

Policy integration: A solution for the sustainable city paradox?

Assessing the impact and exploring
the potential of policy integration to
solve conflicting policy objectives
of densification and climate
adaptation in an urban context

MSc Thesis
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“Cities are an immense laboratory of trial and error, failure and success, in city building and city design. This is the laboratory in which city planning should have been learning and forming and testing its theories.”

Jane Jacobs, 1961

Preface

This MSc thesis before you is the end product of my master's Landscape Architecture and Planning at the Wageningen University. Over the past six years, including my bachelor and master, I had the opportunity to discover many interesting topics within the scientific field of spatial planning. Although many topics drew my interest, I have always found myself asking one specific question: "How do we translate these innovative ideas and ambitions on paper into reality?". Fortunately, I got the chance to explore this question and follow my personal fascination in my master thesis by researching land policy and its potential to ensure sustainable development.

I would like to thank a few people who have played an important role over the past few months. First, I would like to thank Gerrit Jan Carsjens, my supervisor, for jumping in halfway throughout the process and being quickly familiarised with the topic of my research. The constructive feedback and critical questions have helped me tremendously to keep my research concise but comprehensive and accurate but scientifically embedded. Secondly, I would like to thank all colleagues of Over Morgen and especially Stella Leemhuis. Thank you for the opportunity to be part of such an inspiring company and enthusiastic group of people. The input you gave made it possible to sharpen my research to ensure the societal relevance and applicability and usefulness of the results. Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude towards all my fellow thesis students. Due to the covid-pandemic it has been a turbulent time but lock-down or not, I could always rely on you for support, feedback and perhaps just as important, the well-deserved coffee breaks and many card games.

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Addendum

Summary

Cities face the wicked problem of dealing with the conflicting policy objectives of urban densification and climate adaptation. Despite that both objectives strive towards a sustainable urban environment, the urban form pleaded for is quite opposing. This problem is also known as the sustainable city paradox. Addressing and finding a solution to this problem is crucial regarding the present-day challenges of the pressing housing shortage and the perceivable consequences of climate change on the urban landscape, endangering the liveability of our cities. In recent spatial planning practices, the concept policy integration has become a buzzword and is seen a promising answer to address these conflicting policy objectives. However, the concept policy integration remains ambiguous in scientific literature and empirical evidence shows that different perceptions and interpretations exist, resulting in different practices of policy integration.

This research aimed to detangle the concept of policy integration, explore different practices and assess the impact and potential of these specific manifestations to solve the conflicting policy objectives of densification and climate adaptation in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy. This research objective was obtained by exploring the two dimensions of substantive and processual policy integration, translated into sixteen indicators that allowed for systematic analysis. Two projects, Little C in Rotterdam and Bajes Kwartier in Amsterdam, were researched in an explorative case study and analysed in a cross-case analysis that underlines the comparative character of this research.

The results of this research showed that the practice of policy integration does indeed manifest differently across cases and impacts the quality of the spatial plan. Moreover, the observed municipal efforts to integrate policies in spatial developments are often undermined by various obstacles, especially within the processual dimension of policy integration. Therefore, this research argues that the main challenge to improve practices of policy integration and thereby spatial planning quality, lies within the processual dimension rather than the substantive dimension. To overcome the identified obstacles, five recommendations were formulated, combining learned lessons and progressive insights indicated throughout the research: (1) finding the balance: safeguarding (non-legally binding) objective and preservation of flexibility and creativity, (2) the early acknowledgement of climate adaptation objectives, (3) shared ambitions and internal coordination and cooperation, (4) overcoming literal and figurative limitations of spatial boundaries on policy integration, (5) rethinking public-private relationships and the desire for informal networks. Thereby this research added to the ongoing scientific debate on policy integration and provides present-day spatial planners of useful insights to ensure effective, efficient and legitimate spatial planning practices that help to overcome the sustainable city paradox.

Keywords: policy integration, densification, climate adaptation



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“ It’s not the one building the flat,
not the one owning the house,
but the one who owns the land,
who decides the development of our
cities. ”

- Bernoulli, 1946



Introduction

The paradox of sustainable urbanism and role of land policy

One of the leading paradigms of sustainable city development is the paradigm of the compact city (Jehling et al., 2018). While experiencing high growth rates of urban land, policies were reconsidered and adapted with the goal of limiting land consumption and promoting a compact urban form in favour of more sustainable development (Jehling et al., 2018). In the meantime, municipalities experience a growing feeling of urgency to react to the negative effects of climate change with climate adaptive measures to keep cities liveable (Lobell et al., 2008; Leichenko, 2011). Despite the fact that both densification and climate adaptation objectives and coherent policies aim to promote sustainable urban development, the urban structure pleaded for is quite contrasting. The compact city, as the name indicates, argues for a dense urban form with little open spaces (Bibri et al., 2020), whilst policies on climate adaptation, plea for a more open urban structure to increase the adaptive capacity of cities (Sturiale & Scuderi 2019; Meyer & Overbeck 2009). In fact, a negative feedback loop exists, a compact and dense environment is more vulnerable to the negative climate impacts and enforces effects like the urban heat island (Eichhorn et al., 2021; Brown et al., 2016; Balikçi et al., 2021). That these two policies are in apparent conflict of each other has been topic of discussion for quite some time. First mentioned by Neuman in 2005, the classical debate on the paradox of the compact city is still present in scientific literature (Eichhorn et al., 2021).

It can be argued that the core idea of spatial planning has always been to coordinate fragmented and conflicting policies that influence spatial developments (Wissink, 2000). There are increasing calls for greater policy integration and over the past 20 years, urban planners in the Netherlands have been attempting to promote further integration (Meijers & Stead, 2004; Runhaar et al., 2009). The shift towards a more integrative approach has evolved as reaction to conflicting policy objectives to ensure sustainable development (Struiksmā, 2007; Runhaar & Driessen, 2008). Moreover, in the Netherlands from October 2022 onwards, public authorities are legally required to adopt an integrative approach towards land use planning with the implementation of the Environmental and Planning Act. Consensus exist that there are many advantages of simultaneously considering different policy objectives. These advantages being maximising the impact of limited resources and minimising any potential conflict. (Grafakos, 2019). Whilst there is growing interest in and encouragement of integration, the concept of policy integration remains quite ambiguous in literature (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003; Meijers & Stead, 2004; Tosun & Lang, 2017; van Straalen, 2012). Empirical evidence also shows that many different perceptions exist what results in many different practices and outputs of policy integration (Meijers & Stead, 2004; Uittenbroek et al., 2013; Tosun & Lang, 2017).

Societal relevance: demand for housing and resilient cities

In the Netherlands, the current pressure on the housing market as consequence of the shortage of affordable dwellings is tremendously high compared to previous years (PBL, 2021). In 2021, of the 31 housings markets regions in the Netherlands 22 know a deficiency over 2,0 percent (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2021). According to research institute ABF, at the national level there is currently a total shortage of 300.000 houses and this shortage is expected to increase even more over the coming years (ABF Research, 2021). The Dutch ministry of internal affairs stated that before the end of 2030, one million new houses should be built to resolve the housing issue (Ministerie

van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2021). This makes the realisation of new houses for many municipalities a top priority for which many different strategies can be adopted, including densification strategies. Different concepts with the same underlying aim, the prevention of urban sprawl and thereby land-uptake, emerged over the years; urban densification (Jehling et al., 2018), urban containment (Jehling et al., 2018; Ahani and Dadashpoor, 2021), infill-development (Jehling et al., 2018; Eichhorn et al., 2021), compact city (Bibri et al., 2020) and land thrift (Jehling et al., 2018; Dembski et al., 2020). From these concepts different strategic policies emerged. In the Netherlands, the 'Nota Ruimte' that was presented by the national government in 2004 set the target value of a minimum of 40% of the housing stock increase should take place within the boundaries of the existing built environment. This explicit policy objective lapsed when the 'Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte' (SVIR) was introduced in 2012. The 'Nationale Omgevingsvisie' (NOVI), however, again favours densification and prevention of urban sprawl and land uptake (Compendium voor de Leefomgeving, 2020). An additional policy, the 'Ladder of Sustainable Urbanisation', was implemented in 2017 that obliges municipalities to justify why spatial expansion is needed and why the needed development cannot take place within the boundaries of the existing urban area (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2017). Since 2007, the development of new residential areas within the boundaries of the existing built environment amounted to 50 percent of the total addition of housing. In the period of 2016 – 2018 this percentage was even 56 percent (Compendium voor de Leefomgeving, 2020).

The need to build houses whilst preventing land uptake is not the only challenge cities in the Netherlands face these days. Another topic that has risen on the political agenda is climate adaptation as Dutch cities need to respond to the consequences of climate change. These consequences have been researched and reported in various official documents, including the 'Environmental Balance' (RIVM, 2004), the Climate Policy Report commissioned by the Parliament (Rooijers et al., 2004) and the Climate Reports of the Royal Dutch Meteorological Institute (KNMI, 2003, 2006, 2014). More recently, past October, the Dutch Royal Meteorological Institute has published the newest insights on climate change in the Netherlands in the 'Climate Signal '21' (*Klimaat signaal '21*) including remarks about the changing urban climate (KNMI, 2021). In line with earlier messages, the KNMI expects an increase of the urban heat island effect and extreme precipitation and drought should be considered serious threats to urban life (KNMI, 2021). All studies agree on the fact that climate change takes place and that the consequences will be apparent in our day-to-day life, including city life. With cities facing climate change, the urgency to take climate adaptive measures is growing as cities are particularly vulnerable to the negative effects of climate change (Leichenko, 2011; de Bruin et al., 2009; Eichhorn et al., 2021). The definition of climate adaptation posed by the IPCC is "the ability of a system to adjust to climate change (including climate variability and extremes), to moderate potential damages, to take advantage of opportunities, or to cope with the consequences" (IPCC, 2007, p. 21). In 2007, the first national climate adaptation strategy was published. This document mainly focused on ensuring knowledge development and initial thoughts on policy development. Throughout the years, more national climate adaptation policy documents appeared; Deltaprogramma (2010), Klimaatagenda (2013), Deltabeslissingen and the Nationaal Waterplan (2014). In 2016, the Dutch Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment has developed a national adaptation strategy (NAS) based on a comprehensive analysis by the Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving (PBL). It is desired that in a similar way, more specific visions will be developed on the regional (RAS) and local level (LAS) as well (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2016).

Because of the urgency and major spatial component of both subjects, the discussion on policy integration of these two domains is relevant for everyday spatial planning practices. The wickedness of the conflict is that both subjects and coherent policy objectives argue that they are acting in the interest of the common welfare as both pursue sustainable urban development, however, the urban lay-out they are promoting to obtain sustainable development is contradicting: a compact versus an open urban structure. While it is recognized that these wicked problems could benefit from policy integration, literature points out some integration challenges that policy makers face. These challenges include "compartmentalization, fragmentation, competing and incoherent objectives, policy under- and overreaction, competing issue attention, and inconsistent instrument mixes" (Candel & Biesbroek, 2016, p. 212). These problems mainly emerge when societal issues are confronted with traditional forms of sectoral policy making within hierarchic governance systems (Jochim & May, 2010). With the implementation of the Environmental and Planning Act in mind, it is essential to address and overcome these challenges as the fundamental idea of the Act is to formalise integration of all environmental domains. Having a better understanding of the practice of policy integration within prevalent governance systems is crucial to provide present-day urban planners of insight on how they can deal with policy integration to ensure sustainable urban development by making effective, efficient and legitimate decisions. Three quality criteria that reflect the core of spatial planning practice (Hartmann & Spit, 2015). The urgency to generate these insights is growing as the implementation of the Environmental and Planning Act in October 2022 is getting closer every day.

Scientific relevance: policy integration as buzzword

As mentioned, in planning practice there is an increasing call for greater policy integration, specifically for environmental policy-making where integration is seen as crucial for sustainable spatial development (Meijers & Stead, 2004; Runhaar et al., 2009; Grafakos et al., 2019; Tosun & Lang, 2017; Eichhorn et al., 2021; Van Straalen, 2012). In scientific literature this demand has been recognized and responded to by the development of multiple theories on policy integration. However, what becomes apparent from literature review, policy integration still remains an ambiguous concept in literature (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003; Meijers & Stead, 2004; Tosun & Lang, 2017; van Straalen, 2012). Policy integration does not have one definite definition and as a comprehensive literature review by Tosun & Lang (2017) makes apparent is that there are many dimensions and aspects of policy integration making it a complex and not easily definable concept. In addition, prevailing research focusses on the reasons why policy integration should be pursued but little research focusses on the implementation and process of an integrated approach in planning practice in relation to the output (Candel & Biesbroek, 2016; Tosun & Lang, 2017). This knowledge gap in how the concept policy integration is interpreted and practiced by different actors in different contexts and what the coherent implications of such an interpretation and practice are in obtaining specific policy objectives, is addressed and explored in this research. This knowledge gap in scientific literature is ought to be filled as policy integration has become a buzzword in planning practises and these practises benefit from and rely on research to evaluate current manifestations and to generate knowledge and insights to further develop and refine practice.

Research objective and research questions

This research aims to explore the different practices of policy integration and assesses the impact and potential of these practises to solve the conflicting policy objectives of densification and climate adaptation in an urban context in an efficient, effective and legitimate way. The statement that policy integration is an ambiguous concept with different interpretation and implementations, figures as the starting point of this research. Thereby, in addition to researching the relation between policy integration practice and output, this research aims to create a better understanding of policy integration practices to help detangle the complexity of the concept and add to the ongoing scientific debate and provide present-day spatial planners of useful insights to ensure effective, efficient and legitimate spatial developments within the spirit of the new Environmental and Planning Act.

