the society and market parties, and smaller control from the state. The government defines goals and conditions for laws to form covenants with private parties. The pursuit of these goals is executed by the society, market and social organizations. Therefore, the Environment and Planning Act (which will be launched in the coming year) aims to create a clearer overview of development possibilities and to reduce the procedure time to get permits. The aim is to encourage initiatives and innovation. However, when responsibilities are shifted to the market and society, the threat is that public services are impoverished. Private parties would be too much focused on short term and on profit gaining, while the needs of the society are not enough served. Therefore, The Environment and Planning Ac also aims for local citizens to have more influence on their own environment. Development plans then are obliged to be transparent towards society and have to be responsive to input from local stakeholders. It requires a sharper focus on user involvement. Meanwhile, municipalities are searching for soft means to motivate developers to enhance social value in urban area development. One method would be to integrate the potential value creation in the investment costs.

5. The opportunities

This report focusses on the three most important stakeholders in urban renewal projects: the private parties, public parties and the society. Specific for this report these are:

- The private housing developer, independent or contractor-led
- The local government (municipality)
- The users:

The occupants of the new development

The local community

Local entrepreneurs

For each of them, user involvement offers opportunities to contribute to their objectives. There are several types of values to be created through user involvement: exchange value, use value, social value, environmental value, image value and cultural value.

For private developers, user involvement can help to increase public support for the development, which can reduce the time of permit applications. Risks of unexpected delays are then taken away as well. This prevents extra costs for, by example, rejection of plans, while it can add value to the end product. Therefore it contributes to profit gaining, which is exchange value. Finally, a successful process of user involvement creates positive branding and trust for new developments, thus contributing to business continuity and enterprise image and brand, which is use-value and image value.

For the local government, user involvement can help to have a better understanding of local demands, stronger social cohesion, a bridged gap between citizens and authorities and public support for developments and policies. With that, it contributes to social harmony and stability, which is social value. Secondly, it improves the attachment to living environments and creates more participating communities: stimulating initiatives and innovation. With that, it contributes to environmental quality improvement, which is image, cultural and environmental value.

For users, user involvement offers opportunities to improve the understanding of developers of local demands, which increases exchange value, since houses can be more worthy. This also contributes to the improvement of the living conditions, which are image value, environmental value and use-value. More attachment to the living environment and more participating communities with more innovation and initiatives also contribute to the living conditions. Finally, user involvement can improve social cohesion and therefore improve social welfare (social value). Since this report focuses on private-led user involvement, the alignment of these objectives is considered from the perspective of the private developer.

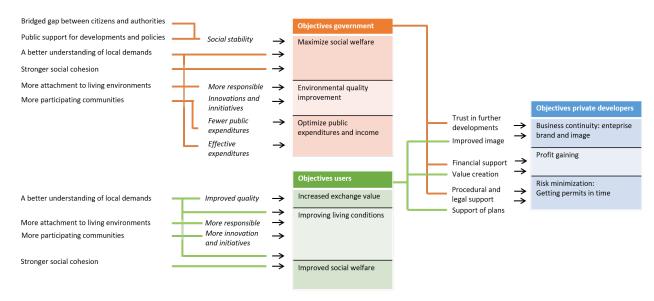


Figure I - Theoretical alignment of user involvement with the objectives of the government, users and the private developer. (own figure)

6. Room for improvement in the current situation

Although in theory user involvement can contribute to the objectives of the stakeholders, in practice, this is often not the case: users are often frustrated because of the way they were involved, for developers user involvement is seen as a time and money consuming activity, and for municipalities, user involvement often does not reach the social outcome, nor increases trust in developments. Because of frustration earlier, users seem not to be willing to participate as much as envisioned by the organizers. Other users are not able to participate or not reached by the involvement method. Meanwhile, the users who do participate can act with opportunistic and short term vision. Therefore there is a misrepresentation of societal needs. Co-creation projects seem to be examples of successful user involvement projects in which all parties benefit from the collaboration. However, these projects often depend on financial or procedural support from public parties, which is not likely to happen on a big scale in the perspective of a retreating government.

7. Theoretical advice to reach potential benefits of user involvement

To reach more potentials with user involvement, the advice is to involve users in an inclusive, responsive and interactive manner, with flexible development decisions. They are preferably involved early and within their field of interests, not sticking to fixed involvement topics or with a fixed level of influence. There is a variety of checklists to pursue these approaches.

8. Development boundaries and the room for user involvement

However, for each project, development options are limited by development boundaries. With this, the options to involve users (room for involvement) are also limited. The different types of development boundaries are preconditions (to ensure the feasibility of the project, such as finances), visions, legal restrictions and practical limitations. Especially the legal restrictions seem to offer little flexibility. Moreover, governments seem not to be able to truly shift responsibilities to private parties and users. They define many boundaries to control the development outcomes, so broader, cross border objectives do not come to naught.

9. Involvement strategy of Van Wijnen

The involvement strategy of Van Wijnen shows plans to involve users *after* the development boundaries are explored. This means that the options for user involvement is limited by these boundaries.

Research design and methodology

10. Research design and methodology

The final problem statement is shown in the conceptual framework. Urban renewal projects bring in the opportunity to improve the city performances, but it appears hard to deal with social challenges. With a shift of responsibility, the focus is set on private-led user involvement, in order to respond to these social challenges. In theory, it is well known how user involvement could be aligned with the objectives of users, the government and the private developer. In practice, it is often not the case. Early involvement and offering more flexible plans seem to be solutions to improve the alignment. However, development boundaries defined by the government and developing parties may limit the options for the private-led user involvement, not reaching its potential alignment.

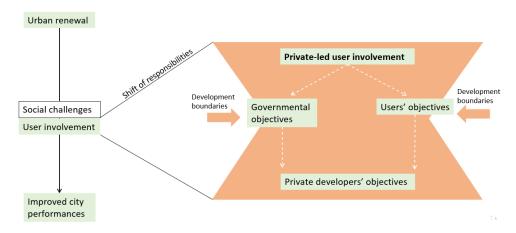


Figure II – Conceptual model. (Own figure)

The main question for this research is:

To what extent do the development boundaries leave enough room for private developers to align user involvement with the objectives of users, the municipality and the developer themselves?

Three private-led urban renewal projects provide practical insights to form answers for the research. This experience-based research is empirical. Exploring how the process is viewed from different perspectives requires a qualitative study design. The data is collected through semi-structured interviews with users, private developers and municipal officials for each case.

The sub-questions are:

- 1. How are development boundaries defined and by whom?
- 2. What room is left for the developer to involve users?
- 3. To what extent are user involvement processes aligned with objectives of the municipality, the users and the developer?

Each case study provides lessons that are learned. These can be used for practical recommendations, so private developers can improve the way they involve users in the future.

11. Case selection

The cases selected are all urban renewal housing projects, private-led, impacting the surrounding, with user involvement and recently developed.

The cases selected are:

Zijdebalen in Utrecht, a transformation from industrial to residential

Teding van Berkhoutlaan in Delft, transformation school area to residential

Parkweg-midden in Schiedam, redevelopment post-war neighborhood

For each case users are selected for the interviews. All users were active participants during the involvement processes and are engaged with their neighborhood. However, they do not fully represent all users.

Results

12 Results

Definition of boundaries and room for user involvement

In all cases, the municipality defines the first development boundaries through a vision. Most of the legal requirements are formed through democracy. The rest of the definition of boundaries really depends on the type of development process, the type of agreement and the context. It varies per case which boundaries are defined by whom and why. It appears that boundaries are defined to ensure the pursuit of objectives.

In general, private developers define boundaries to ensure the feasibility of the developments. Municipalities form boundaries that embrace broader, cross-border objectives. Users define boundaries to preserve the quality of their living environment. However, the boundaries set by the users do not seem to be fixed. At Zijdebalen, users were involved in the forming of the land-use plan. With this land-use plan, the room for involvement later was small, yet quite in line with the interests of the users. Similarly, users were involved in the preparation of the tender for Parkweg-midden. At Teding van Berkhoutlaan, users were involved after the municipality and developer had defined their boundaries. This case shows how those boundaries are flexible when there is too little room for involvement.

However, this room for involvement seems to be flexible. The intended user involvement, therefore, may vary from the actual user involvement. It appears that some of the defined boundaries are flexible, so the room for involvement could be expended when it does not reach its anticipated result. In some cases, this flexibility was part of a negotiation strategy of the developers. However, unplanned, these changes can have a negative impact on the objectives of the developers.

Alignment of objectives

The objectives of the stakeholders are never fully aligned. Often, broader, cross-border objectives of municipalities and reaching for the highest profit and lowest risks from the developer are conflicting with the objectives of users. In all cases, users do not fully get the level of influence they would prefer. Objectives of municipalities are hardly ever conflicting with those of the developer since these parties usually come to agreements before the private-led user involvement process starts. Users only really limit the objectives of municipalities and developers when the proposed development harms their own and current living environment. In those cases, users can make an objection for the plans made by the municipalities or developers

All three cases have shown in their way that user involvement brings in opportunities to improve the quality of the design and to lower risks for the developer, provided that the users are being heard. Zijdebalen and Teding van Berkhoutlaan have shown that not necessarily the outcome, but the process of user involvement is important for the support by users.

13 Allowances of misalignment

Since it appears to be complex to fully align user involvement with all objectives, another interview round has been conducted to explore the priorities of private developers. When is misalignment allowed, or in other words: what extend of alignment is needed for private developers? It appears that the objectives of the private developers can not be put in order of priority since they are interrelated. When one objective is not gained, the other is threatened. The most important focus appears to be business continuity and a positive corporate image to ensure profit gaining in the long term. This is more important than gaining profit in the short term. Private developers will have to estimate per project which objectives of users and municipalities are important in order not to risk their business continuity or positive corporate image. It appears that the support of the municipality is more important to achieve corporate objectives. However, as the municipality is controlled by political parties, who represent the users, the users' support is indirectly important too.

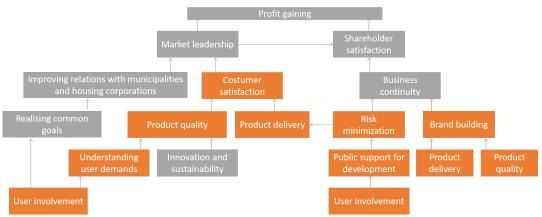


Figure III - Layering of objectives private developer. In orange all objectives directly related to user involvement. (own figure)

14 Approaching the complexity of different perspectives

As this report describes, it is likely that the expectations of user involvement grow in the future. Governments are searching for means to integrated social value creation in investments, which will make it financially relevant for developers to improve user involvement. Moreover, the Environment and Planning Act is likely to be launched soon. As described in this report, literature provides a checklist to prevent frustrated and excluded users. Neither of the case studies matched this checklist completely. This suggests there is room for improvement. Game theory and considering user involvement as a type of negotiation can help private developers to deal with the complexity of different perspectives. These methods help to explore the objectives of the other parties, estimate the risks of misalignment and to find consensus.

Discussion and conclusions

15 Discussion

Development boundaries and room for involvement

Although developers explore boundaries before they involve users, the user involvement is not literally derived from the development boundaries as was assumed through literature. It appears that users can be involved in the exploration of the potential development options and the definition of boundaries and that earlier defined boundaries can be shifted by the municipality and developer.

It appears that indeed the legal restrictions can be fixed and mismatching the local demands. However, in some cases, municipalities can decide to change boundaries when the continuity of the development comes to naught. In practice, the municipalities do not limit themselves to soft means to steer the development outcomes. In none of the cases, the municipality supported the developers in a financial way because of user involvement, what was suggested in the literature.

Surprisingly, for private developers, financial objectives are not decisive in their choice of how to involve users. It appears that the business continuity and image of the whole corporation are more important than the financial feasibility of one project.

In literature, it was not mentioned how users could influence the development options. In practice, it appears that their demands can be considered to be boundaries, although not fixed ones. Their demands only really influence the development options when their lack of support threatens the objectives of the developer or municipality.

Although not being part of the research, interesting was to explore how the role divisions between developers and municipalities differed per case. It appears that the role division affects the influence that developers have on the boundaries and the way they can involve users. When municipalities take a more active role, they form more boundaries which have affect on the possible user involvement. In these cases, the shift of responsibilities is indeed limited, just as concluded from literature.

User involvement process

The report described how user involvement processes show room for improvement. In practice, they indeed appear to require improvement. None of the cases exactly followed the theoretical advice and in all cases, users were more or less frustrated. This frustration was caused by the lack of influence they had or because the involvement method did not meet their interests. However, this frustration has a different load per case and different consequences for the process. The case descriptions can be used to grow experience about how frustration among users arises and how that can be approached or prevented.

There indeed appears to be a gap between 'public thinking' (users) and the 'experts' (developers and municipal officials). What is surprising is that this gap appears to increase when private parties take the lead for user involvement.

Considering critical moments to involve users, it appears that users indeed are preferably involved early, when they can still be involved in decisions about program and building volumes. However, even when users are involved in a later stage, user involvement can still be useful to find a compromise for mismatching demands.

Interesting case results are that in none of the cases, the developers explored what type on involvement process would match the local culture, and without offering a variety of means. Therefore types of users are not reached, and not all demands are explored. This issue nowadays is not that problematic for developers, yet will probably become more important in the future.

Alignment of objectives

Interesting results are that social aspects did not come to light as much as expected from the literature. This can be explained by the argumentation that users act short term and opportunistic, without considering social aspects. Or that the social aspects are too vague for them to include. Interviewed municipal officials explain that aiming for social objectives through user involvement is too optimistic. Nevertheless, Parkweg shows social objectives for all parties, likely because this is a relatively new development.

In practice, developers do not seem to acknowledge the financial benefits of user involvement as was explored in theory. Yet, positive branding and business continuity appear to be important for developers to ensure future profit making of the company.

16 Recommendation for future research

Recommendations for further research are a quantitative study to validate the findings for a larger sample of each stakeholder. Another research could explore to what extend private developers can take responsibility for the negative social side effects of user involvement. Further research can explore how different political environments could influence private-led user involvement. Finally, the application of integral development, game theory and considering user involvement as a negotiation process can be explored from the perspective of the private developer.

17 Practical recommendation

Four practical recommendations are provided for private developers.

- 1. Do not take development boundaries for granted: Explore the needed room for involvement and adjust the boundaries when possible. 2. With boundaries comes responsibility: The parties that show too little flexibility in their boundaries are then responsible for those extra risks.
- 3. Continuous and complete user involvement: Although now inclusive and complete user involvement might not seem to be important for private developers, this importance is likely to grow in the future. 4. Involving users is a dialogue: explain listen and discuss: By just informing users, their demands are not explored, while frustrations do not come to light. Therefore a responsive involvement method would be important.

Game theory offers opportunities to explore demands early in the process, so adjustments of boundaries later in the process can be prevented.

18 Conclusion

This research provides insights into the room for private developers to align user involvement with the objectives of users, the municipality and the developers. With this, it aims to contribute to the improvement of user involvement, so the social performances of cities by urban renewal projects could be improved.

The research shows that the theory where private-led user involvement can be aligned with the objectives of the stakeholders is often not completely practiced. The case studies have provided a preliminary, descriptive answer to the sub-questions. It appears that the alignment of objectives is a grey zone in which full alignment does not seem to be possible. Another round of interviews explores what extend of alignment private developers would aim for.

The conclusion is that it appears complex to fully align the objectives of all parties due to conflicting demands. These conflicts are between the broader, cross-border objectives versus the local demands of users. These municipal boundaries are quite fixed since they are democratically complex. It even appears that municipalities can form new boundaries throughout the process. When this happens, responsibility is shifted back to the municipalities. For private developers, the support of the municipality appears to be most important, although the support of users is often related to that. For the users, it appears to be deciding whether their current living environment is going to be harmed. Even though they always aim for an improvement of their living environment, this was never decisive for their support. Users define boundaries, but these do not seem to be considered fixed by the developers and municipality unless the users appeal against plans. Private developers define boundaries themselves in order to ensure the feasibility of the developments. Only when users are not supportive of the plans, the defined boundaries of the developer seem to be flexible. This can also be used as a tool to negotiate, provided that it was incorporated in the plan.

For private developers, it is most important to ensure their business continuity and corporate image, to remain profit gaining in the long term. They will have to estimate the needed alignment with the users and municipalities in order to guard these objectives. The gained insights of this report can help private developers to have a better understanding of the objectives of the users and municipalities and how they perceive a user involvement process. Game theory and approaching user involvement as a negotiation process can help to find consensus. Although the applicability for private developers to use these approaches would need to be further explored in new research.

Validity

A critical note on the results is that they are not specific. This is because interviewees were not able to provide answers that can be used in general. For instance, the objectives mentioned were not SMART (specific, measurable, attainable, relevant, and/or time-bound).

Another critical note is that the representability of the interviewees requires more quantitative research to validate the findings.

Still, this qualitative research has had benefits compared to quantitative research: this research method had provided a broad understanding of the different perspectives of stakeholders, how decisions are made, how boundaries develop and what the objectives of each party are.

Research contribution

This research provides relevant new knowledge for the increasing focus on user involvement and social value creation in urban renewal projects. The theory is combined from a new perspective. Instead of focusing on one party, this research explores the interrelation between the objectives of the key players in urban renewal projects and how they perceive an involvement process. The findings of this research can be applied by private developers to understand the perspective of users and municipalities and to be able to estimate the needed alignment and how to find consensus. The findings are therefore relevant for governmental parties and users too, even though the conclusion focusses on the perspective of the private developer.

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Introduction

1 Introduction

Land that is available for development is becoming scarce in western Dutch cities, while the housing pressure is rising (Vermeeren, 2018). Vermeeren explains that municipalities are encouraged to use space inside cities more efficient instead of using green land.

Within cities, municipalities are regenerating derelict places first, but when they run out, they would have to restructure functional places as well (Tosics, 2017). These types of developments are called urban renewal developments (Couch, 1990): "Urban renewal can be understood as the refurbishment, conversion or replacement of existing urban fabric".

Urban renewal can be seen as terminology to cover all interventions that improve the physical, social-economic and ecological aspects of urban areas with pre-existing uses and can be reached with a variety of actions like redeveloping, rehabilitation and heritage preservation (Zeng, Shen and Wang, 2014).

Mayer, van Bueren, Bots and van der Voort (2005) describe that these urban renewal projects offer opportunities to improve the performance of cities in environmental and in socio-economic respects. Yet, it appears that social goals are difficult to tackle by means of spatial interventions when looking at previous attempts to improve problematic neighbourhoods in the Netherlands (Engbersen, Snel and Boom, 2007; Permentier, Kullberg and Noije, 2013).

Adams and Tiesdell (2012) warn that development projects often stand on their own with too little relation and consideration of side effects with and to the surrounding. They add that urban planners and politicians stick too much to plans and regulations: an "excessive concentration of the means". For Adams and Tiesdell, one important aspect of a successful place is that the place is meant for people, meaning that it suits their activities, has a human scale and is comfortable to stay. In their belief, making places successful requires the involvement of all who shape the urban environment, meaning that everyday users are as important as designers (Adams and Tiesdell, 2012).

Zeng et al. (2014) conclude that to achieve social sustainable urban renewal, both the spatial dimension and the social dimension should be addressed. They argue that the inhabitants (users) should benefit from the developments and plead for involving users to understand them best.

Borst and Dirks (2020) evoke that involving local residents is needed to prevent aversion to spatial plans in order to make them successful.

Interesting is that Mulder (2018) claims that social change should come forth from the society. "Empowerment is a crucial construct in connecting individual wellbeing with a larger environment; it links individual capabilities, competencies, and proactive behaviours to social policy and social change." (pg. 178).

The quotes above are just a selection of pleads to involve users in spatial plans in order to reach for more social and successful outcomes. In the meantime, more responsibilities are shifting from the government to private parties and society (Binnema, 2014; Social-cultural planning agency (SCP), 2012). The Environment and Planning Act, which is to be launched in the coming year, shifts the responsibility for user involvement to the private developer. However, vague restrictions make that the needed 'involvement' is multi interpretable, while it puts pressure on the users themselves to participate (Van de Brand, 2020).

Although in theory, private-led user involvement offers great opportunities to benefit users, governments and private developers, there appear to be limitations in practice. First, the degree citizens are able and willing to participate need to be considered according to the SCP (2012). Secondly, private developers seem not acknowledging enough that user involvement can be beneficial for their business strategies (Geesing, 2015). There is a risk that spatial planners already made decisions before involving the community. In that case, the involvement is just a legal check-off

which costs money, without participants actually having an influence on the decision making (Rashidfarkhi et al., 2018). Third, governmental agencies seem not to be able to truly shift the responsibilities, leaving little room for development options in which users can be involved (Foley, 2000).

When the social dimension and the view of the everyday user are not considered, this means that urban renewal projects do not reach the full potential. User involvement offers great opportunities to improve the social effects of urban renewal. Yet, the shift from governmental agencies to private developers to involve users does not necessarily result in effective user involvement.

1.1 Research aim

This research explores the alignment of private-led user involvement processes of urban renewal projects with the objectives of governments, users and the private developers. The aim is to understand why private-led user involvement does not reach its full potential by urban renewal projects and thus to contribute to the social performances of cities.

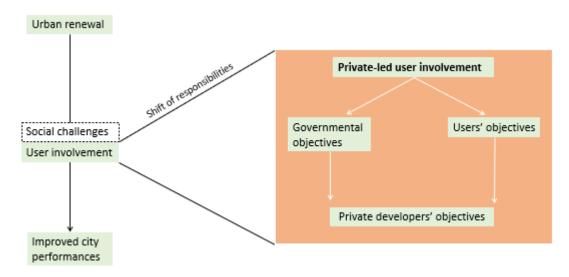


Figure 1 - Introduction of the conceptual model. (Own figure)

1.2 Relevance

In 2008, the economic crisis stimulated developers to involve their end-users, in order to improve their market situation against competitors and to create value right after the crisis (Mengerink, 2015). Now, the Environment and Planning Act and the new responsibilities for private developers are both motivations to focus on private-led user involvement. This report will further elaborate on the relevance of improving private-led user involvement.

1.2.1 Societal relevance

As stated in the introduction, urban renewal projects offer opportunities to improve the social, economic and environmental performances of cities. This research is relevant since it helps to understand what could possibly limit this potential and how that limitations could be approached. The need for urban renewal is felt in the whole of Europe and is not just the case in the west of the Netherlands. Developments after World War II left behind poor quality neighbourhoods, affected by the combination of physical and socio-economic problems (Mayer et al., 2005). NEPROM (2018) investigated how nine transformation strategies offer opportunities for housing in existing urban area's in the Netherlands to respond to the rising housing pressure. The strategies that appear to be most effective are: restructuring, transformation of vacant buildings, corporate asset, public asset (such as churches and schools), brownfield and agricultural land (NEPROM, 2018). For all these types

of projects, user involvement can increase the opportunities to reach the envisioned city improvement. The opportunities with user involvement will be elaborated further in this report.

1.2.2 Scientific relevance

This research is scientifically relevant since it provides a more extensive understanding of the alignment of objectives of users, private developers and the government in urban renewal projects. With this, more knowledge will be gained about the perception of these stakeholders, their roles and expectations. It explores the limitations for private developers in the process of user involvement. Finally, this research provides insights on how these involvement processes could be improved.

1.2.3 Dissemination and audiences

This research provides additional scientific knowledge. An analysis of full user involvement processes in an urban renewal project provides information about the effects they have on the objectives for the most important stakeholders. Moreover, limitations for private developers are explored and the way they could be approached. The recommendations are directed to private developers since it is in their benefit to increase their focus on user involvement when the Environment and Planning Act is launched. Still, the conclusions will be relevant for municipal parties too, to understand limitations for private developers to involve users. This understanding may lead to different approaches of governments to ease the organization of user involvement for private developers. Finally, a better understanding of decision making in urban renewal projects and the limitations for developers could be relevant for users to attain more support for developments that appear to be conflicting with their own interests. For all three stakeholders, it will be relevant to know how other parties experience such a process.

1.3 Research location and perspective

The research is conducted at Van Wijnen. This is a Dutch independent contractor-led developer with a focus on housing. They distinguish themselves with a focus on users and pay extra attention for long term user satisfaction.

For this report, most information is gained through literature. However, this needs to be put in perspective. Since from the beginning of my graduation, I got employed part-time at Van Wijnen. This work has triggered me to do this research but has undoubtedly influenced my understanding of the problem. Nevertheless, this research aims to be applicable to projects from other developers as well and also aims to provide a broader understanding of my practical insights.

1.4 Reader guide

The importance of this study to private-led user involvement in urban renewal projects is briefly introduced.

Theoretical framework

In this part, first, the definition of user involvement is described in chapter 2. Then chapter 3 focusses on the social aspects of developments and the way user involvement can contribute to that. Chapter 4 explains the focus on private-led user involvement. Chapter 5 defines the most important stakeholders in urban renewal projects, their objectives and the way user involvement can contribute as seen from each perspective. This chapter concludes with the potential alignment of objectives. With these chapters 2 to 5, the reason for this subject is accounted for. Chapter 6 explains how the current situation asks for improvement. Chapter 7 describes the theoretical advice. Chapter 8 explores the limitations of theoretical advice. In chapter 9 the link with the involvement strategy of Van Wijnen is made. These chapters 6 to 9 are concluded by the problem statement and bridges to the research design.

Research design

Chapter 10 first describes the research questions, type of research and methodology. Chapter 11 then describes the case selection.

Results

This part describes the findings per case (chapter 12) the results of a second small study (chapter 13) and suitable approaches according to theory (chapter 14).

Discussion and conclusions

This part discusses the findings in chapter 15, forms recommendations for further research (chapter 16) and practice (chapter 17) and finally concludes (chapter 18).

Reflection

The report ends with a reflection of the graduation process (chapter 19).

Glossary

The glossary provides an overview of the used definitions.

Appendices

The interview preparations can be found here.

Theoretical framework

2 User involvement

This report focusses on user involvement. Therefore, this chapter first elaborates a bit more what is understood with user involvement. Throughout the report, more definitions will show up in order to explain the exact focus of this report. The full list of definitions can be found in the glossary.

User

Users are all those who have an operational connection to what is built.

Eriksson et al. (2015) summarized the building management literature, in which users are described as a type of stakeholder. Whereof, stakeholders are those who can be a threat or a benefit to the project. According to Eriksson et al., the definition of users is not consistent and depends on who in the building industry you ask. Users are described as customers, residents, citizens or visitors. Meanwhile, individuals can be several kinds of users at the same time: they can be a resident at night, but an employee when they also work in the same area. A useful definition of Eriksson et al. is: "All those who in some way have a connection to what is build, those who take care of the building, those who live there, those who arrive as quests, even the public" (Eriksson et al., 2015).

This can be combined with the definition of the oxford dictionary, in order to make a clear division between stakeholders who have a connection with what is built from a strategic perspective and those who have a connection on an operational level: "A user is a person who uses or operates something." (Oxford dictionary).

Finally, the definition covers the scope of urban area development, that will not only include buildings but as well the space between buildings.

User involvement

Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) describe six ways to involve citizens in developments:

- 1. Involving citizens in the governance of the development and implementation processes.
- 2. Developing together with the community
- 3. Involving citizens in decision making about services, practice and policy developments
- 4. Communication to inform citizens and create public support
- 5. Involving citizens to generate evidence and knowledge about demands
- 6. Citizen empowerment by building social capital and reduce social exclusion

This list shows how users can be involved in different topics, on different levels and for different reasons.

User involvement has some close synonyms, which can be used to define user involvement. Adams and Tiesdell (2012) and Van Wijnen (2020) use the definition user participation, while Geesing (2015) calls it citizen engagement. Geesing (2015) defines engagement as: "the involvement of specialists, listening to, developing their understanding of and interacting with, non-specialists." (pg 5). Van Wijnen (2020) defines successful participation as exploring and considering multiple demands and views.

Even though different definitions are used, these views all have in common that they make use of similar ladders. They are all derived from the famous ladder of participation from Arnstein (1969). Arnstein explains that the steps on the ladder show how much power citizens have on decision making. The ladder shows up in several forms but always includes similar steps, between 3 (Van Wijnen, 2020) and 8 (Adams and Tiesdell, 2012). Mengerink (2015) defines a role for the developer appointed to each level. However, since different definitions are used, Table 1 is slightly adjusted so it is more applicable to this report.

None	Inform	Consult	Involve	Collaborate	Empower
The private sector decides and leaves the user out	Private sector decides and informs the user about their plans	Private sector decides but gives the user a chance to voice their option	Private sector and users make plans together, but the users are left out of execution	Private sector and users collaborate in planning and execution.	Users decide and execute the plans. The private sector supports if necessary
The private party is closed authoritarian	The private party is open authoritarian	The private party is consultative	The private party is delegating	The private party is collaborating	The private party is facilitating

Table 1- Ladder of involvement. (derived from Geesing, 2015; Adams and Tiesdell, 2012; Van Wijnen, 2020)

The final definition, used in this report: *User involvement is the activity of the developer considering the view and demands of users on decision making, along the various steps of the ladder of involvement.*

User involvement process

The user involvement process consists of who is involved, on what level, in what and when. While, the level of involvement refers to the steps of the ladder of involvement, the when is one of the phases in the process described above and the what is the subject of decision making.

In literature, the several steps of the ladder of involvement are often used to describe *how* users are involved in decision making, but not in *what* the users are involved. Neither does it include the type of user and the timing they are involved. As described before, the understanding of *user* is not consistent in the building industry. Therefore user involvement also includes the question of *who* is involved.

Another variable is when. Mengerink (2015) derives important phases of a project development process:

- 1. Initiative
- 2. Planning
 - definition
 - design
 - preparation
- 3. Realization
- 4. Maintenance

In each of these phases, users can be involved at a different level of the ladder. This will be elaborated more throughout the report.

This report focusses on user involvement. Still, the word participation often occurs. The difference needs to be elaborated.

Where user involvement is an activity of the developing party, participation is the activity of the user. <u>Participation</u> in this report, therefore means: <u>actively attending the involvement process of a development project</u>. So on the level 'informing' of the ladder of involvement, this means that participants inform themselves with the provided information

3 Social city improvements

3.1 A focus on social sustainable developments

As described in the introduction, Mayer, van Bueren, Bots and van der Voort (2005) explain that urban renewal projects can improve the performance of cities on three aspects: environmental, social and economic. Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018) and Shirazi and Keivani (2018) describe that to reach social improvement, development need to be social sustainable. According to them, a limitation for spatial planners to aim for social sustainability is a lack of (common) understanding and consistent assessment tools. The definition that this report uses is derived from Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018), Shirazi and Keivani (2018) and Dixon and Woodcraft (2013):

A social sustainable development facilitates the needs and well-being of individuals and the community of current and future generations.

Each of them concludes that social sustainability is a triad consisting of physical and non-physical dimensions and a more discussable third one.

The third dimension can be either understood as

- a. 'influence' (Dixon and Woodcraft, 2013)
- b. 'conceived vs perceived' (Shirazi and Keivani, 2018)
 - 'resources vs opportunities' (Rashidfarkhi et al., 2018)

This leads to Figure 2, which is a combination of the insights from the three sources.

The first pillar shows the physical aspects of development. However, the effect of the physical surrounding is influenced by non-physical aspects: the second pillar. Non-physical aspects are the way people care for their living environment: to make it a nice place to live, which is related to the way they feel attached to their living environment. Shirazi and Keivani (2018) explain that when people feel attached to their living environment, they are more likely to participate in order to improve it. Social networking and interaction also improve the way the physical elements would be used. For example, people can help each other when the physical environment is not suitable. Safety and security influence the physical environment too. Imagine how high crime numbers can make a park not useful at night, even though it is a well-designed park.

The third pillar show how the perception of individuals is related to both physical and non-physical aspects. According to Shirazi and Keivani 'social mix', (in the scheme called 'personal information') can have an influence on the way people perceive their neighbourhood: education, age/gender, job, ethnicity, income, etc. Moreover, influence or voice signifies the way people feel like they have the power to adjust the situation. As Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018) explain, social equity is the way people are offered the same or different opportunities. Exclusion or uneven levels of influence or voice influence people perception of their living environment. Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018), therefore plead for more social sustainable decision processes, which will be elaborated later.

All of these aspects influence the quality of the living environment for individuals.

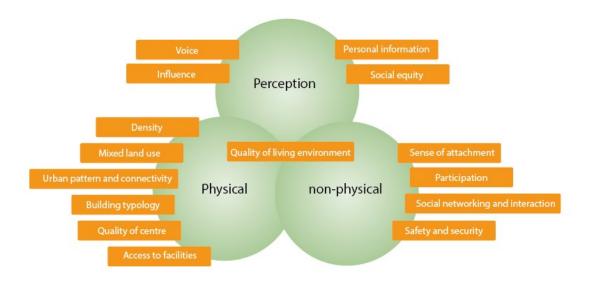


Figure 2 - The triad of social sustainability with indicators. (Derived from Shirazi and Keivani (2018), adjusted with insights from Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018); Dixon and Woodcraft (2013))

3.2 User involvement for more social sustainable developments

The non-physical and the perception pillar appear challenging for spatial planners to design for. Volmert, O'neil, Kendall-Taylor and Sweetland explain that there is a gap between public thinking and the experts (Volmer et al., 2016).