The main question of this research is as follows:

"How do manifestations of the integration of densification and climate adaptation policies influence spatial planning quality in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy?"

Three sub research questions were formulated to structure the research and constructively contribute to answering the main research question. The sub questions are derived from the theoretical framework underpinning the research objective and exploring the scientific understanding of the main concepts. Therefore, further elaboration upon used concepts in the formulation of the sub research questions can be found in the theoretical framework, chapter 2 of this research.

First, the need to detangle the concept of policy integration is addressed in the first sub research question:

1. How can municipal practises to pursue objectives of densification and climate adaptation simultaneously, be described in terms of substantive and processual integration?

Secondly, the assessment of the quality of the spatial planning practice in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy is addressed in the second research question:

2. How do the quality criteria of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy express themselves in integrated spatial planning practices?

Lastly, to provide present-day spatial planners of useful insights to ensure effective, efficient and legitimate decisions, the success factors and possible obstacles are researched to provide insights for policy changes and recommendations:

3. What factors influence the successful implementation of integration of densification and climate adaptation policies?

“Policy integration, an inherently dynamic concept in itself”

- Candell & Biesbroek, 2016



Chapter 2

Theoretical framework

In this theoretical framework the three main concepts; policy integration, urban densification and climate adaption will be elaborated upon. A comprehensive literature review shows the most important scientific discussions relevant for this research about the different concepts and their relation. First the topic of policy integration will be elaborated upon and the indicators that help to detangle the ambiguous concept of policy integration are defined. An analytical framework to address the complexity of the concept of policy integration is drawn up based on the discussion and indicators provided. Secondly, the scientific debates on the concepts of climate adaptation and densification are outlined. This to create better understanding of the evolvement and implications of the two policy fields and the reasons to why these are conflicting. Finally, three assessment criteria to evaluate spatial plan quality are defined and translated into measurable indicators. This theoretical framework concludes with an overview of the structure of this research in the assessment of policy integration framework.

2.1 Policy integration: an undefined answer to complicated questions

Recent literature points out the increasing calls for greater policy integration, specifically for environmental policy-making where integration is seen as crucial for sustainable spatial development (Meijers & Stead, 2004; Grafakos et al., 2019; Tosun & Lang, 2017; Eichhorn et al., 2021; Van Straalen, 2012). Consensus exist that there are many advantages of simultaneously considering different policy objectives (Eichhorn et al., 2021; Grafakos et al., 2019). These advantages being enabling maximal potential of scarce resources and minimising any potential conflicts and thereby promote sustainable development (Grafakos et al., 2019). To date, contemporary governance systems react to spatial developments and coherent problems by proposing and adopting specialised policy measures, a sector-based approach. Such an approach is considered as effective as it fosters policy expertise (Tosun & Lang, 2017). However, as addressed by Eichhorn et al. (2021), these sector-based governance systems and associated approaches fail to address the variety of interrelationships, conflicting objectives and demands. Moreover, these approaches have been criticised as they can result in competing and contradictory objectives (Kidd, 2007). An integrative approach, on the other hand, aims to address the whole complexity of a problem what is argued to be necessary in order to promote sustainable spatial development (Van Straalen, 2012; Grafakos et al., 2019). To be able to address the whole complexity of a problem, integrative knowledge, objectives, instruments and processes are required (Eichhorn et al., 2021). Because of these requirements, an integrative approach often counteracts with the established administrative systems of public actors that often have an more sector-based and bureaucratic character. Despite the fact that integrated land policy is seen as a promising solution to deal with conflicting policy objectives in a context of scarcity of land, the concept policy integration remains quite ambiguous and under theorized in literature (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003; Meijers & Stead, 2004; Tosun & Lang, 2017; van Straalen, 2012; Candell & Biesbroek, 2016). There is a broad overall understanding about the concept but there is no definite definition of the concept of policy integration. Because of this, policy integration can be interpreted and practiced differently by different actors in different contexts (Meijers & Stead, 2004; Tosun & Lang, 2017). This notion is supported by empirical evidence (Uittenbroek et al., 2013).

The following literature review elaborates on the different statements and arguments made about policy integration in literature that are relevant within the scope of this research. The aim of this theoretical framework is not to define policy integration based on literature review but to create insights in the academic discussion on meaning and thoughts to create an analytical framework that detangles the various interpretations and enables sytematic analysis of policy integration.

A multi-disciplinary review of policy integration

Policy integration can be studied from different perspectives. The two main distinctions that are addressed in this research are (1) viewing policy integration as an issue of process and (2) policy integration studied through the policy output; the statements, objectives, strategies, actions and such that follow from the process (Nilsson & Persson, 2003). The reason for making this distinction is that “the actual policy output sometimes has little to do with the process as it has been argued that the assumed link between process and output might be weak in reality” (Nilsson & Persson, 2003, p. 335). Policy outputs such as formulated objectives and strategies can also be referred to as the substantive nature of the policy and the performed activities that lead to the formulation of policy is referred to as the processual nature.

Candel & Biesbroek (2016) argue that the concept of policy integration is under theorized, particularly regarding the processual nature. According to Candel & Biesbroek, theories have been mainly focused on the dynamics and reasons behind policy integration, rather than approaching integration as an inherently dynamic concept in itself (Candel & Biesbroek, 2016). In other words: policy integration is mostly researched as a static desired state that is reached (output) and little attention has been paid to the processual dynamics of an integrative process. This distinction can be linked to the concepts of substance-related (static) and process-related (dynamic) integration that are mentioned earlier. “Substantive integration aims to contribute to the improvement of the urban environment and to a more integrated approach to spatial and environmental planning through promoting a more informed planning practice by means of the provision of environmental knowledge” (Runhaar & Driessen, 2009, p. 419). “Processual integration on the other hand focuses on creating dialogues, building consensus and negotiating on adequate action plans” (Runhaar & Driessen, 2009, p. 419). The characteristics of the different dimensions indicated by Runhaar & Driessen (2009) are shown in table 1.

The following paragraphs elaborate on these different dimensions of policy integration and discusses the indicators to construct a framework which can assess policy integration processes.

Key aspects	Substantive integration (static, knowledge)	Processual integration (dynamic, interaction)
Main focus	Substance	Process
Main aim	Scientification enhance knowledge base of planning; ‘green’ decision making	Socialisation: facilitate interaction, shared visions and joint action
Main output	Knowledge on state of the environment.	Process management, outcomes are not known ex ante.
	Predefined indicators	No predefined indicators
Main assumptions	More (scientifically robust) knowledge results in better (greener) decisions	Interaction and negotiation result in learning, trust and support for action

Table 1. Typology of substantive and procedural integration (Runhaar & Driessen, 2009)

Substantive integration

As already stated, “substantive integration aims to contribute to the improvement of the urban environment and to a more integrated approach to spatial and environmental planning through promoting a more informed planning practice by means of the provision of environmental knowledge” (Runhaar & Driessen, 2009, p. 419). Assessment of this form of integration therefore focusses on the content-related aspects of policy integration. More specifically, substantive integration assessment looks at the level of integration of knowledge about different spatial and non-spatial disciplines in spatial plans. Multiple indicators of substantive integration collected through literature review will be further discussed and applied in the analytical framework for policy integration.

Six indicators of substantive integration

Runhaar & Driessen (2009) state that substantive integration is realised with the use of substance-oriented tools. Such tools can provide insights in the state of the urban environment with the use of indicators, geographical information systems are an example of this type of tool. Other more analytical tools can also be used to produce knowledge, an environmental impact assessment (EIA) (*milieueffectrapportage*) can be seen as an example of this type of tool. The use of substance-oriented tools is a first indicator for substantive integration (1).

For the successful integrated implementation of sectoral formulated policy ambitions on smaller scales, municipalities should have developed an integrated understanding on the municipal level (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003). Lafferty & Hovden (2003) suggest some indicators that imply substantive integration on the municipal level. The first one being a long-term sustainable development strategy or similar document that includes all relevant themes, shows their interrelation and provides insights in desired developments (2). However, these overarching goals on the municipal level should be clearly translated into sectoral responsibilities to fit it in the established administrative systems of public actors (3). In addition, the article by Candel & Biesbroek (2016) implies that policy objectives not only follow from municipal vision but that ambitions are also created within public domains as sectoral goals. Therefore, assessment of coherence between sectoral goals is also an indicator whether substantive policy integration is practised (4). Four different levels of coherence between sectoral goals can be distinguished according to Candel & Biesbroek (2016). These are from least to most far-reaching; no coherence can be found and goals are highly autonomous, externalities are addressed to some extent in sectoral goals, other sectoral goals are addressed and synergies are proposed, creation of shared policy goals. The next indicator proposed by Lafferty & Hovden (2003) that can indicate implementation of substantive integration is argued to be the existence of one central authority specifically entrusted with the supervision, coordination and implementation of the integration process (5). This central authority can be found in many different forms, it can be one of the responsibilities of a public domain (e.g. spatial planning) but also as a domain on its own. However, the establishment of such an authority does not automatically lead to successful supervision, coordination and implementation of policy integration. The execution of these tasks can therefore be seen as an indicator on its own (6).

Overview indicators for substantive policy integration:

1. The use of substance-oriented tools to obtain and produce knowledge (Runhaar & Driessen, 2009);
2. The existence of a long-term sustainability development strategy (SDS) (or similar document) on the municipal level (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003);
3. Clear designations as to sectoral responsibility for overarching goals (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003);
4. The level of coherence between sectoral formulated objectives (Candel & Biesbroek, 2016)
5. The existence of a central authority specifically entrusted with the supervision, coordination and implementation of the integration process (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003);
6. The execution of tasks like supervision, coordination and implementation of policy integration (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003).

All the indicators discussed above are combined in the analytical framework for policy integration (figure 2). To relate the concept of substantive integration to the context of this research, the assessment of substantive integration is focussed on the integration of climate adaptation knowledge in urban redevelopment plans in which a highly dense urban structured is strived for.

Processual integration

According to Candel & Biesbroek (2016) policy integration should be understood as “a process that entails various elements that do not necessarily move in a concerted manner but may develop at different paces or even in opposite directions, it should be understood as an inherently dynamic concept in itself” (p. 211). This statement is supported by Uittenbroek et al. (2012) who argued that an integrative approach can be found throughout the different stages of spatial planning. Lafferty & Hovden (2003) even imply that the incorporation of environmental objectives into all stages of policymaking, and the specific recognition of this goal, should be a guiding principle for policy integration. These statements made about policy integration say something about the process in which policy integration is pursued. As already mentioned in the introduction of the theoretical framework, Runhaar & Driessen (2009) adopt the following, more specific, definition: “processual integration focuses on creating dialogues, building consensus and negotiating on adequate action plans” (p. 419). Therefore, opposite to substantive integration, the assessment of processual integration focusses on the activities undertaken in a process of spatial planning rather than the output. As was the case for substantive integration, multiple indicators collected through literature review will be discussed and applied in the analytical framework for assessment of policy integration.

Ten indicators of processual integration

Meijers & Stead (2004) argued that policy integration concerns the management of cross-cutting issues in policy-making that transcend the boundaries of established policy fields, and which do not correspond to the institutional responsibilities of individual departments (p. 1). The use of the term ‘management’ implies that the combination of certain activities eventually leads to policy integration. The definition of

Meijers & Stead is supported by results from a comprehensive literature review by Tosun & Lang (2017) that shows that “policy integration can manifest itself in different ways, but is always characterized by the cooperation of actors from different policy domains – or policy sectors” (p. 554). Again, this notion mentions the process in which policy integration is pursued. Meijers & Stead (2004) also recognize the term co-operation in policy integration. However, they place ‘co-operation’ as one gradation of policy integration and argue that three levels of policy integration can be distinguished. These three levels being from least to most far-reaching: cooperation, coordination, and integrated policy-making. Co-operation involves organisations or departments working together to better achieve their individual objectives. Coordination focusses on reaching joint decision to make policies mutually enforcing and consistent. Policy integration is most far-reaching and aims for one joint policy for the sectors or organisations involved (Meijers & Stead, 2004). As figure 1 shows, these levels can be placed in a hierarchical order leading to the different outputs discussed. What should also be mentioned is the list of various indicators on the left side of the figure. It is argued that, in general, “In general, policy integration requires more (1) interaction, (2) accessibility and (3) compatibility, what leads to more (4) interdependence, needs more (5) formal institutional arrangements, involves more (6) resources, requires (7) stakeholders to give up more autonomy and is more (8) comprehensive in terms of time, space and actors.” (Meijers & Stead, 2004, p. 6). These elements can be seen as indicators for processual integration.

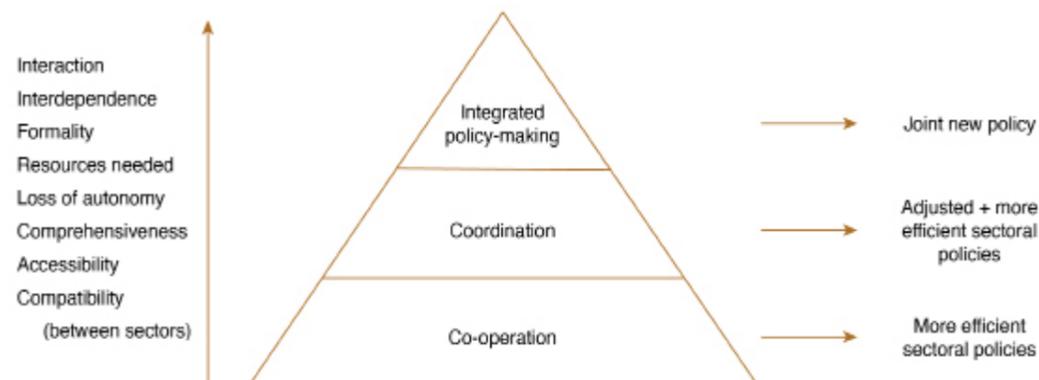


Figure 1. Integrated policy making, co-ordination and co-operation (Meijers & Stead, 2004)

The indicators provided by Meijers & Stead (2004) are the leading indicators for processual integration in this research (figure 1). Additionally, despite being pointed out as different levels of policy integration, (9) co-operation and (10) coordination are also used as indicators of an integrative process in this research. In the context of densification strategies and climate adaptation measures, the assessment of processual integration focusses on the level of various indicators to create dialogues, build consensus and negotiate on spatial plans between the policy fields of spatial planning and climate adaptation.