That gap is noticeable in the results of attempts to diversify neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. The article of Borst and Dirks (2020) describes how there are more 'problem' neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, due to an increased amount of citizens with mental issues and an 'unbalanced' high share of social rent. Solutions are to improve the dwellings and to diversify the housing supply per neighbourhood to stimulate integration between layers of the society. However, in practice, this integration is limited by the mistrust between locals and new residents. Moreover, there is a huge mistrust toward reinforcement projects. Locals are afraid to lose their affordable homes and trusted neighbourhood. According to Borst and Dirks, this could be prevented when developers would involve locals and pay more attention to the impact on a bigger scale (Borst and Dirks, 2020).

According to Mulder, there is a necessary shift from 'city management' to 'participatory city-making', which will result in more engaged and empowered citizens and a social fabric which is flexible and responsive (Mulder, 2018). Participation improves social networks between people and community vibrancy: It increases the will of residents to contribute towards making their community a better place for life (Shirazi and Keivani, 2018). Koppenjan and Enserink (2009) moot that involving local organizations may help to develop a feeling of ownership and to increase the long term sustainability. This means that involving the society to spatial plans could improve the non-physical elements of the social sustainability triad: Social networking and interaction, Sense of attachment and Participation.

A participating community, thereafter, can contribute to safety and security in two ways. First, citizenled initiatives such as buurt-Whatsapp (neighbourhood watch) in the Netherlands, show how

participating citizens can improve the actual safety of a neighbourhood, looking at a decline of crime numbers (Vollaart, 2016). However, there need to be noticed that buurt-Whatsapp can bring in some serious social issues that make people feel less safe and secure due to opportunistic behaviour, discrimination, and lack of privacy (Van Steden, 2017), which will be discussed in chapter 15. Secondly, Colquhoun (2004) elaborated how safe and sustainable communities could be created, where user involvement is considered essential; especially the involvement of young people, since they have a significant impact on public safety and its perception. The advice therefore is, to involve communities and organizations like a Neighborhood watch during spatial planning projects, to understand crime risks, patterns and specific kinds of responses (Colquhoun, 2004).

Just as Colquhoun explains, 'understanding' the user is seen as an essential driver of user involvement, especially for market parties to improve market situations against competitors: customer-led developing would increase the value of the end product (Beenders, 2011).

Shirazi and Keivani (2018) comprehend 'quality of neighbourhood' and 'quality of home' (in figure 2 combined as 'quality of living environment') as the degree of satisfaction of the residents with their living environment. This satisfaction is a reflection on how well individual goals are served: does the supply suit the demand? This implies that user involvement could create a better understanding of the users' demands and therefore create value and add quality to the neighbourhood and home. As understood, 'value creation' can be interpreted in several ways. Chapter 5.2 explains how user involvement can be aligned with the objectives of each stakeholder, to understand how it can create the value that is most important to them.

3.3 Conclusion

So to conclude, spatial planning often lacks focus on the social sustainable aspects and therefore, does not reach its potential social improvement. This is because spatial planners find it hard to aim for social sustainable developments due to a lack of (common) understanding. This chapter first elaborated the definition and indicators of social sustainable developments. Social sustainability consists of three pillars. One is physical. The other two are non-physical and perception. Since it appears to be difficult for spatial planners to design for these latter ones, the second part explored how user involvement could benefit each of the indicators in those pillars. Chapter 7 explores how to reach these potential benefits.

4 Shifting responsibilities

The idea that users should be involved in spatial interventions is not new. Jane Jacobs and Sherry Arnstein are both seen as revelational women from the '60s who appoint the need for user-oriented designs (Verheul, 2020). However, Van der Voet (2013) explains that citizens involved themselves in spatial planning already in the 19th century. According to her literature study, the availability for citizens to participate is a part of democracy. Nevertheless, citizens often do not really have influence, despite their involvement. From the '60s to the '00s governments started to involve citizens more actively in policies and the implementation of that. The impact citizens had increased. However, while in this timespan, the government used to take the lead for making spatial plans and involving users in them (Van der Voet, 2013), this role division is currently changing.

4.1 A shift from public to private

In the Netherlands, there is argued that the government should retreat. Binnema (2014) describes why and how a retreating government is envisioned. He compares several advisory reports of the WRR (Scientific council for government Policy), RMO (Council for Social Developments), Rob (Public Administration Council) and Rfv (Financial Relations Council). Although the advisory reports are often normative and unspecific (Binnema, 2014), they describe how public services provided by governments are often associated with inefficiency, lack of innovation and poor problem solving (Binnema, 2014; Koppenjan and Enserink, 2009).

Therefore, there are three arguments for a retreating government (Binnema, 2014). First: current regulations are seen as a limitation for local initiatives and innovation. Second: decentralization creates a customized reaction to local challenges. And third: market forces are limited by governmental influences.

Binnema concludes that a retreating government in practice would mean another type of governmental influence (instead of *less* governmental influence). The advisory reports argue that the government should be facilitating, without limiting or restricting society (Binnema, 2014). Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) explored drivers for partnership agreements between public and private parties.

First, in public-private partnerships, expenditures can be made more efficient, since there can be synergy, more innovation and shared overheads. Second, these partnerships are more integrated (dependency of services). Finally, there is more accountability (dividing the load of responsibility). Koppenjan and Enserink (2009) add that the private sector could improve efficiency and quality, help extend public services, increase population coverage and relieving public budget deficits.

There can be concluded that arguments for the government to partner up with private parties are to encourage local initiatives and innovation, to have a decentralize and to empower market forces. And as well to have more efficient expenditures, more integration of parties, and to create more accountability.

The next parts will elaborate on these arguments.

4.1.1 Limited market forces, initiatives and innovation

Van Buuren (2011) criticizes the functionality of the land-use plan, which is a governmental tool to set clear restrictions for envisioned developments. These regulations have become more specific and more bounding for new developments, over the years. Often shared criticism is that the land-use plan would be too restricting and too bureaucratic. It is time-consuming for municipalities to form a detailed land-use plan, which makes them less flexible and topical. Therefore, the land-use plan often shows what is already there, leaving little room for initiatives and innovation. The complicated and time-consuming process to gain permits for development initiatives also limits innovation, especially when deviation from the original plan is required. Due to the variety of rules, it is often unclear for initiators what is and what is not permitted.

For these reasons, the Environment & Planning Act will be a new tool to replace all planning

restrictions. The aim is to create a more clear overview of the possibilities and to reduce the procedure time to get permits. With these initiatives and innovation are encouraged. The planning is to launch the Act in 2022. (Van Buuren, 2011)

Additionally, the Social Cultural Planning agency proposes a new responsibility model (SCP, 2012). The shift from governmental responsibility to the society would mean more private liabilities, more contribution from the society and market parties, and less control from the state. In the new proposed responsibility model, the government defines goals and conditions for laws in order to form covenants with private parties. The pursuit of these goals is executed by the society, market and social organizations. (SCP, 2012, chap. 1)

This new responsibility model can be found as well in the search for more market forces and more efficient expenditures. Van Rhee (2015) describes the changing market forces over the past years. After WOII, the government was the initiator of many urban area development projects. Ground sales used to be an important source of income for the government. The municipalities bared the risks for these ground sales. The Economic Crisis of 2008, caused the land departments severe financial problems. Therefore, market parties took over this traditional model. Between '90 and 2005, public-private partnerships (Figure 3) became popular: including shared risks, knowledge and expertise. Due to the Economic Crisis, distrust has led market parties to take less risks. Now, the concession model is becoming more popular, but market parties do no longer want to take all the risks, without power. (Van Rhee, 2015)



Figure 3 -Public-private partnerships between municipalities and market parties. (Derived from Van Rhee, 2015)

Therefore, Van Rhee plaids for a government as an active facilitator to make it more attractive for market parties to take the lead. As an active facilitator, the government gains trust for developments with clear visions, simplifies regulations to reduce the complexity and stimulates financially with tax benefits and subsidies. (Van Rhee, 2015)

This new role brings in new risks. When the market conditions are too much adjusted by the government, the threat is that it creates monopolistic service provision, overexploitation, production of social and environmental externalities and exploitation of basic needs (Koppenjan and Enserink, 2009). Therefore, Koppenjan and Enserink describe how the main challenge for governments is to find the right balance between private party willing to invest, public objectives in general and the objectives set by the government

4.1.2 The need for user involvement

The former sections describe how the government could facilitate in a way that makes it attractive for market parties to take the lead and corresponding risks. Yet, where market parties take over tasks of the government, the needs of the society may not be served anymore. As Tan (2014) states: "It is highly debatable whether well-occupied settlements of these market and state-led cities have the capacity to meet the economic and social requirements of their residents and be sustainable in the long term." (pg. 19)

Heurkens and Hopma (2014) explain that in the UK, private developers are more used to long term commitments which include taking care of user (dis)satisfaction after delivery. In the Netherlands, this

concept is still new and not in the culture and strategies of private developers (Heurkens and Hopma, 2014; Daamen and Verdaas, 2019). Koppenjan and Enserink describe that private sectors are often short-term and profit-driven, which can threaten the social sustainability of developments (2009).

Boyer (2018) describes the need for user involvement (which he calls public participation). In Public-private partnerships (PPP's) it is challenging to match the motives of a private profit-oriented party with those of the government. The challenge is that the development of any performance-based system ultimately brings into question the representativeness of interests. It is as well difficult to align public work with local preferences as they are impactful on the lives of a broader spectrum of residents. User involvement is seen as a way to incorporate public interest into PPP's. The potentials with user involvement affect three perceptions. First, it can lead to support from the community and politics. Second, there will be better operational standards (standards expected to achieve), with key performance indicators during the project's implementation. Third, the design would better reflect local interests.

Community and political support are important in lengthy and complicated projects. With PPP's, there is the belief that they can accomplish something superior to what the government could provide on its own. Citizens hold governments responsible when things go wrong in private services since the local public representatives should protect their interests. (Boyer, 2018)

Shift of accountability for social aspects

2001)

As explained, social aspects need to be taken into account so developments can increase the social performances of cities by urban renewal. Forrest and Kearns (2001) explain the importance of social cohesion, social interaction and networks and the role of the neighbourhood.

Social cohesion emphasizes the need for a shared sense of morality and common purpose, aspects of social control and social order, level of social interaction and sense of belonging to places. This social cohesion is formed through social interaction in social networks. When a society lacks cohesion, it shows social disorder and conflict, disparate moral values, extreme social inequalities, low levels of social interaction between and within communities and low levels of place attachment.

The interaction between and the engagement of citizens is important to governments. First, civically engaged communities often result in better pictures of education, urban poverty, unemployment, control of crime and drugs abuse and health. Controversially, a lack of opportunities to create social

networks can lead to civic disengagement and declining trust in government. (Forrest and Kearns,

The threat here is that retreating and shifting responsibilities from the government to the society in practice often leads to an impoverishment of public services (Van der Sanden, 2018). The SCP (2012) describes that a shift from governmental responsibilities to society means change: change of behaviour, mutual involvement, support, trust and power relations within the society. This change will not happen naturally, but can't be forced either. Therefore, a retreating government increases the need for local communities, self-help and mutuality. The empowerment of individuals to facilitate themselves is a way to replace the decline in trust in traditional institutions, whilst boosting a sense of belonging at the same time. (SCP, 2012)

According to Forrest and Kearns (2001), strong social contacts in the neighbourhoods appear to create a 'feeling of home', 'security' and 'practical and social support'. Personal relationships expose people to a variety of opportunities provide them with varying means for taking advantage of those. These relationships are often formed in neighbourhoods, especially for more poor and vulnerable people. (Forrest and Kearns, 2001)

User involvement in a shift from public to private

Therefore, the SCP describes that user involvement could contribute to increasing the support and trust towards governmental regulations, to make citizens more independent and self-sufficient, and to increase social cohesion. With that, the vision is that citizens participate in their own living environment, aiming for smaller governmental budgets to solve local problems and more customized

developments (SCP, chap. 12, 2012).

Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) argue that partnership between the public and private parties does not itself deliver enhanced user involvement. According to them, it may be particularly difficult to secure the involvement of citizens in a partnership context. A shift of responsibilities from the public to private (In the UK, called 'New labour') aims for high efficiency on the local level. Municipalities would need to collaborate with local authorities to ensure the support and welfare of the communities (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004).

According to Lowndes and Sullivan (2004), partnership and a participating society go along in various ways. First, partnerships can be a mean to consult or involve public parties. Next, user involvement can be seen as an ingredient of partnership working, with citizens as key partners:

"By sharing information and building consensus, it is intended that better decisions will be made, leading to the better use of local resources, the smoother implementation of policies or service developments, and a greater sense of shared ownership among all stakeholders – including local people." (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2004, pg 58)

Finally, user involvement can be a potential outcome of partnership working, with community capacity building as a goal.

Corresponding, The Environment and Planning Act aims for local citizens to have more influence on their own environment. All development plans are obliged to be transparent towards the society and have to be responsive to input from local stakeholders. It requires a sharper focus on user involvement. With that, the government aims to make developments more decentralized and customized. (Ministery of internal affairs, n.d.A; Daamen and Verdaas, 2019)

4.2 An increasing focus on social value creation

So, more responsibilities are shifted to private parties, while the urge for user involving in developments to make them more social sustainable, is rising. What role is expected from private parties in the coming years?

Janssen (2020) describes how the pandemic crisis of 2019/2020 has increased the focus on social value in urban area development. Yet, this focus was already increasing before the pandemic. It appears to be challenging to convince private parties of the potential benefits of social value creation since it often ends up negative on the balance sheet. (Janssen, 2020)

This challenge is acknowledged by the parties who were attending the seminar *Maatschappelijke* waarden bij gebiedstransformaties organised by Platform13, Nov 23, 2020. The commonly accepted approach here (and as well described by Janssen, 2020) is that social value creation, in the end, creates exchange value as well. This is either direct, by creating more valuable homes, or more indirect, by having more successful places (which are well appreciated by future users) (further elaborated in chapter 5.2.2). Governments are looking for ways to share costs for these social value creations. Nowadays, many parties benefit from area development while they do not contribute (Hoorn, 2020). As Janssen (2020) quotes: "When both parties benefit from the result of a development, both will be willing to invest. By understanding better who exactly benefits from a project, costs and profit can be shared fairer".

This means that governments expect private parties to contribute more to potential value creation, while the expectations of the value creation grow. With governments expecting private developers to invest on future value creation, it is in the developers' interests to put the effort in that value creation. As explained in this report, user involvement creates great opportunities to create value for private developers.

4.3 Soft means

This section explores means for the government to stay in control of developments while retreating.

According to Verheul (2019), there are several ways how governments can keep control of the social value of developments, without carrying too much of the costs and risks. He describes how Joint Venture is a well-known method to get a grip on the ground. Developers and municipalities then together make an integral plan. However, for this, municipalities need to do a huge capital investment, which is not in line with the movement of a retreating government. With Public-Private partnerships, there is one ground owner, one developer and one municipality who share the risks and the costs. Since there is one ground owner, the effects of single developments are combined in one area development. Therefore it is within the interests of the investors to develop for a broader scale. Still, this development type requires a quite active role of the government, which is not in line with retreating.

Another method is Laissez-faire. With this, the government has more soft means to control the outcome. This logically is riskier for governments, since the outcome is less ensured. Verheul (2019).

Figure 4 shows different types of governmental control (Verheul, Daamen, Heurkens, Hobma & Vriends, 2017). The first quarter shows Regulating, which is a hard method. This is not in line with increasing the market force and encouraging initiatives, as described in section 4.1. The second quarter is Stimulating. As described by Koppenjan and Enserink (2009), a threat of stimulating means is that private parties can get monopolistic situations. Moreover, as Janssen (2020) concluded, the costs for social value creation are preferably shared among the ones who benefit. A way governmental parties can solve this is by distributing attractive business opportunities to private parties with less attractive in one package to ensure covering both (Koppenjan and Enserink, 2009).

The third and fourth quarter are more in line with the retreating government, since they do not require financial means, nor do they limit the market force, initiatives or innovation.



Figure 4 - Types of governmental control. (Verheul et al., 2017)

4.4 Conclusion

There can be concluded that it can bring in some benefits for the objectives of the government to retreat. This means that instead of taking the lead for developments, more responsibilities are shifted to the market and society. By doing this, the market and society would be less limited, aiming to stimulate initiatives and innovation. With that, they aim for quality improvement and more customized reactions to local challenges. Moreover, the belief is that by collaborating with private parties, governmental expenditures become more effective due to synergy, innovation and shared overheads.

However, the threat is that an increased market force leads to the impoverishment of public services. In the Netherlands, private developers are not used to take responsibility for user satisfaction while they often act short-term and are driven by profit. This threatens the potential improvement of social city performances by urban renewal. Therefore, there is argued for a shift of responsibilities which includes user involvement. The soon to be launched Environment and Planning Act aims for local citizens to have more influence on their own environment. With this, developers would be obligated to involve users. Governments are exploring more soft means to drive developers to social value creation, without using financial resources, limited market forces or initiatives and innovations. Their new role will be to connect and to steer the decisions of developing parties. Integrating social value in the investment costs will lead to an increased financial interest for developers to involve users.

5 The opportunities

Previous chapters have shown the arguments for user involvement. This chapter explains how user involvement could contribute to the objectives of the stakeholders of urban renewal projects. The first part explains the focus on the government, private developer and users as main stakeholders of urban renewal projects. Then, the drivers for user involvement are elaborated.

5.1 Stakeholders in urban renewal projects

5.1.1 Government, private developer and users

For the understanding of the definition stakeholders, the following two are considered:

- 1. Stakeholders are all who directly or indirectly participate in a development process (Adams and Tiesdell, 2012).
- 2. The stakeholders of the urban renewal can be defined as those who can affect the realization of the project objectives during the whole life cycle of the urban renewal project construction and operation (Wang, Li, Zhang, Li and Asare, 2017).

User involvement does not necessarily mean that the participators can affect the end result. In case of user involvement, it merely covers those who are affected. Therefore, the definitions are combined and adjusted, leading to the following definition:

Stakeholders are those who directly or indirectly are affected by or affecting the realization of the project objectives during the whole life cycle and operation of the urban development project.

According to Wang et al. (2017) there is a broad variety of stakeholders, but they can be divided into three core stakeholders who have the most interests and impacts on the developments. They are the government, residents and the developers. The key to urban renewal is balancing their interests. These core stakeholders are in line with the division by Mengerink (2015) and Zeng et al. (2014), who divide them as:

- Private parties. Developing parties, which can appear in several forms: institutional and individual, driven by profit, reputation, risk reduction or capital.
- Public parties: political parties through all layers from national to local, who represent and facilitate the society and restrict spatial decisions.
- The society: this can be individual citizens, communities or social associations. They have interests since the developments can impact their health and quality of life.

The ones affected by or interested in what happens to their living environment are the civic and community groups, amenities and environmental societies, resident associations and locals (Adams and Tiesdell, 2015). As explained in chapter 2, the interests of users is operational. An overview of these stakeholders is drawn in Figure 5.

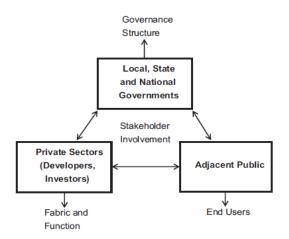


Figure 5 - Stakeholder system of urban renewal. (Zeng et al., 2014)

The stakeholders to focus on in this report are:

- The private, independent/contractor led housing developer
- The local government (municipality)
- The users:

The occupants of the new development

The local community Local entrepreneurs

The next sections elaborate on them.

Nevertheless, this report especially focusses on private-led development, due to the shift of responsibilities.

5.1.2 Private developers

Heurkens created a definition for 'the private-developer': "Developers are the link between the demand and supply of real estate and the connection between end-user and contractor. This private actor core business is the preparation and realization of real estate projects for one's account and risk. The goal of a project developer is to maximum yield against a manageable risk level" (Heurkens, 2012).

A similar conclusion about the private developer is drawn by Mengerink (2015). He concludes that a private developer is a party who invests in a market project, aiming to realize it with profit, which is a premium on the realization costs of the project. This suggests that gaining profit is the core objective of private developers. This will be discussed in chapter 13.

According to Haak (2015), there are several types of developers: Contractor-led developers, independent developers, institutional investor-led developer, financial institution-led developer or developers connected to a company with other core business.

This means that the 'developer' can cover the stakeholder types financers, investors and labour and material suppliers (or contractors). Haak (2015) divides the operation of developers into housing, retail, office, industry and logistics or other (recreation, care, etc.). This research focuses on housing development because of the rising housing pressure.

This research focuses on private developers who take the lead in the involvement process. Mengerink (2015) explains that the roles of the private developer can vary in involvement processes. He sums up: initiator, organizer, manager of boundaries, facilitator and partner.

For this research, practical insights will be provided by Van Wijnen. Van Wijnen is a contractor-led developer, which starts to be more independent. In the case studies chosen, Van Wijnen covers the role of financer, investor and labour and material supplier, as well as developer.

Private-led development

Heurkens (2012) defines private-led development as: "an urban development project in which private actors take a leading role, and public actors adopt a facilitating role to manage the development of an urban area, based on a formal public-private organizational role division."

What he calls an actor is 'An organization or representative individual actively involved in urban development projects', which is similar to the definition of stakeholder. Role in this definition is 'A coherent set of organizational tasks and related management measures carried out by actors involved in urban development projects' and leading is 'actively steering in an urban development process into a preferred direction' (Heurkens, 2012).

Table 2 provides a clear overview of the characteristics of a private-led development compared to other types of developments.

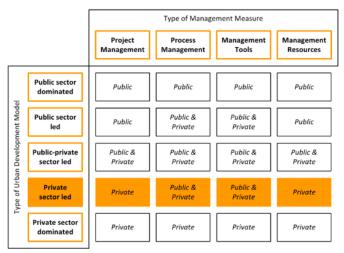


Table 2- Types of urban development and corresponding management. (Heurkens, 2012)

5.1.3 Local government

Cough (1990) describes three types of activity that lead to the process of urban renewal, in which the government is involved in different ways: First, there is market-led renewal and restructuring without governmental intervention. This will not be a likely situation concerning the social aspects of the development. Then there is urban renewal which takes the form of social expenses regarded by the government as necessary for social harmony and well-being. This is mainly in the fields of housing, public health and environmental policies. Finally, there is urban renewal seen as a social, physical capital investment and state regulation to facilitate profitable private sector property development or redevelopment. Examples are the subsidies provided for derelict land reclamation, infrastructure and urban public transport provision (Cough, 1990).

This means that the role of the government depends on the type of urban renewal. This report focusses on market-led renewal that aims for the improvement of the social performances of the city. Therefore it is unlikely that there will be no state intervention at all. As explained in chapter 4.1, a retreating government is not a disappearing government.

The scale of the case studies will be district or street, which means that the most important political party will be the local government, most likely: the municipality.

5.1.4 Users

Chapter 2 already described the definition for users. Nevertheless, there are different types of users. Figure 6 shows a role base model of real estate developments. This figure shows the relation between different types of stakeholders and their roles. It is interesting to see that local communities are separated from the occupants (in this figure called occupiers). This means that there can be different interests for these 'users'. Chapter 5.2.4 elaborates how the focus of their objectives may vary.

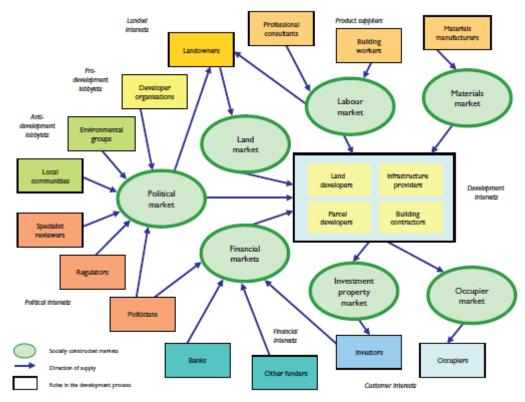


Figure 6 - Role base model of real estate development. (Adams & Tiesdell, 2012)

There is another type of user to take into account. Hol and Daamen (2014) explain how fundings and investments of local entrepreneurs can help to finance development. For this, support of the project is crucial. Therefore, these stakeholders need to be tightly involved.

This type of funding (crowdfunding) is not usual. In most cases, local entrepreneurs will not financially support development (Hol and Daamen, 2014). Still, it shows how developments could influence the success of the companies of local entrepreneurs. Because of their operational interests in the developments, they will be understood as a third type of 'user'.

5.2 Drivers for user involvement

Wang et al. (2017) explored the interests of the three core stakeholders in urban renewal. The interests of each stakeholder, according to their study, are described:

- Developers: Developers provide the necessary funds to update urban situations and have good opportunities to establish an enterprise brand and image. The objective with user involvement is to obtain lucrative economic returns. They are mainly concerned about how effective urban renewal is on their profit.
- Government: They are policymakers, responsible for achieving societal benefits and improving old city performances. They do that by promoting urbanization, enhancing the image of the city, distribute public interests rationally, maintaining social harmony and stability and by maximizing social welfare. They coordinate urban economic developments and improve governmental finances.
- Users: Users hope for improved social security and physical quality of their living environment. For them, the future living quality and economic interests need to be protected in urban renewal projects. Therefore, they are concerned about compensation when urban renewal will decrease this.

Wang et al. (2014) tested an evaluation tool to see how urban renewal projects could benefit each stakeholder. Their conclusion is that the benefits for the core stakeholders should not be assessed

separately: "The comprehensive benefit of urban renewal is the integration and unification of government benefit, resident benefit and developer benefit. The success of urban renewal should focus on comprehensive analysis rather than a single benefit."

According to them, the key to urban renewal is to balance the interests of these stakeholders. Therefore, this section first explores how user involvement can contribute to the objectives of the three stakeholders separately, yet then elaborates the relations between those objectives.

5.2.1 Value creation

In the next sections, the term value is used often. However, what value creation means differs per stakeholder. Therefore the following list provides a brief introduction of the different types of value, according to Adam and Tiesdell (2012):

- exchange value: revealed by the trading price of buildings.
- use-value: evident in the appeal of places to occupants, reflected in their contribution to productivity, profitability and competitiveness
- social value: reflecting the extent to which places help to connect people enhance social interaction, reinforce civic pride, encourage social inclusion and promote neighbourly behaviour while reducing vandalism and crime.
- environmental value: the degree of adaptability, flexibility and robustness of the environment, including intergenerational equity and biodiversity.
- image value: identity
- cultural value: relationship of a place to location and context.

5.2.2 Private developers

As Wang et al. (2017) explored, the objectives of developers in urban renewal projects are to establish an enterprise brand and image and to make economic returns.

Adams and Tiesdell (2012) argue that places that were designed concerning the surrounding and taking into account the everyday user can contribute to the financial viability of real estate development, naturally. It can therefore be interesting for private developers to focus more on the relation to the surrounding and the everyday user. Table 3 sums up the potential benefits for the financial viability of real estate.

Competitive marketing advantage

Increased financial potential of the site because of user satisfaction

Preventing negative impact of bad neighbours

Creating bespoke solutions for problematic sites to open up new markets and/or facilitate access to grant funding.

Offering users a better opportunity to adapt the development in the future and reduce long term expenditures on energy, management and maintenance.

Table 3- potential benefits for financial viability of real estate (Adams and Tiesdell, 2012)

Not only potentially higher profit is a driver. Dixon and Woodcraft (2013) describe how private developers focus more on social sustainable development processes. They are driven by the industry, which is more aware of the importance and responding set of requirements (developers need to take into account their image and satisfaction of their partners more). According to them, developers have a more social role the current planning landscape. From my own experience at Van Wijnen, I learned that positive branding and long term user satisfaction help to acquire projects in the future. Therefore a more long term commitment can contribute to business continuity.

Daamen and Verdaas explain how important it will become for developers to truly involve users, from a legal perspective. In order to get permits for construction plans and to change land-use plans, the government needs to be satisfied with user involvement. This entails that developers need

to show how they have involved users (and potentially other local stakeholders) into their new plan and how they responded to the reactions. (Daamen and Verdaas, 2019)

Geesing (2015) ranked the objectives of private developers and how user involvement could contribute to some of them. Chapter 13.1.1 reflects on this list. It shows how user involvement could help to take away certain risks and can improve the image of private parties.

1. Profit gaining	A. Improved chance of received
2. Shareholder satisfaction	planning or application approval
3. Risk minimization	
4. Product delivery	B. Risk minimization of
5. Product quality	unexpected delays and extra
6. Customer satisfaction	costs
7. Expanding	
8. Business continuity	C. Widely appreciated and
9. Market leadership	qualitative end product
10. Brand building	
11. Realizing common goals	D. Positive branding
(with stakeholders)	
12. Sustainability	
13. Innovation	
14. Break even	

Table 4 - Ranking of objectives of private developers and potential added value with user involvement (Geesing, 2015)

The list of Geesing places profit gaining as the top priority of private developers, just as Wang et al. do. Koppenjan and Enserink (2009) suggest that this drive for profit makes it a challenge for governments to shift responsibilities. They explain that the main challenge for governments is to find the right balance between private investors' willingness to invest in public values in general and long term sustainability objectives in particular. Private parties are profit-driven and must be convinced of the opportunities for getting a return on their 'public' investment. According to Koppenjan and Enserink, governments can make it attractive for private parties to invest in 'public' investments, when in return risks are taken away, or when it can contribute to the corporate image. Corresponding incentives are: Reducing political uncertainties (which requires a clear legal, institutional framework), certifications which classify the social engagement of the private parties, or benefit-sharing arrangements. Other incentives can be involving local organizations in public service delivery, providing labour or delegating the operation or maintenance costs to local parties. By doing this, risks can be shared. The drivers of Koppenjan and Enserink require a new system between users and private parties, which might not work out in practice. (Koppenjan and Enserink, 2009)

Summarizing the stated drivers for private parties, Table 5 shows how user involvement could contribute to the objectives of the private developer.

Potential effects of user involvement	Objectives Private developers
- It saves time to get approval because there is public support - It takes away risks of unexpected delays	Risk minimization
 It saves money on possible delay due to rejection It adds value to the end product, especially in larger-scale mixed-use developments 	Profit gaining (Exchange value)
- It is positive branding - It creates trust for new developments	Business Continuity Enterprise brand and image (Use value and Image value)

Table 5 – Potential effects of user involvement and contribution to objectives of private developers. (own table)

5.2.3 Drivers for the local government

Wang et al. (2017) explain that the government's objectives are to create environmental quality, social harmony and stability, to improve the image of the city. They explain that gained income from land revenue and optimized expenditures can make that financially feasible.

The conclusions of chapter 4 need to be added to this list: the government aims to shift responsibilities to the market and society to reduce (inefficient) expenditures, stimulate initiatives and innovation and to tackle local problems better. Meanwhile, they aim to gain trust and engage citizens to the society.

User involvement to ease the shift of responsibilities

To be able to shift the responsibilities, there needs to be an environment that allows social interaction and networks, so individuals can form communities to be empowered and to gain trust in governmental institutions (as explained in chapter 3.2). Since social harmony and stability and social welfare are governmental goals, socio-economic segregation and political-culturally and socially polarization are drivers for a stronger social environment.

As explained in chapter 3.2, user involvement can help to connect individuals, to create public support for developments and to increase the social sustainability of developments. With this, problematic situations can be improved, and the image of the city safeguarded.

The empowerment of individuals to facilitate themselves is a way to replace the decline in trust in traditional institutions while boosting a sense of belonging at the same time. (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). According to Adams and Tiesdell (2012), developments need coalitions of interest and support to limit old place-breaking habits: People need to be motivated and inspired to believe in the new 'place'.

User involvement has the potential to contribute to the envisioned shift of responsibilities, by the empowerment of citizens and attaining a better understanding of their needs. Shifting responsibilities to the market and society contributes to the objective of the government to aim for more effective responses to local challenges, a more powerful market force which stimulates initiatives and innovation, a bridge between the government and the society and lower, more effective public expenditures.

With that, the shift of responsibilities can contribute to the main objectives of the government as presented before by Wang et al. (2017).

To conclude: user involvement could contribute to the objectives of the government as shown in Table 6.

Potential effects of user involvement	Objectives government
 A better understanding of local demands Stronger social cohesion Bridged gap between citizens and authorities Public support for developments and policies 	Social harmony and stability: Maximize social welfare (social value)
 Attachment to living environments More participating communities: stimulated initiatives and innovation 	Environmental quality improvement (image/cultural value) (environmental value)
 More participating communities: Fewer public expenditures A better understanding of local demands: More effective public expenditures 	Optimize public expenditures and income (exchange value)

Table 6 - Potential effects of user involvement and contribution to objectives of the government. (own table)

5.2.4 Users: Occupants, local community and local entrepreneurs

Wang et al. (2017) explored objectives for all users. These are improved social security and physical quality of their living environment and protection of the future basic living and economic interests. However, as explained in chapter 5.1.4, there are three kinds of users to take into account. They have different objectives.

Occupants and the local community will both aim for improved living conditions, social welfare and improved urban landscape features. Yet, for the occupants, the economic benefits will be more important: they want an affordable or, better, profitable residence.

Meanwhile, the local community will be familiar with the old situation and will be able to compare that to the new one. In case they feel like there is no added value or even reduced value, they would aim for compensation and resettlement.

Hol and Daamen (2014) show through a study on crowdfunding how local entrepreneurs have their own objectives too. Their objectives belong to those of 'private parties', driven by profit, reputation, risk reduction or capital (Zeng et al., 2014). Therefore, their interest in the urban renewal will be how it improves their market situation (potential new customers, an enhanced image of the area, more comfortable surrounding, better accessibility, etc.).

Table 7 shows what this means for the priorities of values for the different types of users.

The occupants	1. User value
	2. Exchange value
	3. Social value
	4. Environment value
The local community	1. Social value
	2. Environmental value
	3. Cultural value
Local entrepreneurs	1. Use value
	2. Image value
	3. Social value

Table 7 - Different kinds of value creation for each type of user, in order of importance. (Own table)

Despite this nuance in interests and priority, the three types of users all aim for the following three objectives: User value creation, improving living conditions and improving social welfare

As described in chapter 5.2.1, user involvement can contribute to value creation: exchange value, user value and social value. With the belief that user involvement encourages local initiatives and innovation, the quality of the living environment could also be improved, according to Franke et al. (2015). This leads to the corresponding conclusion:

Potential effects of user involvement	Objectives users
- Developers have a better understanding of local demands	Increased exchange value
 Developers have a better understanding of local demands More attachment to living environments More participating communities: more innovation and initiatives 	Improving living conditions (image value, environmental value, use value)
- Developers have a better understanding of local demands - Stronger social cohesion	Improved social welfare (social value)

Table 8 - Potential effects of user involvement and contribution to objectives of the users. (own table)

5.2.5 Alignment of all objectives with user involvement

Engbersen et al. (2007) summarize the potential social benefits of user involvement as described up to now.

- Public support for developments and policies
- A better understanding of local demands
- Stronger social cohesion
- Attachment to living environments
- More participating communities
- Bridged gap between citizens and authorities

Private developers can achieve risk minimization, support of plans and therefore legal and procedural support, by satisfying the users and the government. Trust and an improved image contribute to the developers' objective Business continuity. Finally, by understanding the users, there can be created value. Together with financial support in the form of subsidies or tax benefits, this contributes to a higher profit.

To conclude, Figure 7 shows how the objectives of each stakeholder are aligned:

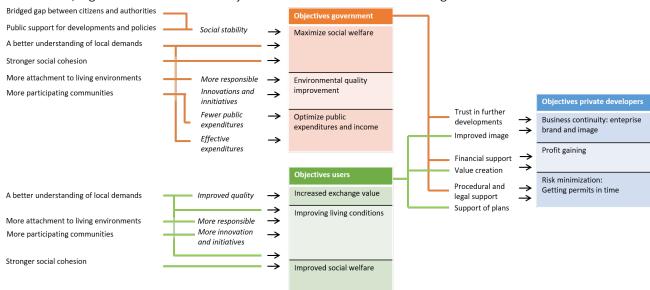


Figure 7 – Theoretical alignment of user involvement with the objectives of the government, users and the private developer. (own figure)

5.3 Conclusion

The most important stakeholders in urban renewal projects are private (developing) parties, public (political) parties and society. This report focusses on the private, independent/contractor led housing developer, the local government (municipality) and users, which can be the occupants, local community or the local entrepreneurs.

For private developers, user involvement offers opportunities to benefit their objectives to minimize risks, gain more profit and to ensure business continuity through enterprise brand and image improvement. For governments, user involvement can contribute to the social harmony and stability of society, it can improve environmental quality, and it can optimize expenditures and income. For users, being involved offers opportunities to improve the value of their residence, their living conditions and social welfare.

The objectives of the three parties can be aligned. Since this report focuses on private-led user involvement, the alignment is considered from the perspective of the private developer. For tis party, support from users and from the municipality can help to obtain permits in time and lower risks by having a predictable development process. Moreover, a successful involvement process can improve the corporate image and therefore, the trust in further development, which contributes to business continuity. Finally, user involvement can contribute to profit gaining. First, because user involvement provides better insights on customers' demands. Secondly, the developers are more likely to be financially supported by the government.

6 Room for improvement in the current situation

The previous chapter described the potential benefits of user involvement. When the objectives of the government and users are reached, it is more likely that they will contribute to the objectives of the developer. However, this chapter explains why a user involvement process is not necessarily aligned with each objective in that way.

Engbersen et al. (2007) conclude that political parties currently do not seem to be focusing enough on the citizens themselves. Therefore, there is a lack of understanding of what exactly the local needs are. This can lead to an aversion to plans. Citizens are often poorly involved in plans, while discussion about local problems and suitable solutions are often out of the question (Engbersen et al., 2007). This, despite potential alignment with the objectives of governments and private developers. Geesing (2015) also discovered that the benefits of user involvement seem not to be acknowledged. First, this chapter elaborates the problems of today's user involvement. The next chapters explore limitations for user involvement to reach its full potential.

6.1.1 Frustrated users because of limited involvement

According to Geesing (2015), in order to involve citizens in the most beneficial way for developers, developers need to show willingness, respect, transparency, trustworthiness and flexibility. In current user involvement processes users often are frustrated because of the way they are involved, leading to opposition to plans. Loss of faith occurs when multiple attempts of their desired involvement come to naught. Lack of motivation is then limiting the number of participants and therefore threatens the representation of all users. (Geesing, 2015)

Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018) emphasize the need for a socially inclusive and equal involvement where everyone is reached. Yet, there are barriers to reach people, such as language, reachability through different media, discrimination, fear, understanding etc. (Rashidfarkhi et al., 2018). As said before, Heurkens and Hobma (2014) explain that Dutch developers are not yet familiar with the role to involve users.

Mayer et al. (2005) explain that it appears to be hard for stakeholders to understand each other, which can lead to a lack of interest to involve users and for users to participate.

"participatory planning processes, such as open forum discussions with residents, easily degenerate into rather one-sided, superficial venting of wishes and viewpoints at a time when plans have already reached an advanced stage. This is one reason why administrators tend to avoid the hassle of participatory decision-making processes and why participation often seems an 'obligatory ritual', and why residents are often disappointed because their ideas and demands do not materialize in final designs. There is also the risk that innovative solutions will dissolve or be compromised in the participatory process, and that experts will be disappointed by the quality and depth of discussions with policymakers and residents." (Mayer et al., 2005, pg. 406)

This shows that user involvement is sometimes seen as an obligation for private developers. According to Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018), there is the risk that spatial planners already made decisions before involving the community. In that case, the involvement is just a legal check-off which costs money, without participants actually having an influence on the decision making.

The variables of user involvement (ladder of involvement, in *what, who, when*) show that the way users can be involved widely interpretable. De Vries (2019) concludes that user involvement processes often just focus on the level of involvement and lack of integration of the other variable *who, in what* and *when*. According to him, this results in limiting initiatives or demotivated participants to voice their opinion. A similar sound is heard from Kranen (2020), who explains that involvement often is limited to specific subjects, while participants might be more interested in other topics:

"What is great about community meetings is that people can freely discuss concerns and demands. The issue with information or involvement meetings organized by spatial planners is that the discussion subjects are limited: there is no room to share thoughts about what is not part of the involvement plan." (min.17:30)

6.1.2 Misrepresentation of societal needs

These insights suggest that more intensive user involvement would align better with the objectives of each stakeholder. However, the hopes for the participating party seem to be too high. Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) explain that bringing citizens in charge will cause representation issues.

First of all, it is hard to represent disparate individuals by the representatives of their larger organisations. Studies show that 'representatives' care more about the quality of their own living environment than to represent the interests of others. This means that the interests of smaller interests groups are easily overruled by those who influence the quality of places. This easily leads to the exclusion of the minority.

According to De Ruijter (2017), there is often a misrepresentation of the citizens, because certain groups of society are not reached or are not interested in participating. She concludes from the literature that there are essential participation gaps among citizens with lower incomes, neighbourhoods with lower social cohesion, the working class, lower educated and females. As explained by Van Buuren & Edelenbos (2008), a lack of participation among citizens can occur because of lack of time and because of frustration in earlier involvement processes.

Likewise, the SCP (2012) investigated that there is too little information about what extent people are participating. People do feel responsible, but just a quarter wants to participate. The 'neighbourhood feeling' has decreased in the Netherlands, leading to more distrust between citizens during participation. Meanwhile, the quality of a neighbourhood influences how much people are willing to participate. As livability decreases, people are less likely to participate. This is a vicious circle. Another negative influence is the lack of management. (SCP, chapter 12, 2012).

This asks for further exploration of the type of user involvement that is aligned with the objectives of the users and how the developing party could organize it. Syme and Eaton (1989) explored the possibilities to approach user involvement as a negotiation process: "We need to understand more fully why people wish to participate, what negotiation procedures are preferred, and the social context in which the public involvement negotiation is undertaken." This will be elaborated in chapter 14.2.

Initiatives from citizens to improve their living environment seem not to be that popular. Research by Van der Sanden (2018) shows several initiatives to improve contact between neighbours, but they were scarce. The outcome of these few initiatives appear to be disappointing since they do not necessarily help integration within a neighbourhood; they just empower small participating groups which were already connected. People tend to bond more, but different groups are not connected. Therefore it increases social differences. Even so, the shift from governmental power to the empowerment of citizens often leads to tension between neighbours. The variety of opinions drives citizens apart. Not all citizens are heard, and the decision making is not always transparent and democratic. Putting citizens in charge makes their role too formal. (Van der Sanden, 2018)

These arguments show that there is a too optimistic view of how much time and effort citizens can invest in participating, and there is not enough trust between citizens to really take care of each other.

Secondly, according to Lowndes and Sullivan (2014), there is an unequal power balance between governments, corporations and citizens. According to them, it is unlikely that partnerships are really of mutual benefits. Most of them are more symbolic.

Issues of legitimacy and accountability can appear especially in partnership situations, where the mechanisms for accountability and recalls of representatives are less clear. Direct user involvement of

individual citizens is, therefore not in line with democracy. (Lowndes and Sullivan, 2014) This issue is also described by the SCP: small parties have less power and resources, so expecting too many social effects from involvement processes might lead to inequality and exclusive problemsolving. Moreover, there is argued that individuals do not have a long term or broad-scale vision either and can be opportunistic or selfish (SCP, 2012, chap.1). Franke et al. (2015) explain that this opportunistic behaviour can lead to interventions that do not cover the actual problems of the full society.

6.1.3 Co-creation projects as successful examples?

Several successful user-led and co-creative projects have shown that tight relations with the government and users can lead to financial and procedural support by the government (Franke et al., 2015; Urban inspiration, 2015; Czischke, 2017; Hazeu, 2005). The lesson learned from these projects is that they all aim for social value and that they depend on the investments or help of parties who believe in social value creation. It shows how co-creation can lead to a suitable business plan when the right parties are connected. This is in line with Van Rhee's (2015) description of the facilitating government. He described that by simplifying regulations, governments aim to reduce complexity and how they can stimulate projects financially with tax benefits and subsidies.

These projects sound promising. However, there is a lot of dependence that might form a limitation when exceptional regulations or governmental help, allowances, loans and fundings are not available. In a shift of responsibilities, these public subsidies or help might not be available.

There is a second issue. Even in processes which are co-created with users, user involvement can be misleading: the ones with power still decide what happens at the end (Franke et al., 2015). Mayer et al. (2005) and Geesing (2015) explain that with this attitude, the possible benefits from user involvement are not created and therefore, is only seen as a time and money consuming activity.

6.1.4 Conclusion

To conclude, current involvement processes are not perfectly in line with the objectives of the government, users and private developers. For many private developers, user involvement is seen as a time and money consuming process. By just approaching user involvement as a 'check off' users do not really have influence, and the potential benefits are not reached. Users are often left frustrated or demotivated, which can lead to opposition to plans, mistrust regarding developments or an increased gap between the citizens and authorities. Poor representation of users limits the potential effect to have a better understanding of local demands. High expectations of the participation of citizens can have a negative effect on the social cohesion, attachment of citizens to their living environment and future participation.

Co-creation projects show how private parties could benefit from collaborating with users and the government. Still, even though these projects often lead to great social outcomes, it is optimistic to see this as a method for more effective user involvement. These projects often depend on governmental help or subsidies, and often, the power division is uneven between users and developers.

7 Theoretical advice to reach potential benefits of user involvement

As concluded in chapter 6, the current private-led user involvement often does not reach its full potential. Literature gives multiple advice to align user involvement better to the objectives of all stakeholders.

7.1 Preventing exclusion and frustration

Table 9 shows checklists from Van de Veen (2018), Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) and Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018) to improve user involvement. The table shows that some of their advice overlaps and some do not. This means that they complement each other. The next page explains the table a bit more.

	Van de Veen (2018)	Lowndes and Sullivan (2004)	Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018)	
Acting according to expectations	Taking into account expectations and disappointments that have been formed before.			
Matching local culture	Taking into account the habits of the participants while forming an involvement process	A broad range of different methods to address different issues and reach different citizen	Communicating planning information in several ways to reach everyone	
Balanced planning	Taking into account the planning of the participants	groups	Direct invitation of representatives of different socio-economic groups and	
Offering a variety of means	Offering a variety of means in such a way that all participants can participate.		ensuring that everyone can reach information	
Role integrity	Taking into account how roles can be complementary or conflicting and matching the participants			
Flexibility	Offering room for flexibility of end result and input of participants		Communicate two ways, consult to ensure the consideration of other opinions	
Interaction	Being responsive to input and stimulating responses	A capacity for evaluation and for feedback to citizens regarding the outcome of participation	Promote interaction, platforms and connect minorities.	
		exercises.	Shared responsibility, reintegrate vulnerable, integrate the local culture for mutual understanding and trust.	
Create and limit influence	Creating a certain level of influence for participants	Maximal clarity about the purpose and scope of participation exercises and limitations	Inform about the possibilities to participate	
Constant involvement	Making clear what participant are involved in and how the involvement process will be used towards the end result			
Project solidarity	Creating the feeling of ownership/ solidarity of participants towards the project.			
Clear participation results		A clear link between participation initiatives and decision-making processes		
Freedom of speech			Reduce fear of attack, loss of social services or disapproval by providing a way how participants can freely express themselves	

Table 9- preconditions for user involvement from the users' perspective. (Van de Veen, 2018; Lowndes and Sullivan , 2004; Rashidfarkhi et al., 2018)

Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) propose methods to prevent participants from becoming frustrated. Similarly, Van de Veen (2018) appoints ten preconditions for user involvement from the users' perspective. The last column in this table is from Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018). As explained, exclusivity and opportunistic behaviour can result in a false representation of societal needs. To gain a complete representation of the users, Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018) call for a more social sustainable involvement process that is inclusive and responsive. They provided measures to be taken for a social sustainable development process. In summary, this means that everyone will be offered the same participation opportunities, while reasons for exclusion are limited. The process would have to contribute to community participation, social capital and social cohesion, and it should offer a safe environment for participants to express themselves.

The following paragraphs provide more insights into how to approach these checklists. The same checklist will be used to interpret the findings of the case studies in chapter 12.4.4.

7.1.1 Inclusive, responsive and interactive user involvement.

Boyer (2018) describes how the ladder of involvement moves from information distribution to information solicitation and finally exchanges knowledge in an interactive manner. According to his findings, all these forms have the opportunity to improve the attitudes of users towards developments. Interactive involvement is most important and is required for assuring that projects reflect the interests of users. However, interaction requires fundamental knowledge for citizens to be active participants. Information dissemination is in second place to create community support. (Boyer, 2018)

As described in chapter 5.2, key stakeholders each have their own interests. Because of these different interests, there can be aimed for different types of user involvement, with the risk that the chosen type of user involvement frustrates the users. Developers can prevent this by explaining decision-making and what user involvement is possible.

"Preferably also the explanation behind the limitations and requirements should be shared in order to create as much understanding as possible, increasing the chance of having inter-actor communication on the same line." (Geesing, 2015, pg. 108)

According to Geesing (2015), an open, transparent and responsive attitude seems to be desired from developers to prevent user involvement from leading to frustration.

As explained, exclusivity and opportunistic behaviour can result in a false representation of societal needs. As shown in Table 9, Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018) call for a more social sustainable involvement process that is inclusive and responsive and therefore has more chance to reach the hard-to-reach citizens as well.

Mayer et al. (2005) acknowledge the issues of understanding barriers between experts and users, as explained in chapter 3.2. They claim that decision making should be:

- Integrative: considering the different aspects
- Dynamic: showing performance of various alternatives
- Interactive: there should be a negotiation process between stakeholders.
- Transparent
- Flexible and reusable: adaptable to similar situations
- Fast and easy to use
- Communicative and educational: convey meaning and insight
- Authoritative: standards should be analytically valid; the core values should be safeguarded.

This checklist can help to improve decision making that allows user involvement in the future.

Mulder proposes design tools and infrastructures, which unleash the intrinsic ability of users to design, in order to get more benefit out of user involvement. (Mulder, 2018)

Chapter 14.2 explores more about game theory, which makes use of these design tools and infrastructures.

7.1.2 Early, flexible and complete user involvement

Other advice can be grouped as early, flexible and complete user involvement.

Early involvement

As explained in chapter 6.1.1, one of the problems is that spatial planners often already made decisions before involving the community. According to Geesing (2015), early involvement is preferable, and the preferred level on the ladder of involvement are "consult' and 'involve'. Mengerink adds to leave room for flexibility in the process, so users showing up later in the process can still be involved (2015)

Van de Veen (2018) argues that involvement is most important during the planning stage before urban designs are fixed. This is in line with Boyer (2018): a common issue is that citizens are forming expectations during project planning. "PPP [Public-private-partnership] failures post-award have typically occurred because citizens felt their interests had not been heard early on." (pg. 14) There is an important shift of perceptions from development to implementation stage, in public-private-partnerships. Citizens are often concerned about the inflexibility of these projects since the development can last for generations. The implementation stage narrows the room for involvement because of a focus on revenue. Throughout the process, private parties would need to demonstrate their understanding of and commitment to the needs of users to create support. Network-based user involvement can lay the groundwork for improving the perceived alignment of projects with local needs.

These findings of Boyer are about public-private-partnerships and it is limited to public transport. This makes it interesting to explore whether this will be the same in private-led urban renewal developments.

No fixed subjects or involvement level

Just as explained in chapter 6.1.1, users can be frustrated because they do not have the influence they prefer, are not involved in the topics of their interests or not in the right moment. De Vries (2019) proposes a complete involvement process, for which the involvement does not just focus on one of the steps of the ladder of involvement or pre-decided subjects. The proposed involvement process is divided into 4 phases, from initiative to result:

Phase 1: From initiative to a shared ambition Goals:

- Understanding the ambitions of the initiator
- Exploring limitations
- Listing stakeholders and their interests: In what, how and when do the users want to be involved?

Phase 2: From shared ambition to a plan Goals:

- Understanding who is interested in participating and what is needed to involve them.
- Appointing a role to the initiator
- Listing pro's and con's for this plan

Phase 3: From a concrete plan to a result Goals:

- Dividing tasks and responsibilities to make the participation of stakeholders useful.
- Understanding the kind of participation users are able and willing to participate in.

Phase 4. From plans to a concrete proposal Goals:

- Exploring how the plans fit the limitations
- Making sure all participants agree with the plans.

Integrated development

In a conversation with the director of the development apartment of Van Wijnen West, he explained that they are exploring new collaborations with municipalities. Their preference would be to make integral area improvement plans. With these plans, the developer will collaborate with the municipality and other stakeholders to find the best improvement plan for a whole neighbourhood. The director likes the idea to take the lead in these processes, which will include early user involvement, to find out what would be best for that particular neighbourhood. While now, developers often are involved after the clients (housing corporations and municipalities) formed the boundary conditions, in the future, this can be done in collaboration with the developers. It will then be easier for the developer to integrate user involvement throughout the whole process. Chapter 16 discusses this form of collaboration.

7.2 Conclusion

There are several checklists to improve the effectiveness of user involvement. They come down to two core principles. First, involving users early in an inclusive, responsive and interactive manner seems to be more in line with the objectives of each party. Secondly, involving users earlier in the process, with more flexible plans and not sticking to fixed subjects or involvement levels.

8 Development boundaries and the room for user involvement

The previous chapter explored recommendations to improve user involvement. First, by involving users more inclusively, responsively and interactively and earlier. Second, by involving them with more flexibility and more completely. The questions arise, however, whether this is truly feasible for the private developer.

This chapter explores the possibilities for private developers to involve users at an earlier stage, more intensively and with more flexibility.

8.1 Room for involvement

The step-by-step plan of Van Wijnen (2020) to involve users shows that the way users are involved (room for involvement) is derived from development boundaries. This leads to Figure 8, showing that for them, the possible user involvement is influenced by the boundaries defined by the government, the client, their own business model and constructors. Nevertheless, it considers the flexibility of these boundaries.

The definition Room for involvement will often appear in this report.

Room for involvement comprehends the options to involve users. This is influenced by the development boundaries.

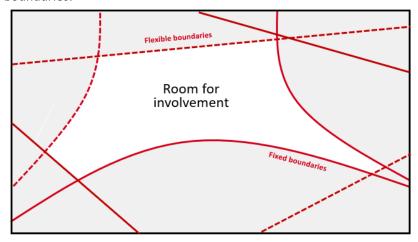


Figure 8 - Room for involvement between development boundaries (Van Wijnen, 2020)

8.2 Development boundaries

These development boundaries limit the room for involvement. There are several types of boundaries, which will be described in this part.

"The possibilities and variations in the plan design are often limited, due to: the context, a range of other externalities and the developer's objective to gain a profit... ... Before a developer decides for himself whether or not it is worth investing in that particular development site, he already investigates the possibilities, opportunities and possible hurdles. In practice this means a developer that is willing to develop, knows for the most part already what is possible and what not.." Geesing (2015, pg. 108)

For this report, the following definition will be used to define <u>development boundaries</u>: Development boundaries limit development options. These can be: preconditions, visions, legal restrictions and practical limitations and can be flexible or fixed.

8.2.1 Preconditions

Preconditions are boundaries defined to ensure the feasibility of a plan. They are often defined as general preconditions by developing parties.

Van Wijnen (2020) has 7 general preconditions with which development must comply before the project can be accepted. With this, they are more sure of the financial, procedural or practical risks and the estimated profit.

- 1. The construction will be done inhouse
- 2. Common sense (uncertainties and risks)
- 3. The location is perfect for this particular development
- 4. View of quick sales: 70% pre-sold before starting construction
- 5. 100% control of the land, without buying the land: by involving a third party (ABC transaction)
- 6. Realisation within 2 to 3 years
- 7. Limited liquidity in relation to development production (no fixated cash-flows)

<u>Financial</u>

In most situations, developers already made plans for a site to calculate their potential yield. They already investigated possibilities, opportunities and possible hurdles. Finances limit the development options because of a minimum yield and maximum expenditures. This means that the room for user involvement is limited to the decision about, for instance functions, density or quality. (Geesing, 2015; Mengerink, 2015)

Even though user involvement has potential financial benefits, Geesings (2015) describes how Dutch project developers do not necessarily see user involvement as a potential strategy since they do not believe that investments will pay off. Despite the potential benefits as described in chapter 5, there is not enough proof of the correlation between the investment and the added value. (Geesing, 2015)

Procedural

According to Mengerink (2015), procedural boundaries are the duration there is for decision making, important decision moments, information provision and degree of guidance.

Logically, time is an important limitation. Important decision moments are obtaining ground, contract signings, obtaining permits, start demolition and constructing. The amount of time there is to make decisions partly determines the flexibility of the made plans.

The time and kind of information provided and the way it is received determines the subjects people can be involved in and on what level. The degree of guidance in the involvement process influences how involvement is received and steered. (Mengerink, 2015)

8.2.2 Visions

Visions form development boundaries since they limit the development options, but these are often not concrete or fixed. These can include the focus on a certain target group, an envisioned atmosphere or the connection between areas. Although visions are not concrete, complete deviation from these plans often is not possible. Therefore, it limits the room for involvement with users.

8.2.3 Legal restrictions

Restrictions are fixed boundaries, often formed through a legal procedure.

Buitelaar, Segeren, Kronberger (2008) explain that municipalities who used to own and develop ground themselves, no longer want to take risks and high costs. Therefore, the initiative for urban renewal is shifted more and more to private parties. However, since municipalities will remain a facilitating role, these developments need to be in line with their visions. For this, municipalities need to be clear about restrictions. (Buitelaar et al., 2018)

Boeve and Groothuijse (2019) describe the legal steps toward development plans. Figure 9 shows how the municipality first forms an environmental vision, which will be followed by land-use plans. Then a decision will be made about which projects would suit those plans, and finally, the developer applies for environmental permits to match their implementation with the aforementioned plans.

As Boeve and Groothuijse explain, these steps each include user involvement in a way, although user involvement can never be legally bounding. In the Dutch situation, the municipality is democratically chosen and responsible for forming an environmental vision that responds best to the needs of all citizens. This means that unpopular functions such as modern windmills can be against the needs of the local residents, but in benefit of the rest of a city. This is why the policies made by the municipality will be leading for development decisions, instead of the voices of local residents. (Boeve and Groothuijse, 2019)

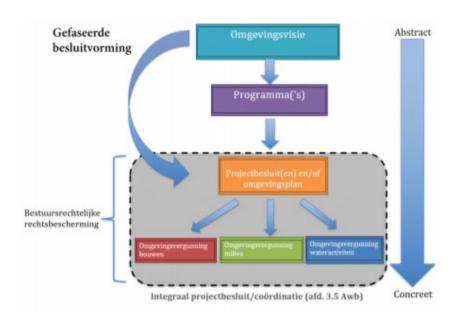


Figure 9 - Legal steps from environmental vision towards environmental permits. (Boeve & Groothuijse, 2019)

Urban renewal includes changing urban fabric. This means that the land-use plan needs to be changed or adjusted for the development to happen (Hobma, 2019a). Since the land-use plan decides what can be built, it is a necessity for developers to estimate the value of the land. With this, the flexibility of plans is already limited. Deviation from the plan or 'non fixed' plans is possible but brings in new development risks. (Hobma, 2019a)

Building decree and housing act

The building decree includes all legal and technical requirements for all buildings in the Netherlands. There is little to no room for exceptions, meaning that it is limiting the options for user involvement. (Hobma, 2019b) Similarly, the housing act describes that the municipality can set requirements for external appearance. However, the difference with the building decree is that the aesthetics committee judges whether the appearance is within the requirements set by the municipality (Welstand, n.d.). This means that the aesthetical limitations are more flexible.

Tenders

Mengerink (2015) explored that tenders can limit this flexibility even more. Tenders often require developers to come up with quite detailed plans. Once a tender is won, the plan cannot change much anymore, in legal respects. This limits the possible user involvement after the tender. (Mengerink, 2015)

8.2.4 Practical limitations

Practical limitations include all limitations that are defined by the planning parties. Logically development options are limited by technical limitations: there are limited building heights for certain materials based on their strengths. Other practical limitations are for example, ground conditions, a

nearby airport influencing noise limits, the carbon emissions in an area or shortages of employees or material.

8.3 Flexibility of defined boundaries

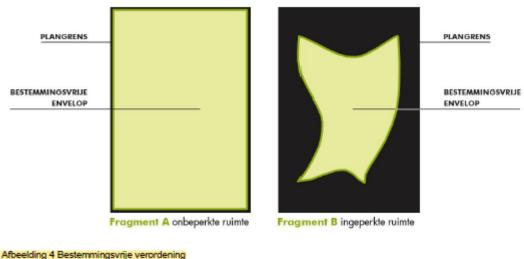
8.3.1 Flexibility of legal restrictions

As described in chapter 4, the current legal system of the land use-plan can be considered limiting for user involvement. Bomhof and Oosterkamp (2013) describe the problem: The physical environment in our country is built, planned and used, but does not suit the needs and demands of users. There is a demand for more flexible land-use plans that leave room for an easy shift to other use. This can for example be, invitational planning: meaning 'yes, only when' instead of 'no, unless'. In practice, however, land-use plans are not flexible. This is because of detailed plan rules and time-consuming bureaucracy. The research of Bomhof and Oosterkamp explores whether the existing planning regulations leave room for challenges in the economic crisis of 2008. Table 10 shows the flexibility within the law spatial planning.

Global land-use plans	Usually, go along with the obligation to elaborate and a prohibition to build unless.
Invitation planning	The government deciding on desired developments, together with the stakeholders. This means that there is room for initiatives. It globally plans the desired and undesired developments and what restrictions there are. The government takes the role of municipal policy maker/project manager, but changes from judge to active key player (networker, regisseur)
Organic developments	Process (strategy) instead of project, with a facilitating role for the municipality and dominant role for end-users.
Multifunctional mixed-use land-use	All combinations are possible unless they are contradictory to each other.
Change powers (Wijzigingsbevoegdheid)	Provides room to change the land-use in the near future according to the plan.
Unplanned flexibility	Provides room for permissions that are not in line with the land- use plan, only when they are motivated and are not contradicting the spatial plans

Table 10 - Flexible options within the law spatial planning (ruimtelijke ordening). (Bomhof & Oosterkamp, 2013)

Bomhof and Oosterkamp categorize restrictions into the preservation of the environment, quality and concept. Flexibility is the room between those restrictions. They conclude that the law system does not allow enough flexibility to allow easy change of the land use, although the Environment and Planning Act promises to improve that. (Bomhof & Oosterkamp, 2013)



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Figure 10 - Room for flexibility between the restrictions of the plan (Bomhof & Oosterkamp, 2013)

8.3.2 Limited shift from public to private

Zero tolerance of failure

Despite the possibilities to make the legal restrictions more flexible, is can be questioned whether the government would apply these methods. Foley (2000) describes how the shift from top-down to bottom-up has significant obstacles to increasing the participation of local users. Because of a self-imposed 'zero tolerance of failure', governments find it difficult to cede power and control to communities. This includes the power and control of resources, decision making and implementation processes. "Much will depend upon whether the agencies, charged with implementing new initiatives, embrace community perspectives and concerns and the extent to which local people, armed with national performance indicators and inspection reports, will demand and be able to contribute to more effective regeneration strategies and better services." (Pg. 488)

He warned the government to learn from their mistakes and to address the difficult issues from previous attempts to enhance user involvement, or the same mistakes will be made again. "Ministers and officials will then conclude that, though a laudable objective, community involvement does not deliver the anticipated benefits and since 'what matters is what works' the policy pendulum will swing back once again towards the imposition of 'top-down' programmes."

According to Foley (2000), the trend is still going towards bottom-up. Nevertheless, the negative experiences with user involvement may hold that movement back, considering the current issues that user involvement does not reach the anticipated benefits. (Foley, 2000)

Broader, cross border objectives and democratic complexity

In this report, several dilemma's occur which are related to each other. According to Boeve and Groothuijse (2019) (chapter 8.2.3) the democratic system prevents that results of local user involvement can be legally bounding. This is in line with Lowndes and Sullivan (2014) (chapter 6.1.2), who explain that user involvement does not sufficiently represent the needs of all users, which is why putting individuals in charge will not be according to democracy.

Next, Syme and Eaton (chapter 14.2) describe the issue of the state versus regional governance. Chapter 4.1 describes that an argument for a retreating government is to decentralise and to have more customized reactions to local challenges. Nevertheless, municipal officials are responsible for the functioning of their whole municipalities and all of their citizens (Ministery of internal affairs, n.d.B). Therefore, they have cross border objectives, which are broader than single developments. These are often translated into city visions, land-use plans or restrictions.

A shift after a fixed land-use plan

Buitelaar et al. (2008) explain how municipalities (unintentional) can limit developers in making a profit. For beneficial exploitation, municipalities tend to maximize the density and amount of houses it is allowed to build in the land-use plan. This means that in order for developers to make a profit, there is not much flexibility, since they paid for those ground potentials. Transformation of an urban area often leads to higher costs, which makes the flexibility even smaller. There are also higher demolition and acquisition costs. Often this results in devaluation of the building plans, unaffordable houses, and more high rise/higher density.

According to Buitelaar et al., it is unlikely that developers will take the full lead for plans before land-use plans have been ensured. Although developers initiate some developments in the Netherlands, most developers do not take risks to buy land for which the land-use plan is still uncertain. (Buitelaar et al., 2008) This leads to Figure 11.