Overview of indicators for processual policy integration:

1. Co-operation between departments on the municipal level to better achieve their individual objectives, the more co-operation, the stronger the processual integration.
2. Coordination between departments on the municipal level to reach joint decision to make policies mutually enforcing and consistent, the more coordination, the stronger the processual integration.
3. Interaction between departments, the more interaction, the stronger the processual integration.
4. Interdependence between departments, the stronger the interdependence, the stronger the processual integration.
5. Formality, the more formal institutional arrangements to facilitate the process, the stronger the processual integration.
6. Resources needed, the more resources (financial and social capital) needed, the stronger the processual integration.
7. Loss of autonomy, the more autonomy individual stakeholders (departments) lose, the stronger the processual integration.
8. Comprehensiveness, the more time, space and actors the process includes, the stronger the processual integration.
9. Accessibility between departments, the more accessible each of the departments in terms of making contact, the easier to realise the processual integration.
10. Compatibility between departments, the more compatible the departments in terms of subject and organisation, the easier to realise processual integration.

Dimensions and indicators of policy integration

To research policy integration as a substantive and an inherently dynamic concept, all dimensions discussed above are captured in one framework. The framework provides a structured overview of the different dimensions and statements made about policy integration following from the literature review and helps to detangle the various interpretation and forms found in practices (figure 2).

As is the case in this chapter, the main distinction is made on the processual and the substantive nature of policy integration. It is important to emphasize that these dimensions do not exist in isolation or that they are mutually exclusive. There is in fact a close interrelationship.

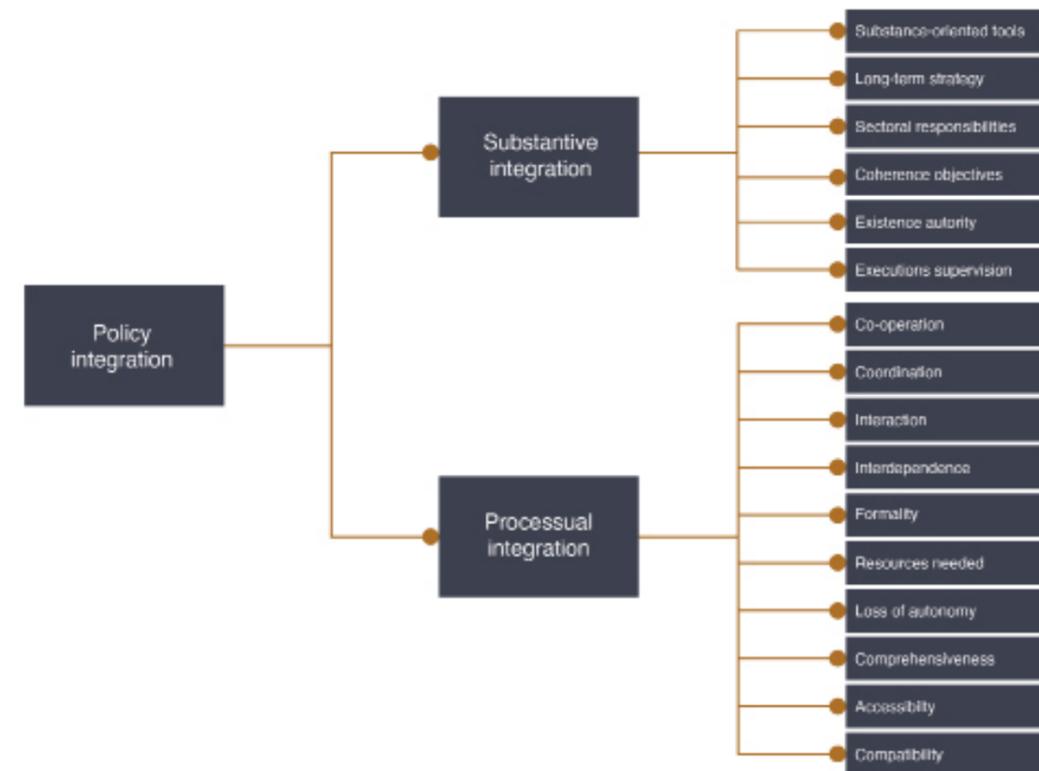


Figure 2. Overview dimensions and indicators of policy integration

2.2 Densification: a leading paradigm in sustainable urbanism

The idea of controlling urban growth to optimize land use has always been one of the key elements of strategic spatial planning (Balikçi et al., 2021). However, as reaction to the uncontrolled sprawl of urban areas after World War II, the idea of growth management, in any form, became an explicit goal in spatial planning in Europe and the USA (Fertner, et al., 2016). The focus on a compact urban form in city planning and development has been the leading response to the challenges of sustainable development over the past 30 years as it aims at reducing land-uptake what is seen as the key challenge in sustainable urban development (Bibri et al., 2020; Eichhorn et al., 2021; Jehling et al., 2018; Balikçi et al., 2021). Compactness of the urban form is achieved through a process of ‘densification’. This means developing and using land and buildings more intensively (Dembski et al., 2020). In addition, a compact urban form is also argued to be to be the most sustainable urban form due to climate mitigation benefits that are the results of a compact urban environment. Bibri et al. (2020) conducted an elaborate literature review collecting the most frequent pointed out reasons to why a compact city can promote sustainability: “The compact city can promote sustainability by reducing the amount of travel and shortening commute time; decreasing car dependency; lowering per capita rates of energy use; limiting the consumption of building and infrastructure materials; mitigating pollution; maintaining the diversity for choice among workplaces, service facilities, and social contacts; and limiting the loss of green and natural areas” (p.1).

Defining densification

First the definition of densification needs consideration. Dembski et al. (2020) argued that densification means that land is used more intensively but that this notion can still lead to different interpretation. Two distinctions need to be addressed to prevent miscommunication and confusion. Firstly, the concept density can be related to either population or dwellings. Both variables are influenced by spatial planning but ultimately, planning regulates building densities and not the occupancy rates of buildings. Secondly,

a distinction needs to be made between urban densification and expansion. One can argue that both can result in higher densities within the boundaries of a municipality. However, urban expansion increases built-up area and therefore counteracts land thrift and the underlying reasoning of densification. Even though urban expansion can contribute to sustainable development by realising houses in tactic selected areas, for example the centre of an urban agglomeration, the planning challenges are completely different than for the densification of the existing built-up area (Dembski et al., 2020). Regarding the aim of this research densification will be defined as a net increase in housing units within the existing built-up area.

The process of densification: land policy and development strategies

The second dimension of densification that is considered in this research is the process of densification. Bibby et al. (2020) argued that densification is a process that can either be the result of planning practises that focus on promoting large-scale (re)developments that result in a significant change in urban form or, on the other hand, densification can occur incrementally through small developments and changes over a larger period of time. In literature, the first process is labelled 'hard' densification opposite to the latter that is considered as 'soft' densification (Bibby et al., 2020; Dembski et al., 2020). Strongly related to these different processes are the land policy/development strategies adopted by public authorities to achieve the policy goals of densification. Land policies can be defined as "strategic combination of instruments carefully thought through by public authorities in order to impose themselves in front of other private (or public) interests and reach public planning objectives" (Gerber et al, 2018, p. 9). Strategies of land policy are often classified into passive and active land policy depending on the role of the public authority in the land market (Hartmann & Spit, 2015). Active land policy refers to public authorities intervening as market actors, next to their role as a public (planning) regulator, by acquiring land and influencing what is developed where and when. Passive land policy is supply-driven, as it offers building land to the land market and developers but does not actively implement such projects (Shahab et al., 2020). This difference can also be characterized by or linked to who takes the initiative for the development. In active land policy, public authorities take the initiative to start a development whereas in passive land policy the development is initiated by the private sector.

In addition to the difference in active and passive land policy also the development strategy can differ between projects. Two common strategies can be distinguished are 'integrated development' and 'plot-development' (Buitelaar et al., 2008). The fundamental thought of integrated development is that prior to the actual development, the desired spatial, programmatic and financial state of the area and how it relates to adjacent neighbourhoods and other parts of the city is well thought through. Public authorities have an important role in planning, steering and financing the development with associated instruments such as spatial visions (Buitelaar et al., 2008). Opposite from the integrated approach is the approach of plot-development. Plot-development can be characterized as an independent development in which no land transaction takes place and there is little to no collaboration between parties (Hobma et al., 2019). Coherence with or the relation to adjacent neighbourhoods is not actively thought about.

When putting the concepts of active/passive land policy and integrated/plot development in a two-dimensional figure, four quadrants can be distinguished. In figure 3 the initiator is placed on the horizontal axis and the vertical axis addresses the difference between integrated development and plot-development.

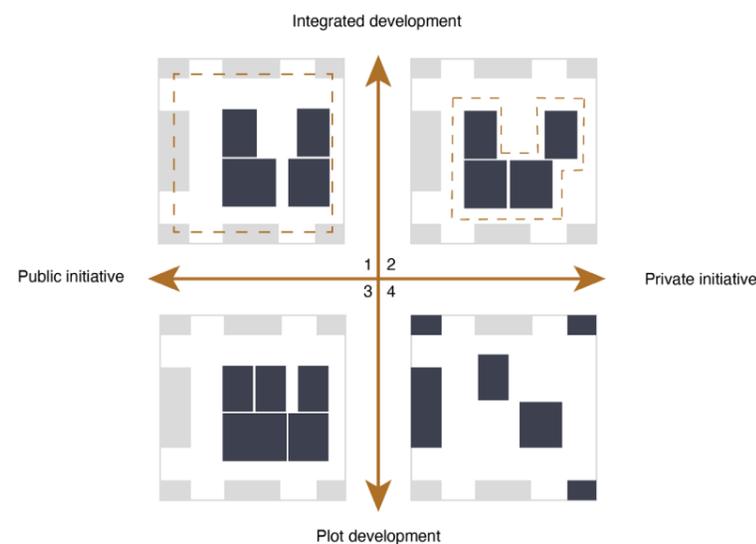


Figure 3. Development strategy matrix

2.3 Climate adaptation policy: a fussy concept

Since 1990, scientific literature stresses the need for climate change adaptation policies to ensure sustainable urban development (Dupuis and Biesbroek, 2013; de Bruin et al., 2007; Eichhorn et al., 2021). Research has shown that cities are particularly vulnerable to the negative effect of climate change due to the relative high concentration of technical and social infrastructures and of course, people (Eichhorn, et al., 2021). These risks include consequences such as deaths caused by heat and cold and rising risks from extreme weather events, such a heavy rain and floods. It is therefore not surprising that the issue of climate adaptation has risen on the political agenda. Literature on climate adaption policy has responded to this demand. Many authors mainly focus on the formation of a new policy domain for climate adaptation, as is in line with the prevalent governmental system in many countries. However, empirical evidence shows that in planning practices is sought for ways to integrate climate adaption objectives in existing policy domains (Uittenbroek et al., 2012). The most frequently pointed out themes in which policy integration is sought, are water, energy, transport and logistics, nature conservation and health care (Eichhorn et al., 2021).

Climate adaptation and urban structure

Weather events have an obvious influence on the urban environment. Often these effects are temporally. However, due to the changing climate, urban discomfort is likely to be experiences more often and problems will be exacerbated. Currently, most cities are not designed to coop with these effects although is proved that evidence-based climate responsive design can make this possible (Brown, et al., 2015). Central components of climate change adaptation in urban areas are providing and maintaining high quality inner-city open and green spaces as well as open-air corridors to improve ventilation as these characteristics have the ability to prevent urban heat islands and reduce other negative effects of climate change (Brown et al., 2015)

Defining climate adaption policies

There is overall consensus on the meaning and substance of climate adaptation policies however, it has hardly been defined or operationalized (Dupuis and Biesbroek, 2013). The definition, operationalization and analysis of climate adaption policies is complicated by the fact that climate adaption policy and its specific objectives are often embedded in other established policy domains (mainstreaming) (Grafakos, 2019; Dupuis and Biesbroek, 2013; Uittenbroek et al.,2012). In addition, the boundaries of climate adaptation policies can be argued to be fuzzy due to the fact that many actions taken by public authorities to reduce vulnerability and increase adaptive capacity are not explicitly labelled as adaptation (Tompkins et al., 2010). Dupuis and Biesbroek (2013) argued that many studies that aim to compare climate adaption policies fail to make a comprehensive analysis because of the reasons described above. The technical problem: most studies suffer from a dependent variable problem because climate adaptation policy appears to be a fussy concept.

To overcome the dependent variable problem Dupuis and Biesbroek (2013) distinguish four types of climate adaption policies based on the level of intentionality and substantially. First, intentionality captures the extent to which policies are purposefully designed or changed to manage the impact of climate change. Secondly, substantially checks whether the output of policies labelled as 'climate adaptation' could contribute to reducing climate change vulnerability or benefits form climate change opportunities. The four policies that can be distinguished based on these two criteria are: contiguous policies, contributive policies, concrete policies and symbolic policies (figure 4).