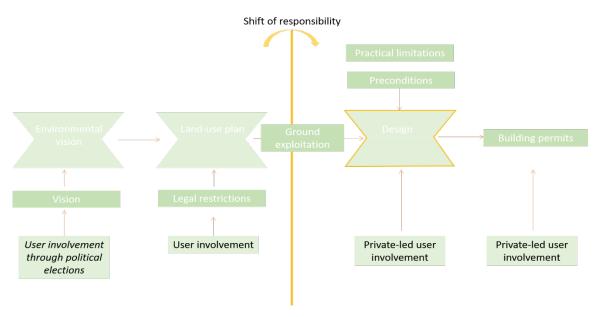


Figure 11 - The shift between public and private user involvement (own figure)

8.4 Conclusion

Although the government is envisioning a shift of the responsibility of user involvement to the private developers, it appears hard to find the flexibility needed for user involvement that is in line with the interests of the users. The moment private developers agree to a development plan, a wide range of boundaries is already defined. These can be preconditions, visions, legal restrictions or practical limitations. Most of the boundaries are influenced by the municipalities who leave little room for flexibility. Nowadays, residents are becoming more and more involved in municipal plans. However, when the private developer takes over, there still appears to be a misalignment of objectives or a lack of flexibility for the desired user involvement.

9 Involvement strategy of Van Wijnen

User involvement is seen as an opportunity for Van Wijnen (Van Wijnen, 2020).

- Get better insights about the project and the stakeholders, in order to increase the support for the plans
- Prevent non-substantive objections
- Be independent of the government
- Contribute to a better living environment together with the users.

The involvement strategy is shown in figure 12.

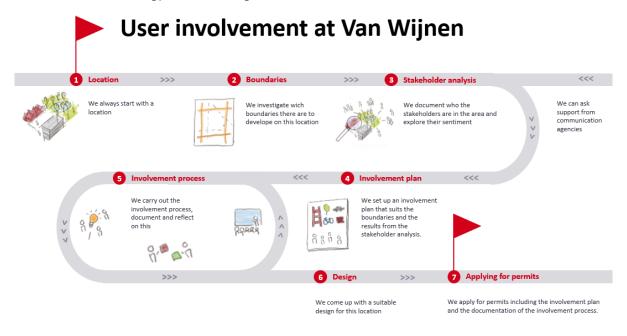


Figure 12- User involvement strategy of Van Wijnen. (Van Wijnen, 2020)

This strategy seems well in line with advice from literature. It first explores the boundaries and room for user involvement, followed by the interests of potential users. Then, based on the interests of the potential users, the involvement plan can be made.

However, it shows the same issue as described by literature:

The involvement plan is made after the boundaries are explored. The strategy describes that the interests of users decide who is going to be involved in what and how. Yet, the step-by-step plan shows that the involvement plan needs to suit the room for involvement that is left between the defined boundaries.

Since the main reason for user involvement is to manage risks, it is argued among colleagues that user involvement needs to be added to the preconditions of development. This makes this research relevant for practice. With the results of this research, the preconditions for meaningful user involvement in order to minimize risks can be set more concretely.

Research design

10 Research design and methodology

10.1 Final problem statement

The advice in chapter 7 and the strategy of the private developer itself in chapter 9, show that it is well known how user involvement could be aligned with the objectives of users, the government and the private developer. However, in practice, it is often not the case. Early involvement and proposing more flexible plans may seem to be solutions to improve the alignment, but development boundaries defined by the government and developing parties can limit the options for the private-led user involvement. For this reason, the potential alignment might not be reached. The next chapter explains the research to justify this hypothesis and to explore potential approaches.

Figure 13 shows the conceptual framework for this research.

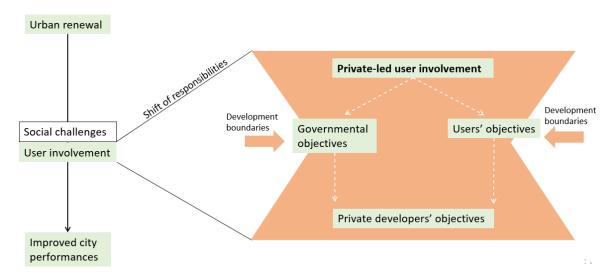


Figure 13- Final conceptual model. (Own figure)

10.2 Research questions

The main question for this research is:

To what extent do the development boundaries leave enough room for private developers to align user involvement with the objectives of users, the municipality and the developer themselves?

First, this research focusses on the development boundaries that are defined along the process because they seem to limit the options for private developers to involve users. Second, the research focusses on the way users were involved. There will be made a deviation between user involvement as initially planned by the developer and how they were involved in the practice. Finally, there will be explored how this final user involvement process was in line with the objectives of each party.

The sub-questions therefore are:

- 1. How are development boundaries defined, and by whom?
- 2. What room is left for the developer to involve users?
- 3. To what extent are user involvement processes aligned with objectives of the municipality, the users and the developer?

Each case study describes the lessons that are learned. These can be used for practical recommendations, so private developers can improve how they approach user involvement in the future.

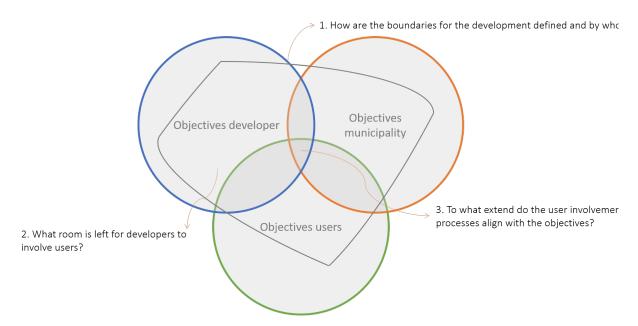


Figure 14- Research model. (Own figure)

10.3 Design and methodology

10.3.1 Research type

Three private-led urban renewal projects provide practical insights to form answers for the research. This experience-based research is empirical (Bryman, 2012). Exploring how the process is viewed from different perspectives requires a qualitative study design.

This research can be described as empirical research when considering the aim of the research and the type of research questions. Empirical research has a descriptive methodology, just like how this research describes the process of user involvement, what influences that and the role different stakeholders play in this process (Barendse, Binnekamp, De Graaf, Van Gunsteren & Van Loon, 2012). This research investigates existing cases to provide knowledge the user involvement processes, objectives of development stakeholders and current approaches. With this, the research has an operational character since it allows synthesis of the obtained knowledge and requires design thinking to come up with potential improvements. This will result in recommendations for future processes.

10.3.2 Data collection

Cases

A completed project provides insight into the way full involvement processes take form and also how development boundaries are defined along the process. It provides insights into the way these processes are in line with the objectives of the government, users and the private developer, looking back on the full process.

However, since the Environment and Planning Act is not yet valid, it is relatively new for private developers to lead the user involvement process. The user involvement processes of the delivered project, therefore, does not show the current approach. Two ongoing projects provide insights on the nowadays limitations to achieve a user involvement that aligns with the objectives of each party.

Analysis

First, desk work has been done to obtain basic information about each case. A timeline is created on the basis of reports, news and interviews, showing the definition of boundaries and the user

involvement per phase.

However, there are four criteria for documents to make them useful for data collection: authenticity, plausibility, representativeness and comprehensibility (Bryman, 2012). The documentation coming from a private party makes it plausible that the documentation is not complete. It is likely that parts of the process were not documented, were intentionally omitted, considered unimportant or documented with a bias. Newspapers can help to find critical notes, but this will only be the case for major events. Therefore, to collect a complete data collection, the findings will be checked with all stakeholders, through interviews.

Interviews

The type of research questions asked for data collection through interviews, for various reasons. First, documentation is likely to be incomplete and to provide insufficient insights into the effects of user involvement processes. Therefore conversations with the stakeholders will provide insights. However, this will be mostly based on their experiences. Fornara, Ferdinando, Bonaiuto, Marino, Bonnes and Mirilia (2010) describe that experiences can be conducted with two approaches: Inductive (without guidance) and deductive (straight forward questioning). Since inductive evokes more spontaneous reactions, it can be seen as qualitative research. Deductive is helpful to check theory/checklists and leads to more quantitative results. (Fornara et al., 2010)

So, a semi-structured interview, combining the deductive and inductive approach, seemed most appropriate (Bryman, 2012).

11 Case selection and interviewees

The criteria for the cases are:

- As explained, housing shortage has driven big cities of the Netherlands to urban renewal. The cases would, therefore be urban renewal projects.
- The research describes private-led developments. Therefore it is important that the cases were developed and led by Van Wijnen.
- It is of importance that there was relevant user involvement.
- The scale of the development would *impact* the surrounding. This, because of the belief that successful places stand in relation to their surrounding and are not a project on their own and to be able to explore the influence of local users.
- Since the environment and planning act is just recently introduced, the cases must be delivered max 5 years ago.

The following cases are selected for the execution of the research. All cases are developed and lead by Van Wijnen. For each case, a brief introduction is drawn to understand the context. This is done through the stories that came up in the interviews. The rest will be elaborated in the part Results.

Zijdebalen

Around the year 2000, the industrial area near the edge of the city centre of Utrecht is becoming more and more derelict. Roemers go around in the surrounded neighbourhoods that the municipality is planning to transform it into a residential area. Users showed interests to be involved in these plans.

	Zijdebalen, Utrecht		
Context	Industrial to residential transformation at the edge of the city centre of Utrecht.		
Size	500 houses on 4.2 ha		
Functions	Residential (Private rent and owner-occupied in the mid-high segment and 41 social rent) and catering industry		
Timeline	First development initiative: 2000 Developer in the lead: 2006 – 2019 The ground was sold from the municipality to developer in the initiative phase. The first developer formed the definition phase, together with the municipality and the users. From 2012 to 2014, there was stagnation and a shift from developers due to the economic crisis. The new developer bought the ground and made a design based on the land-use plan.		
Interviewees	Municipal Official A: Project manager 2005-2010 Municipal Official B: Project manager 2010-2019 Developer A: (no interviewee) Developer B: Project developer Van Wijnen 2014-2017 Developer C: Project developer Hurks 2014 – 2018 User A: Social representative (sociaal makelaar) User B: Chairman residents' committee		

Table 11 – Case information Zijdebalen. (Own table)

Teding van Berkhoutlaan

In a suburb of Delft, residents enjoy their living environment: the houses are small and not special, but the neighbourhood is quiet, there is a lot of greenery, kids can play safely and go to school just across the street. Then, the school gets out of use in 2011. For a long time, children from the neighbourhood make use of the derelict playground until the school gets demolished in 2014. New development? For another long time, nothing happens, until a developer shows up in 2019 with development plans.

	Teding van Berkhoutlaan, Delft
Context	The built of an apartment building on a former school location, in a peaceful suburb of Deft.
Size	30 houses on 0.3 ha
Functions	Residential (owner-occupied in low-mid segment)

Timeline	First development initiative: 2014		
	Developer in the lead: 2014- 2020		
	Ground was almost sold from the municipality to the developer in 2014, based on a		
	groundexploitation for 14 single family houses. In 2019 the intention agreement was signed to built		
	30-50 appartment buildings. From that moment users were involved.		
Interviewees	Municipal Official A: Project manager 2016-2010		
	Developer A: Project developer Van Wijnen 2018 - 2019		
	Developer B: Project developer Van Wijnen 2019 - today		
	Developer C : Project developer Van Wijnen 2020 - today		
	User A: Local resident, active participant		

Table 12 - Case information Teding van Berkhoutlaan. (Own table)

Parkweg – midden (Parkweg)

When the Parkweg neighbourhood was built in the '60s, the designs were highly modern, green and open. Now, the separation of functions and unmanned green fields form anonymous and unsafe places. On a broader scale, Schiedam is experiencing that this neighbourhood has formed as a cluster for people with low social privileges. In a whole new design, the new Parkweg will bring in new types of residents, while it offers green shared gardens to the neighbourhood. With intensive user involvement, the whole neighbourhood could benefit from this development, such as the developer and municipality.

	Parkweg-midden, Schiedam
Context	Obsolete social post-war apartments make place for new apartment buildings and single-family
	houses in a problematic neighbourhood of Schiedam.
Size	240 houses on 2.8 ha
Functions	Residential (Private rent and owner-occupied in mid-segment and 60% social rent)
Timeline	Municipal Official A: Project preparator 2016 – 2020
	Municipal Official B: Project manager 2020 - today
	Developer A: Project developer Van Wijnen 2019 – today
	Corporation employee A: Project preparator Woonplus (housing corporation) 2016 - 2019
	User A: Volunteer community centre and participant focus group

Table 13 -Case information Parkweg-midden. (Own table)

Representation of the users

Before showing the results, the interviewed users will need to be put in perspective. As explained in chapter 5.1.4, there are different types of users to take into account. However, for this research, only one or two users will be interviewed. For all cases, users were selected who were active participators in the involvement process and who were actively involved with the neighbourhood for years.

User A in Zijdebalen was a social representative. This means that User A is a resident who has tight contacts with the municipality and serves as a representative for the needs of the residents of the neighbourhood. User B was the chairman of the residents' committee during the involvement process.

User A in Teding van Berkhoutlaan was an active participant during the involvement process. In this process, user A took the lead to represent the neighbours towards the developers and to discuss demands before negotiating with the developers.

User A in Parkweg-midden is an active volunteer in for the community centre and was actively participating in the preparation of the tender.

These users appear to be useful to serves as representatives. Nevertheless, even they will be limited to their social network, while the minority groups, for example, can be missed. Moreover, the occupiers of the new developments are nearly represented by these interviewees, just as the local entrepreneurs.

Results

12 Findings

12.1 Zijdebalen

12.1.1 Case description

SQ 1. How were the boundaries for this development defined, and by whom?

From initiative to definition

The industrial area became more and more derelict, and the municipality planned to turn it into a residential area. When users found out about these plans, they contacted the municipality: "by the time there are concrete development plans, we want to be involved!" The first vision of 500 houses was drawn by the municipality. This was a high density on 4,2 hectare. (User A & B)

The first urban plan was made by the interested developer Madevin, in 2007. The plan was presented to the neighbourhood, before Madevin was the owner of the land, in order to explore the acceptance. When it seemed right, Madevin acquired the land. (Municipal Official A &B)

User A: "The old industrial area had lost its historic charm. New residents were not yet in sight, but the surrounding residents were pleased to hear about the redevelopment plans. Especially when the developer referred to the historic charm."

At that moment, there were no hard restrictions specific to that area, apart from some general city restriction such as height and parking norms.

The municipality, the developer and a board of residents, led by a professional, then discussed the boundaries for this development. (Municipal Official A &B)

Plan of requirements

The most important requirement for the municipality and the developer was that the plan needed to be financial suitable, leading to a minimum amount of houses. Although the users did not like the density, they supported the development and understood why this minimum amount of houses was needed (Municipal Official A &B). This can be concluded from the quote of User A: "Developers need to let go of the fear of users turning against their plans. We understand pretty well that development can improve our living environment and that financial feasibility needs to be considered. Be transparent about that, and participants will be more supportive."

For the users, the high density was a threat to the amount of green public areas. For them, this was important since the rest of the neighbourhood already lacked such greenery. This led to semi-private gardens, although it was not in line with the demands of the users from the neighbourhood. Another demand was to make the neighbourhood suitable for different types of users. According to them, a liveable neighbourhood has a social mix: "Talking about social cohesion, students and expats are not the best target group, since they do not care for their living environment enough, they do not participate. What would be best is a mix of users and a focus on households who will live here for longer such as families and houses that allow livelong living." (User B)

For them, it was a pity to notice that there would be a focus on owner-occupied houses in the high price segments, and there would be barely any social housing.

There were three cases in which the involved users influenced the boundaries: First, there was a petition for the local hardware store to be relocated within the plan area. This has led to a land-use plan that allowed hardware stores as well. "An amenity like that is appreciated in the city centre. I believe we received around 600 letters with a request to keep the hardware store on the site." (User B) Secondly, to ensure sunlight and view for the surrounding houses, some building heights were lower

than initially planned by the developer. Likewise, one high tower was divided into three lower ones. As User A & B said: "It is a negotiation: lower density here, means higher density elsewhere". Third, the plans included the demolition of 18 social houses. This caused some resistance and led to a political discussion about the percentage of social housing in this area. Finally, this was increased from 10 to 20% (Municipal Official A &B).

New developers, new plans

Due to the economic crisis, Madevin was no longer able to complete the plans, and there was a long time gap between the new land-use plan in 2010 and the final development. The new developers Hurk and Van Wijnen acquired the project between 2013 and 2014. There was an acquisition period of 2 years to get to a deal. They took over the project from Madevin, as it was. However, because of the crisis, those plans weren't feasible anymore and needed serious adjustments. There were a lot of changes in the architecture, and there were some savings on the canals. Another change they made was switching the order of development, phase 1 and 2. Legally, they were allowed to make these changes, within the restrictions of the land-use plan. (Developer C)

Municipal Official B: "In 2014 the new developers formally took over. At that moment, the requirements were set. I noticed then that they were free to design within the restrictions of the landuse plan in their way. Of course, they would need the support of local residents to get the environmental permits, you will see the developers have interests in involving them. Although the landuse plan allowed the planning of a hardware store, the developers were not obligated to realise this. (Municipal Official A & B)

So the developers were only bound by the land-use plan and legally did not have to follow the rest of the plans from Madevin. However, the developers had set limitations for themselves as well: First of all, there was a lot of time pressure, from the companies themselves, since this was a big and uncertain investment, but also from other investors who expected certain delivery date. Secondly, there was a minimum amount of houses and price category in order to achieve minimum yield. (Developer C) Third, there were a lot of key players. In order to finance the first phases, there were investors, building potential buyers, etc. They all had their own requirements and needed to be involved.

"We agreed on investments with prepayment, which made the plan financially feasible for us. However, as a matter of course, the investors required a final delivery date." (Developer B & C)

Role division in the definition of boundaries

Despite a tight collaboration, there was a clear role division for the municipality and Madevin. The municipality took the lead in involving the users and the plan of requirements, although Madevin was always involved in this process. "We organised the user involvement for the first developer, and we formed the plan of requirements. So in that respect, we were in the lead. Still, it is all about the dialogue: if the developer disagrees, it will not happen" (Municipal Official A)

From the moment Hurks and Van Wijnen were developing, it was similar: The municipality defines requirements and is in ultimate charge of the land-use plan. The developer makes plans and develops. The involvement is in collaboration between the three parties. Afterwards, the municipality checks whether the plans meet the requirements. This can lead to conflicts when the plan is different than imagined by the municipality, as in this plan. (Municipal Official A & B)

SQ 2. What room was left for user involvement?

As explained, at the time Madevin was developing, there were barely any restrictions, except for a certain density (minimum yield), so they had a lot of subjects to fill in together with the users. According to Users A & B, a professional was hired by the municipality to arrange contact between the three parties.

New developers, new 'user involvement'

According to the Municipal Official A & B, there was a clear difference in the intensity with which Madevin and Hurks and Van Wijnen involved users. At the time Hurks and Van Wijnen were developing, in 2014, the land-use plan from 2010 was valid, based on the plans of Madevin. This means that the requirements were clear. Within those, the developer was flexible.

Users A & B explain: The savings due to the economic crisis were noticeable. There was a need for quick development since development had been stopped for the past four years. Because of that time gap and lack of finances, the municipality stopped facilitating the user involvement. People whose task it was to connect the users to the developers left the project, and the developers did not take over this task

Secondly, cutbacks in costs led Hurks and Van Wijnen to compromise on the quality of homes, by turning water canals into greenery and social rent into private rent.

A fragment from the interview with Users A & B:

Interviewer: How did the final result meet your expectations? How were you involved after the time gap and the switch to a new developer?

User B: We were not involved... from the moment the new developer came, we were not involved anymore.

Interviewer: But you were involved in the plan of requirements! How did the final plan meet your expectations based on that plan of requirements?

User B: That is true. Partially, it met our expectations, but for a big part, the cutbacks changed a lot. It was clear how plans were simplified and that the program was changed to make it more profitable, which led to less social housing.

User A: The former municipal officiary (Municipal Official A) was out of sight. With him, the familiar contact with the municipality had disappeared. There was not a good replacement and no connection to the new developer anymore.

Developer C explains: "The old plans were moved aside. Concerning the boundaries, we were only bound to the restrictions of the land-use plan. There were no special needs from the users we had to take into account, nor was it required to involve them."

Developer B adds: "in the perspective of time, it was not the task of the developer to involve users at this development phase. It was more common to involve users for the forming of land-use plans. We did inform the users, but we did not discuss with them. We already had to discuss enough with other parties."

The time pressure and the number of key players made it so that involving the neighbourhood was the last priority for the developers. In their belief, it was not their task anymore to involve the surrounding residents.

A more intensive involvement took place with potential new residents, who were involved in the floorplans of their homes and architectural details. This was mostly because of commercial reasons. Developer B: "User involvement in architectural details and floor plans was marketing. We have considered user involvement about the public space, but it was too complicated because of the number of investors, renters and potential buyers."

When their proposed plan led to opposition from local residents, the role of the municipality was only to facilitate, while the developer's role was to solve the mismatch of demands. (Municipal Official A & B)

Users A & B explain how the users perceived this: There was long radio silence, until the first environmental permits needed to be approved. This led to some resistance, although most residents just accepted the plans. The difference is, that at that moment there is barely any room for discussion anymore, which makes it harder for users to share their demands.

SQ 3. How was the user involvement in line with the objectives of each party?

Increasing concern for user involvement

As explained by Developer C, developers were not used to involving users at that time. Nevertheless, according to Municipal Official A & B, the municipality expected some active involvement. They encouraged Hurks and Van Wijnen to keep a tight relationship with the users. However, the realization of the need for user involvement came later during the process.

According to Developer C the objectives of the developers are to prevent legal procedures because of objections against plans. In the first phases, there was a delay because nearby residents were displeased by the apartment buildings across the street, leading to new roof designs. Although these new designs meant lower profit, it was worth it not to lose any more time.

In phase 3 and 4, there was again time pressure. Still, instead of saving time by not involving neighbours, the developers now realized it would be more efficient to ensure everyone is on the same page. User involving, in the end, saves more time and thus money, then not involving them.

"When developers start with a project, they are usually not focusing on the local residents. However, they know: we have to deal with the municipality since we need permits. With that grows the interests to focussed on the residents." (Municipal Official A)

This means that developers focus on the municipality when it comes to user involvement. They depend on the acceptance of the municipality since they authorize permissions. The fact that the users are eventually involved is directly related to that. (Municipal Official A & B) Developer C describes: "This was one of the reasons why there was a more intensive involvement for the design of the square. Because the norm for playgrounds was not met, the municipality wanted to pay extra attention to the playground on this square. In order to please the municipality, the developers involved the users by letting them pick one out of three options. By this method, there was still a predictable outcome, which could be planned ahead. Moreover, it was more time-efficient and provided a lot of control for the developer."

Mismatch with users' objectives

According to User A & B, the objectives of the local residents were: a liveable area with playgrounds, greenery, and a mix of people and houses, in order to create more social sustainable environments and a focus on long-stay residence for more engaged residents.

Indicators for the amount of engagement (according to User A & B) are the mix and amount of users that are participative. They care about greenery, traffic safety for children and they think about how to improve the neighbourhood. Both User A & B notice how this is improving among the new residents. Another indicator is the amount of time people live in an area. This was not successful: new residents were already moving away after 5 or 6 years before the development has even finished.

What worried the residents was that there wouldn't be enough public greenery, since the neighbourhood was already lacking. The residents never felt heard about this concern. "From the beginning, we demonstrated against the density because it would not leave enough space for greenery. The plans included semi-public greenery. In the end, it is inaccessible and not public at all. This is what we were afraid of."

The users warned in vain for potential noise nuisance because of the shape of buildings, in vain. Another demand from the users that was not heard was the location of the square: "We would have preferred a location along the canal, with more sunlight and a more public accessible location".

The users were satisfied with how they were involved by the municipality during the making of the structure plan. However, in the realisation, this was not followed exactly, so the structure plan did not include official restrictions. "First there was the structure plan, in which our demands were met. However, later when more detailed plans were drawn, it showed a different interpretation of this plan. Our demands seemed to have been moved aside."

Even though many of the objectives of the users were not aligned, it barely led to time overrun and objections. This is explainable because of the need for development. Users were waiting

for development for too long, so they were happy with the plans, even though they were not perfect: "We didn't really protest, that is because we were tired... the process was already so long that people said: alright, just do it." (User A & B)

(Political) support for plans

According to the Municipal Official A & B user involvement is important for the municipality for political reasons: creating support for the plans. By involving the board of residents, the most important users were involved. This created a positive environment for other users. The earlier user involvement created a plan the users agreed on. We feel like this was the reason why low amounts of responses were made when official documents were presented.

Nowadays, the result is received really positively by both visitors and citizens: "Many visitors think Zijdebalen is a nice project. They think it suits Utrecht and the new era of a transition from village to city. Of course, that does not mean it was good user involvement, but I get the argument that the project is accepted as a part of the neighbourhood and a part of the city." (Municipal Official B) The fact that there were no objections and that people speak positively about the project can be interpreted as all parties being satisfied with the plans.

The most important misalignment for this case was the density and parking. The municipality has broader, cross-border objectives such as mobility and housing, which can result in misalignment with the demands of local residents.

For this case, the municipality changed the parking norms for inner-city locations in Utrecht, so Zijdebalen would meet that requirement. This was against the demands of the local residents, but we believed it was better for the plan to use less room for parking spots. (Municipal Official A & B)

12.1.2 Definition of boundaries

Figure 15 shows the timeline of the development process and who had an influence on what topics. In grey: the numbers of each corresponding figure that shows how the boundaries in that period developed (Figure 16 – Figure 23)

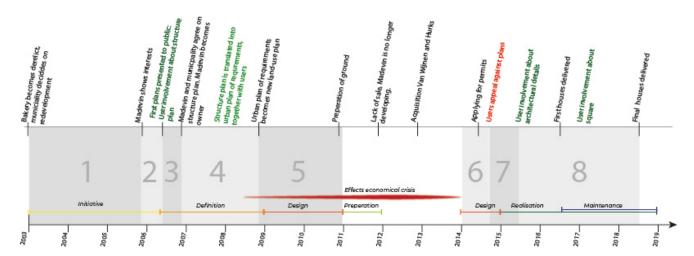


Figure 15 - Timeline Zijdebalen. (Own figure)

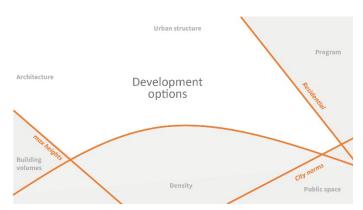


Figure 16 - Development of boundaries 1 – Zijdebalen. (own figure)

2003-2005			
Municipality	Transformation industrial into residential	Vision	
Municipality	General city norms > building heights > parking norms > norms public space	Restriction	
Municipality	Supporting housing vision > density 500 homes/4,2 ha	Precondition	

	Urban structure first sketch		*********
Architectur	Development options	1	Program
The state of	options	_	dennid
Building volumes			norms
	Density		ublic space

Figure 17 - Development of boundaries 2 – Zijdebalen. (own figure)

	Urban structure Structure plan	Program
Architecture	Development options	Program Program
A CHAIR TO BE TO SERVE TO SERV		
Building volumes	Density	Public space

Figure 18 - Development of boundaries 3 – Zijdebalen. (own figure)

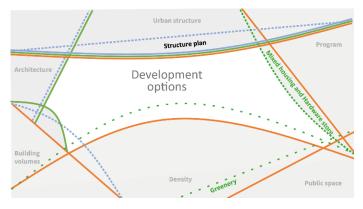


Figure 19 - Development of boundaries 4 – Zijdebalen. (own figure)

2005-2006		
Developer A	First sketsch for feasibility study	Precondition
	> density needed for profit:	
	500 homes/4,2 ha	
	> estimated expenditures	

2006

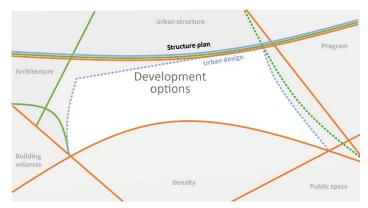
Developer A	Public support for plans	Precondition
Users	Input user involvement: > Industrial atmosphere	Vision
Users	Input user involvement: > minimal loss of value (minimal impact on sunlight for surrounded residents) > max building heights	Precondition
Users	Input user involvement: > Social mix – mix social houses and houses in higher price segments* > Responsible and involved residents (focus on long residence/live long living)* > Retaining hard ware store*	Vision

 $oldsymbol{^*}$ boundaries agreed upon by all parties, but changed later in the process

2006-2008

Municipality	Land-use plan according to structureplan	Restrictions
Users	Unfulfilled demands* > lower density	
	> Sufficient public greenery	

st unfulfilled demands not taken into account in the land-use plan



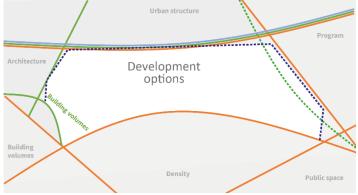
2008-2011		
Developer A	Design solutions	Practical limitiations
Developer A	Time and planning	Preconditions

Figure 20 - Development of boundaries 5 – Zijdebalen. (own figure)

	Urban structure		
	Structure plan	PI	rogram
Architecture Room Residence Building	Development options		
volumes	Density	Public	c space

2014		
Developer Financial feasibility:		Preconditions
B&C	> Dependency on investors – time	
	and planning adjustments	
	> Cutbacks on earlier plans – fewer	
	social houses, cheaper architectural	
	design, cheaper public spaces	
	> Expending building volumes	
	within the land-use plan	

Figure 21 - Development of boundaries 6 – Zijdebalen. (own figure)



2014-2015

Users Objection against plans: Precondition

> minimal loss of value (minimal impact on sunlight for surrounded residents) > max building heights

Figure 22 - Development of boundaries 7 – Zijdebalen. (own figure)

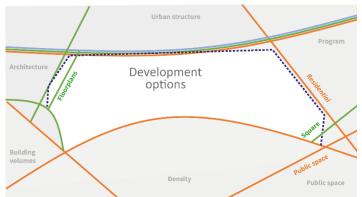


Figure 23 - Development of boundaries 8 – Zijdebalen. (own figure)

2015-2017			
Users	Input user involvement:	Vision	
	> exact floorplans		
	> design square		

12.1.3 Alignment of user involvement

The following objectives were mentioned in the interviews. They are put in the scheme from the literature study: the alignment of objectives (Figure 24).

Keyplayer	Developer A	Developer B & C	Users	Municipality
Development objectives	<u>M</u> aximal profit <u>A</u> ttractive development	Getting permits in time Best business case Quick development Financial feasibility Staying on good terms with partners	Sufficient public greenery Variety of household types Support of local hardware store Preservation history of the site Qualitative public space Minimal traffic nuisance	Supporting (broader, cross-border): housing vision mobility plan target group Meeting legal restrictions Continuation of land use
Involvement objectives	Support of municipality and users Low risk of resistance	Municipality's and user's continuous support Low risk of resistance Selling houses	<u>M</u> inimal loss of house value Improved living environment Participatory society Relation with surrounding	Political support Public support Clarify decisions Prevent opposition to plans Complementing broader scale User satisfaction

Table 14 – Mentioned objectives during interviews per stakeholder (own table)

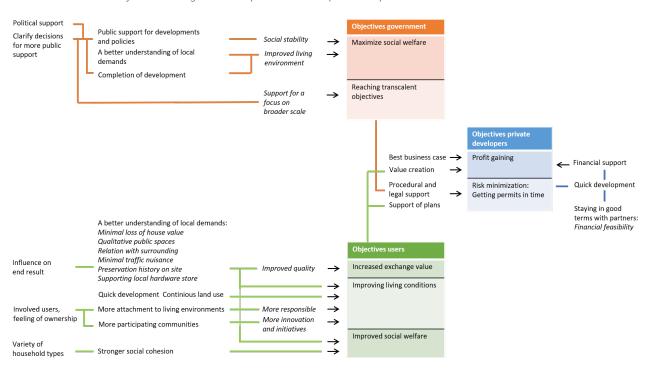


Figure 24 - Alignment of objectives, Zljdebalen. (Own figure)

However, not all objectives were achieved like this. The next figure shows the misalignment.

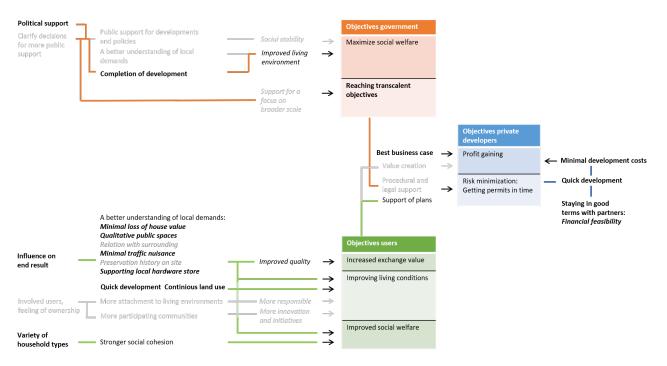


Figure 25 - Misalignment of objectives, Zijdebalen (Own figure)

The misalignment of objectives started after the change of developers.