The definitions of the four types of climate adaptation policies identified by Dupuis & Biesbroek (2013) can be summarized as followed:

Contiguous, policies with limited impact on reducing climate change vulnerability and which were not designed to deal with climate change impacts. However, they do touch upon a policy field that can accommodate climate adaptation.

Contributive, policies that are not specifically designed to deal with climate change but do have a substantial contribution to reduce future vulnerability.

Concrete, policies that are intentionally designed to manage the additional impacts of long term projected anthropogenic climate change that could not have been reduced by contributive policy (concrete policies are newly introduced alongside to substantial policy activities, for example by building new institutions, legislations, physical interventions, or research programs).

Symbolic, policy intentionally designed to deal with climate change impacts, but which have no concrete effects on reducing vulnerability to climate change.

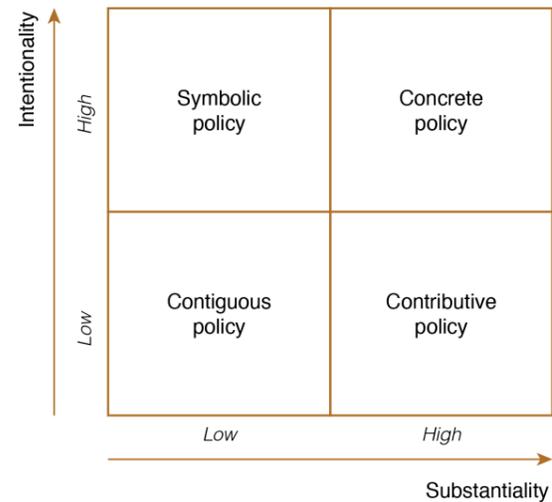


Figure 4. Typology of policies labelled as 'climate adaptation' (Dupuis & Biesbroek, 2013)

2.4 The assessment of land policy

For the assessment of land policy, Hartmann & Spit (2015) provided a systematic framework enabling a perspective that covers more than just technical functionality of land policies. They propose the four criteria of legitimacy, effectiveness, efficiency and justice as components of a comprehensive explanatory framework for planning systems and instruments to understand the underlying rationales. The four assessment criteria follow earlier applications in research (Needham, 2014) and reflect a statement by Davy (2005): "Spatial planning is considered as governmental interventions in the allocation and distribution of spatial resources" (pp. 117-119). The four key terms in this definition link to the four criteria in the following ways: (1) the governmental character of spatial planning calls for democratic legitimacy (Hartmann & Spit, 2015). Democratic legitimacy relates to the degree to which governmental intervention is in accordance with societal demands and goals (Jehling et al., 2018). (2) An intervention needs to be effective to be justified at all. The effectiveness of a policy describes the "grade of achievement" of a planning goal and thus assesses policy objectives and changes in space (Jehling et al., 2018). (3) The allocation aspects links to efficiency, the outcome– the built environment – to the effort, namely the land management approach in terms of costs (Jehling et al., 2018). Lastly, (4) the distributional aspect requires some consideration of justice, this last key term captures the fairness of the distribution of goods through the spatial planning process (Hartmann & Spit, 2014).

In addition to providing insights in the underlying rationales of the process, the criteria and their definition also imply certain values of what 'good' spatial planning practises should comprehend. Therefore, the criteria can be linked to the quality of a spatial planning. In this research three criteria are used to assess the quality of the output of a spatial planning process; effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy. The criterium of justice is not studied in this research as it can be argued that the practice of policy integration does not directly relate to or influences the fairness of distribution of goods in a broader sense.

The following paragraphs will shortly elaborate on the definition of each of the three criteria and their meaning in relation to the particular context of this research. It must be mentioned that the definitions given in this research can be challenged when put into the broader scientific discussion on meaning of concepts and implications for planning practices. However, this scientific debate will not be elaborated upon in detail.

Effectiveness

As already mentioned the effectiveness of a spatial plan links to the grade of achievement of a planning goal and thus assesses policy objectives and changes in space (Jehling et al., 2018). However, also that what has not been realised in addition to what has, needs consideration (Needham, 2007). In this research, effectiveness of the spatial plan is assessed by the ratio of realised and unrealised ambitions on densification and climate adaptation on project level.

Efficiency

Efficiency related to the approach of land management in terms of costs (Jehling et al., 2018). However, monetization of planning outcomes very difficult and normative (Hartmann & Spit, 2015). What can be compared, however, is the effort in terms of time and financial involvement needed from municipalities to facilitate policy integration. Within the context of this research the time-costs ratio of the process can be used as an indicator for efficiency as this research is interested in the process of integrating climate adaptation and densification objectives.

Legitimacy

The legitimacy of a spatial intervention can be measured by the level of democratic decision making and the degree to which governmental intervention is in accordance with societal demands and goals (Jehling et al., 2018). It can be argued that the objective of densification and climate adaptation policies are always in accordance with societal demands and goals as they aim to promote sustainable development which is in the interest of the common welfare. Therefore, in the context of this research the concept of legitimacy focusses more on the aspect of democratic decision making. The level of democratic decision making can be linked to the number of stakeholders that are actively involved and, more importantly, are well represented throughout the process. However, legitimacy can be found in other aspects as well, therefore the concept of legitimacy is kept quite generic. This decision makes it possible to explore other aspects in which legitimacy can be found throughout the research.

Table 2 shows the definition of the four evaluation criteria related to the context of this research and gives the chosen indicators that translate the definitions into indicators.

Evaluation criteria	Description	Indicators
Effectiveness	The grade of achievement of a planning goal	The extent to which initial set ambition are realised
Efficiency	The approach of land management in terms of costs	The time-cost ratio of municipal effort throughout the process
Legitimacy	Level of democratic decision making Other aspects	Involved and represented stakeholders Other aspects

Table 2. Definition and indicators of assessment criteria spatial planning quality

2.5 Selected concepts and operationalisation

This theoretical framework provided insights in the scientific discussion on the three main concepts of this research; policy integration, densification and climate adaptation. The concepts are translated into indicators that are placed within an analytical framework to construct this research. For the concept of policy integration, the selected conceptualisation is shown in figure 2. For the conceptualisation of densification policy and climate adaptation policy two two-dimensional schemes are adopted from literature. These are shown in figure 3 and 4. In this research, the concepts of densification and climate adaptation are discussed to provide a more elaborate definition and insights in relevant academic discussion. These insights are not further explored in this research and therefore not included in the analytical framework. The two concepts create the context for debate but the focus is on the process of integrating these conflicting ambitions rather than researching the two concepts in more depth. However, the academic insights are used in the discussion to critically reflect upon findings and create a better understanding. In addition, three of the four criteria suggested by Hartmann & Spit (2015) to assess spatial plan quality are presented. The definition and applications of these three criteria for the purpose of this specific research are shown in table 2.

The structure of this research is presented in figure 5. As the figure shows, this research is interested in the relation between integrated spatial plan development and the output, being the final spatial plan. The spatial plan is then further explored by means of plan quality. All this within the context of integrating densification and climate adaptation policy objectives.

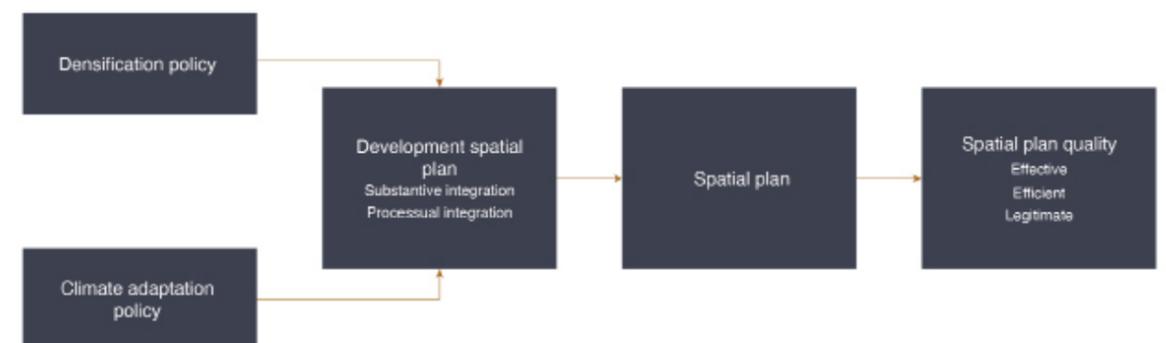


Figure 5. Operationalisation scheme

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter introduces the research strategy and methods (data collection and analysis) based on the previously described theoretical framework in order to answer the research question and sub-questions. Moreover, the validation and trustworthiness of the adopted research strategy are elaborated upon.

3.1 Research strategy

This thesis employed a deductive research based on qualitative research methods. The deductive character allows for testing theories and pre-conceived ideas (Farthing, 2016). The theories, including the established dimensions, indicators and specific definitions, discussed in the theoretical framework provide the guiding ideas to focus the data collection and data analysis.

From the perspective of the mode of enquiry, this research adopted a mixed methods approach. A mixed methods approach can enhance the accuracy and meaningfulness of conclusions, helps to create a complete representation of the researched situation and can reconfirm your findings (Kumar, 2014). As this research is interested in exploring the planning process and assessing the outcome of the specific process, the strengths of a qualitative study design were deployed. Namely, qualitative methods enable an elaborate and in-depth exploration of a phenomenon (Kumar, 2014). In this research, qualitative methods are applied to describe, understand and explore the process of policy integration of densification and climate adaptation objectives. Moreover, qualitative approach is also adopted to formulate an answer to the second part of the research objective 'to assess the outcome of planning practice'. The results of the assessment were captured in a thick description.

Moreover, the research strategy is strongly influenced by the comparative character of this research. Regarding the research aim, comparing different planning practices and coherent output helps to gain the desired insights in the effect and potential of policy integration practices as it highlights the similarities, differences and patterns across the different cases that share a common focus or goal. This notion supports the choice to adopt a qualitative comparative analysis (QCA). In general, a QCA, as all empirical comparative approaches, strives to meet two apparently contradicting goals: gathering in-depth insights in the different cases and capturing the complexity of the cases, and also producing some level of generalisation (Rihoux & Bajana, 2012). Cross-case analysis is a form of a case-sensitive QCA. According to Rihoux & Bajana (2012), cross-case analysis can be used for multiple purposes. First, cross-case analysis can identify similarities or contrasts across multiple case narratives, in other words, checking coherence in data (Rihoux & Bajana, 2012). Secondly, it can be used to test theories or assumptions to corroborate or refute these theories or assumption. Third, in addition to testing existing theories or assumptions, cross-case analysis can be used to explore data and build new theories. The first two applications are used in this research. Moreover, cross-case analysis enables to go beyond the explanation of case-to-case interpretation and identifying cross-case patterns by drawing generalized lessons (Rihoux & Bajana, 2012). Over-simplification whilst formulating these generalized lessons can jeopardize the outcome of the analysis. This research therefore, preserves its holistic approach, in the sense that each individual case is considered as a complex entity, that needs to be comprehended as a whole which should not be forgotten in the course of the analysis (Rihoux & Bajana, 2012).

3.2 Case selection

To enable cross-case analysis, individual cases needed to be selected. Individual case studies allow of an in-depth analysis of complex interactions by analysing a variety of positions and influencing factors in real-world situations (Farthing, 2016). Moreover, a case study "explores a real-life, contemporary multiple bounded systems (cases) about time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information." (Creswell, 2013, p. 97). Due to time constraints, two Dutch municipalities were compared in this research. For each of the two casus municipalities, one area development project was explored.



The choice of relevant case studies was guided by a set of criteria. This way of case study selection can also be called non-probabilistic, purposive sampling (Farthing, 2016). In this research the main conditional factor of the selected cases is the urban setting as the conflict between densification and climate adaptation predominantly takes place in cities with a high pressure on the housing market and little open space. More specifically, the two criteria were as followed: (1) the context, in which the debate about the conflicting policy objectives of densification and climate adaptation takes place, should be more or less the same to limit varying external factors that potentially influence the process and output of the process (highly urban character). In addition, (2) the casus municipality should have clear ambitions or strategies on densification and climate adaptation. These criteria are made even more explicit in the following list of required conditions.

1. An inner-city redevelopment plan in a larger municipality, such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague of Utrecht.
2. A clear housing target and aims for high density development to obtain that target.
3. Clear and specific objectives regarding climate adaptation.
4. Project has already been realised or the final design has been established.
5. Relatively recent development.

Preliminary analysis

A preliminary analysis favours Amsterdam and Rotterdam as case study municipalities. Argumentation for the choice of case study municipalities can be found in the statistics relevant for this research. These statistics are presented below to create a better understanding of the national position and context of Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the discussed themes. The information provided sketches the situation in December 2021.

Population growth and urban density

The largest cities in the Netherlands are also expected to grow the fastest the coming years. The population of Amsterdam is expected to increase with nearly 17,8%. Rotterdam is expected to grow slightly less with 14,7% and comes in third place in the national ranking (CBS, 2019). The urban density is expressed in number of inhabitants per square kilometre on average within the boundaries of the municipality. The urban densities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam are respectively 5.273 inhabitants/km² and 2.993 inhabitants/km² compared to the national average of 517 inhabitants/km² (Alle cijfers, 2021a, b; Compendium voor de Leefomgeving, 2021). These growth numbers also reflect in the housing stock and the pressure on the housing market. In the period between 2012 and 2020, the housing stock of the two case cities has increased. In Amsterdam the increase amounted to 9,4%, in Rotterdam over the same period the 3,0% (CBS, 2021). Taking a look at the pressure on the housing market in the two cities, it can be stated that they belong to the top five most pressured cities of the Netherlands. Amsterdam in the first place, Rotterdam in the fourth place (BPD, 2021), making them relevant case municipalities.

Densification and climate adaptation ambitions

Taking a look at the municipal policy documents on spatial development, it becomes apparent that both cities are confronted with the sustainable city paradox in which this research is interested. To start off with the ambitions of Amsterdam, the 'Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040' describes the municipal ambition to grow the upcoming years. The documents states that is growth will be realized not by "expanding the urban boundaries and taking up the surrounding landscape, but by densifying inventively and redeveloping existing urban areas" (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2011, p. 18). At the same time, the municipality of Amsterdam recently published the 'Uitvoeringsagenda Klimaatadaptatie' which clearly states the ambition "more urban green and less stone in Amsterdam" (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021)

Rotterdam describes her ambitions on climate adaptation in the 'Uitvoeringsagenda 2020-2022'. One of the main ambitions is to reduce the chance of flooding by reducing stone surface and realizing more urban green (Rotterdams WeerWoord, n.d.). In 2008 the city of Rotterdam presented their ambition to densify the city centre. This led among other things to the development of the 'Hoogbouwvisie 2019' in which the municipality states that the strategy to realise densification ambitions is by the development of high-rise buildings (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019).

Casus 1: Rotterdam, Coolhaven, Little C

Before the construction of Little C, the plot of land was what can be labelled as brownfield. As is shown on the map (Figure 6), the site is located south of the city centre and directly to the water of the river the Nieuwe Maas in the Coolhaven. The plot can be seen as an island between major infrastructure elements, one of the busiest roads of Rotterdam towards the Maastunnel. The university of applied sciences of Rotterdam and the Erasmus MC are around the corner. The project Little C consists of the development of 15 building blocks of all different levels. The total of added houses amounts to 320. The lay-out of the urban development plan is a dense structure with mainly high-rise buildings, leaving little open spaces between the buildings. By means of climate adaptation the main focus is water management. The drainage as well as the capturing of rainwater has had a major focus in the project. Underneath the public space water retention crates are installed that can capture up to 7,5 cm of water. This water is used to water the plants in the neighbourhood. ("Nieuwbouwproject Little Coolhaven | Just around the block", 2020). Little C was realised in the summer of 2021.



Figure 6. Location and impression Little C, Rotterdam (photo: Rotterdam Architectuurprijs, n.d.)

Casus 2: Amsterdam, Overamstel, Bajes Kwartier

As the name in Dutch indicates the development of a new residential area take place on former prison grounds. On the border of the city center of Amsterdam the 'Bajes Kwartier' will transform in a residential area consisting of 1350 new homes. Sustainability ambitions are high. The 'Bajes Kwartier' wants to become to most sustainable city neighbourhood of the Netherlands. The design is nature inclusive and climate adaptive. In addition, the aim is to develop an energy neutral neighbourhood by the installation of solarpanels and the use of other sustainable energy sources. 98% of all materials used in the former prison are being reused to create a circular economy. To realise these impressive ambitions, progressive parties are invited to keep working on sustainability issues for the coming years (Bajes Kwartier Ontwikkeling C.V., 2021). The first construction work has started in October 2021.



Figure 7. Location and impression Bajes Kwartier, Amsterdam (image: Bajes Kwartier Ontwikkeling C.V., n.d.)

3.3 Data collection

The choice of conducting a cross-case analysis impacts the methods of data collection. Because comparisons are conducted *ex post*, the collection of the case data need to be designed to be suitable for comparative analysis. This research made use of document analysis, interviews and expert meetings to obtain the desired information. Table 3 gives an overview of the data collection for each sub question. The following paragraphs provide further specification of the three methods of data collection.

Overview data collection methods

Sub research question	Method	Data	Data source
How can municipal practises to pursue objectives of densification and climate adaptation simultaneously, be described in terms of substantive and processual integration?	a. Document analysis	a. Relevant policy documents, project descriptions	a. Municipality
	b. Interviews	b. Transcripts	b. Interviewees
How do the quality criteria of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy express themselves in integrated spatial planning practices?	a. Document analysis	a. Relevant policy documents, project descriptions	a. Municipality
	b. Interviews	b. Transcripts	b. Interviewees
	c. Expert meetings	c. Meeting notes	c. Consultants Over Morgen
What factors influence the successful implementation of integration of densification and climate adaptation policies?	a. Interviews	a. Transcripts	a. Interviewees
	b. Expert meeting	b. Meeting notes	b. Consultants Over Morgen

Table 3. Overview data collection methods

Document analysis

Official documents produced by national and local levels of government are important parts of the social world which planners operate as they are meaningful and have an intrinsic interest for many involved in planning (Farthing, 2016). Documents about development plans can be seen as core element of the contemporary planning system and in most cases, considerable time and effort is expended in their production.

The analysis of official documents in this research is adopted to objectively assess what municipal climate adaptation policies and densification policies entail. In addition, project-related documents are analysed to assess how these policies on the municipal are translated/manifest themselves in the different housing projects (cases). The official documents used in this research consists of published Dutch government reports (policy reports, visions, project documents). These documents are obtained from municipal websites or received by e-mail through personal communication. Tables 4 and 5 provide an overview of consulted documents. The formal references can be found in the document list on page 103.

Title	Author	Publication date	Pages
Structuurvisie Randstad 2040	Ministerie van VROM	2008	148
Nota Grondbeleid in kort bestek 2003	Municipality of Rotterdam	2003	16
Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030	Municipality of Rotterdam	2007	89
Verbonden stad, visie openbare ruimte binnenstad Rotterdam 2030	Municipality of Rotterdam	2007	16
Binnenstadsplan "Binnenstad als city lounge" 2020	Municipality of Rotterdam	2008	101

Visie Hoboken 2030	Municipality of Rotterdam	2009	45
Masterplan Hoboken	Municipality of Rotterdam	2010	67
Ontwikkelingstrategie Coolhaven 2010-2015	Municipality of Rotterdam	2010	25
Bestemmingsplan Coolhaven	Municipality of Rotterdam	2017	105

Table 4. Documents case Rotterdam

Title	Author	Publication date	Pages
Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte	Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu	2012	136
Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040	Municipality of Amsterdam	2011	328
Koers 2025 Ruimte voor de stad	Municipality of Amsterdam	2016	79
Visie Openbare Ruimte 2025	Municipality of Amsterdam	2017	60
Gebiedsplan Watergraafmeer	Municipality of Amsterdam	2019	37
Stedenbouwkundig Plan Weespertrekvaart	Municipality of Amsterdam	2017	62
Nota van Uitgangspunten Herontwikkeling PIOA Amsterdam	Municipality of Amsterdam	2016	48
Weespertrekvaart West -Bajes Kwartier Uitwerkingsplan	Municipality of Amsterdam	2017	Online continuous text

Table 5. Documents case Amsterdam

Interviews

In-depth, individual, semi-structured interviews were conducted with stakeholders, involved in case project development, to collect data about the process of policy integration in housing projects. The aim of interview is to explore the planning and project processes in greater depth and add to the insights the documents analysis has provided. The findings of the document analysis can provide additional input for the topics and questions discussed during the interview. Because of this reason the list of interview questions will be supplemented after the document is performed. The interview consists of open-ended questions as the interview should have an explorative character to collect in-depth information (Kumar; 2014; Farthing, 2016). The interview takes place in a one-on-one setting and therefore is an individual interview (Farthing, 2016). The semi-structured character ensures consistency of themes and questions posed during each interview what improves the reliability of the research but at the same time still allows to go into more detail when deemed interesting by asking questions that were not initially on the question list (Swanborn, 2013). The interview protocol, including the list of interview question, can be found in Appendix I. After the first interview the protocol was critically reflected upon to check whether it actually provides a sufficient structure to come to the rights answers and discussions.

Initially for each of the case projects, the municipal project manager, the involved spatial planner, the municipal climate expert and the project developer were interviewed. This selection allows for insights from different perspectives that are relevant for this research. In addition, a snowballing strategy was adopted meaning that at the end of each interview the interviewee is asked to indicate whether there are more involved stakeholders that are interesting to interview. This technique allows for expanding the list of interviewees to get an even more in-depth understanding of the selected case.

In advance of the interview, the participants were asked whether they agreed to record the interview. During the interview, the interviewees had the option of refusing to answer a question. The participants were asked whether they permit the use of the results from the interviews before publication. The interviews were held in Dutch as it is expected that most interviewees feel more confident to talk in their native language. Moreover, an interview in one's native language allows for more nuance as vocabulary does not form an obstacle.

To ensure the privacy of the interviewees, the transcripts are not included as appendix of this thesis but are published in a separate document that is not publicly accessible. Moreover, the interviewees are referred to as their profession or as "interviewee [no.>". Names are known by the author. Table 6 provides an overview of all interviewees.

Expert meetings

In addition to the document analysis and interviews, expert meetings with six consultants of consultancy Over Morgen were organised. Expert interviews help to gain further knowledge from an actor perspective (Byrne & Ragin, 2012). The expertise of the invited experts is in the work-field of sustainable spatial development and/or financial management. During the expert meetings the preliminary findings of the document analysis and interviews were discussed. The two group conversations were structured along the lines of ten statements capturing the most important and remarkable preliminary findings (appendix II). The experts were asked to share their professional experience gained in the work field of spatial development to reflect upon the results of this research. Their insights were used to validate results and to provide the foundation for a constructive discussion. During the expert meetings, meeting notes were taken and collected for analysis. Table 6 provides an overview of all interviewees including the experts.

No.	Professional position	Case actor/expert	Date	Type and length of interview
1	Urban planner, Municipality Rotterdam	Rotterdam	17-01-2022	Individual, 51:17
2	Urban planner, Municipality Rotterdam	Rotterdam	24-01-2022	Individual, 43:57
3	Landscape architect, Municipality Rotterdam	Rotterdam	21-01-2022	Individual, 27:08
4	Project manager, Municipality Rotterdam	Rotterdam	20-01-2022	Individual, 1:08:20
5	Director Era Contour, developer Era Contour	Rotterdam	07-02-2022	Individual, 51:51
6	Sustainability adviser, Municipality Amsterdam	Amsterdam	10-02-2022	Individual, 44:15
7	Project manager, developer AM	Amsterdam	15-02-2022	Individual, 44:40
8	Sustainability expert, developer AM	Amsterdam	02-03-2022	Individual, 47:52
9	Sustainability adviser, Municipality Amsterdam	Amsterdam	14-03-2022	Individual, 28:12
10	Consultant spatial development and spatial financial management, Over Morgen	Expert	22-03-2022	Groupdiscussion, 1:16:01
11	Consultant spatial development, Over Morgen	Expert	22-03-2022	Groupdiscussion, 1:16:01
12	Consultant spatial development, Over Morgen	Expert	22-03-2022	Groupdiscussion, 1:16:01
13	Consultant spatial development, Over Morgen	Expert	24-03-2022	Groupdiscussion, 1:08:40
14	Consultant spatial development, Over Morgen	Expert	24-03-2022	Groupdiscussion, 1:08:40
15	Consultant spatial development, Over Morgen	Expert	24-03-2022	Groupdiscussion, 1:08:40

Table 6. Interviewees

3.4 Data analysis

Conducting cross-case analysis

As argued, to structure the comparative character of this research a qualitative comparative analysis in the form of a cross-case analysis is conducted. The cross-case analysis consists out of three phases. All of these phases differ in level of abstraction and complexity (Rihoux & Bajana, 2012). In the first phase of case description the level of complexity is maximal as the information should provide a 'thick' description. As argued, because comparisons are conducted ex post, the collection of the case data need to be designed to be suitable for comparative analysis. The choice of semi-structured interviews lends itself for the collection of comparable data. Also, the analysis of official documents can be organized in a way that comparison is possible. The use of a template to construct and present the information is necessary to enable comparison between the cases.

In the second phase, the analytical moment, the level of complexity is decreased and level of abstraction increased by reducing the cases to a set of core categories or variables. These categories or variables (in this research the mentioned indicators of substantive/procedural policy integration and the evaluation criteria of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy) are summarized. These results will derive from the coding strategy applied in this research (see following paragraph). The coding strategy allows for further abstraction with each round of coding. This gain of parsimony is required in cross-case analysis (Rihoux & Bajana, 2012). These temporary simplifications are needed to perform the technical part of QCA. Finally, in the third phase the results are interpreted. To interpret findings, one needs to return to the cases and their narratives and thus decrease the level of abstraction and increase the level of complexity (Rihoux & Bajana, 2012). Figure 8 shows the funnel of complexity in cross-case analysis.