Because of the economic crisis, they were more focussed on making a profit. For that reason, a program with less social housing was chosen. This was not in line with the broader, cross-border objectives of the municipality and would threaten the political support. It wasn't in line with the objective of the users to have a variety of household types either. However, since both parties acknowledged the urge for this plan to be completed quickly, they supported it.

Developers aimed for minimal development costs, which led to less user involvement after the switch of developers. Users did not have the desired influence on the end result. According to them this led to traffic nuisance, public spaces that were not reaching their potential and the disappearance of the beloved hardware store. Still, this did not lead to opposition to plans, because the users assigned more priority to the completion of the development.

However, what did lead to opposition to plans was that users were about to lose value of their homes. This led to a lot of risks for the developments since this caused them to not get their permits in time. In the end, this limited the speed of development, threatening the relations with their partners and financial support.

12.1.4 Conclusion

From the beginning, the local residents and entrepreneurs were involved in the development plans. The assignment was interpreted by a developer, who involved the users by exploring their support for these plans. The municipality, users and developers then formed a program of requirements together. The required density for the municipality to support the housing vision left little room for sufficient public greenery and would increase traffic nuisance. That was not in line with the objectives of the users. Moreover, the needed building heights to reach this density threatened the amount of sunlight and therefore, the value of the surrounding houses. Together with the developer, the three parties agreed on compromises.

Although it appears that not all demands of the users were taken into account, the

perspective of the quality increase of their living environment made it so that the users were still supportive. Because of a professional third party, the users felt understood and represented. By involving users from the beginning in this way, the municipality and the developers were ensured of public support.

Yet, after the development stagnation in the economic crisis and the change of developer, the defined boundaries were less fixed than expected by the users. The new plans of the new developers showed a lot of changes to cut in costs. Users who were involved before, were no longer involved in the same way, leading to unsupported new plans and resistance against the permit applications. For the developers, this meant that the objective to develop according to the planning of their shareholders could not be achieved. For them, this time delay was more costly than the time savings of skipping user involvement was beneficial. Even more, the needed adjustments to get public support again were worth the costs compared to the lost time and support of shareholders.

Other user involvement was organized because of commercial considerations; to attract new

The end result is considered successful by all parties, although not all of the users' objectives were met. According to them, the new development had the potential to be even more valuable, especially in social and functional qualitative respects. However, an urge for the development to complete and the duration of the involvement process led to acceptance of the plans and little resistance in the end.

residents.

12.2 Teding van berkhoutlaan

12.2.1 Case description

SQ 1. How were the boundaries for this development defined, by whom?

From school location to a solution for the rising housing pressure

The municipality planned to build houses on the former school location, from the moment the school was out of use in 2011, according to Developer A. Van Wijnen was willing to buy the land from the municipality, around 2015, in order to build 14 single-family houses, but this plan was stagnated until 2018.

Meanwhile, the municipality was trying to motivate developers and housing corporations to cooperate. With these co-operations, they aimed to reach broader, cross-border objectives. However, in the end, these co-operations did not appear to be popular. Because of this, the municipality looked for projects they would have control over themselves. The transformation of the school area at the Teding van Berkhoutlaan was one of those since the ground was owned by the municipality. With this project, one step was taken to fulfil the housing vision for the city. (Municipal Official A) Municipal Official A explains that the vision for the city included the development of many houses in the mid-segment. In order to connect the residential chain, the housing vision for the school area included apartments for starters. A full residential chain makes the city life cycle proof and responds to the rising housing pressure. This housing vision deviated from the initial plan of Van Wijnen to build single-family houses, on which the ground value was based. The new vision was translated into the Plan Elaborative Framework (Plan Uitwerkings Kader, PUK), in 2019. According to Developer A, Van Wijnen did have a say on the PUK, although the rough boundaries were fixed by the municipality. Based on the PUK, Van Wijnen made a new investigation of the feasibility of this project, since the program had changed since the last agreement.

"The intention agreement was a motivation to investigate the feasibility of apartment buildings instead of single-family houses. The PUK functioned as a document to make clear what boundaries were defined by the municipality. That made clear how big the power of the municipality was, as the owner of the ground."

Municipal Official A describes that the PUK document was guiding for the development plans of Van Wijnen, but did not function as an official document. Therefore, no residents were included in the decision making. Neither was it part of a broader public vision. This means that Van Wijnen was investigating possibilities within unofficial requirements, for which no users were involved. Considering the boundaries on this point, the PUK document ensured the municipality that the focus on housing for starters was set. The boundary conditions in the PUK included the minimum ground value and a focus on houses for middle income (50% max €258.000). The most important precondition for Van Wijnen was to offer a market conform development price to the municipality. Apart from this PUK, some general city restrictions were valid, such as maximal building height and parking norms. The land-use plan of the school is still in effect and does not serve as a guiding document.

The developers' preconditions

Developer B & C explain how the PUK was not just a set of unofficial requirements. This turned out when the developers were corrected for their program: "When we applied for the first official feasibility test by the municipality, it was not approved. Apparently, the designed houses were too big for the market price described in the PUK. There was no discussion; we just simply didn't get the permits".

According to the developers, the minimum yield was an important precondition for them. To achieve this yield, they aimed to develop market conform. Since this was not possible within the requirements of the PUK and the price they had to pay for the ground value, they needed to negotiate with the municipality. The balance needed to be found between the minimum ground value and the

residual ground value. This meant that lower house prices reduced the residual ground value.

Apart from achieving financial feasibility, it was important for the developer to deliver a minimum (environmental) quality: "Sustainability and environmental quality is important for Van Wijnen. It helps to improve our image and therefore the competitive advantage".

The developers formed process-based requirements as well: deadlines, to keep up the speed.

Risen expectations

Meanwhile, the local residents had defined some boundaries for the development. User A explains: For a long time there was no communication about plans from the municipality to the citizens. In the meantime, the derelict place was used as a playground and people got used to the open view. Although there were developments around the neighbourhood which suited neighbourhood renewal and the housing vision of Delft (more houses of a middle and high segment and of higher density), User A explains that there was not any communication about the total vision for this area.

The first communication about development plans was in September 2019, together with the presentation of the housing project. The objective of the evening was to involve users about these housing plans and to explain this focus. In terms of 'participation' users were frustrated because they were not involved in deciding the program of this location. Instead of housing, their preference would have been a more social program such as a school or playground: "We preferred a school instead of housing in front of our house. People bought their houses across a school, so this is what they were used to."

Moreover, the decided density was not acceptable, according to the residents: "This neighbourhood is peaceful and quiet. The houses are small and simple, that is why the public green space is extra important. You can understand that we won't accept 70 new homes on our precious open field". (User A)

SQ 2. What room was left for user involvement?

A planned user involvement?

Municipal Official A explains how the user involvement was intended by the municipality: Van Wijnen and the municipality together designed the user involvement plan when the intention agreement was signed in 2019. During the first involvement event, the vision of the PUK was presented by the municipality in order to explain the envisioned plan. This was the first time the development plans were presented to the neighbourhood. The goal of the evening was to inform, to explore the reactions to these plans and to explore the preferences of the users. After this first exploration, Van Wijnen organised some more meetings to discuss the building volumes, architectural and urban design details such as parking and orientation. In the future, there will be a meeting about the completion of the public space.

Surprisingly, the developers describe a different intended involvement process. Developer B & C describe how they intended to discuss the building volumes during the first involvement event. Instead, the discussion was about the program and the requirements of the PUK. The room for involvement was much bigger than initiated by the developer. Since the developers did already agree to develop according to the program and the corresponding ground value, this was not really a discussion point any more, in their view. In practice, however, the real room for involvement was anywhere above the minimum ground value and residual ground value.

Developer A explains how this difference in interpretation could be declared. For Van Wijnen user involvement with local residents (on a level higher than informing) was new. The plan for the first involvement meeting was to inform the users about the PUK and to explore what the preferences of the users would be within those boundaries. However, what both parties did not expect was the unacceptance of the plans to build houses on this location. For the developers, the lack of support

came as a surprise, since the municipality already planned housing at that location for ten years. Next to the discussion about the program, the following topics were planned for user involvement: building volumes, exact locations, the actual amount of houses and the architecture. Considering the discussion about the actual amount of houses, the developers had a minimum of square meters to make the plan financially feasible. (In this case, a minimum amount of homes with an estimated size of 90m2 was 30). They communicated a minimum that was higher than the actual minimum, so there was room for negotiation. (Developer A)

For the users, this involvement process was experienced as followed: There was more flexible than expected, although at the first information evening, it seemed like the plan was already quite fixed. There was room for discussion about users initiatives and ideas; there were made compromises in terms of density, height, location and orientation. And the users were invited to share their preferences considering parking and architectural styles. (User A)

SQ 3. How was the user involvement in line with the objectives of each party?

Alignment with the municipal visions

The envisioned involvement method of the municipality is described in Delfts Doen (2017). Municipal Official A explains that this means that plans need to be publicly exposed and responsive to input. In this case, the involvement plan guided (yet not lead) by the municipality. This meant that it was exactly according to the plan of the municipality. Municipal Official A explains: "Our role in this involvement process is to guide, facilitate and to judge the result. With an involvement plan, we can ensure the initiator our approval, provided that the plan is executed as we arranged."

According to Municipal Official A, the involvement objectives for this project were "to create support for the plans, making the neighbours aware of the potential improvement of their living environment, interest new residents and to inform. The latter means that we explained to the neighbours that the development needs to be denser than they prefer, in order to reach broader, cross-border objectives. Between those boundaries, we are open for discussion about other ideas or initiatives."

In the conversation with Municipal Official A the approach seem to have worked to reach these goals: "Interviewer: Do you think the way you involved users had contributed to the support of these plans? Even though the program and the building volumes created some indignation? Municipal Official A: Yes, the final result shows five building layers. I think we already would have had support from the beginning, if we would have limited the building height to four layers. So through involvement, we reached support. In retrospect, we got positive feedback from people who appreciate the way they were involved because they noticed the effect of their involvement. Interviewer: So you have literally got positive feedback? Or how do you know that for sure? Municipal Official A: We've got positive reactions, but you can also notice it in the number of appeals against the plans."

Just like the developers, the municipality has set tight boundaries as a tool to have room for negotiation: Municipal Official A explains that their objectives are achieved, even though they had to settle with a lower density: "By starting with dense volumes, it was possible to compromise and still ending up with a serious amount of houses which were supported by the users".

Missing out on profit, image and time

The developers were less enthusiastic about this involvement process. The first involvement event led to a lot of resistance against the program. The resistance was turned into 'support' because of patient conversations, but led to a lot of suspicion against the rest of the plans. The developers needed more involvement meetings than intended to get to an agreement with the neighbours. Moreover, they had to compromise in building size and quality. Developer B&C explain how early involvement by the municipality could have prevented these extra risks for the developer, in their view:

"We felt let down by the municipality. They should have involved the users earlier about the

requirements. Now, the involvement process was a mockery, and we had to put three times more effort to be on speaking terms with the users."

Overall, the whole involvement process took six months. In comparison: the initial plan would take 3 months. The most important motivation to take these type of compromises and extra effort was to stay in good relation with the municipality and to remain the image of the company. The relation of the municipality to get permits was most important, even though this required time overrun considering the involvement plan they had both agreed on: "I do not think the municipality had accepted our involvement process if we had stick to our three-month plan. However the municipality decided when the involvement process was executed sufficiently: When they would have called: 'alright we are done!' after three months, we would never have protested." (Developer B & C)

According to Developer A, it is preferred by developers to have a predictable plan. User involvement seems not attractive since this makes the plan really uncertain. The preferred user involvement was, therefore, informing. However, there was expected a lot of resistance, so in that perspective, the user involvement on a higher level offered opportunities to show users they have a say and to improve the support for the plans. Still, this does not mean that the user involvement takes away all risks of resistant.

Suspicious users

User A describes that there is mistrust towards the final plans, even though the demands of the local residents are heard, and the developer and municipality have shown their willingness to compromise. User A admits that it is not in their interests that the plans will succeed. This means that for the users, there is little acceptance of plans that are not what they have agreed on. "We will not give up easily, even when objections will delay the plans."

For the local residents, it was important that the new plan would not disadvantage their living quality (both renters and owners) and the value of their homes (owners). This was threatened by loss of sunlight, noise nuisance, traffic and loss of view. Because of the flexibility of the initial plan, this objective to retain the same living quality was met. (User A)

User A describes how the involvement process has brought neighbours together since there was a 'shared enemy'. However, meanwhile, participants were fearing to be seen as part of the 'enemy' by other users and being held responsible for the outcome. This fear was taken away when the municipality and developer took their responsibility for the final outcome. Participants were comforted by the promise not to lose their objection rights.

Most involved people now were just interested in indirect consequences such as sunlight. According to Municipal Official A, social objectives through user involvement are too optimistic: residents would not know how to improve that. So that's why the consideration of, for example, lifelong living, is covered by the municipality. According to Municipal Official A, social objectives can only be fruitful when new residents are involved. With that, there can be created enough interests to improve social cohesion.

12.2.2 Definition of boundaries

Figure 26 shows the timeline of the development process. In grey: the numbers of each corresponding figure that shows how the boundaries in that period developed (Figure 27 – Figure 31)

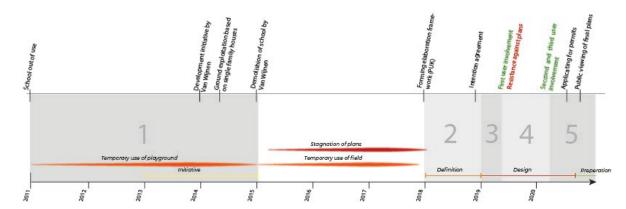


Figure 26 - Timeline Teding van Berkhoutlaan. (own figure)

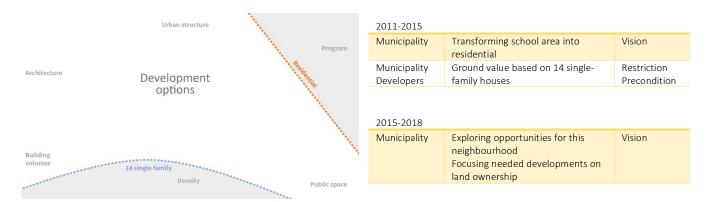


Figure 27 - Development of boundaries 1 – Teding van Berkhoutlaan. (own figure)

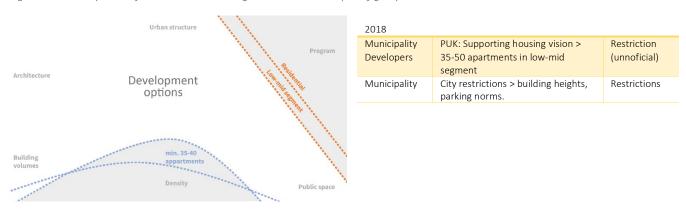


Figure 28 - Development of boundaries 2 - Teding van Berkhoutlaan. (own figure)

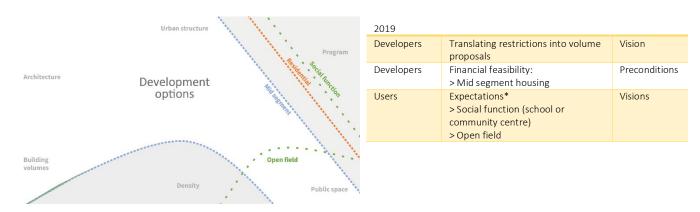


Figure 29 - Development of boundaries 3 – Teding van Berkhoutlaan. (own figure)

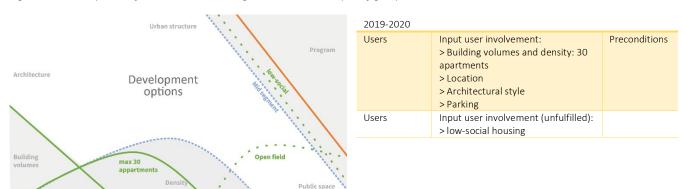


Figure 30- Development of boundaries 4 – Teding van Berkhoutlaan. (own figure)

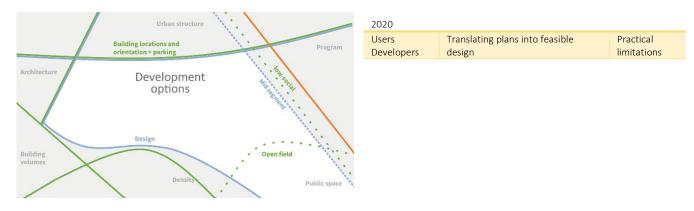


Figure 31- Development of boundaries 5 – Teding van Berkhoutlaan. (own figure)

12.2.3 Alignment of objectives

The following objectives were mentioned in the interviews. They are put in the scheme from the literature study: the alignment of objectives (Figure 32).

Key player	Developer A	Users	Municipality
Development	<u>G</u> aining profit	Retaining same living quality	Supporting housing value
objectives	Providing sustainable	Retaining housing value	Speeding up stagnated
	homes: enterprise brand		developments
Involvement	Retaining corporate image	<u>H</u> aving influence on the	<u>I</u> nform
objectives	and competitive advantage	development	Explore reactions and
	Ensuring the support of the	Preserving housing value and	preferences
	municipality	living quality	Explain certain decisions
	<u>G</u> etting public support	Preventing tension between	<u>G</u> etting public support
	<u>G</u> etting permits in time	neighbours	<u>F</u> ewer appeals against plans
	Predictable development		Creating the opportunity for
	process		users to show initiative
	<u>M</u> inimize risks		

Table 15 - Mentioned objectives during interviews per stakeholder (own table)

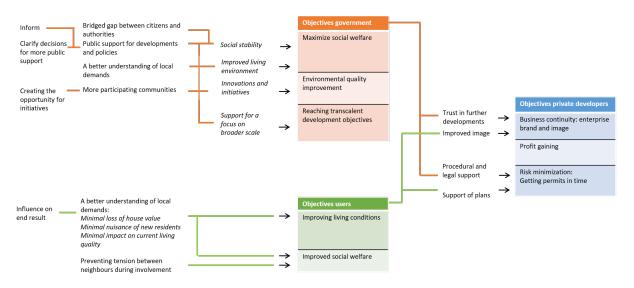


Figure 32 - Alignment of objectives, Teding van Berkhoutlaan. (Own figure)

However, not all objectives were achieved like this. Figure 35 shows the misalignment.

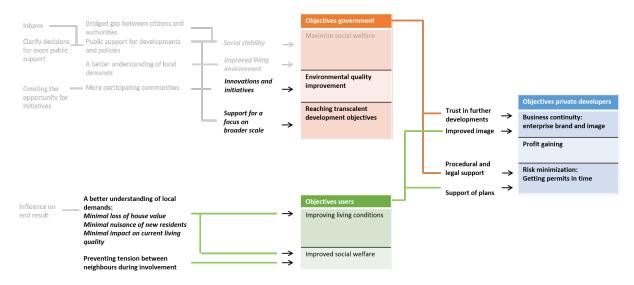


Figure 33 - Misalignment of objectives, Teding van Berkhoutlaan. (Own figure)

The most important misalignment was between the broader, cross-border housing objectives of the municipality and the high-profit gaining of the developers, which led to a high density and the objectives of the users to safeguard their current living environment and house value. Through user involvement, the users showed initiative, and innovative idea's to come to a consensus, which led to support of the plans. However, this process was not in line with the objectives of the users to prevent tension between neighbours during involvement. Moreover, in this process, the municipality did not reach its objective to create support for the broader, cross-border objectives or to bridge the gap between citizens and authorities. For the developer, this process had threatened their corporate image and had brought in a lot of risks, while little to none profit is made.

12.2.4 Conclusion

This project shows how flexible boundaries can be when it comes to user involvement. The first involvement meeting led to a lot of resistance: users were not informed about any plans and had formed their own expectations for this area. The proposed plans were not at all in line with these expectations. In the end, there was a lot of room for involvement, even though the municipality and developer had defined boundaries in advance. Within this room for involvement, it was possible to find a development that was sufficient in line with every parties objective.

Nevertheless, the user involvement process wasn't in line with all objectives. Because of this resistance, the developer had to work hard to be on speaking terms with the users: leading to time overrun, smaller potential profit, a threatened corporate image and risk of further resistance against the plans. For the users, the fear to lose the living quality and housing value is mostly taken away by the user involvement. However, the fact that they were not involved from the beginning had created a lot of mistrust. This still leads to some negative feelings about the development, even though the users had a lot of influence on the final result. According to the municipality, this process was just as planned: it had led to an understanding of the needs of users, the municipality has had the change to explain why this type of development is needed for broader, cross-border objectives, and it has created an opportunity for users to show initiative. In their perspective, this has created support for development.

The final development result is in line with those of the municipality and the developer, in terms of the minimum amount of houses needed to match the ground exploitation. However, both parties would have preferred to develop more houses, in order to gain more profit and to reach the housing vision. By presenting the maximal density, the developer aimed to negotiate with the users. However, instead of ending up in the middle, the resistance made that they ended up lower then they hoped for.

12.3 Parkweg – midden

12.3.1 Case description

SQ 1. How were the boundary conditions for this development decided, by whom?

Mixed feelings about the development

Local resident User A describes how the development plans for this project were stretched out over a long period of time. The neighbourhood has been a problematic neighbourhood for long. Bleak types hang around the social apartment buildings, which made the situation unsafe. In 2017 the official announcement was made that the buildings would be demolished. The local residents were delighted with this news. Yet, there were mixed feelings: "where do the residents go who need social housing?" (User A)

Forming a shared assignment

Municipal Official A & B explain that the project was initiated by the housing corporation Woonplus and the municipality. They decided to allocate a developer through a tender. Together they discussed requirements and assessment criteria.

According to them, the municipality and the housing corporation had different goals, so they made sure to be on one page before the tender procedure started. Corporation employee A (project manager from the housing corporation) describes that the most important 'conflict' lies between the focus on urban quality for the municipality or the affordability and environmental quality of the houses for the corporation.

The tender criteria were divided into four topics: program, public space, environmental and process.

The program was quite fixed since there were broader, cross-border demands such as a housing vision of the city and necessary addition to the portfolio of the housing corporation. The housing vision has come about with user involvement in terms of informing and objection right. (Municipal Official A & B)

Developer A confirmed that this was conflicting. The target group of the program led to limited architectural considerations. Because of the limited budgets of the target group, there was chosen for a pre-fab, standard housing type and repeating facades. (Developer A)

The requirements for public space were conform to the handbook 'public space' of the municipality, which includes types of materials, dimensions and furniture. Moreover, there were general parking norms and height limits and logical technical limitations, for example, for trash cans. (Municipal Official A & B). Developer A explains that this means that there were limited options for the design of the urban plan. Deviation from these restrictions would have been possible, but complex.

For the housing corporation, the focus on environmental quality was important to achieve their goal to be carbon neutral in 2050. For the municipality, this focus was important too. According to Developer A, the requirements, therefore, included a certain energy performance. Yet, the developers were free to decide on methods to reach those.

Planning was an important theme in the tender since the proposed process needed to fit the planning of the municipality and of the housing corporation. Corporation employee A describes that the planning was based on the time it needs to house people from one home to the other. A precondition was to prevent vacant buildings for too long. This, in order to ensure support from the renters, to guard the quality of the living environment (which will decline during the vacancy) and to prevent unnecessary maintenance costs. Municipal Official A explains that a threat of user involvement is the uncertainty of the duration it may take. In this project, planning is important because there is a limited budget. Time overrun caused by the way user were involved must be prevented.

Involving users into the tender procedure

User A describes how there were three users consulted to define these tender requirements. They are all active volunteers of the community centre.

The three formed a focus group, aiming to provide insights about the needs of the neighbourhood. According to Corporation employee A, the housing corporation always involves users to assess plans. The experience of the users was taken into account to understand what would be a 'qualitative living environment'. The housing association brings in their own experience, too, when it comes to a qualitative living environment. Corporation employee A explains that the demands of users do not always come from users directly. They usually focus on a type of user (target group) and development for them, based on experience.

It was in the interests of the users was to develop low rise, which led to a choice for single-family houses. The users were interested in sustainable and environmentally friendly development as well. They focussed on energy performance and recycling of materials. Other important themes were playgrounds, quality of the new houses, greenery, safe and attractive environments in social respect and taking into account traffic.

Another requirement of the users was to involve the Kansenfabriek in the execution of the plans, or during maintenance. This program employs people with a social backlog. (User A)

Leaving room for user involvement

Municipal Official A & B explained that the demands of the users were not fully discovered during the preparation of the tender. Since the new development would include new and current users, it was important that these demands would be investigated at the time the significant users were in the picture. Therefore, including user involvement in the development process was an important criterion for the tender. (Municipal Official A & B)

The most important precondition for the municipality and the housing corporation was the financial feasibility and the added quality of life for this neighbourhood. Municipal Official A & B explain that this is an urban renewal project, which often means that there is capital destruction. For the municipality and the corporation, that is costly in the end because they need to rebuild the public space and buildings. For that reason, there was decided on a fixed budget for the developers. This budget was not negotiable, which is exceptional for tenders. Since this project would not be profitable, the objective was to improve the living quality for citizens and social residents and to pursue a broader vision. So the criteria for the tender were all to manage the quality. Corporation Employee A describes that for the housing corporation, the future quality of life was an important tender criterion. Moreover, the plans needed to be in line with its corporate strategy and the current market situation.

Developer A explains how the developers inventoried the demands of current users by interviewing people on the street, in order to improve their image towards the users that assessed the tender application. It motivated the developer to design the urban plan in such a way interaction between users is stimulated: there are meeting spots and collective public places. An objective is to create involvement of the residents after delivery as well. This social focus was not just in line with the tender criteria, but it was also important for the corporate motto: 'Samen bouwen we aan ruimte voor een beter leven'.

Extra information

Municipal Official A & B explain that users were not tightly involved in the exact plan which will make these plans legally possible, even though user involvement was an important topic of the tender: Currently the old land-use plan is still valid, meaning that the function residential will remain. However, small adjustments will be made, since the old buildings make space for new ones. Due to a plan with change power, small adjustments to the current plan are allowed (such as the location, volumes and heights of buildings). This plan with change power has not come about with user involvement, although users will have the right to objectify against the final application of the urban plan. Municipal Official A & B explain that the restrictions of this plan with change power are not totally fixed. A small deviation would have been possible, as long as they do not conflict with broader,

cross-border interests. Developer A confirmed that these restrictions indeed are negotiable.

SQ 2. What room was left for the developer to involve users?

As explained, a focus group was involved during the definition of the development boundaries. On top of that, there was left room for involvement to involve other users later in the process.

In projects from this size, financial feasibility, broader, cross-border requirements about the program and environmental quality leave little room for user involvement. Therefore, in this project, the room for involvement has been the public space. (Corporation Employee A)

Developer A explains that although there will be user involvement about the public space, the development options are limited by the handbook of the municipality. According to the developer, this is a bit too limiting to truly involve users about the layout of the street. Nevertheless, the 'blank pages' in the plan leave enough room for fruitful involvement.

Different types of user involvement

The project consists of two areas. One will be new: the old buildings and urban situation will take place for new ones. The second area only covers the improvement of the current public space and the renovation of the street. The buildings and residents will remain. This project, therefore, knows a variety of users. (Municipal official A & B)

Although they are involved in different ways, they are all informed through a newsletter, banners and a website. (Developer A)

First, there are the current residents who have to move, and will not have to be tightly involved in the future plans, according to Municipal official A & B. Nevertheless, Developer A explains that it is of importance that they support the plans and agree on moving, so there will be no stagnation. Therefore, they are informed about the next plans, and the housing corporation ensures every current resident of a nice new home.

Secondly, the residents in the remaining part will be involved mostly about the public space around their buildings.

The third type of user: nearby neighbours are invited to participate in the atmosphere and character of the new neighbourhood.

New residents are going to be involved more intensively in the details of the new public space. The final type of users is the local entrepreneurs and the local primary school. They are mostly involved in the new mobility plan and were informed about the phasing of the development. These final three types of users are involved by informing them through email and by inviting them to share their thoughts during one of the involvement meetings or via email. (Developer A)

SQ 3. How was the user involvement in line with the objectives of the three parties?

Achieving the municipal user involvement vision

The focus on user involvement in the tender was based on the handbook 'collaborating in Schiedam' (Gemeente Schiedam, 2019). In here, the following objectives are described:

- to form and carry out the municipal policies.
- to create clear expectations, boundaries and transparency about the influence of citizens.
- to benefit the potentials of society.
- to reach a more participatory society which is involved in their city.

The mission is:

- to make sure all citizens have a good place to live, work and recreate
- to reach for a better future for all citizens.

The involvement objectives, according to Municipal official A, are to get support for plans, to shift

some responsibility and influence to the citizens, to create quality and to improve social cohesion. It is too soon to tell if this project contributes to that.

The municipality was pleased by the involvement strategy of Van Wijnen so far. By leaving some blank spots in the plan, each type of user can be involved in just the right way throughout the process, without limiting the planning.

According to Municipal official B, involvement is a way to ensure the functionality of public space: "New residents will make use of the public space, which will be an extension of their living space. That needs to be suiting their demands, to prevent that changes will be made after delivery."

The blank pages that Van Wijnen designed allow detailing after the operation.

Another involvement objective is to create a feeling of ownership. With this, the municipality hopes to shift maintenance of for example greenery to residents and with that, offer more quality for the same budget. Moreover, collaborative places can create solidarity and improving a neighbourhood in social respects. According to Municipal official B, it is too optimistic to think social cohesion in the whole neighbourhood can be created through involvement, although the vision is that the quality improvement and the new type of residents will improve the social situation of neighbouring area's. Municipal official A explains: The social goal is to get acceptance of plans, as well from neighbours, so there will be an interaction between new and current residents. An indicator will be if residents live longer in a neighbourhood that has been renewed than before the developing. "In the ideal world, we would measure the happiness."

(Municipal official A & B)

Improving the corporate image and having a predictable process

For Van Wijnen, general involvement objectives are: social cohesion, support of plans (which leads to fewer objections to plans and complains during constructions) and people feeling involved with their neighbourhood. They feel responsible for the success of a development, even after development (as explained: this is the corporate motto). (developer A)

The first involvement activity mostly attracted interested new customers. There were hardly any neighbours participating. According to Developer A, this can mean that people agree to the plans and have trust in the developments, or it can mean people no not feel connected with the new development and do not trust their participation will have any effect.

He describes that the involvement process for so far was useful to understand the needs and demands of future users. Especially the involvement of local entrepreneurs and the primary school has led to concrete input since they were involved in the detailed urban plans. However, because of the radio silence of neighbours, it is not ensured that there will be full support of the plans. The risk of objections is not taken away yet, although Developer A explains that this scenario will be unlikely since the overall reactions towards this new development are positive.

Conflicting involvement objectives

According to Corporation Employee A, there are several types of users to take into account for housing projects. This makes it hard to align user involvement with the different objectives that come with these users. The most important objectives of the housing corporation are support of the plans, no stagnation of moving out users, value creation and support for the process.

First, there are the current renters who will have to move. They need to be involved in the plans, so they understand the need to move. They can be involved in improving the living circumstances during the moving process when parts of the buildings are vacant. However, being too optimistic about the new situation will make it less attractive for the current residents to move out.

Contradictorily, future and surrounded residents are preferably involved by showing positive future development. Their view on the plans can improve the developments as well. For this type of users, the involvement process of Parkweg suits great for so far.

Overall, the housing corporation is optimistic about the involvement process. The blank areas in the plan need to be adjustable during operation. In this way, the users can keep adding value and

adjusting it to the most suitable use. This helps to ensure a good living environment. (Corporation Employee A)

The experience of the local residents

User A describes how the tender focus group had experienced user involvement: Objectives of these users were to create qualitative and functional new homes and living environment.

By requiring user involvement later in the process, they aimed to create a feeling of ownership and responsibility for the new residents. A feeling of home was another way to reach this. They hope that it creates good harmony and interaction between the new and neighbourly residents.

The objective was to reach a more participatory society: more initiatives and collaboration to organise social events. User A explains that the community centre notices how social events have great benefit for social problems and the living environment of the neighbourhood. Creating a community is, therefore important. The users are afraid of segregation between the new and the current users since the new plan attracts the 'elite'. However, the change is big that a lot of people from inside the neighbourhood are moving to this area, which will decrease the change of segregation.

Although the focus group was involved in the requirements for the development, they did not feel fully heard. During meetings, the government and housing corporation overruled decision making. Jargon and complex images made it hard for users to keep track.

The new development was not exactly in line with what these users had hoped for. Preferably there would have been more social houses or at least more 'affordable houses'. The users are afraid that the planned houses will not be inhabited. They think it is a pity that new residents will not be involved in the floor plans. (User A)

Developer A explains that user involvement on an architectural scale was considered, but would make the houses too expensive for the target group.

In the belief of User A, more tight user involvement could have made the development more market conform since they know what type of user would be interested in living in this neighbourhood and what they can afford.