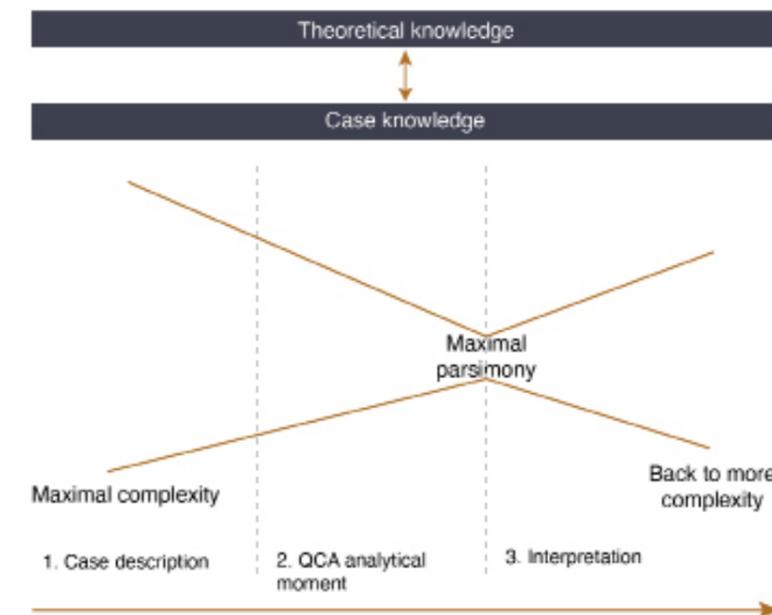


Figure 8. Funnel of complexity in cross-case analysis (Rihoux & Bajana, 2012)

Coding strategy

The text in policy documents and the answers given during the interviews need to be interpreted through coding. The interviews will be recorded and transcribed. Transcribing will take place as soon as possible after conducting the interview. This is done to maintain accuracy (Longhurst, 2010). All data collected through interviews as well as documents is Dutch, therefore the analysis will be performed in Dutch and findings will be translated into English. The transcripts were coded using a coding scheme based on insights from theory. ATLAS.ti software was used to conduct the analysis. First, a round of open coding is conducted, meaning that transcript fragments are examined, compared, conceptualized and categorized through close examination of the data (Gray, 2013). This round of open coding allows for gathering information inductively (Gray, 2013). After this first round, a round of axial coding is used to connect the first codes with each other and subdivide or merge them into overarching codes (Bryman, 2012; Gray, 2013). The axial codes are derived from the theoretical framework in which they are addressed as indicators for specific concepts. The round of axial coding is followed by the process of selective coding to further allocate the answers to the main themes of this research. The level of abstraction of the selective coding is higher than of axial coding. Through selective coding, core categories are sought through which a 'story' can be told (Gray, 2013). This enables smart organization of relevant fragments for answering

the specific sub questions. An overview of the axial codes and selective codes, both in English and Dutch, is shown in table 7. In addition to the codes in the table, also the terms of climate adaptation and densification are taken along the in the coding process but only to further categorise the data for quick overview and not for any specific analysis.

Concept	Selective codes	Axial codes			
		English	Dutch		
Policy integration	Substantive integration	Substance-oriented tools	Substantieve instrumenten		
		Long-term strategy municipal level	Lange termijnstrategie gemeentelijk niveau		
		Clear sectoral responsibilities for overarching goals	Heldere sectorale verantwoordelijkheden overkoepelende doelen		
		Coherence sectoral formulated objectives	Samenhang sectoraal geformuleerde doelen		
		Existence of authority for supervision, coordination and implementation	Bestaan van autoriteit voor begeleiding, coördinatie en invoering		
		Execution of supervision, coordination and implementation	Uitvoering van begeleiding, coördinatie en invoering		
	Processual integration	Co-operation	Co-operatie		
		Coordination	Coördinatie		
		Interaction	Interactie		
		Interdependence	Afhankelijkheid		
		Formality	Formaliteit		
		Resources needed	Benodigde middelen		
		Loss of autonomy	Verlies van autonomie		
		Comprehensiveness	Allesomvattend		
		Accessibility	Toegankelijkheid		
		Compatibility	Compatibiliteit		
		Spatial plan quality	Effectiveness	Ambitions	Ambities
				Achievement	Prestatie
				Realisation	Realisatie
Efficiency	Time		Tijd		
	Costs		Kosten		
	Effort		Moeite		
Legitimacy	Society		Maatschappij		
	Stakeholders		Stakeholders		
	Democratic		Democratisch		
	Demands		Vraag		

Table 7. Axial and selective coding scheme

Structure results chapters

The structure of the results chapters will be following the funnel of complexity present in cross-case analysis. First, the two individual cases will be elaborated upon in the chapters 5 and 6. In these two chapters, maximal complexity is strived for. The results of the individual cases will be compared in chapter 6 in what is indicated as the second phase of the cross-case analysis. In this chapter the level of complexity will be reduced to a minimum as is in line with the funnel complexity in cross-case analysis (figure 8). In the discussion, this research comes back to more complexity to interpretate and reflect upon the findings.

3.5 Methods of validation and trustworthiness

The methodology requires reflection upon validity and trustworthiness. In the context of qualitative research, the results can be disputed in the light of subjectivity of the researcher. The following paragraphs discuss the methods used to eliminate the subjectivity of the researcher as much as possible and thereby increase the trustworthiness of the research.

Triangulation

Triangulation is the use of two or more data sources, methods, theoretical perspectives or analytical methods in the same research (Thurmond, 2001). As already mentioned, this research includes multiple methods (interviewing and document analysis) as multiple sources (documents and interviewees with both involved actors and independent experts). It can therefore be argued that the reliability of the research improves as triangulation enhances the accuracy of the findings and enriches the gathered information. The literature review, carried out earlier in the process, helps to integrate the findings with the existing knowledge (Kumar, 2019). The data collected comes from documents and interviews. By interviewing different interviewees and using different documents, it is ensured that more sides to the same story are explored. Different (respondents') perspectives are compared, this way, this research aims to get as close to reconstructing reality as possible. However, it is important to critically reflect upon answers that are given during the interview. The possibility that the interviewee frames the interview in such a way that some aspects are not mentioned should be considered. In addition, self-reported past behaviours are famously difficult to study. There are threats of social desirability and use of biased heuristics to recall past events, these factors should be considered whilst addressing the value of the memory.

Thick description

In this qualitative research, a phenomenon is researched in a specific context throughout the case study methodology. The use of thick description ensures the emphasis on the context and thereby creates (indirectly) the feeling of awareness that one should consider whether finding can be applied to other cases or are rather context-dependent. The use of thick description therefore contributes to validation and the trustworthiness of the research.

Positionality

Positionality refers to the stance or positioning of the researcher in relation to the social and political context of the study (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). The positionality affects every phase of the research process. From the way the problem statement is initially constructed, to how the actual research is conducted and, finally, the way the outcomes are presented and interpreted (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). In this research, my positionality can be characterized as the 'outsider', a non-member who observes a particular event but by doing so I also exercises influence. Addressing the role of positionality within this research enables a critical reflection upon the trustworthiness of the research.

Chapter 4

Results Coolhaven, Rotterdam

This chapter elaborates upon the main findings of the case of Little C in the Coolhaven in Rotterdam. The following paragraphs discuss the main findings of the document analysis and the interviews conducted for the case in Rotterdam. First, an introduction about the history and context of the redevelopment of the Coolhaven is given. The second paragraph focusses on the development strategy to pursue a compact urban form and the role of the municipality is elaborated upon. Paragraph 4.3 covers the results the topic of densification and how this relates to the development of Little C. The fourth paragraph then focusses on the topic of climate adaptation and how this topic has influenced de development. Thereafter, the concept of policy integration, divided in substantive integration and processual integration, is explored and defined in the specific context of the case of Little C. Finally, the sixth paragraph then links the project and findings to the three evaluation criteria: effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy.

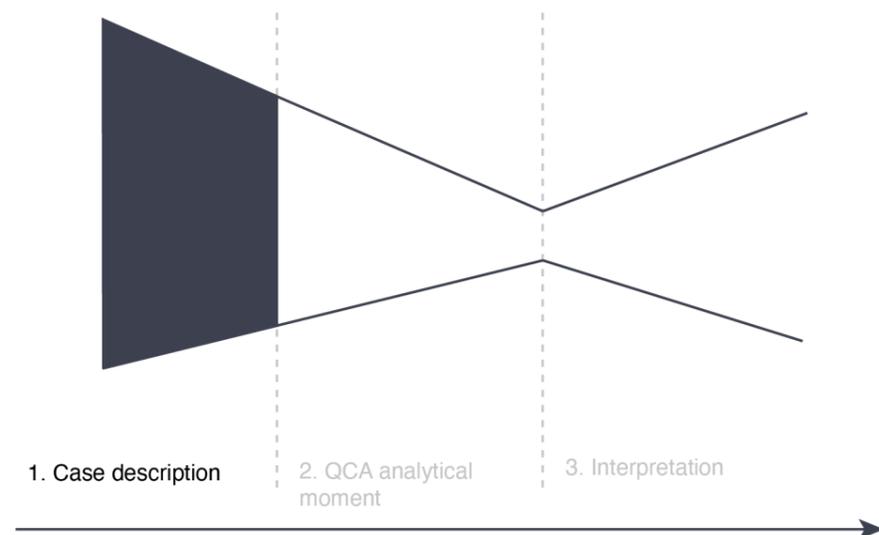


Figure 9. Position results chapter in funnel of complexity

4.1 Introduction

At the end of the city renovation of Rotterdam that took place during the '70s-'80s, the municipality reflected upon the results. They concluded multiple things: first, the liveability of the city centre had not improved as much as desired. Secondly, there was still a shortage of housing especially for the high- and middle high-income households. Lastly, the quality of the housing stock in the city centre was low. The municipality foresaw that still many people would leave the city to live in the smaller suburban areas surrounding Rotterdam as was the case before the city renovation. The same trend could be seen for companies, who also left the city centre to relocate at the edges of the city (interviewee 2, 5). A reaction to this 'failed' aspect of the city renovation a new programme called 'Stadstimmeren' was developed by the municipality. This initiative involved local 'city makers' to help develop the city centre to become a liveable and economically thriving (interviewee 2, 5). It was at this moment that the Coolhaven, which is a part of the city district Hoboken, came into sight as a potential redevelopment area to promote densification. At that time, around 1988, a parking garage formed the main land occupation and in addition, the area was also known as the 'tippelzone' of Rotterdam, where prostitution was tolerated by the municipality. During a conference that was part of the programme 'Stadstimmeren' private real estate

developers were invited to 'adopt' an area in the city centre and given the right to develop that specific plot. Some areas were indicated as 'sweet' and others as 'sour', these definitions linked to the difficulty of redeveloping an area. As Coolhaven was seen as a troubled area, it was labeled 'sour'. ERA Contour and J.P. van Eesteren decided to adopt the Coolhaven and surrounding areas.

Counting the years from these first ideas to the realisation of the project Little C in 2021, the redevelopment of the Coolhaven took over 33 years and is still not completely finished. According to the urban planner of the municipality and the developer, over the past 33 years, the area slowly transformed from a very "sour" and "dreary" place, to a mixed use, warm and cosy family neighbourhood with offices, shops and cafés (interviewees 2, 5).

The project characteristic can be found in figure 10 and the timeline with the most important events is projected in figure 11.

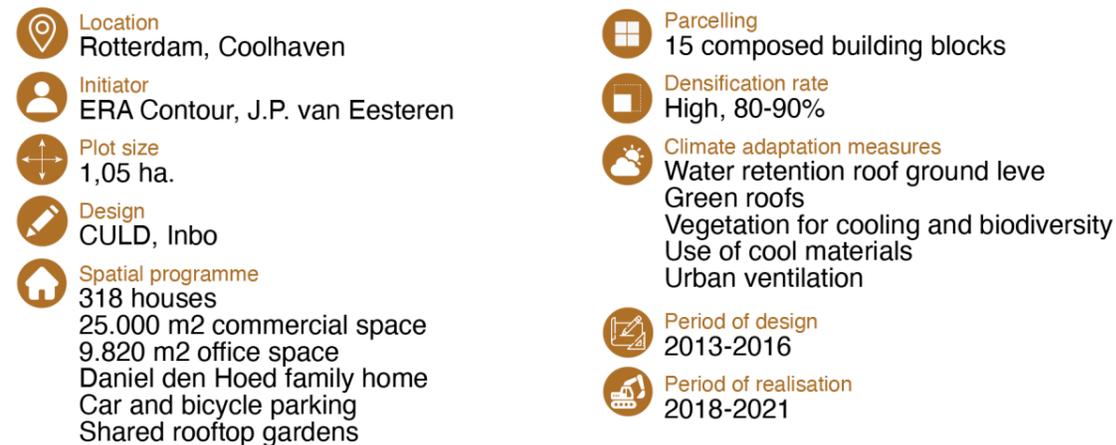


Figure 10. Characteristic Little C

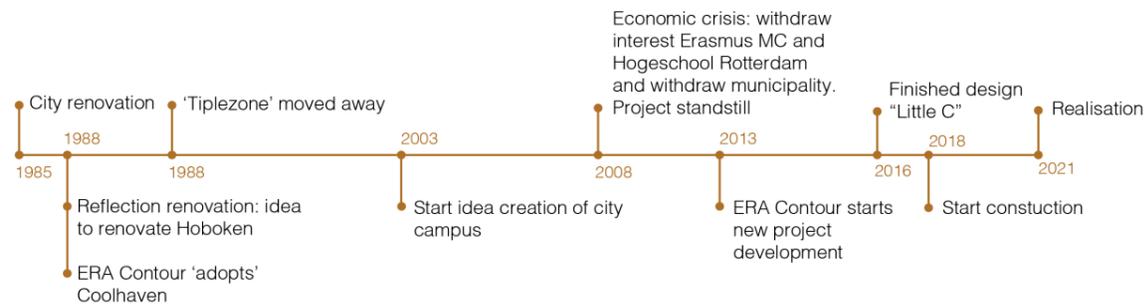


Figure 11. Timeline development Little C

4.2 Development strategy: an unsolicited proposal avant la lettre

This research refers to active land policy as public authorities intervening as market actors, next to their role as a public (planning) regulator, by acquiring land and influencing what is developed where and when. Passive land policy on the other hand is supply-driven, as it offers building land to the land market and developers but does not actively implement such projects. When applying these concepts to the case of Rotterdam the choice is not instant obvious. On the one hand the municipality indicated the Coolhaven as a location with the ability to transform and accomplish the ambitions of the municipality to add more high-quality housing to the city centre. On the other hand, as is also shown in the project timeline, the municipality withdrew from the project in 2008 due to (1) the economic crisis that led to halving the municipal officials (interviewee 1) and (2) the changing interests of involved stakeholders what led to the project being aborted (interviewees 1, 2, 4, 5). Some years later, in 2013, ERA Contour and J.P. van Eesteren themselves took the initiative to restart the project development based on the agreements made in 1988 (interviewees 1, 2, 5). Since the first idea for redeveloping the area, in which the municipality had an active role, did not go through, this research considers the second moment of initiation by ERA Contour and J.P. van Eesteren as leading. Therefore, it can be argued that the development of Little C was initiated by a private party and the development is supply-driven. This puts the development of Little C on the right side of the matrix in figure 12.