The users are not pleased about the façade designs. They explain that the amount of variation makes it too busy. In this neighbourhood, things like that can trigger mental illness, since there is a high number of people with mental issues. Furthermore, according to the users, the current design does not suit the environment: "This harms the view of the surrounding residents." (User A)

After the tender procedure, the focus group of User A was not involved anymore. This made them feel rejected. They were not involved through the newspapers or by mail. For them, it was radio silence after tender. (User A)

The current user involvement focusses on nearby neighbours. They are informed through a physical newspaper. Next to that, there are banners at the location of the development. All other information and interaction with interested users takes place online, so was the application for the offline involvement meeting. User A explains how this method does not suit the culture of users in this neighbourhood: What has not been taken into account is that people in this neighbourhood do not always understand Dutch or have a computer. COVID-19 complicates the reachability of people even more. In normal times, it would have been easier to reach people, for example, in the community centre. Now, the community centre is experiencing the same issues.

Since the local entrepreneurs were not interviewed for this study, User A was asked to imagine how they would think about the new development. User A thinks that the local entrepreneurs would be pleased with the new developments since these will attract residents with a higher income.

12.3.2 Definition of boundaries

Figure 34 shows the timeline of the development process and who had an influence on what topics. In grey: the numbers of each corresponding figure that shows how the boundaries in that period developed (Figure 35 – Figure 40)

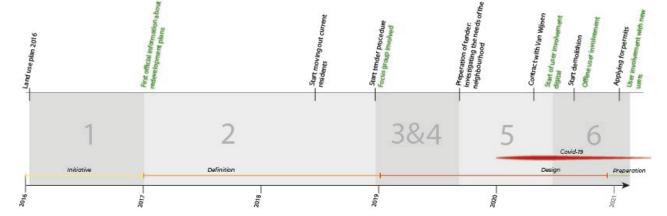


Figure 34 - Timeline Parkweg-midden. (own figure)

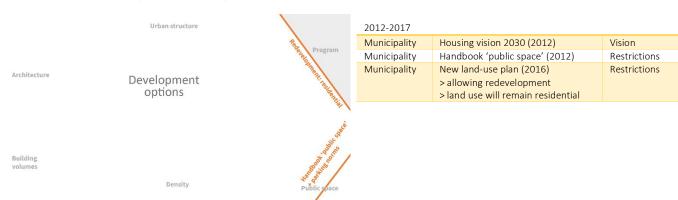


Figure 35 - Development of boundaries 1 - Parkweg-midden. (own figure)

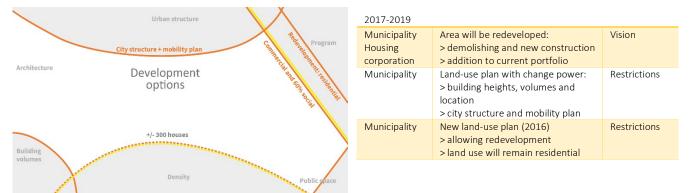


Figure 36- development of boundaries 2 - Parkweg-midden. (own figure)

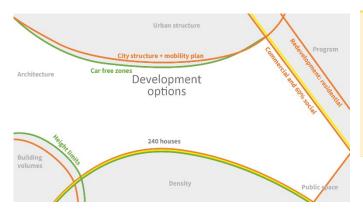


Figure 37- development of boundaries 3 - Parkweg-midden. (own figure)

2019 Municipality Forming tender requirements. Precondition Housing > Program: 60% social housing, 40% corporation commercial housing and minimum Users (focus 70m2, minimum 240 new homes. group) > Public space: meeting handbook public space, general city restrictions such as parking norms. > Sustainable: minimum energy performance > Process: continuous development, social housing first Municipality Forming assessment criteria: Vision Housing > Affordable homes corporation > Architectural fit to surrounding Users (focus > Adding qualitative public places, group) future proof > Involving users throughout the development process and during operation > Focus on sustainable and healthy living environments

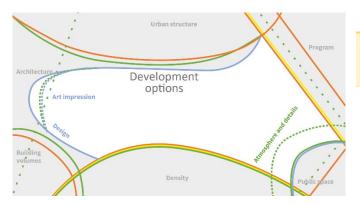
	Urban structure	in the Program
Architecture \$\$\sum_{\text{Sug}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\text{g}}\$\$\sum_{\t	Development options	Program
Building volumes	Density	Public space

2019 Users (focus Unfulfilled demands: group) > more parking > more social housing > calmer facade designs

Figure 38- development of boundaries 4 - Parkweg-midden. (own figure) Urban structure Development options

2019-2020		
Developer	Translating tender requirements into a design: > Making profit within the set budget	Preconditions
Developer	> Focus on social quality of public space > Process that allows user involvement	Vision
Developer	> Affordable homes: limited architectural considerations > Designing conform the requirements	Practical limitations

Figure 39- development of boundaries 5 - Parkweg-midden. (own figure)



2020-2021 Developer Input user involvement: Vision Users > Atmosphere and details public space > Art impression

Figure 40- development of boundaries 6 - Parkweg-midden. (own figure)

12.3.3 Alignment of objectives

Table 16 describes the objectives that were mentioned in the interviews. They are put in the scheme from the literature study: the alignment of objectives (Figure 41).

Keyplayer	Developer	Users	Housing corporation	Municipality
Development objectives	Making profit Creating a qualitative and well appreciated new neighborhood, even after delivery Supporting corporate strategy Improving competitive advantage	Adding safe, attractive and green public places. Adding playgrounds Involving the Kansenfabriek in the development process Preventing traffic nuisance	Supporting portfolio & strategy Suiting demands of target group Supporting sustainability targets Affordable houses Adding future quality Continuous development process Fixed development costs	Supporting housing vision Adding quality Eixed development costs Diversify neighbourhoods Improving social situation Predictable development process
Involvement objectives	A positive corporate image Creating public support Winning the tender Creating valuable references for future projects Lower risks of resistance Predictable development process Getting permits in time	Creating feeling of ownership and responsibility for the new residents Interaction between new and neighbour residents, preventing segregation A more participatory environment Improving social situation Providing insights about the habits in the neighborhood > improving functionality of the end result	Preventing stagnation of moving out current users Gaining insights of the preferences and experiences of users > adding user quality Creating support of plans	Eorm and carry out the municipal policies. Create clear expectations, boundaries and transparency about the influence of citizens. Benefit the potentials of the society. Reach a more participatory society which is involved to their city. Shift responsibilities and influence to citizens Lower maintenance costs Functional and social quality improvement Creating solidarity and preventing segregation Creating public support

Table 16 – Mentioned objectives during interviews. (Own table)

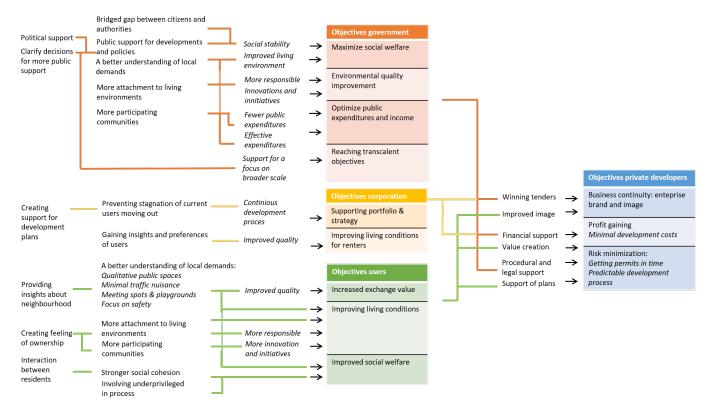


Figure 41 - Alignment of objectives, Parkweg-midden. (Own figure)

However, not all objectives were achieved like this. Figure 42 shows the misalignment. In this case there were three separated misalignments.

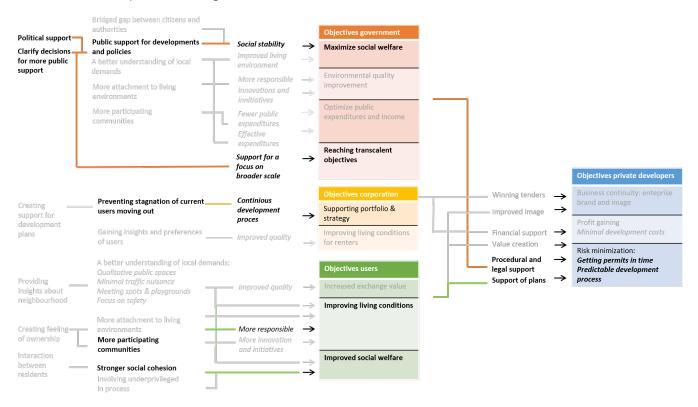


Figure 42 - Misalignment objectives, Parkweg-midden. (Own figure)

The first misalignment lies between the objectives of the housing corporation and those of the developer and municipality. For the latter parties, it is important to spread positive news about the future situation, to attract new customers and to get public support, including that of surrounding residents. However, for the housing corporation, this can limit the current residents to move out. This also brings in risks for the developer since it can stagnate the continuity of the development when current users refuse to move.

Another misalignment is between the program that is based on the estimated profit for the private developer and on the broader, cross-border housing objectives of the municipality. According to users the target group that comes with this program may not suit the local culture and therefore threatens the social cohesion and the current participation in the neighbourhood.

Finally, the current involvement did not sufficiently reach the local residents. Therefore, the risks for the developers are not minimized, while for the municipality, it is uncertain if the new development will be accepted by the local residents or that it leads to social instability.

12.3.4 Conclusion

In relation to the other cases, the definition of boundaries for the project Parkweg was different. For this project, most boundaries were defined by the municipality and the housing corporation. The program was, therefore mostly based on the housing vision and the strategy of the corporation. The municipality defined spatial boundaries by documents such as the change plans and handbook for public space. Together with the required program, this left little room for flexibility. Users were involved in the definition of the boundaries but did not have concrete influence except for the focus on social public spaces. The developer was selected through tender, and with that, the defined boundaries were fixed. At that moment, the practical possibilities for the developer to make a design that meets the tender requirements limited the flexibility of the plan even more. For the developer, developing affordable homes for the target group and developing in a profitable way can be considered as boundaries as well.

User involvement during the development process has been an important assessment criterion for the users, the municipality and the housing corporation. With this, they all aim for a design that meets the needs of the actual users. Therefore, the developer included room for involvement in the plan. The room for involvement, between the boundaries, is the public space. For the users, this has good opportunities to contribute to their involvement objectives: to create more participatory and involved communities, to create a feeling of ownership and therefore responsibility and to have a design that suits the needs of the users.

For the municipality, the planned user involvement also seems to be in line with their objectives. For them, it is important to have the public support of the development, that the result will be functional and social, that the users feel responsible and therefore help with maintenance and that there is still a predictable development process. For the housing corporation, this is similar, although they struggle with the different objectives between current users who will have to move out and future users.

Although the room for involvement offers great opportunities to align the development and involvement objectives of each party, the involvement *process* is not exactly in line. The involvement method for so far mostly attracted new residents and had led to little input of local residents. The threat is that local residents were not reached and feel missing out. Therefore, the involvement process so far has not taken away the risk of resistance. Nevertheless, all reactions so far are positive, so this chance is small. The users are pleased with the improvement of the current situation. However, there is some resistance against the program of the new development, since it takes away a part of the social rent and brings in more expensive homes. There is the fear that the new residents will not

match with the current neighbors. Moreover, local residents care for the people who had to move out to make room for this new development. More tight user involvement during the forming of the program could have improved the support of this plan.

12.4 Conclusions based on case results

12.4.1 Definition of development boundaries

The first sub-question was: How are development boundaries defined and by whom? In all cases, the municipality forms the first development boundaries through a vision. This usually embraces broader, cross-border objectives such as a housing vision or city improvement. In each case, there already are general city restrictions, such as parking norms. For these broader, cross-border and general city boundaries, users already were involved, usually through politic. However, these involvements were unrelated to specific developments.

From this moment, the development of boundaries depends on the type of development process, the context at what stage developers are involved, the type of agreement between them and the municipality. Another significant influence on the definition of boundaries is whether the land-use plan needs to be changed or adjusted.

In Zijdebalen, the developer was involved during the definition phase. This gave them the opportunity to involve users before the development options were bound by a land-use plan. The design was made according to the structure plan earlier defined by the users, Developer A and the municipality. With this, the support of the plans was quite ensured. The land-use plan then was based on this structure plan.

This case shows how the effects of the economic crisis had led to radio silence with the users, new developers and change of plans. Since the new developers were only bound by the land-use plan, they had the right to make these changes. The developers describe how a lack of financial resources formed many new development boundaries. The shareholders were important stakeholders putting pressure on the performance of the new developers, making user involvement of a low priority.

For the redevelopment of the school area in the Teding van Berkhoutlaan, users were involved after the definition phase. This means that agreements between the developers and municipality about the program were already made. Yet, with only an intention plan signed, there were not many fixed boundaries at the moment the user involvement started. It appears that the user had a lot of influence on the development boundaries such as density, building volumes, location and architecture. This was conflicting with the 'unofficial' boundaries that the municipality had defined to reach their housing vision or that the developer had defined to gain the envisioned profit. This project therefore, has shown how little boundaries are fixed when there only an intention agreement is signed.

Parkweg-midden has been a different type of case since it was acquired through tender. The tender requirements were defined by the users, municipality and housing corporation, leading to fixed boundaries when the developer joined the process. Within these development boundaries, the developer came up with a design that also suits their own preconditions. The developer left room in the design for further detailing together with the users since user involvement was one of the tender criteria.

12.4.2 Room for involvement

The next sub-question was: what room was left for the developer to involve users? The room for involvement seems to be flexible. The intended user involvement, therefore, may vary from the actual user involvement. It appears that some of the defined boundaries are flexible, so the room for involvement could be expended when it does not reach its anticipated result. Each case

shows what has influence on the needed room for involvement.

At Zijdebalen, users were involved early when there was still a lot of room for involvement, in order to create a plan that would be supported. However, when users were involved by the new developers in the final design phase, the development boundaries seemed to be quite fixed. For the developers, it has been complex to design between the boundaries of the land-use plan, little financial resources and the performance expectations of their shareholders. The municipality came in the picture again to mediate when users disagreed on the height of buildings. This seemed to threaten the development process in such a serious way, that the developers corrected their earlier defined boundaries. Moreover, potential new residents formed another type of users involved with more influence. Intensive user involvement about architectural details of the single houses was a strategy of developers B & C to attract customers.

For Teding van Berkhoutlaan, the intended user involvement was about the building volumes. The program was a basis for the intention agreement between the developer and the municipality. Yet, this agreement was not binding. The involved users did not agree on this program and had a lot of influence on the program and on the design in the end.

For Parkweg, as explained, many development boundaries were fixed after the tender. Between this, the developers integrated room for involvement in the design. Different types of users are involved in different ways, aiming to involve them according to their interests. The public space in this plan literally leaves blank spots which can be designed in a later stage when the demands of the users are more clear. Yet, what is interesting here, is that the actual influence of users on the design of the public space apart from these blank spots will be small, because of city norms and extra boundaries set by the municipality. It is too early to tell if everyone will support the plans and agrees on the way they are involved, since not all user types are reached yet. Users are invited to leave feedback. Since the plans are supported for so far, no boundaries needed to be reconsidered.

What can be concluded from the flexibility in boundaries is that the boundaries of the developers can be flexible. The developers of Teding van Berkhoutlaan and Zijdebalen explained that boundaries could be set tighter, to have room for negotiation.

The results of the first two questions show how the development of boundaries really depends per case. It also shows how municipalities remain involved throughout the development of new boundaries, even though two of the three cases are in the era of the 'retreating government'.

12.4.3 Alignment with objectives

The final sub-question is whether the user involvement was in line with the objectives of the three parties.

Zijdebalen is a deviant case since there has been a long time span between the first and the last user involvement and a switch of developers. During the first user involvement, the involvement process was well in line with the objectives of the users. Even though not all their demands were met, users were fully supportive of the plans because of the way they were involved. By involving the users early, the developer decreased the development risks. Still, it was usual for the municipality to take the lead for user involvement, at this time. Doing this, the municipality created political support and was able to clarify decisions such as the minimum density needed for the housing vision of the city. The radio silence during the switch between developers and the uncertainty of the economic crisis made the user feel disconnected to the plans. The developers argued that at this phase in the development, it was not their role to involve users, since users already were involved in the land-use plan. For them, the objective to develop quickly and with support of the shareholders was more important than involving users in this stage. This case shows that the urge for new development improved the support of users, even though users were less supportive of these adjusted development plans. Objections were only made when the plans decreased the value of homes for direct neighbours. The other plans were easily accepted to speed up the so long waited developments.

In Teding van Berkhoutlaan, the final design meets the objectives of the users. However, the

process was not in line with their objectives. The users had grown their own expectations about new developments, after a long period of vacancy of the school and a derelict parcel. When they got involved in the plans, there was already a lot 'decided' by the municipality and developers, that did not meet these expectations. The users had a lot of influence on these plans in the end, but the process has led to a lot of mistrust and uncertainty. This case shows how private-led user involvement was a new concept for both the developers and for the municipality. There has been unclear role division and false expectations. This was also confusing to the users. For the developer, the whole process has cost a lot of time, risk and profit, which might have been prevented with a better involvement process. This case shows how important early involvement can be to create support for plans. Interesting is that the municipality speaks positive about the development process, although they did not fully reach their broader, cross border objectives and the process did not lead to trust and support of municipal projects.

Parkweg shows how users can be involved in different ways throughout the process. Important to consider, are the consequences of the way users are involved. The local users who were involved in the preparation of the tender did not feel heard by the municipality and housing corporation. Now, the threat of users not accepting the plans is not fully taken away, since there was little response to their demands earlier on. The local users appear to be hard to reach, and the support of the plans is uncertain for the developer. Still, this case shows an example of a role division between the municipality and developer in which it is clear for the developer what is expected from them, leading to a predictable process. This case also shows how the three parties acknowledge the potential benefits of user involvement, including the social aspects. These social objectives seem to be well aligned.

What the three cases have in common is that all municipalities use user involvement as a mean to explain defined boundaries that are of importance to the broader, cross border scale. Moreover, all developers consider the support of the municipality to be important, while that of the users seems to be on the second row. In the interviews, the objectives 'retaining image' and 'brand enterprise' were discussed more than for example, 'profit gaining' or 'exchange value creation'. For users, the most important objective seems to be that the new development would not harm their current living quality or the value of their homes. Improvement was always one of the objectives, although this seemed not to be decisive for support. Logically, users were more supportive when they expected the current situation to be improved. Figure 43 shows the overlapping objectives of the stakeholders in all cases and how they are aligned.

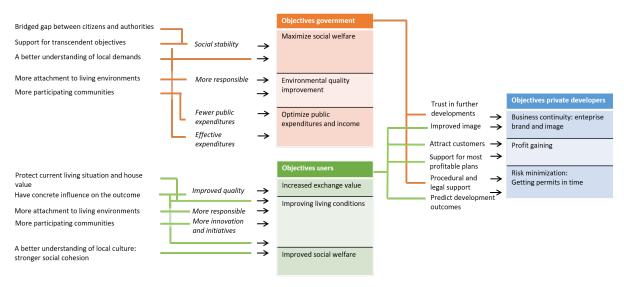


Figure 43 - Alignment of user involvement with the objectives of the government, users and the private developer. (own figure)

Involvement versus development objectives

In all cases, objectives were divided into involvement or development objectives. However, it appears that they are often entangled. By involving users, municipalities and developers aim to reach their development objectives. By participating, users aim to reach their 'development objectives', in terms of having an influence on the end result. Therefore, involvement objectives can be considered to be a mean for development objectives. Not all involvement objectives are as clearly related to development objectives: Parkweg-midden shows how the government and users see user involvement as a way to improve the social situation, by creating more responsibility for the surrounding. This is not directly related to physical changes in the development plan, yet will also influence the success of the development.

Misalignment

In practice, there was misalignment as well. Often, the objectives of users conflict with broader, cross-border objectives of municipalities and with objectives to reach the highest profit and lowest risks from the developers. Users often did never have the concrete influence they desired. Moreover, the user involvement processes did not seem to contribute to a better understanding of the local cultures. However, only when the current living situation of housing value was threatened, users seem to be able to counteract objectives of the private developers by opposing to plans. For municipalities, it did not seem necessary that all the objectives of the users were met before they would offer procedural or legal support to the developers. The municipalities did never provide financial support as suggested in the literature.

12.4.4 The involvement processes according to the advice

As explained in chapter 7, there are some preconditions to ensure the user involvement processes do not exclude or frustrate users. With this, user involvement has the highest opportunity to create social value. Table 17 shows which of these preconditions were present per case.

	Zijdebalen (involvement by municipality)	Zijdebalen (involvement by developers)	TvBlaan	Parkweg
Acting according to expectations				
Matching local culture				
Balanced planning	X			
Offering a variety of means				X
Role integrity	X	X	Χ	X
Flexibility	X		Χ	Χ
Interaction	X	X	Χ	X
Create and limit influence	Х	X		X
Project solidarity	Х	X		X
Constant involvement				Х
A clear link between participation initiatives and decision-making processes				
Shared responsibility, reintegrate vulnerable, integrate the local culture for mutual understanding and trust.				
Reduce fear of attack, loss of social services or disapproval by providing a way how participants can freely express themselves.	X		X	Х

Table 17 - Checklist preconditions per case. (Own table)

The table shows how not all preconditions were present in each of the cases. As explored in the cases, the fact that the involvement processes did not meet all the preconditions did not always lead to frustrated users or exclusion of users in such a way that it was leading to misalignment with the

developers' objectives. However, chapter 14.1 explores how the preconditions of this list can become more important in the future.

12.4.5 Lessons learned

Finally, the cases provided insights for the improvement of future involvement processes.

Zijdebalen implies that user involvement brings in the opportunity to improve the quality of the design. The users warned for noise nuisance and advised a popular spot for the new square, but without result. The design, therefore, missed quality opportunities, according to them.

Another lesson learned is that, for developers, opposition to plans must be prevented. When this is expected, cutting back in profit to compromise users is preferred over losing time and money on extra legal procedures. The radio silence of the case Zijdebalen had harmed the trust of users and therefore increased the risks for the developers.

Teding van Berkhoutlaan shows how not necessarily the effect of user involvement is important, but the process might be even more. Because of long radio silence and a poor start of the involvement process, users had little trust in and no support for the developments. Parkweg shows how good preparation of the developer and early involvement from the municipalities can help to create clear expectations for the users. This case has shown how earlier frustration among users would need to be taken into account by the developer to prevent risks in a later stage. It shows that it is not only important to involve the users, but as well to truly listen to them, so earlier frustration could be explored.

13 Allowances of (mis)alignment

The case findings describe how the objectives of the three stakeholders led to the definition of development boundaries and to certain involvement decisions. In addition, it has led to insights about how user involvement processes align with the objectives of each party. Still, since it appears that full alignment is not possible, the question arises: what extend of alignment is needed for the developer? It is still unclear when the misalignment of the involvement process with the objectives of others are seriously threatening the objectives of other parties. The findings only showed either alignment or misalignment. It is therefore important to re-zoom on the stakeholders to understand their perception of the executed process. This chapter focusses on the perspective of the private developers, as this report focusses on private-led user involvement and -development. As explained in the theoretical framework, the developers' objectives relate to the objectives of the users and governments. This chapter examines that relation a little more.

13.1 Developers' objectives

Geesing (2015) explored the objectives of private developers in the UK, through a Delphi study. He had chosen a variety of experts in the field. The result of his research has already been exposed in chapter 5.1.2. However, the research of Geesing has been conducted in another context (right after the economic crisis and in the UK). That is why it is interesting to investigate how the developers of the cases from this research think about Geesing's conclusions. Another round of interviews has been done to investigate their reaction to this list. The results are presented in the next section.

13.1.1 Priority of objectives

- 1. Profit gaining
- 2. Shareholder satisfaction
- 3. Risk minimization
- 4. Product delivery
- 5. Product quality
- 6. Customer satisfaction
- 7. Expanding
- 8. Business continuity
- 9. Market leadership
- 10. Brand building
- 11. Realizing common goals (with stakeholders)
- 12. Sustainability
- 13. Innovation
- 14. Break even

Table 18 - Priorities of objectives private developers. (Geesing, 2015)

The developers of each case are asked how they think of this list. They were first asked to consider this list from their perspective as experienced developers, without focussing on the specific cases or user involvement. Then the influence of user involvement was discussed.

Developer A from Zijdebalen explains that the company takes market leadership with customer satisfaction. That is why he considers this to be the most important. According to him, it is also important that employees stay motivated and innovative, which is not on this list. He sees this as the basis for a good company. He explains that business continuity and image are more important than profit. User involvement can contribute to that, to minimize risks that limit business continuity.

Developer A from Parkweg disagrees on this: "we will never start a project that will not be profitable, so that is most important. However, your customer is the one who pays, so they are the way to the profit. They decide if your business can continue." He explains that the way to reach customer

satisfaction depends on three development characteristics: first, the type of customer. Not all customers want to be involved in every detail. Second, the price segment. When people have more to spend, they can afford a more custom made house. Third, the position in the market. The demand for houses is high now, but a positive image is still important to ensure business continuity in the future. "Our brand is 'more than construction (meer dan bouwen)', we have to pursue that". He explains that user involvement with other types of users is important to keep this image and to stay in good relations with municipalities. In addition, user involvement does not necessarily conflict with other objectives, so it does not have to be a lower or higher priority. Process-wise, however, it can be challenging to keep up the desired development speed when many stakeholders need to be involved in the entire process.

Developer B & C from Teding van Berkhoutlaan, explain that profit gaining is not an objective on its own. All other objectives are a way to make a profit. So it is a matter of paying attention to all those other objectives - the same counts for shareholder satisfaction. Shareholders believe in our product that focusses on customer satisfaction. They explain that harming their trust will threaten our future profit. As a large company, they have more responsibilities than smaller ones which will be easily be forgiven for mistakes. According to them, offering more than the minimum can improve our market position and can be profitable in the short term, with the right investors.

So, this shows that the priority of the objectives in the list of Geesing is quite discussable. Geesing conducted a Delphi study with experts, but he may have missed the nuance as to why these objectives were chosen and placed in that order. The next section elaborates this.

13.1.2 Layers of objectives



Figure 44 - Different management levels, Rekenkamer (2017)

Figure 44 of the Court of Auditors (Rekenkamer, 2017) shows development strategies on three different management levels, namely strategic, tactical and operational. More (2019) explains the different layers. Strategic objectives are meant to move a company in a new direction. This is usually about how to position in the market or about the business of the company. A strategy is a long term and corporation-wide. Tactical objectives support the strategy with more concrete objectives. In a company, this is per section and more in the short term. The operational layer concerns the implementation of the tactics. This can differ per project. (More, 2019)

The layers of Figure 44 show how objectives are related to each other. The success of the strategy depends on the pursue of the tactical objectives and the implementation on an operational level. There is a hierarchy within each level too. The exploration is that objectives are not necessarily in order of priority. Figure 7 in chapter 5.2.5 shows that objectives are interrelated to each other. This has become even more clear from the second interview round on the priorities of objectives. Houghton (2013) has come to the same conclusion: spatial planners do not necessarily opt for either economic growth or improved quality of life; the objectives are entangled. He explored: if there is more economic growth, there are more means to improve the quality of life.

For Van Wijnen, the following can be concluded about objectives, from the cases and the second round of interviews:

It is necessary for a private company to gain profit, as explained by Developer B from Teding van Berkhoutlaan. Profit gaining is not just to pay the employees but as well to stay in the market when business is disappointing. Every company has its own strategy to make a profit. As Developer B from Zijdebalen explains, Van Wijnen has chosen for the strategy to focus on customer satisfaction. The business strategy booklet describes that other strategies would be 'product leadership' and 'operational excellence'. [Details from this booklet have been intentionally omitted from this report. They are not necessary to reach conclusions.] Part of the strategy is that customers of Van Wijnen are asked to rate their satisfaction in numbers. This enables the company to formulate more concrete tactical objectives so that number can be improved over a period of time. Likewise, there are tactical objectives to improve shareholder and employee satisfaction. According to the interviewees, the shareholders require a stable cash flow. A market position with little risks is important to them. Other types of tactical objectives are a focus on certain types of developments. The booklet states what focus would be needed to increase the market position towards projects with municipalities or housing corporations as clients. This is where the objectives concerning user involvement come into the picture. The implementation of user involvement is operational and will have to be determined per project. Figure 45 shows how the objectives are layered and related to each other. In red, the objectives directly related to user involvement.

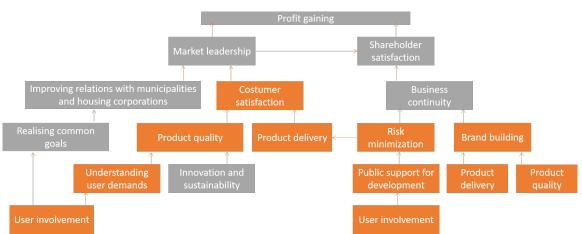


Figure 45 - Layering of objectives private developer. (own figure)

13.1.3 Choosing objectives

The previous section shows how user involvement is related to different tactics and how it is part of the strategy of Van Wijnen. That user involvement is interrelated with corporate objectives was already explored in the theoretical framework. However, now it is clear that it can not be generalized which objective would be more important than the other. In each case, the developer should consider the priority of objectives.

Zijdebalen has shown that developer B & C prioritized quick delivery in order to create shareholder satisfaction. First, they decided to save time by skipping user involvement with local residents. This counteracted the permit applications when dissatisfied neighbours appealed against plans. At that point, the developers concluded that it would be more time-efficient to involve users better in the future.

Teding van Berkhoulaan has shown that the developers prioritize user satisfaction compared to maximal yield. The interviewees explain that in this case, the relationship with the municipality, in the long run, is more important than the yield on the short run.

In Parkweg, there already has been some time delay because of user involvement. Here, the developer prioritizes public support over fast delivery.

Of course, not all demands of users would have to be met. Zijdebalen shows well how users can be supportive of the plans even though a lot of demands are not met. In Teding van Berkhoutlaan, the users were not supportive of the development at all. The fact that houses are being developed is against their demands. Still, the developers describe how they have come to a compromise. They do not expect appeals against plans now. In Parkweg, the demands of the different types of users vary and are sometimes conflicting (new residents preferring private gardens versus surrounding residents preferring more public space). The developer describes that in those situations, it is important to make clear to all stakeholders that all demands were considered and why the chosen design is the best solution. This, to get the support of the municipality for permits. All interviewed stakeholders understand that it will be impossible to meet the demands of everyone. Nevertheless, the layering of objectives shows that it is in the best interests for the developer to meet as many demands as possible.

Support of the municipality, political parties or users?

What was experienced in all cases is that the developers seek for support from the municipality, while the municipality seeks support from the political parties. Parkweg shows this the best. In a work-related conversation with developer A from Parkweg he explains the power relation between the municipality and him as a developer, as he experiences. He explains that the tender required user involvement and how in their plan involvement about the public space was integrated. Not only would users be involved in blanks spots, users would also be involved in the surrounding urban plan. However, now that plan is forming, little is done with the input of users. Developer A explains how the designers seem to struggle with integrating those extra demands on top of all the complications that already show up in designing urban plans. Another important factor is the influence of the municipal officials who seem to search for control in all the aspects of the plans. Between their preferences and the practical limitations, there appears to be little room for the preferences of the users. Developer A explains that the municipality here is most powerful since they authorize in the end. However, the municipality can be corrected by political parties when users demands appear to be insufficiently considered. Therefore, the following model seems to be valid for the power relations in a user involvement process.

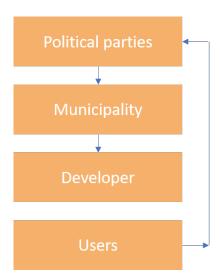


Figure 46 - Power relations (own figure)

The next chapter is provided as advice to private developers to predict support for plans from the perspective of users and municipalities.

14 Approaching the complexity of different perspectives

14.1 Increasing expectations of user involvement

This report has described several movements which argue that the expectations of user involvement are likely to grow in the future.

As described in chapter 4: With the Environment and Planning Act coming up, more and more municipalities are forming a document in which their involvement objectives and envisioned approach are presented. Understanding the objectives of the municipalities might help developers to predict the admired user involvement process.

Insights into the instruments governments have to realize their intended social value creation increases the relevance for private parties to improve their skills to involve users. Now, it might be sufficient to consider user involvement as a legal check off. In the future, future social value creation might be integrated into the investment costs. It then is in the developers' interests to achieve the most benefits from user involvement. In any case, these explorations show how the focus on social value creation is becoming more and more important.

As shown in chapter 12.4.4, not all preconditions for user involvement have been met in the cases. The lack of these preconditions increases the risks for developers that users will not support the plans or that the government will not approve the way users were involved. Moreover, it increases the risks that user involvement does not lead to the intended social result. As explained, social value creation can be of direct interests for developers in the future.

Future scenario's

There can be argued that in the future, the public opinion about the role of the government, developers and citizens may change. For example, the COVID-19 crisis has led to new insights about the ideal society. Due to this crisis, a public opinion seems to be that the government should be more in the lead. Korteweg (2020) concludes this from the party programs of both right and left-winged political parties. According to him, all parties evoke for a stronger director function for the government and smaller market forces. This is contradictory with what was concluded in this report and may lead to fewer responsibilities for private parties and more for the government. Still, the SCP argue whether these arguments to a more strong government will be popular for long (Kreling, 2020). According to the SCP (2020), the trust in the government had increased during the first contamination wave of COVID, but not in the second. Meanwhile, there are already movements against the control of the government. Looking at the previous crisis, it is likely that these views will only be temporary. When the crisis is over, the public view will probably be like it was before. (SCP, 2020)

It will be important to keep in mind political, but as well as economic changes since they can influence the objectives and perception of stakeholders. For instance, Developer A of Parkweg Midden and Developer A of Teding van Berkhoutlaan described how the low market in the economic crisis of 2008 had increased the focus on customer involvement for private developers. Other changes that need to be considered are the effect of the housing pressure in the Netherlands. What happens when that is more levelled? This report focusses on housing due to the rising housing pressure in the west of the Netherlands. Yet, in other places in the Netherlands, there is an increasing surplus (Leeuw, 2019. Still, according to his expectations, the urban area's in the Netherlands will have a housing shortage up to 2030. This means that the findings of this research can be applicable for a lot of developments in the coming years.

So, the advice to developers is to take into account the objectives of users and municipalities and to estimate the risks misalignment with those objectives entails. The next section explains how this could be approached.

14.2 Game theory and negotiation.

Syme and Eaton (1989) recommend approaching the complexity of user involvement by viewing the involvement process as a negotiation process. "We suggest that viewing the public involvement program as a negotiation process is a useful perspective that applies social psychological insights to understanding of the theory and practice of public involvement". They conclude that hardly any link is made between negotiation and public involvement in literature. In their view, user involvement could help communities to act more as spatial planners as they become more informed or sophisticated about the regional plans. However, they recognize the issue of the state versus regional governments and how, on either scale, objectives need to be legitimized and prioritized (see chapter 8.3.2). Still, Syme and Eaton explain that the process of implementation is most important for the acceptance of the communities and spatial planners, and not necessarily the actual influence of public involvement (just as the case study research has shown). Yet, "planning is a process of argumentation and that rationality in planning relies on the facts agreed upon by the main players within this discourse or argumentation". Syme and Eaton create a classification of negotiation situations, which helps to design a suitable involvement program. They explain that negotiations can be either internal (within the same organisation) or external and about ideologies or allocation of investigations. According to them, the way stakeholders can successfully negotiate depends on the classification of the negotiation. Conflicting ideologies - for example, between different types of users – require a different approach than a conflict between the government and a developer who both have a different interpretation of how to respond to the market situation. (Syme and Eaton, 1989) Syme and Eaton's approach is another example of how developers can structure the types of challenges they face and how they can approach them.

Tan (2014) and Glumac, Blokhuis, Han, Smeets and Schaefer (2010) acknowledge the complexity of finding a consensus in the different interests of stakeholders. However: "planning processes can only be successful in coherent situations in which consensus on values in society exists, which is a very rare case in current spatial planning, due to the complexity of different interests." (Glumac et al., 2010). Tan explains that game theory can be applied to ease decision making for developers. According to her, game theory is rarely involved in the creation of our environment. Yet, it has the unexplored potential of combining the socio-spatial dimensions of self-organizing urban processes. She describes that, in an operational form, gaming can combine different stakeholders, the collaborations and conflicts within and between them, and the parameters provided by topological data. (Tan, 2014) According to Glumac et al., games help stakeholders to become more aware of their own and others roles and objectives. In conclusion, game theory can be used to predict the possibility of stagnation and to overcome the challenges of conventional negotiation. According to them, the need for better decision making is growing due to the increasing role of citizens and the empowerment of market partoes. (Glumac et al., 2010)

Still, game playing is no guarantee of improvement. Tan (2014) explains that however accurate and relevant the outcome of a city game may be, the actual and sometimes shifting power relations of real urban processes are the dominant factor that determines whether the outcome of a city game can have a real impact. She questions who is responsible for the risks (social inequality, finance, safety and hygiene considerations), since often players act more responsible in the game than in real life. What Glumac et al. and Tan both advice is to define game rules that bridge the game with reality. These can be, for example, increasing the game implementations: making the commitments made in the game concrete for the real-life situation. (Tan, 2014; Glumac et al., 2010)

Discussion and conclusions

15 Discussion

Before coming to a final conclusion, some topics need to be considered that have shown up throughout the report. The following sections discuss the most interesting results regarding the literature findings and empirical research.

15.1 Development boundaries and room for involvement

Room for involvement between the development boundaries

Chapter 8 explains how development boundaries influence the room for involvement. Geesing (2015) describes that developers explore potential development options within their possibilities before they accept a project and that therefore some decisions are already fixed before users are involved. The involvement strategy of Van Wijnen explains that the room for involvement is derived from those development options (van Wijnen, 2020). However, the cases show how room for involvement is not directly derived from development boundaries. First, Zijdebalen shows that users can be already involved in the exploration of potential development options before the developer officially accepts the project. In the project of Teding van Berkhoutlaan, defined boundaries can be shifted by the municipality and developer, when there is a lack of support. Finally, Parkweg demonstrates how users can be involved in the definition of boundaries (tender requirements), but as well how new boundaries can be defined even after the developer has started the user involvement.

(Legal) boundaries set by the municipalities

This report has divided the development boundaries into preconditions, visions, legal restrictions and practical limitations.

In practice, it appears that the legal restrictions are the most decisive for the room of involvement, due to their fixed state. As Boeve and Groothuijse (2019) explain, the legal restrictions are often derived from earlier democratic decision making. And as Bomhof & Oosterkamp have shown, these legal restrictions are not flexible and often do not meet the local demands. In the cases, the same was experienced, although not every development boundary that was derived from democracy is fixed. Visions of municipalities appear to be more flexible. Teding van Berkhoutlaan shows how the municipality chooses a certain density to respond to the housing vision for the city and their decision to compromise so the density would better meet the local demands. In Zijdebalen, the financial feasibility was prioritized over the political demand for social housing. This conflict led to tension between the municipality and the political parties. There can be concluded that the boundaries set by the municipality are predominantly fixed, yet flexible when the continuity of the project is threatened.

As described in chapter 4.3, Verheul et al. (2017) suggest that governments are searching for soft means to steer the outcomes of development, without limiting the market excessively or without extra expenditures. However, the case findings contradict this suggestion. In the cases of Teding van Berkhoutlaan and Parkweg, the municipalities retain control over the end result with permits and the (tender) contracts. These are hard legal means. In none of the cases, the municipalities used financial means

In Zijdebalen, most user involvements had taken place before the fixation of a function in the land-use. Because of this, the municipality was ensured of a future plan that would be more or less in line with the demands of users. Therefore the municipality was able to shift responsibilities to the developer after the land-use plan was fixed. It can be concluded that municipalities use legal restrictions to have control of the development outcome. In the case of Parkweg, the municipality even defines new boundaries that seem to limit the options to involve users. With this, responsibilities are partly shifted back to the municipality. This will be discussed later.

Boundaries of the developers

As explained in the strategy of Van Wijnen (2020), developers consider general preconditions to be able to estimate the risks and profit for specific projects. According to Mengerink (2015) and Geesing (2015) developers focus on finances when development options (and with that, the options to involve users) are chosen. Geesing even concluded that making a profit was their top priority, as discussed in chapter 13.1. As Buitelaar et al. (2008) explain, in many cases, developers have just a few development options that are financially feasible considering the ground exploitation of municipalities. This suggests that development decisions are led by financial feasibility. In practice, finances indeed appear to be an important boundary for developers, yet not necessarily in terms of profit. Zijdebalen shows how the financial feasibility of the project had led to a dependency on investors, cheaper development options and a change in the development phasing. However, Teding van Berkhoutlaan shows that business continuity can be prioritized over the financial feasibility of a single project (as explained in chapter 13.1). In the case of Parkweg, the developer describes how contrary to financial feasibility, affordability of the users is decisive for the chosen involvement method. In this case-study, users are not involved in architectural details such as floorplans, so the homes can be kept affordable for the right target group.

Overall, financial feasibility is not the most decisive for the choice how to involve users. As discussed in chapter 13, risks that can threaten corporate objectives need to be taken into account for each user involvement. Therefore, the financial feasibility of a single project can be moved aside.

Boundaries of the users

As explained in chapter 13, the support of users is important for developers to take away risks that might threaten corporate objectives. Therefore, the development boundaries that are created by users is the next topic of discussion. Geesing (2015) and Mengerink (2015) both describe what influences the development options, but do not mention the influence of users. The users' demands can be considered as development boundaries as well. Although the boundaries defined by users do not appear to be fixed, they can limit the development options for the developer. Zijdebalen has shown that not all boundaries in the structure plan were fixed (only those that were translated into the land-use plan). However, when users appeal against plans, these boundaries indeed decide the development options for the developer. The same appeared in the case of Teding van Berkhoutlaan: the users' demands limited the development options for the developer. However, in all cases, not all demands of the users are heard. This shows that they do not simply create fixed boundaries. The demands of the users only truly limit the development options when it leads to opposition to plans or when the municipality or political party protests (these power relations are explained in the next part).

Role division and responsibilities

Although not part of the research framework, this research shows insights about the role division between the private developers and the municipalities. This appears to be affecting the influence developers have on the development boundaries and the way they can involve users.

The case of Zijdebalen shows how the roles between the municipality and the developer change during the process. Before the land-use plan had changed, the municipalities were actively involving users in the plans, facilitating user involvement with contact persons between the developer and the users. This enabled the first developer to create the first plans 'together' with the users. When a new developer came in the picture, the land-use plan was already set. In that perspective of time, the developers did not feel responsible for the user involvement, since the municipality already had involved the users. In this new phase, the municipality had a more passive attitude and only intervened when users objectified against the permit application.

The intervention by the municipality when the users of Zijdebalen appealed against the plans can be explained by the fact that the municipality was controlled by the political parties. These power relation between the developer, municipality, political parties and the users are explained by Developer A of Parkweg, in chapter 13.1.3. It means that it is in the municipal interests to make sure the users' demands are sufficiently integrated into the developers' plans.

However, the cases show contradicting results as well. In the case of Parkweg, the municipality is defining new boundaries to keep control of the development outcome. These findings confirm the fear of Foley (2000) that governments have a 'zero tolerance of failure' which limits the shift of responsibilities (chapter 8.3.2). With this control, the threat is that there is insufficient room to fulfil the demands of local users. When municipalities consciously act against the results of the privateled user involvement, they shift the responsibilities of that decision back to themselves.

Even though the objectives of private parties are layered and interrelated, the cases show that the support from the municipality is the most important to get permits. When users demands are conflicting with demands of the municipality, the municipality has priority.

15.2 User involvement process

Chapter 6 describes how current user involvement processes show room for improvement. This part discusses how the described issues show up in the research findings.

Critical involvement moments

According to Geesing (2015), users are preferably involved as early as possible. Van de Veen (2018) and Boyer (2018) argue that users need to be involved before decisions are fixed. In the cases, users were most interested in being involved in the program and building volumes of a project. Zijdebalen shows how user involvement in the structure plan is a helpful method to come to a design that is in line with the demands of the users. In Teding van Berkhoutlaan, users did not have influence on the program, but they were able to show preferences for the building volumes. In Parkweg, the users are only involved in the design of the public space, yet for so far this seems to offer room for the users demands as well. This suggests that it is indeed important to involve the users in an early stage, when decisive topics are still flexible (just as described in chapter 7.1.2), however, that when users are involved in a later stage user involvement can still be useful to find a compromise for mismatching demands.

Frustrated users

The society is less participatory then envisioned by governments (van der Sanden, 2018; SCP, 2012). According to De Vries (2019) and Kranen (2020), users are demotivated when they are not involved in the topics or on the level of influence they prefer. According to Engbergsen et al. (2007), users are often poorly involved in spatial plans without having a real influence on decision making. Van Buuren & Edelenbos (2008) add that users can be demotivated to participate because of lack of time or earlier frustration. Chapter 7 provides approaches to prevent those frustrations, as provided by Van de Veen (2018), Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) and Rashidfarkhi et al. (2018).

Chapter 12.4.4 shows how the preconditions discussed in chapter 7 were present in each case. In none of the cases, the involvement processes were fully organized according to this advice. Therefore, it is interesting to explore into what extend this had led to frustration among the users. This research is unsuitable for drawing general conclusions about what precondition is related to what kind of frustration, yet lessons can be learned from the cases. In all cases, the involvement was not fully according to the expectations of the users, there was no constant involvement and the users did not always feel like there was a clear link between their input and the decision-making. The involved users in all cases are 'frustrated' about the influence they have. In Zijdebalen, the involved users had an influence on a lot of topics, but too little on the topics they thought were most important: the greenery and social environment of the new development. Moreover, they were frustrated about the radio silence after the land-use plan had changed. In Teding van Berkhoutlaan, the involved users were frustrated because they were not involved in the decision to develop housing. In Parkweg, the involved users felt frustrated because they did not feel like they were really heard.

What can be concluded from the findings is that users indeed are frustrated (to a certain extent) by the way they are involved. However, as described in the results, in all cases, this frustration has a different load and different consequences for the process. The case descriptions can be used to

grow experience about how frustration among users arises and how that can be approached or prevented.

Gap public thinking and experts

The feeling of not having a real influence can be declared by the gap between public thinking (users) and the experts (developers and municipal officials), according to Volmer et al. (2016), as explained in chapter 3. As described in chapter 6.1.1, by Mayer et al., (2005) planning parties like developers and municipal officials appear to challenge with understanding boundaries between them and users. This has been experienced in the cases as well. Surprising is that in the case of Zijdebalen, this gap between the 'experts' and 'public' is smaller compared to the cases Teding van Berkhoutlaan and Parkweg. In Zijdebalen, the users felt heard and well understood during the user involvement by the municipality to form the structure plan. This was partly because the user involvement was guided by a mediator (facilitated by the municipality), who organized structured meetings with the three parties. In Teding van Berkhoutlaan, the user involvement was led by the developers. Teding van Berkhoutlaan shows that the municipality's vision was conflicting with the users' expectations, which shows the lack of understanding of local demands from the municipality and lack of understanding of decision-making from the users. The developers describe that there were communication barriers in the presentation of the plans to the users in the first user involvement. Only when the users were taken in smaller groups, this barrier was decreased. Parkweg is an example of how users can be involved without having serious influence. The involved users did not feel heard during the preparation of the tender and felt like the discussions they had with the other parties were not on the same level. This was confirmed by the municipal official.

Considering the three cases, it seems that the gap between public thinking and experts had only grown more over time. The mediator facilitated by the municipality in the case of Zijdebalen appears to be a helpful link between the public thinking and the experts.

Reaching different types of users

On top of user involvement that frustrates users, criticism on user involvement is that it does not sufficiently represent all users' needs (Rashidfarkhi et al., 2018).

Interesting is that in none of the cases the developers explored what type of involvement process would match the local culture, and without offering various means (see chapter 12.4).

In Zijdebalen, a group of users were involved from the beginning due to their own initiative. The interviewed users were active participants. They explained that the participating group consisted of 15 surrounding residents. In their belief, this group was representative of the demands of users that did not participate. However, this can be questioned since the development covered a large scale.

In the case of Parkweg, many surrounding residents are not reached. The interviewed users were part of this group. These interviewees were involved in an earlier stage but were unaware of the current user involvement process. They explain that the newsletter and website used to continue the user involvement in times of the pandemic crisis are not reaching the users of the neighbourhood since many of them do not know Dutch or do not have a computer.

In the case of Teding van Berkhoutlaan, only neighbouring homeowners were actively participating. The owner of a neighbouring apartment building was not interested in participating, and therefore, the tenants were not involved either. This shows that even though there is an active participating group, this does not mean the involvement method reaches all types of users. That this issue is less problematic for developers can be concluded from Parkweg. Here, all users have had the opportunity to share their demands. According to the developer, it is then the responsibility of the user to participate. Now, this attitude can indeed be sufficient. However, when municipalities' expectations grow or when social value creation will be integrated into investment costs, more inclusive user involvement will be required. It is important to focus on suitable methods to involve the users, matching the culture of the users (just as described in chapter 7.1.1).

15.3 Alignment of objectives

The alignment of objectives as resulted from the case study (chapter 12.4.3) is not exactly the same as presented in theory (chapter 5.2.5). The most relevant findings are discussed.

Social objectives

Interesting is that the potential social benefits of user involvement, as described in chapter 3.2 did not seem to be acknowledged.

Even though users did mention some social objectives, these did not appear to be of high importance compared to the value retention of their current houses or living qualities. This could be explained by the belief that individuals act opportunistic and short term, just as explored by the SCP in 2012 (chapter 6.1.2). Another explanation is that the definition of social sustainability can be elusive for users, considering that this topic is not fully understood by many planners either (according to Shirazi and Keivani, 2018). It can therefore be easier for users to just focus on comparing concrete plans with the known current situation than to consider social effects.

Even though SCP (2012) implies that governments would see user involvement as an opportunity to create more social environments, more innovation and initiatives, this did not seem to be a priority of the interviewed municipal officials. When discussing this with the interviewed municipal officials, they admitted that improving the social situation through user involvement is considered to be too optimistic and not effective. They did not acknowledge potential social benefits of user involvement, although they did acknowledge how spatial interventions would have potential to improve the social environment. This could be explained by the context of the cases: The biggest part of user involvement for Zijdebalen has taken place before the movement of the retreating government (chapter 4.1). Teding van Berkhoutlaan can be considered to be a practice for both the developer as the municipality how to organize private-led user involvement. Both parties were exploring this new concept, which is an explanation for why potential benefits were not fully explored. Parkweg on the other hand shows how a well thought through involvement plan can integrate a variety of objectives. In this case, the social objectives came more to light: for all parties.

Financial benefits

Another interesting result is that the developers did not consider that user involvement could bring in financial benefits, despite the potential benefits as described by Geesing (2015) and Adams and Tiesdell (2012) (chapter 5.2.2). Developer A of Parkweg explains that user involvement used to be a way to attract new customers, during the recession of the economic crisis of 2008. However, now that the market is booming, this is not in effect anymore: "the houses will sell anyway". Nevertheless, all developers admitted that positive branding is an important benefit of user involvement to ensure business continuity, even in times the market deteriorates. Yet, for projects in particular, the user involvement was not considered to be a way to create exchange value. Nor did the developers see user involvement as a mean to attain financial support from municipalities.

16 Recommendation for further research

This research has created new questions that are direction for further research. Other recommendations are made to complement the limitations this research has had.

- 1. As explained in part Validity (18.4), there is recommended that the experiences of each interviewee will be validated by quantitative research.
- 2. Focus on the negative side effects user involvement could bring. Vollaart (2016) explored how participatory societies can have negative effects on local society. In his paper, he describes how buurt-Whatsapp (a good example of citizens taking over public services) offers opportunities to improve the safety of the neighbourhood. And, although it indeed results in lower crime numbers, the *feeling* of safety seems to be threatened by experiences of racism and lack of privacy. This is an example of how local residents taking more responsibilities is not always what is best for other residents. A corresponding issue has been explained in chapter 8.3: user involvement on a local scale can conflict with what is decided democratically on a broader scale. In chapter 6.1.2 Van der Sanden (2018) and the SCP (2012) explained how user involvement could lead to segregation when there is mistrust between groups.

Another issue is that the amount people are willing to participate can be disappointing. The findings of the SCP (2012) imply that it might be outside the influence of the developing party to involve all users. Therefore it is likely that there will always be unknown demands and unforeseen negative side effects. The cases have shown that it can already be challenging to deal with the diversity of known preferences, let alone the unknown needs or underlying negative side effects. The question arises if the potential benefits for developers are enough to take responsibility for those too.

- 3. This report has shown some political beliefs that have led to a focus on private-led user involvement. How these political beliefs are shared nowadays is argued in chapter 4. Chapter 14.1 describes how the focus on user involvement can even grow in the coming years and what are likely future political and economic scenario's. It could be valuable to explore the influence of these type of political beliefs and economic changes on the way users can be involved by private parties.
- 4. The applicability of the provided approaches for private developers to deal with the complexity of different demands (chapter 14) can be discussed.

First of all, the integral development (chapter 7.1), asks for further exploration. This form of collaboration requires a lot of preparation before the developer can start to develop. It would only be possible to take the lead from the start if there is ensured that they get the development rights (according to the director). Of course, this brings in new challenges which will have to be explored.

Second, an operational study could tests how useful games would be from the perspective of developers. What are the pro's and con's, and what would be the applicability of this approach? Tan (2014) and Glumac et al. (2010) their extensive studies on game theory (chapter 14.2) mainly focus on the benefits for public objectives but does not discuss how the time and money investment of using these types of games will payout for private parties.

5. as concluded by the SCP (2012) (chapter 6.1.2), it is still uncertain what type of user involvement would be in the interests of the users themselves. Chapter 7 suggests that early, flexible, reflective, etc. user involvement (according to checklists) would prevent frustration. The cases of this research showed involvement processes that did not reach all the points on the checklist. It could be valuable to test the theory and to explore the link between the preconditions on the checklist and the way users experience the way they are involved.

17 Practical recommendations

This section provides four practical recommendations for private developers to improve the alignment of user involvement with their own, yet as well with the users' and municipal objectives.

1. Do not take development boundaries for granted. Instead of involving users between the boundaries, explore what type of user involvement would be needed, then explore the possible flexibility in the boundaries to make that possible.

2. With boundaries comes responsibility.

When boundaries do not leave enough room for the needed user involvement, the risks grow that users are frustrated by the way they are involved. It would be logical that the parties that show too little flexibility in their defined boundaries are then responsible for those extra risks. For instance, the cases have shown how the boundaries of municipalities can be quite fixed. It would be logical if they are then responsible for the corresponding risks. Make that responsibility model clear before the private-led user involvement starts.

3. Continuous and complete user involvement

Make use of the checklist provided in chapter 7.1 to prevent frustrated and excluded users. Although at this time inclusive and complete user involvement might not seem to be important for private developers, this importance is likely to grow in the future. When social value creation is becoming a financial interest for developers, it can be a serious shortcoming to have a misrepresentation of the users' demands.

4. Involving users is a dialogue: explain, listen and discuss

Avoid the level informing of the ladder of involvement (chapter 2). By solely informing users, their demands are not explored, and frustrations do not come to light. Therefore a responsive involvement method would be important. When topics not open for discussion, explain this, yet listen in able to explore the support for the decisions. When there is lack of support discuss possible solutions. This can be with the users themselves by exploring the underlying reason for the lack of support (in Teding van Berkhoutlaan, users were unsupportive for housing because they were afraid of a nuisance. This is solved by the location and orientation of the new building). However, it might be needed to discuss the flexibility of the decisions again and explore who can be held responsible for the lack of support and consequences.

In general: As explained; gaming (chapter 14.2) can be a useful tool to explore demands, roles and power relations, to bridge barriers between 'experts' and users and to make agreements about tasks and responsibilities. By exploring the demands of the other stakeholders, developers can form consensus earlier, so changing the boundaries would not be problematic for the achievement of corporate objectives.

18 Conclusion

In theory, private-led user involvement offers great opportunities to align the objectives of users, municipalities and private developers. It can lead to public support for developments and policies, a better understanding of local demands, stronger social cohesion, attachment to living environments, more participating communities and bridge the gap between citizens and authorities. For private parties, the opportunities are an improved corporate image, public support, value creation, predictable processes, leading to higher profit, insured business continuity and lower risks.

In practice, user involvement is often not reaching its full potentials. Users are often frustrated because they do not feel like they really have an influence on the development or because they are not involved in topics that are of their interests. Meanwhile, involved users often poorly represent the needs of the society. When this is the case, user involvement is only time and money consuming, without leading to the possible benefits.

Literature provides advice to involve users earlier in the process, more inclusive and responsive and to offer flexibility during the process. However, several types of development boundaries seem to limit the options for the developer to involve users. Therefore, this report investigated: *To what extent do the development boundaries leave enough room for private developers to align user involvement with the objectives of users, the municipality and the developer themselves?* By considering the developers perspective, it is explored why the current involvement processes are not reaching their full potential as described in theory. This conclusion provides a final answer to the main question. Only new conclusions are mentioned. The case studies have provided a preliminary conclusion (chapter 12.4) about how boundaries develop during a development process and how they influence the way users are involved. Another round of interviews has been conducted with the developers. The question for this second smaller research was: what extend of alignment is needed for the developer?

The findings are discussed in chapter 15. Repetition of conclusions from earlier in the report is avoided. Therefore the sub-questions are not separately described again.

18.1 Answer to the research question

It appears that development boundaries are defined by each party to guard objectives. For now, full alignment of each objective does not seem to be possible, mostly because of conflicting demands between what has been democratically chosen by municipalities on a broader scale and what would be in the interests of local users. The boundaries defined by the municipalities are to ensure broader, cross-border objectives and are quite fixed. User involvement is seen as a way to get support for these boundaries. Between those boundaries, developers seem to have a lot of room left to involve users in a way that would be more in line with the objectives of the local users.

Each project started from a vision formed by the municipality, which was in line with broader, cross-border objectives. For the rest, the definition of boundaries differs per case, depending on the type of development, role division and the agreement between the developer and municipality.

Developers set boundaries themselves to ensure the feasibility of the plan, but also as a negotiation tool during the process. As concluded from the case studies, a lack of support seems to be a reason for developers to look for more flexibility in their own defined development boundaries. Support is needed to get permits in time and to retain a positive corporate image. However, for developers to change boundaries, timing is important. Changing boundaries during user involvement seems fine when this is taken into account in the planning. Yet, as designs are becoming more fixed throughout the process, changing boundaries later in the process can lead to serious time delay or

bring in new risks.

The boundaries that are defined by users depend on the influence they have. Nevertheless, users always try to protect or improve their own living environment and exchange-value of their homes. The boundaries they define do not seem to be fixed and can be ignored by the municipality or the developer. Only when user dissatisfaction brings in the risk of objection to plans, their boundaries are more fixed.

Throughout the process, municipalities can set new boundaries which limit the options to involve users or can even counteract the demands of users. It appears that the responsibilities then are shifted back to the municipalities. This is in line with what was found in literature: the shift of responsibilities from public to private is limited.

Since full alignment does not seem possible, Developers will have to estimate the needed alignment per project. Nevertheless, all developers acknowledged how user involvement is related to most corporate objectives. These corporate objectives are interrelated with each other, so when one objective is not gained, the other is threatened. The most important focus appears to be business continuity and a positive corporate image to ensure profit gaining in the long term. This is more important than gaining profit in the short term. For developers, support from the municipality seems to be the most important driver to involve users. Through politics, the support of the municipality relates to that of the users, although full alignment of objectives does not seem to be necessary for developers to get the needed support. The involvement process seems to be more decisive for support than the final outcome. The involvement processes of all cases lacked preconditions of the involvement checklist from literature. This implies that there is room for improvement.

Although currently, full alignment with the objectives of users does not seem necessary for developers to reach their objectives, in the future, there might be fewer allowances. Social value creation can be related more directly to profit gaining, while governments will probably have higher expectations of the private-led user involvement. For each project, developers will have to estimate the risks for their own objectives. What seems to be time-efficient now, may lead to delays later, or harm the long term business continuity.

Game theory offers great opportunities for private developers to explore the perspectives of the municipalities and users to improve their support and the effectiveness of user involvement. However, this will need to be further explored.

18.2 Validity

The interviews provided good insights on how boundaries are formed and how decisions about user involvement were made. The research was less applicable to obtain concrete results. The interviewees found it difficult to tell how user involvement contributed to objectives. This was partly because of timing. For Zijdebalen, the objectives had changed after the economic crisis, while the user involvement mostly took place before the crisis. It was hard to explore how these objectives had changed over time. Keyplayers had changed, or interviewees needed to dig deep in their memory. For Teding van Berkhoulaan and Parkweg no concrete conclusions could be made yet. However, it was as well because interviewees seemed not to be that aware of their objectives. Most of them came up slowly when I asked for them. The objectives themselves were not SMART (specific, measurable, attainable, relevant, and/or time-bound).

The most critical note on the research method is that in each case, just one or two users were interviewed. This method was chosen to interview a variety of parties and to have an as broad overview of all perspectives. As described in the literature, misrepresentation is a big issue of user

involvement. Only participating local residents were interviewed (The representation of the interviewed users is described in chapter 11). Chapter 5.2.4 zooms in three different types of users (local communities, local entrepreneurs and occupants) and their different interests. In practice, the interests within those groups will vary, logically. This research explored how user involvement processes were in line with the objectives of the interviewed users. However, their objectives and their perception of the involvement processes probably vary from other users. Christersson et al., (2017) and Creswell (2007) explain that the method of single case studies does not allow statistical generalisation, yet through the development of themes and descriptions, the research is generalisable by argument. This research method helps to understand how each development has its own decision-making process and other influencing factors. It has provided a broad understanding of the different perspectives of stakeholders and the objectives of each party. Nevertheless, future research will preferably focus on just one of the perspectives in order to attain more complete data. Instead of qualitative data collection, quantitative or cross-over data collection would be more suitable. Then, more types of users could be considered, and the difference in types of users will come to light.

18.3 Research contribution

This report combines known knowledge from a new perspective: instead of focusing on one perspective, this research explored the relationship between users, developers and governments and how they influence user involvement processes. Moreover, the research has provided elaboration on the stakeholder throughout user involvement processes. This new knowledge can help private developers to reach more potentials of user involvement and to contribute to the social performances of cities by urban renewal. Although this research focussed on the perspective of the private developer, it is just as useful for municipalities to understand how they might support or facilitate developers to involve users better. For users, the insights of this research can help to understand the complexity of diverging demands and finding consensus.

Understanding the objectives of the municipalities and users help private developers to predict how users and municipalities would respond to misalignment. The focus on social value creation through urban developments and a changing role for private developers make that the relevance to improve private-led user involvement is likely to increase. This means that private developers will have to put more effort into considering different demands and substantiate their decisions when consensus is not possible. The insights from this report or other case descriptions might help to grow experience. Yet, chapter 14.1 describes how political, social and economic scenario's need to be considered.

Reflection

19 Reflection

As described in the foreword, the social side of the built environment had motivated throughout my whole student life. It made me enthusiastic about user involvement from the beginning and may have even made me be too expectant about what I could reach within a year. Looking at my collection of literature I've read this year, I feel small knowing that there is so much knowledge within this topic that interested me. It had cost me some effort to accept that I had to choose a focus. Now I see it as motivation for later.

Considering my study progress, my supervisors have helped me a lot to improve the consistency, the correctness and the concreteness of my work. Because of my enthusiasm and own interests, I tend to include all interesting sources I found, normative or irrelevant as they could be. This wide interests had counteracted me in the first part of writing my thesis. In order to prepare scientific research it was needed to choose a direction and to become more specific, which was a challenge for me. A lesson learned here is to start earlier with narrowing down, finding a specific research gap and forming research around that.

The final research is still quite broad since it encounters a variety of processes and perspectives. Still, I believe that this research brings valuable insights into the complexity of user involvement processes. The research method enabled me to compare the different projects and the views of different stakeholders. The research method could be easily used for more specific types of projects in further research. The semi-structured interviews were less applicable for attaining concrete effects of user involvement for the interviewees. Nevertheless, considering the acknowledged difficulty of measuring the effects of social projects, this would require a totally different research approach which is not likely to be combinable with this explorative and descriptive research.

The execution of the research went according to plan, despite the difficulties due to the COVID-19 crisis. Because of my work relation with most of the interviewees, it was no issue to get in contact. Colleagues had helped me get in contact with other parties. The fact that most of my interviews were digital did not influence the quality of my interviews in a relevant way. Through video, it was possible to share screens when additional information was needed, but it enabled as well to communicate nonverbal. I believe the digital meetings even made it easier for me to make appointments in the interviewees' tight schedules since there was no physical meeting needed.

The desk research I did before conducting the interviews helped me ask sharp questions and point out contradicting information. During these interviews, there were no ethical dilemmas. Since the interviews were about user involvement, all relevant information was already open for public. Therefore there were no difficulties around confidential information. Moreover, the interviewees all were informed about the subjects on forehand and about what the information would be used for.

The consequences of COVID-19 brought in negative effects for my research as well. (informal) Contacts with peer students were limited. This made it harder to discuss frustrations, being stuck, understanding of the assignments, or simply to get inspiration from each other. Most of the research was done behind my laptop, in my own room. This undoubtedly had put me in a knowledge bubble and made it harder to stay motivated. The 5 presentation moments were helpful not to lose motivation for too long. This as well helped to compare the progress and quality of the research with peer students. The presentations mostly helped to explore the understandability of my work, since I tend to find it hard to transfer ideas into writing. In the final part of writing my thesis, I requested family and friends to check my writing and understandability. This has taught me to improve my academic writing and presentation skills.