This form of project development links to the concept of an unsolicited proposal. An unsolicited proposal

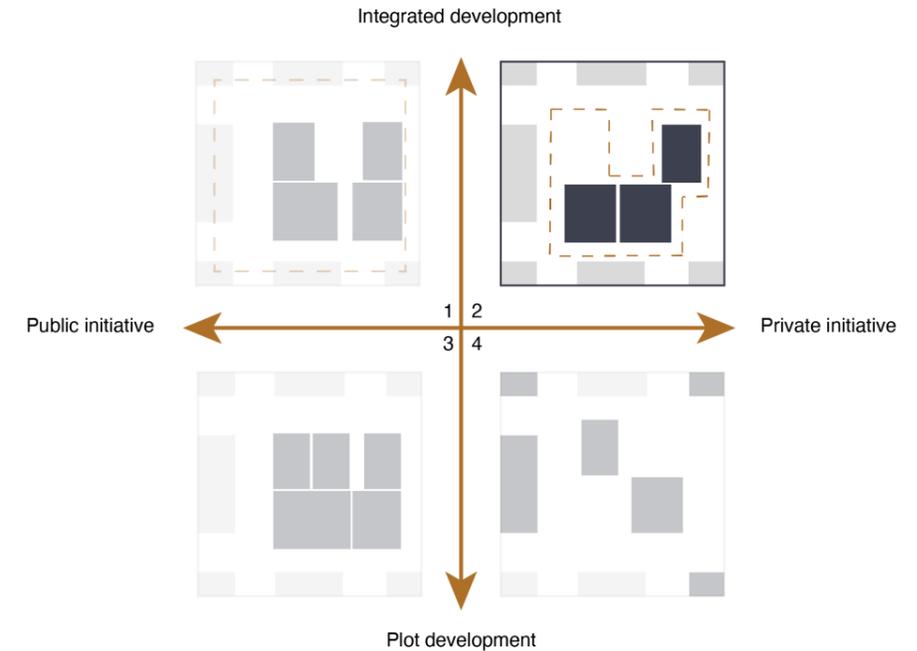


Figure 12. Position Little C in development strategy matrix

(privaat ontwikkel initiatief (POI)) is a form in which a private developer initiate a certain development opposed to a situation in which a municipality initiates a certain development and start a formal procedure to select a real estate developer. This form of an unsolicited proposal was not very common in the years in which Little C was developed and as mentioned it also was not the initial idea to develop the plan this way. During an interview it was therefore mentioned that "Little C could be seen as an unsolicited proposal avant la lettre. While we, as municipality, had hit the pause button, ERA Contour and J.P. van Eesteren developed a whole plan and once finished, they proposed it to us." (interviewee 1).

The second characteristic of the development strategy is plot-development as opposed to integrated development. The fundamental thought of integrated development is that prior to the actual development, the desired spatial, programmatic and financial state of the area and how it relates to adjacent neighbourhoods and other parts of the city is well thought through. Public authorities have an important role in planning, steering and financing the development with associated instruments such as spatial visions. Reflexing upon the development of Little C it can easily be argued that it concerns an integrated development. The project took municipal visions and the Hoboken masterplan into account and also the position of Little C as part of the Coolhaven within Hoboken was thoroughly thought through.

These case characteristics put the project Little C in the second quadrant of the development strategy matrix in figure 12: an integrated development through private initiative.

4.3 Densification

Document analysis

The document analysis shows that initially a different spatial programme was envisioned for the Coolhaven. Instead of the residential area it is today, a city campus related to the Erasmus MC and Hogeschool Rotterdam was envisioned. However, the densification objective to create a highly urban environment has stayed continuous throughout the analysed documents and is in line with policies on higher spatial scales. The following paragraph elaborates in more detail on the found results.

Rotterdam is part of the Randstad which is a conurbation in the central-western part of the Netherlands, this conurbation encompasses multiple provinces including Zuid-Holland in which Rotterdam is located. In 2008, the Randstad published the 'Structuurvisie Randstad 2040' which stated the ambition to solve the demand for housing within the existing urban boundaries. Moreover, they explicitly state a densification ambition of 40%. The 'Structuurvisie Randstad 2040' was in 2012 replaced by the 'Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte'. However, in the period of the planning phase of Little C, the leading official document was still the 'Structuurvisie Randstad 2040', therefore this research uses that specific document in the analysis. These ambitions also translate into local policy documents published by the municipality of Rotterdam. First, on the municipal level the document 'Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030' also indicates the wish to further densify the city to improve the liveability and inclusivity. In addition, the argument that building within the existing build-up area limits the impact on the scarce space in the region is given as an additional explanation. The 'Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030' points the city district Hoboken out as a so-

called “VIP area” that needs to be redeveloped (p. 156). The ‘Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030’ was followed by ‘Binnenstadsplan 2020’ that focuses explicitly on the city centre of Rotterdam. Densification ambitions also become apparent in this official document. The ambition for the city centre is captured in one sentence: “a modern, sustainable, compact and accessible (high-rise) city centre” (Binnenstadsplan 2020, p. 14). Improving liveability is also the main argument given in this official document to actively pursue a compact city centre. The ‘Binnenstadsplan 2030’ states the precise number of 5000 new homes that need to be developed before the end of 2015. The concept of high-rise building is linked to this ambition to densify the city centre (p. 30). Potential areas to realise these new projects are also indicated, including Hoboken (p. 76). As reaction to Hoboken being indicated as a “VIP area” a more detailed vision for this city district is created which resulted in the documents ‘Visie Hoboken 2030’ in 2008 and the ‘Masterplan Hoboken’ in 2010. The ‘Visie Hoboken 2030’ states the ambition to redevelop Hoboken into an attractive residential area (p. 3) In addition, this vision addresses the presence of the Hogeschool Rotterdam (university of applied sciences of Rotterdam) and the Erasmus University Medical Centre (Hereafter Erasmus MC) and states the wish to further expand the influence of these two knowledge institutes in the district. The idea of creating a city campus is presented and accompanying target groups stated (p. 54). The target group include students, employees of the Erasmus MC and other middle- and high-income groups. The ‘Masterplan Hoboken’ translate these ambitions to a spatial concept. One of the spatial concepts that was created was “waterfront living”. This new living environment should house 1000 students and other higher educated people. For the location Coolhaven the ambition was to create a “generous green waterfront with increasingly higher, composed building blocks surrounding the Hogeschool” (p. 38) and the character of the area should be “intensive, highly urban build environment with mixed facilities and commercial functions” (p.46).

Eventually the final land use plan ‘Bestemmingsplan Coolhaven’ was approved by the city council in 2017. The land use plan introduces the project as “Little C” that can be characterised by “a spatial programme that predominantly entails a residential area in combination with commercial facilities. In addition, the area stands out in sustainability, safety and an attractive living environment with an inviting outdoor space.” (p.13). The new land use plan makes the development of a maximum of 520 houses, 25.000 m² of commercial space and 9.820 m² of office space possible (p 52). The land use plan offers flexibility to create different types of houses as is desired by the developer. These building volumes on a plot of 1,05 hectare can be linked to a high dense urban space. The numbers of building volumes in the eventual plan that is realised, differ slightly from the number indicated in the land use plan. In total, 318 houses were realised: 209 rental apartments and the other 109 were sold in the private sector. In addition to the residential programme also other land use functions are realised in Little C.

Table 8 on page 43 gives a structured overview of the cascading policy ambitions on densification. The figure shows the stated ambition in the specific policy document that, from left to right, focuses each time on a smaller spatial scale. Randstad – Municipality of Rotterdam – City centre of Rotterdam –City district Hoboken – Plot size Coolhaven.

Interview results

During the interviews the interviewees were asked about the motivation for redeveloping the Coolhaven and their memory about how this development started. Some answers related to densification did not come directly from asking these specific questions but instead were given as (partial) answers to other questions. The quotations were derived from interview transcripts. Overall, the results imply strong awareness of the ambition to densify the city centre. The Coolhaven has been on the agenda as a densification location for quite some time but that it was not seen a residential area but rather as educational site. Moreover, the interviews indicated that the presence of the Erasmus MC and the Hogeschool Rotterdam has been very influential in vision development for a very long time, explaining the initial ambition to transform the Coolhaven into a city campus. Eventually it has been the developer ERA Contour to initiate the development of Little C, a residential area.

As became clear from most interviews, the development of the Coolhaven derived from the idea to renovate the city centre to improve the liveability and attract more residents as the city centre relatively had few residents compared to other parts of the city (interviewees 1, 2, 4, 5). “I remember that Rotterdam, now it is the same for the whole of the Netherlands, but back then it already was like this in Rotterdam, everyone needed to build extra houses. After the economic crisis of 2008-2013 residential development started. Rotterdam also looked at the city centre and surrounding areas. Because actually, although it sounds really weird, but I can remember that you went to the city centre to shop and do other stuff but relatively few people actually lived there. Rotterdam wanted to densify and because of that also these locations came onto the radar.” (interviewee 4). In the memory of the developer, few developments happened in Rotterdam: “It was an introverted time as almost nothing was being develop in the city. The “city lounge” vision was based on the issue of liveability and “softening” the urban landscape to attract more families”

(interviewee 5). On the municipal level the concept of densification influenced the development strategies of the municipality: “Densification definitively played an important role, because that was our ambition since 1988 actually.” (interviewee 2). Although the ambition remained the same, it was argued in the interview that the pursuit of the municipality to reach a compact urban form in 1988 was way easier back then than it is nowadays as the pressure on the available land was lower (interviewee 2).

Around that same time (1988), the urban planners had developed a vision for the Delfshavense Schie (the canal that flows into the Coolhaven): “we foresaw the idea as new impulse for the city redevelopment to start projects that exceeded the ambition to improve houses in deprived areas. (...) We came up with the idea to formulate about six projects along the Delfshavense Schie, all with a relation to the water, the Coolhaven was one of these projects” (interviewee 2). Moreover, all interviewees also indicate the important role of the Hogeschool Rotterdam and the Erasmus MC at the beginning of the project development. The Hogeschool and Erasmus wanted to grow and needed space to do so. The Coolhaven was a key area in this vision and was envisioned as a city campus. Because of this start and influential stakeholders, the intended programme did not focus on a residential function (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). “The idea of the campus was initially and mainly given form and content by the Hogeschool. So, that idea dominated the plan development at the start. (...) A residential area as we see it today in the Coolhaven, well, that did not really play a serious role.” (interviewee 2). According to one of the interviewees the programme that was developed in the masterplan of the Coolhaven was quite, and perhaps a little bit too, ambitious as “they wanted to develop a city campus, with residential area on the location of Little C now. They saw the potential for a multifunctional educational cluster for circa 15.000 students, a science cluster for medical activities for around 700 employees, a residential area for around 1000 houses for students and higher educated people who work at the Erasmus MC.” (interviewee 1).

Eventually the Hogeschool and the Erasmus MC lost interest and the new concept called “Little C” was developed on the initiative of the real estate developer (interviewees 1, 4, 5).

4.4 Climate adaptation

Document analysis

The document analysis shows that climate adaptation ambitions are mainly embedded in contributive or symbolic policies. Both on the city level as well as on the district level of Hoboken, the more general topic of sustainability is mentioned as ambition but climate adaptation is not explicitly mentioned. In the eventual land use plan, climate adaption can be found in the realisation of contributive policies on vegetation and water management. The following paragraph elaborates in more detail on the results of the document analysis.