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Glossary

The following definitions are extensively explained in this report, this is an overview of the results.

Urban renewal (Chapter 1)

Urban renewal can be understood as the refurbishment, conversion or replacement of existing urban fabric.

User (Chapter 2)

Users are all those who have an operational connection to what is built.

<u>User involvement</u> (Chapter 2)

User involvement is the activity of the developer considering the view and demands of users on decision making, along the various steps of the ladder of involvement.

<u>User involvement process</u> (Chapter 2)

User involvement consists of who is involved, on what level, in what and when.

Participation (Chapter 2)

Actively attending the involvement process of a development

Social sustainability (Chapter 3.1)

A social sustainable development facilitates the needs and well-being of individuals and the community of current and future generations.

Stakeholders (Chapter 5.1)

Stakeholders are those who directly or indirectly are affected by or affecting the realization of the project objectives during the whole life cycle and operation of the urban development project.

Private developer (Chapter 5.1.2)

Developers are the link between the demand and supply of real estate and the connection between end-user and contractor. This private actor core business is the preparation and realization of real estate projects for one's account and risk aiming for maximum yield against a manageable risk level.

Private-led development (Chapter 5.1.2)

An urban development project in which private actors take a leading role and public actors adopt a facilitating role to manage the development of urban area, based on a formal public-private organizational role division.

Room for involvement (Chapter 8.1)

Room for involvement comprehends the options to involve users. This is influenced by the development boundaries.

<u>Development boundaries</u> (Chapter 8.2)

Development boundaries limit the development options. These can be: preconditions, visions, legal restrictions and practical limitations and can be flexible or fixed.

The next page shows an overview of other frequently used terms.

Elaboration of the following subjects can be found on the corresponding chapters.

Retreating government	Chapter 4.1
Public-private partnership	Chapter 4.1
Government	Chapter 5.1
	Chapter 5.1.3
Value creation	Chapter 5.2.1
Preconditions	Chapter 8.2.1
Legal restrictions	Chapter 8.2.3
Broader, cross border objectives	Chapter 8.3.2
Involvement versus development objectives	Chapter 12.4.3
Game theory	Chapter 14.2

Appendices

20 Appendix 1 – Interview round 1 questions

Algemeen

Allereerst hartelijk bedankt voor uw bijdragen aan mijn onderzoek. Met dit interview hoop ik op een gestructureerde wijze antwoorden te vinden op mijn onderzoeksvragen. Het interview bevat open vragen die als leidraad dienen voor het gesprek. Het kan dus zijn dat we hier en daar iets afwijken van het plan, indien dat kan leiden tot waardevolle informatie.

Ik voer mijn onderzoek uit voor mijn afstuderen aan de TU Delft, Master Manegement in the Built environment. Mijn onderzoek gaat over participatie, naar aanleiding van de komst van de omgevingswet. Mijn focus ligt daarbij op de randvoorwaarden voor ontwikkelaars en de ruimte daartussen om gebruikers te betrekken bij de plannen. Participatie kan waardevol zijn voor zowel de gemeente, als de burgers en de ontwikkelaar zelf. Maar omdat de belangen voor elke partij anders zijn en omdat de ruimte voor participatie gelimiteerd is, is mijn hoofdvraag:

"In hoeverre is de ruimte voor participatie tussen de randvoorwaarden voor ontwikkelaars, voldoende om participatie te organiseren die bijdraagt aan de doelen van de gemeente, de gebruikers en de ontwikkelaar zelf?"

Ik ben daarbij dus geïnteresseerd in de flexibiliteit van randvoorwaarden en de doelen die alle drie de partijen hebben met participatie.

In mijn onderzoek gebruik ik het begrip *user involvement*. Dit omvat het betrekken van alle soorten gebruikers. Dat zijn dus niet alleen nieuwe bewoners, maar ook omwonenden, bezoekers en locale ondernemers. Met *involvement* wordt alle maten van betrokkenheid bedoeld, wat kan gaan over slechts informeren tot samen creëren, gevraagd én ongevraagd. Participeren is vanuit de gebruiker gezien het werkwoord dat hoort bij het betrokken worden bij de plannen.

De antwoorden zullen worden gebruikt ter aanvulling van het theoretisch kader en nieuwe inzichten geven over het onderwerp privaat gestuurde participatie bij binnenstedelijke herontwikkeling. Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden en er de antwoorden zullen alleen worden gebruikt voor academische doeleinden. Ik ga dit gesprek aan met u als student, niet als werknemer van Van Wijnen. Het interview bevat 4 onderwerpen en duurt ongeveer een uur. Gezien de hoeveelheid informatie zou ik het prettig vinden het gesprek op te nemen, zodat ik later de antwoorden kan verwerken in een transcript. Daarna zal de opname worden verwijderd. Het transcript wordt in vertrouwen bewaard en zal niet met derden worden gedeeld.

Ik wil u er op wijzen dat u vrij bent antwoorden te weigeren of te stoppen met het interview wanneer u dat wilt.

20.1 Zijdebalen

Municipality

1. Vormen van randvoorwaarden.

De buurtbewoners van Zijdebalen waren in het begin nauw betrokken bij de plannen. Er was een commissie opgesteld die verschillende belanghebbenden representeerden. De studie naar de geschiedenis van Zijdebalen was een initiatief van een bewoner die de bouwstijl en naam van het project hebben gevormd.

- 1.1. Wat was in grove lijnen het eerste plan voor dit gebied?
- 1.2. In hoeverre hebben gebruikers invloed gehad op deze eerste plannen?
- 1.3. Hoe was dat in lijn met de visie voor de stad?

Bij het vormen van het structuur plan voor het Stedenbouwkundig Programma van Eisen is 13 keer gesproken met de klankbord groep. De Gamma is gebleven, na aandringen van de belanghebbenden en er is extra aandacht besteed aan bezonning.

1.4 Zijn er verder belangrijke invloeden geweest vanuit de gebruikers?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaar

Als ik het goed begreep heeft de gemeente de regie gehouden toen Madevin de ontwikkelaar werd. Maar toen later Hurks en Van Wijnen het overnamen waren zij volgens de website van Hurks 'in de lead'.

- 2.1 Betekent dat ook dat zij verantwoordelijk werden voor het betrekken van de buurtbewoners?
- 2.2 Welke verwachtingen had de gemeente daarbij?
- 2.3 Hoe is daar invulling aan gegeven? Is er uiteindelijk voldaan aan de doelen van de gemeente?
- 2.4 Wat voor invloed denkt u dat de betrokkenheid van de burgers bij het maken van het stedenbouwkundig plan van eisen hebben gehad op het eindresultaat?
- 2.5 En op het ontwikkel proces?

3. <u>Doelen</u>

- 3.1 Wat waren voor de gemeente redenen om de buurtbewoners te betrekken bij de plannen voor Zijdebalen?
- 3.2 Denkt u dat deze manier van participatie bij heeft gedragen aan die doelen?
- 3.3 Hoe is dat nu merkbaar?
- 3.3 Wat kan worden beschouwd als nadelen van het betrekken van buurtbewoners op deze manier?

extra: Waren de invloeden van de buurtbewoners problematisch voor de visie van het gebied?

4. Lessen

- 5.1 Wat zijn lessen om mee te nemen in een toekomstig participatie proces?
- 5.2 Als dit project opnieuw zou worden gestart, in de huidige tijdsgeest van de omgevingswet, wat zou er dan anders moeten in het participatieproces?

Users

1. Vormen van de randvoorwaarden

- 1.1 Wat speelde er in de wijk, toen de eerste plannen werden gemaakt?
- 1.2 In hoeverre werd er gehoor gegeven aan jullie belangen bij het vormen van de SPvE
- 1.3 Kunt u voor mij het proces beschrijven vanaf het moment dat de eerste ideeën kwamen voor de herontwikkeling in Pijlsweerd tot het vormen van de SPvE. Wanneer werden jullie betrokken en wanneer kwam de betrokkenheid vanuit jullie? Hoe werden andere belanghebbenden betrokken?

Representativiteit

- 1.4 In hoeverre denken jullie dat alle belangen van de belanghebbenden werden gehoord?
- 1.5 Waren er conflicterende belangen? Hoe is daarmee om gegaan?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaars

In 2010 werd Madevin de ontwikkelaar die de plannen mocht uitvoeren, maar ik heb begrepen dat die niet de leiding namen over het participatie proces. In 2014 waren dit Hurks en Van Wijnen, die beschrijven dat zij 'in de lead' waren.

2.1 Hebben jullie verschil gemerkt in de manier waarop jullie bij de plannen werden betrokken op het moment dat de ontwikkelaars meer de leiding namen? Wat was het belangrijkste verschil met toen de gemeente dit deed?

De ontwikkelaars hebben invulling gegeven aan het SPvE.

3.3 In hoeverre paste de invulling van de ontwikkelaar bij jullie verwachtingen?

3. Doelen

- 3.1 Wat zouden jullie beschouwen als de belangrijkste doelen voor buurtbewoners om betrokken te worden en te zijn bij nieuwbouwplannen? Hoe was dat voor Zijdebalen?
- 3.2 In hoeverre zijn die doelen behaald? Hoe merkt u dat?
- 3.3 In hoeverre heeft het participatie proces zoals die nu was vormgegeven daaraan bij gedragen?
- 3.4 Wat denken jullie dat er anders had moeten zijn in het participatie proces om de doelen beter te kunnen behalen?

4. Lessen

starten?

De omgevingswet is in aanloop, dat betekent dat belanghebbenden voortaan actiever moeten worden betrokken bij ruimtelijke plannen. De belangen van buurtbewoners moeten meer worden meegenomen en kunnen doorslaggevend zijn bij bouwvergunningen. Daarbij wordt de verantwoordelijkheid voor buurtparticipatie meer naar de ontwikkelaar geschoven.
5.1 Welke belangrijke lessen moeten worden meegenomen als een soortgelijk project nu zou

Developers

1. Flexibiliteit en randvoorwaarden

Toen Hurks en Van Wijnen bij het project betrokken werden, lag er al een SPvE en een plan van Madevin.

- 1.1. Wat waren nog onderwerpen ter bespreking, welke randvoorwaarden stonden echt vast?
- 1.2 Hoeveel flexibiliteit was er om dingen anders aan te pakken dan dat Madevin dat wilde doen?
- 1.3 Wat waren voor jullie zelf belangrijke randvoorwaarden?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaar

Op de website van Van Wijnen las ik dat jullie in het proces steeds meer de leiding namen in het contact met de buurt

- 2.1 Wat hebben jullie gemerkt van de participatie die heeft plaats gevonden vóórdat jullie begonnen met het project? (Waren er opvallende risico's of kansen? Waren er belangen waar extra rekening mee moest worden gehouden?)
- 2.2 Op welke manier waren gebruikers betrokken bij het project vanaf het moment dat jullie de ontwikkelaars werden? Welke ladder van de participatie en over welke onderwerpen?
- 2.3 Waren er mogelijkheden tot een intensievere of andere participatie die jullie hebben overwogen?

3. Doelen

- 3.1 Wat waren jullie doelen bij het betrekken van gebruikers bij de plannen?
- 3.2 Denken jullie dat deze manier van participatie bij heeft gedragen aan die doelen? Hoe is/was dat merkbaar? (bijvoorbeeld in het proces, eindresultaat?)
- 3.3 Wat kan worden beschouwd als nadelen van het betrekken van gebruikers op deze manier?

4. Lessen

- 4.1 Met de resultaten van de participatie in gedachte, wat hadden jullie graag anders gezien bij dit project? Wat is daarbij binnen jullie controle als ontwikkelaar en wat niet?
- 4.2 Als dit project opnieuw zou worden gestart, in de huidige tijdsgeest van een omgevingswet, wat zou er dan anders zijn in het participatieproces?
- Wat zou er anders moeten om het voor de ontwikkelaar makkelijker te maken deze taak op zich te nemen?

20.2 Teding van Berkhoutlaan

Municipality

Eerst even wat voorkennis.

De school werd gesloopt in 2015. Als ik het goed begreep was Van Wijnen daarbij betrokken omdat zij dan elders mochten ontwikkelen. Ik heb een schets gevonden uit 2015 voor woningen op de locatie van de school.

Daarna is er in 2017 door de Watertorenberaad een inventarisatie gemaakt van de kansen en invulling voor de wijk Kuyperwijk. Daarin heeft de gemeente de vraag gesteld hoe deze wijk invulling kan geven aan de actuele woningvraag. De visie is daarbij herontwikkeling en verdichten.

Ik lees dat de wijk voornamelijk bestaat uit sociale huur en dat er daarom middel dure huur wordt toegevoegd. Verder ligt de focus op het versterken van de sociale cohesie door doorverhuizen binnen de wijk aan te bieden en door economische activiteit toe te voegen (winkels?)

Na een gat van 4 jaar werden er door Van Wijnen nieuwe plannen gemaakt (35-50 woningen), waar nu mee wordt gewerkt. Er is als ik het goed begrijp nog steeds een oud bestemmingsplan van de school.

Ik ben geïnteresseerd in deze drie perioden:

- 1. De sloop van de school en de eerste plannen.
- 2. De visie vorming na de inventarisatie van Watertorenberaad in 2017
- 3. De huidige plannen

1. Vormen van randvoorwaarden.

- 1.1 Wat was de visie voor dit gebied toen de school werd gesloopt?
- 1.2 In hoeverre was die visie veranderd door de inventarisatie van Watertorenberaad?
- 1.3 In hoeverre waren gebruikers betrokken bij deze eerste plannen? Hadden zij invloed?
- 1.4 In 2018 kwam Van Wijnen weer in beeld. In 2019 tekenden zij het plan uitwerkingskader van de gemeente. Als ik het goed begreep was het grootste verschil het aantal woningen? Dit werden appartementen in plaats van rijtjeshuizen. Is dat correct?
- 1.5 In het plan wordt ook beschreven dat de kaders niet vast lagen, maar in afstemming met de buurt konden worden aangepast. Waren er dingen die voor Van Wijnen wél eigenlijk al vast stonden?
- 1.6 Hoe waren buurtbewoners betrokken bij deze onofficiële kaders waar Van Wijnen wel voor tekende?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaar

- 2.1 Welke verwachtingen had de gemeente bij de participatie die Van Wijnen zouden organiseren?
- 2.2 Wat was daarin de rol van de gemeente?
- 2.3 Wat vind u van de aanpak van Van Wijnen?

3. Doelen

3.1 Wat waren voor de gemeente redenen om de buurtbewoners te betrekken bij de plannen voor Teding van Berkhoutlaan?

- 3.2 Denkt u dat deze manier van participatie bij heeft gedragen aan die doelen?
- 3.3 Hoe is dat nu merkbaar?
- 3.4 Wat kan worden beschouwd als nadelen van het betrekken van buurtbewoners op deze manier?

extra: Waren de invloeden van de buurtbewoners problematisch voor de visie van het gebied?

Ik lees dat de wijk geen probleemwijk is, maar dat de sociale situatie verslechterd. In hoeverre draagt dit project tot nu toe bij aan de sociale cohesie?

4. Lessen

5.1 Wat zijn lessen om mee te nemen in een toekomstig participatie proces? Als dit project opnieuw zou worden gestart, wat zou er dan anders moeten in het participatieproces?

U beschijft in het handboek van participatie Delfts Doen! dat de initiatiefnemer verantwoordelijk is voor participatie. Denkt u dat daarvoor voldoende flexibiliteit ligt binnen de kaders van een project om waardevolle participatie te organiseren? Wat zou er daarvoor moeten veranderen?

Developers

1. Flexibiliteit en randvoorwaarden

- 1.1. Wat waren nog onderwerpen ter bespreking, welke randvoorwaarden stonden echt vast, toen jullie in 2019 de plan uitwerkings kaders tekenden?
- 1.2 Hoeveel flexibiliteit was er om dingen anders aan te pakken?
- 1.3 Wat waren voor jullie zelf belangrijke randvoorwaarden?
- 1.4 Welke kaders waren het meest leidend?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaar

In de verslagen van de Driemteam heb ik al veel gelezen over de eerste participatie avond. Als ik het goed zeg hadden jullie het idee dat de gemeente de overdracht naar jullie beter hadden kunnen begeleiden.

- 2.1 Waar had dat het meeste mee te maken? (te weinig ervaring, false verwachtingen, verkeerde inschatting?)
- 2.1 Wat hebben jullie gemerkt van de participatie die heeft plaats gevonden vóórdat jullie begonnen met het project? (Waren er opvallende risico's of kansen? Waren er belangen waar extra rekening mee moest worden gehouden?)
- 2.2 Op welke manier waren gebruikers betrokken bij het project vanaf het moment dat jullie de ontwikkelaars werden? Welke ladder van de participatie en over welke onderwerpen?
- 2.3 Waren er mogelijkheden tot een intensievere of andere participatie die jullie hebben overwogen?

3. Doelen

- 3.1 Wat waren jullie doelen bij het betrekken van gebruikers bij de plannen?
- 3.2 Denken jullie dat deze manier van participatie bij heeft gedragen aan die doelen? Hoe is/was dat merkbaar? (bijvoorbeeld in het proces, eindresultaat?)
- 3.3 Wat kan worden beschouwd als nadelen van het betrekken van gebruikers op deze manier?

4. Lessen

4.1 Met de resultaten van de participatie in gedachte, wat hadden jullie graag anders gezien bij dit project? Wat is daarbij binnen jullie controle als ontwikkelaar en wat niet?
4.2 In de toekomst wordt participatie een vast onderdeel van ontwikkeling, wat zou er dan in een proces anders gaan dan nu? (rolverdeling, timing, kaders vormen, risico managen).

Users

1. Vormen van de randvoorwaarden

- 1.1 Wat speelde er in de wijk, toen de school werd gesloopt in 2015?
- 1.2 Wat waren toen de plannen voor wat er voor terug zou komen? Hadden jullie daar invloed op?
- 1.3 In 2017 was de gemeente bezig met het maken van een visie voor het gebied. Daaruit volgden kaders voor dit project. In hoeverre waren jullie daarbij betrokken?
- 1.4 Waren er vanuit de buurt bepaalde belangen waar wel of niet gehoor aan is gegeven?

Representativiteit

- 1.5 In hoeverre denken jullie dat alle belangen van de belanghebbenden werden gehoord?
- 1.6 Waren er conflicterende belangen? Hoe is daarmee om gegaan?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaars

Vorig jaar heeft Van Wijnen hun eerste plannen aan jullie gepresenteerd.

- 2.1 Hebben jullie verschil gemerkt in de manier waarop jullie bij de plannen werden betrokken op het moment dat de ontwikkelaar aan zet was, in vergelijking met toen de gemeente dat deed?
- 2.2 In hoeverre paste de invulling van de ontwikkelaar bij jullie verwachtingen?
- 2.3 Hoeveel flexibiliteit was er in deze plannen? Was er ruimte voor belangen die misschien niet binnen de kaders pasten?
- 2.4 Welke kaders waren daarbij het meest leidend?

3. Doelen

- 3.1 Wat zouden jullie beschouwen als de belangrijkste doelen voor buurtbewoners om betrokken te worden en te zijn bij nieuwbouwplannen? Hoe was dat voor dit project?
- 3.2 In hoeverre zijn die doelen behaald? Hoe merkt u dat?
- 3.3 In hoeverre heeft het participatie proces zoals die nu was vormgegeven daaraan bij gedragen?
- 3.4 Wat denken jullie dat er anders had moeten zijn in het participatie proces om de doelen beter te kunnen behalen?

4. Lessen

De omgevingswet is in aanloop, dat betekent dat belanghebbenden voortaan actiever moeten worden betrokken bij ruimtelijke plannen. De belangen van buurtbewoners moeten meer worden meegenomen en kunnen doorslaggevend zijn bij bouwvergunningen. Daarbij wordt de verantwoordelijkheid voor buurtparticipatie meer naar de ontwikkelaar geschoven.

- 5.1 Welke belangrijke lessen moeten worden meegenomen als een soortgelijk project nu zou starten?
- 5.2 Wat denkt u dat gevaren zijn bij zo'n verschuiving van verantwoordelijkheid, waar eerst de gemeente besluiten nam?

20.3 Parweg-midden

Municipality

1. Vormen van randvoorwaarden

In 2016 is er een nieuw bestemmingsplan voor Nieuwland vast gesteld. Daarin staat al beschreven dat de woningen van Woonplus en de particuliere detailhandel binnenkort ruimte zouden maken voor nieuwbouw. De nieuwe invulling dient in lijn te zijn met de Woonvisie. Daarin komt vooral naar voren dat doorstromen en sociale stijging mogelijk moet zijn voor de schiedammer, oftewel: meer eengezinswoningen met een tuin voor de midden inkomens. Ook wordt er het een en ander gesteld over de bouwhoogte, groen, gewenst programma en verkeer.

- 1.1 Wat betekende deze visie concreet voor de uitvraag van de tender? Ik zie bijvoorbeeld harde eisen wat betreft het aantal en soorten woningen. In hoeverre stonden de kaders van de tender vast? Welke boden nog ruimte voor een andere invulling?
- 1.2 In hoeverre waren gebruikers betrokken bij deze eerste plannen? Hadden zij invloed?
- 1.3 Wat waren belangen van de buurtbewoners en in hoeverre zijn die meegenomen?
- 1.4 Welke randvoorwaarden waren er voor de gemeente het belangrijkst? Welke kwamen van andere partijen zoals Woonplus. Welke kwamen van Van Wijnen?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaar

- 2.1 Welke verwachtingen had de gemeente bij de participatie die Van Wijnen zouden organiseren?
- 2.2 Wat was daarin de rol van de gemeente?
- 2.3 Wat vind u van de aanpak van Van Wijnen? Wat vind u van de ruimte die Van Wijnen heeft open gelaten voor participatie.

3. <u>Doelen</u>

- 3.1 Wat waren voor de gemeente redenen om de buurtbewoners te betrekken bij de plannen voor Parkweg-midden? Welke zijn daarvoor uniek ten opzichte van participatiedoelen van de stad? (handreiking samenwerken in Schiedam)
- 3.2 Denkt u dat deze manier van participatie bij heeft gedragen aan die doelen?
- 3.3 Hoe is dat nu merkbaar?
- 3.4 Wat kan worden beschouwd als nadelen van het betrekken van buurtbewoners op deze manier?

extra: Waren de invloeden van de buurtbewoners problematisch voor de visie van het gebied?

Ik lees dat de wijk geen probleemwijk is, maar dat de sociale situatie verslechterd. In hoeverre draagt dit project tot nu toe bij aan de sociale cohesie denkt u?

4. Lessen

- 4.1 Wat zijn lessen om mee te nemen in een toekomstig participatie proces?
- Als dit project opnieuw zou worden gestart, wat zou er dan anders gaan?
- 4.2 Welke kaders worden idealiter vastgesteld samen met de buurtbewoners? Wiens taak is dat?

Housing corporation

1. Vormen van randvoorwaarden

Uit het interview met Hans van Sasse en Eelco van Diesen kwam naar voren dat financiele haalbaarheid een van de belangrijkste randvoorwaarde was voor Woonplus aangezien hier sprake is van kapitaalvernietiging.

- 1.1 Wat waren daarnaast belangrijke randvoorwaarde voor jullie?
- 1.2 In hoeverre kwamen jullie belangen overeen met die van de gemeente?
- 1.3 Hoe uitte zich dat in de tender?
- 1.4 In hoeverre waren gebruikers betrokken bij deze eerste plannen? Hadden zij invloed?
- 1.5 Wat waren belangen van de buurtbewoners en in hoeverre zijn die meegenomen?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaar

- 2.1 Welke verwachtingen had Woonplus bij de participatie die Van Wijnen zouden organiseren?
- 2.2 Wat vind u van de aanpak van Van Wijnen? Wat vind u van de ruimte die Van Wijnen heeft open gelaten voor participatie.

3. <u>Doelen</u>

- 3.1 Wat waren voor de Woonplus redenen om de buurtbewoners te betrekken bij de plannen voor Parkweg-midden?
- 3.2 Denkt u dat deze manier van participatie bij heeft gedragen aan die doelen?
- 3.3 Hoe is dat nu merkbaar?
- 3.4 Wat kan worden beschouwd als nadelen van het betrekken van buurtbewoners op deze manier?

 $extra: \ Waren \ de \ invloeden \ van \ de \ buurt bewoners \ problematisch \ voor \ de \ visie \ van \ Woonplus?$

4. <u>Lessen</u>

- 4.1 Wat zijn lessen om mee te nemen in een toekomstig participatie proces?
- Als dit project opnieuw zou worden gestart, wat zou er dan anders gaan?
- 4.2 Welke kaders worden idealiter vastgesteld samen met de buurtbewoners? Wiens taak is dat?

Developers

1. Flexibiliteit en randvoorwaarden

- 1.1. Wat waren nog onderwerpen ter bespreking, welke randvoorwaarden stonden echt vast, toen jullie de tender indienden?
- 1.2 Hoeveel flexibiliteit was er om dingen anders aan te pakken dan dat de tenderkaders boden?
- 1.3 Wat waren voor jullie zelf belangrijke randvoorwaarden?
- 1.4 Welke kaders waren het meest leidend?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaar

- 2.1 Wat hebben jullie gemerkt van de participatie die heeft plaats gevonden vóórdat jullie begonnen met het project? (Waren er opvallende risico's of kansen? Waren er belangen waar extra rekening mee moest worden gehouden?)
- 2.2 Hoe ervaar je de overdracht van de verantwoordelijkheid, dat wij nu de verantwoordelijkheid voor de participatie dragen in plaats van de gemeente? In geval van Parkweg, maar misschien ook in het algemeen?
- 2.3 Op welke manier waren gebruikers betrokken bij het project vanaf het moment dat jullie de ontwikkelaars werden? Welke ladder van de participatie en over welke onderwerpen?
- 2.4 Waren er mogelijkheden tot een intensievere of andere participatie die jullie hebben overwogen?

3. Doelen

- 3.1 Wat waren jullie doelen bij het betrekken van gebruikers bij de plannen?
- 3.2 Denken jullie dat deze manier van participatie bij heeft gedragen aan die doelen? Hoe is/was dat merkbaar? (bijvoorbeeld in het proces, eindresultaat?)
- 3.3 Wat kan worden beschouwd als nadelen van het betrekken van gebruikers op deze manier?

4. Lessen

4.1 Met de resultaten van de participatie in gedachte, wat hadden jullie graag anders gezien bij dit project? Wat is daarbij binnen jullie controle als ontwikkelaar en wat niet?
4.2 In de toekomst wordt participatie een vast onderdeel van ontwikkeling, wat zou er dan in een proces anders gaan dan nu? (rolverdeling, timing, kaders vormen, risico managen).

Users

1. Vormen van de randvoorwaarden

- 1.1 Wat speelde er in de wijk, voordat er werd gesproken over de sloop van deze flats?
- 1.2 Wanneer werd er bekend dat de woningen gesloopt zouden worden? Wat waren toen de plannen voor wat er voor terug zou komen? Hadden jullie daar invloed op?
- 1.3 Waren er vanuit de buurt bepaalde belangen waar wel of niet gehoor aan is gegeven?
- 1.4 Hoe uitte zich dat tijdens de tender?

Representativiteit

- 1.4 In hoeverre denkt u dat alle belangen van de belanghebbenden tot nu toe zijn gehoord?
- 1.5 Waren er conflicterende belangen? Hoe is daarmee om gegaan?

2. Overdracht naar de ontwikkelaars

- 2.1 Hebben jullie verschil gemerkt in de manier waarop jullie bij de plannen werden betrokken op het moment dat de ontwikkelaar aan zet was, in vergelijking met toen de gemeente dat deed? Vanaf de tender dus?
- 2.2 In hoeverre paste de invulling van de ontwikkelaar bij jullie verwachtingen?
- 2.3 Hoeveel flexibiliteit is er in deze plannen? Is er ruimte voor belangen die misschien niet binnen de kaders pasten?
- 2.4 Welke kaders waren daarbij het meest leidend?

3. Doelen

- 3.1 Wat zouden jullie beschouwen als de belangrijkste doelen voor buurtbewoners om betrokken te worden en te zijn bij nieuwbouwplannen? Hoe was dat voor dit project?
- 3.2 In hoeverre zijn die doelen behaald? Hoe merkt u dat?
- 3.3 In hoeverre heeft het participatie proces zoals die nu was vormgegeven daaraan bij gedragen?
- 3.4 Wat denken jullie dat er anders had moeten zijn in het participatie proces om de doelen beter te kunnen behalen?

4. Lessen

De omgevingswet is in aanloop, dat betekent dat belanghebbenden voortaan actiever moeten worden betrokken bij ruimtelijke plannen. De belangen van buurtbewoners moeten meer worden meegenomen en kunnen doorslaggevend zijn bij bouwvergunningen. Daarbij wordt de verantwoordelijkheid voor buurtparticipatie meer naar de ontwikkelaar geschoven.

- 5.1 Welke belangrijke lessen moeten worden meegenomen als een soortgelijk project nu zou starten?
- 5.2 Wat denkt u dat gevaren zijn bij zo'n verschuiving van verantwoordelijkheid, waar eerst de gemeente besluiten nam?

21 Appendix 3 – Interview round 2 questions

Ik heb me bij de vorige interview rondes gericht op de doelen van alle drie de partijen. Daaruit bleek dat randvoorwaarden vaak worden gesteld door ontwikkelaars en gemeenten om ontwikkeldoelen te waarborgen. Hoewel er erkent wordt dat participatie kan bijdragen aan een beter imago, een soepeler proces (minimale risico's) en een verhoogde eindwaarde, blijkt het behartigen van de belangen van gebruikers soms weer in strijd met andere ontwikkeldoelen. Daardoor wordt er niet aan alle participatiedoelen voldaan. Nu is mijn vraag welke doelen er belangrijker zijn dan de doelen waar participatie aan kan bijdragen? Hoe worden die keuzes gemaakt..

In 2015 is aan private ontwikkelaars in Engeland gevraagd doelen in een volgorde te zetten van prioriteit. De tabel laat het resultaat zien. De doelen zijn vervolgens gegroepeerd.

1. In hoeverre ben jij het eens met de inhoud en de volgorde van deze lijst?

Prioriteiten doelen private ontwikkelaar	
1. Winst maken	A. Winst maken en een goede relatie houden met
2. Support aandeelhouders	aandeelhouders
3. Minimale risico's	B. Minimaliseren van risico's die het beloofde
4. Levering beloofde product	product kunnen tegenstaan
5. Levering kwalitatief product	C. Het leveren van een gewaardeerd product
6. Klant tevredenheid	
7. Groei	D. Sterke marktpositie
8. Bedrijfs continuiteit	
9. Markt leiderschap	
10. Merk opbouw	
11. Het realiseren van gemeenschappelijke doelen met	E. Sociale bijdragen
belanghebbenden	
12. Duurzaamheid	
13. Innovatie	
14. Quitte staan	F. Minimal opbrengst behalen
	(dit is voor Van Wijnen een interessante vraag
	gezien er op verschillende bedrijfstakken
	opbrengst te behalen valt)

- 2. In hoeverre komen participatie doelen overeen, of conflicteren die met de doelen uit deze lijst?
- 3. Welke ontwikkeldoelen tellen daarbij dus zwaarder dan de participatie doelen of andersom?

Conclusion

This research provides insights into the room for private developers to align user involvement with the objectives of users, the municipality and the developers. With this, it aims to contribute to the improvement of user involvement, so the social performances of cities by urban renewal projects could be improved.

The research shows that the theory where private-led user involvement can be aligned with the objectives of the stakeholders, is often not completely practiced. The case studies have provided a preliminary, descriptive answer to the sub-questions. It appears that the alignment of objectives is a grey zone in which full alignment does not seem to be possible. Another round of interviews explores what extend of alignment private developers would aim for.

The conclusion is that it appears complex to fully align the objectives of all parties due to conflicting demands. These conflicts rely between the broader, cross-border objectives versus the local demands of users. These municipal boundaries are quite fixed since they are democratically complex. It even appears that municipalities can create new boundaries throughout the process. When this happens, responsibility is shifted back to the municipalities. For private developers, the support of the municipality appears to be most important, although the support of users is often related to that. For the users, it appears to be deciding whether their current living environment is going to be harmed. Even though they always aim for an improvement of their living environment, this was never decisive for their support. Users define boundaries, but these do not seem to be fixed unless users appeal against plans. Private developers define boundaries themselves in order to ensure the feasibility of the developments. Only when users are not supportive of the plans, the defined boundaries of the developer seem to be flexible. This can also be used as a tool to negotiate, provided that it was incorporated in the plan.

For private developers, it is most important to ensure their business continuity and corporate image, to remain profit gaining in the long term. They will have to estimate the needed alignment with the users and municipalities in order to guard these objectives. The gained insights of this report can help private developers to have a better understanding of the objectives of the users and municipalities and how they perceive a user involvement process. Game theory and approaching user involvement as a negotiation process can help to find consensus. Although the applicability for private developers to use these approaches would need to be further explored in new research.