In the “Structuurvisie Randstad 2040” the topic of climate change and the importance to react to its consequences is one of the key issues discussed in the spatial vision. The spatial challenges concerning water safety, water retention and water facilities are the main focus (p. 114). The ambition that is proposed is to embrace the key principle to focus on spatial quality and climate resilience in redevelopment of rural and urban areas (p.114). In addition, the document points out the relation between (regional) spatial planning decisions including densification and climate adaptation. However, what this relation entails or how spatial planners should respond to this relation is not specified. The “Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030” the effects of climate change and the topic of climate adaption is scarcely discussed. One statement is made about the deficiency of the water retention capacity of the city and that this problem will get bigger due to the effects of climate change (p. 74). This observation translates into the principle “Rotterdam uses its public space and the water challenge as accelerator for the desired spatial developments.” (p. 73). More specific ambitions regarding climate adaptation are not stated in the “Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030”. As public space was mentioned in the “Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2030”, the “Visie openbare ruimte binnenstad Rotterdam 2030”, which focusses on the management of public space, was added to the document analysis. The vision on public space mainly focusses on the redevelopment of the vegetation structure in the city centre to improve liveability (p. 12). This ambition is not necessarily linked to climate adaption. The need to increase the water retention capacity is addressed in the vision (p.12). The indicated solutions to reach this ambition are to utilize the historic structure of canals and water features, the creation of a new water layer in public parks and underground water buffers (p. 12). In addition, “for the purpose of water management, green roofs will be applied” (p. 12). The overall vision for the city centre of Rotterdam that is described in the “Binnenstadsplan 2020” mentions the topic of sustainable development and states five challenges being; construction techniques, energy management, living- and working quality of buildings, green roofs and finally “living” facades on street level (p. 16). The municipality sees the opportunity to realise these ambitions in the formulation of clear building requirements to real-estate developers and investors (p. 70). Another climate adaptive related ambition that is mentioned is to resolve the water management challenge (p. 16). It is stated that this water challenge can easily be combined with measures that focus on the improvement of public space, the quality of the living environment. As an example, the realisation of green roofs is mentioned (p. 70). The “Binnenstadsplan 2020” also pays attention to the micro climate and

centre demands improvement of the outdoor space.”. Multiple interviewees mentioned the green-structure on the municipal level and how that idea has influenced the development of Little C and especially the park across from the road (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4). The following quote illustrates this: “In addition, we saw from the perspective of the bigger green-structure of the city a connection between the Heemraadsingel via the Coolhaven and the park next to the Euromast. So, we indeed thought about creating a robust green-structure on that spatial scale without it being from a climate adaptive perspective” (interviewee 1). The ambition concerning this greening of the area where not actively promoted by one specific actor in the process (interviewee 1, 3, 4). “The funny thing is; I don’t think there were specific actors or municipal official who promoted this. We had landscape architects in the team however. But the focus was more on how to make an area attractive”. All interviewees did mention or agree with the fact that greening the area was a shared ambition among all stakeholders (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). “It was a shared ambition. Like I said earlier, it was in line with both municipal policies as it was out of interest for the project itself” (interviewee 1). What became apparent in the interviews with the municipal officials is that the greening the area was so important to ensure spatial quality. This spatial quality was a central concept during the development and often used as the main argument to motivate certain decisions (interviewees 2, 3 4 5). In addition to the legally mandatory water test and the ambition to add vegetation to improve spatial quality, another mentioned topic was green roofs. During three interviews with municipal officials (interviewee 2, 3, 4), it was mentioned that green roofs might have been a requirement related to sustainability ambition, however, the answers indicated a level of uncertainty: “It might be possible that we asked for green roofs, that phenomena already existed back then.” (interviewee 2).

As a contrast to the position of the municipality, the real estate developer ERA Contour did have a strong feeling of awareness concerning climate adaption in cities. “It was in that period in which Prague had to deal with heavy downpours that also led to the Elbe flooding. This made us think about creating climate resilience cities” (interviewee 5). This sense of awareness in combination with the practicality of the plan led, among other things, to the development of the water retention roof. The practicality indicating maintenance costs and improving the conditions for vegetation. This water retention roof was then linked to a precipitation radar so it could anticipate and respond to local weather events to improve water runoff and increase the water shortage capacity. During the interview was mentioned that the municipality was not aware about this decision to install a water retention roof. “I think that the municipality only heard of this retention roof after the realisation of Little C” (interviewee 5). In addition, the idea to create a park across from the plot of Little C was according to the developer initial their idea: “The funny thing is that the idea of creating a park was taken over in a municipal vision to green the waterfronts of the city. In the previous years it was a taboo, it all had to be stone and hard surface, but later on this idea developed. In that sense the project fitted seamlessly into local policies” (interviewee 5).

4.5 Policy integration

Substantive integration of land policy

The theoretical framework describes six indicators of substantive integration of land policy. The analysis is structured along these six indicators. All results, obtained from document analysis and interviews are presented in table 9.

Indicator	Results
1. The use of substance-oriented tools to obtain and produce knowledge	Research to assess the impact of specific spatial interventions and characteristics has been conducted to ensure spatial quality. Among these interventions and characteristics different building volumes have been assessed (interviewee 2). In addition, external experts were involved in the plan-making process to apply specific knowledge (interviewees 1, 4).
2. The existence of a long-term sustainability development strategy (SDS) (or similar document) on the municipal level	The documents “Stadsvisie Rotterdam 2040”, “Verbonden stad, visie openbare ruimte binnenstad Rotterdam 2030” and “Binnenstadsplan “Binnenstad als city lounge” 2020” can be seen as long-term development strategies that address sustainability. During the interviews the role of these municipal visions in the redevelopment of the Coolhaven was characterised as a starting point (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4). In addition, to some extent a form of interplay between the visions and the development occurred. The redevelopment of the Coolhaven provided valuable insights that were included in long-term development strategies later (interviewees 3, 4).

3. Clear designations as to sectoral responsibility for overarching goals	The internal project team included official from all relevant municipal disciplines (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4). As was mentioned during multiple interviews all team members reasoned and acted from their expert perspective (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4). This sometimes resulted in heated discussions when conflicts arose (interviewees 1, 4), or officials ended up in a split when project decisions and sectoral ambitions were not in line with each other (interviewee 4). In addition, it was mentioned that the integrated character of the project team led to officials also forming opinions about topics other than their experience (interviewee 4). However, during all interviews it was stressed that all involved officials had the same end goal in mind what made the collaboration in general very streamlined and strong (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4). As can be derived from this argument, the sectoral responsibilities to obtain an overarching goal were clear and reinforcing.
4. The level of coherence between sectoral formulated objectives	The document analysis on densification and climate adaptation already shows the interrelation between the different policy documents. Figure 12 shows which ambitions are either taken along or disappear, and the introduction of new ambitions. As the figure shows, overall coherence within sectoral objectives regarding climate adaption and densification are present but few linkages are made between the two topics indicating low coherence.
5. The existence of a central authority specifically entrusted with the supervision, coordination and implementation of the integration process	On a city district level, the ‘Regieraad Hoboken’ (board of directors Hoboken) can be characterised as a special assigned authority to supervise and coordinate the development of Little C. The board of directors was responsible for coordination of initiatives and included local stakeholders, surrounding residents as well as municipal alderman and the developer ERA Contour (interviewee 5). In addition, Rotterdam has an established structure in which two layers can be distinguished: first, there is an area manager (<i>gebiedsmanager</i>) who is responsible for the ins and outs of the city centre. He/she is the first person to give approval of project development. Then the second layer, a board of directors, comes into play and also need to approve of plans. In the redevelopment of Little C, mainly the spatial quality director of the city centre, Astrid Samson, was involved in the decision-making process (interviewees 2, 3, 4). Other authorities that can be linked to supervision, coordination and implementation are the different committees that addressed escalated discussion within the project team (interviewees 1, 4).
6. The execution of tasks like supervision, coordination and implementation of policy integration	The progress of a project is monitored continuously on different levels (interviewees 1, 4). Based on the various given arguments in the interviews it can be stated that the project development was indeed monitored.

Table 9. Results substantive policy integration indicators Little C, Rotterdam

Processual integration of land policy

The theoretical framework describes ten indicators of processual integration of land policy. The analysis is structured along these ten indicators. All results, obtained from the conducted interviews, are presented in table 10.

Indicator	Results
1. Co-operation	Co-operation between different municipal sectors was formally organised by the instalment of an internal project team (interviewee 1). Co-operation between the municipality and developer and design firms was formally organised by the instalment of an external project team (interviewees 1, 5). Already mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the team members all represented their own discipline but the very well-organised collaboration led to mutually reinforcement and better achievement of individual objectives.
2. Coordination	Coordination was the main responsibility of the project manager (interviewee 4) and the board of directors of Hoboken (interviewee 5). The project manager described his role as being the binding factor within the project team. His role included persuading and overruling colleagues, sometimes forcing decisions, communicating with the developer and most importantly facilitating dialogue (interviewee 4). The project manager as well as the 'Regieraad Hoboken' ensured joint decision-making.
3. Interaction	The internal project team met every two to four weeks (interviewee 4). The exact interval of meeting with the external project team was not remembered by the interviewees but it was indicated that at one point they saw each other quite frequently (interviewee 1). However, the memory of the developer is quite the opposite. According to the interviewee, the developer and municipality did not meet that often at all. The contact was mainly based on interest from the municipality about the development and what was happening rather than collaboration (interviewee 5).
4. Interdependence	The interdependence between departments becomes clear when looking at examples of discussions prior to decision-making. Namely, decisions were made in fair dialogue and mutual agreement needed to be reached.
5. Formality	As is addressed multiple times, many formal institution arrangements were made to facility the process. Some examples are the formal organisation of two project teams, the establishment of the 'Regieraad Hoboken', involvement of different committees to assess plans and sometimes force decisions, and the fact that an interdisciplinary board of directors (indirectly) supervised project development.
6. Resources needed	As can be derived from the information provided above, the formal involvement of many municipal officials argues that many resources, both financial and social capital, were included in the project development.
7. Loss of autonomy	As was mentioned during the interview with the project manager, part of his task was to sometimes overrule colleagues in the collaboration (interviewee 4). This statement implies that municipal departments lost their autonomy. In addition, the layered structure of the administrative systems also enables higher levels of government to overrule individual authorities also indicating the potential loss of autonomy.
8. Comprehensiveness	Comprehensiveness is indicated in terms of time, space and actors. Firstly, many actors were included in the project development as became clear during all interviews. The internal project team included representatives of all relevant disciplines. In terms of time, as the development took over thirty years many trends have been included and considerations made. The development of Little C focusses on a specific plot. However, the surroundings strongly influenced the final masterplan. For example, presence of the Erasmus MC led to the idea to create a pedestrian bridge, crossing the busy road and connecting the neighbourhood to its surrounding (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 5).
9. Accessibility	As all municipal department were represented in the internal project team, the contact between different department was easily made. Therefore, it can be argued that all municipal sectors were well-accessible.

10. Compatibility

Sometimes the sectoral ambitions conflicted with each other, challenging the processual integration. However, the shared ambition in addition to the willingness of individuals to think open-minded, collaborate and compromise, simplified the integration process (interviewees 1, 2, 4)

Table 10. Results processual policy integration indicators Little C, Rotterdam

Obstacles and success factors of policy integration in the development of Little C

During the interviews the obstacles and successes of policy integration were discussed. Not only the obstacles of policy integration were discussed but automatically other aspects that negatively influence spatial developments that are strongly related to an integrated approach. In addition to the experienced obstacles and successes, some interviewees also philosophized about possible changes in project processes what led to some progressive insights. The obstacles and success can be divided into four different themes which are presented in table 11 below.

Theme	Obstacles	Success factors
Project team	<p>Everyone feels allowed to think something about everything. "The lawyer thinks he is the urban planner, the urban planner has an opinion about financial aspect, etc." (interviewee 4).</p> <p>Some project team members are not flexible and are not able to think integrated. They stick to the policies of their discipline and are not willing to compromise. Then you need to escalate to higher levels of government what takes up a lot of time (interviewees 1, 3, 4).</p> <p>What can be seen as a side issue for one can be a priority for another. This mismatch of priorities can lead to difficulty (interviewee 1).</p> <p>The size of the project team puts the workability under pressure. (interviewee 4)</p> <p>The process is very slow due to the fact that everyone needs to be taken along every step. Often it takes up to 8 years from initiative to first residents (interviewee 4).</p>	<p>To keep the shared ambition in mind (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4).</p> <p>In Little C we got to work with a very good team with very good people. "I know now that the quality of the people in your team is really important" (interviewee 4).</p> <p>It is important that in the internal project team, and that is also the role of the project manager, that everyone enjoys working in your team, that they feel heard and taken seriously (interviewee 4).</p> <p>The most important thing is that you together take a look a municipal policy, see this as the result of all different factors and that needs to be realized coherently instead of having discussions with different people of different sectors (interviewee 2).</p> <p>To listen to each other, to appreciate each other's input. Be creative and focus on quality. This takes time and discussions, but listen carefully and sometime get angry (interviewee 3).</p> <p>It is in favor of the quality of the eventual plan to address all relevant themes and to involve everyone (interviewees 1, 4).</p>

Municipal influence	An obstacle of Little C specific was the fact that it was already quite detailed developed before it was discussed with the municipality (interviewee 1).	<p>It is important for the municipality to think along with the real estate developer and to be understanding, however at the same time you need to make very clear what the boundaries are (interviewee 4).</p> <p>It is good to sometimes be stern as a municipality. Experience shows us that eventually the real-estate developer is appreciative as it ensured plan quality (interviewee 4).</p> <p>You need to internally discuss what you find important as 'the municipality' and communicate this to the project developer as one. This has also been appreciated by project developers (interviewee 2).</p> <p>Good (informal) contacts between municipality and developer (interviewees 4, 5).</p>
Impact of policies	<p>It was a puzzle to meet all permit conditions (interviewee 4).</p> <p>Those who state ambitions and develop policies are not those who need to realise them. Therefore, these extremely high, sometimes even conflicting, ambitions are not realistic. For example, green roofs and solar panels (interviewees 4, 5).</p> <p>Trying to realise all (sustainability) ambitions on one small plot makes not the best spatial plan. It simple does not fit (interviewees 4, 5)</p>	<p>To work integrated means to look at all relevant requirements, opinion, frameworks, laws and rules but let's apply them as effective as possible in this specific case, this project in this environment, what is then the best solution? (interviewee 4).</p> <p>We kept the quality of the final plan in mind and we did not just guard municipal interest (interviewee 4).</p>
Established administrative systems and project organisation	<p>Because the process takes that long it also becomes very expensive. "Municipal ground exploitations run empty on plan costs." (interviewee 4).</p> <p>Underlying political agendas of aldermen (wethouders) made conversing and making compromises extremely difficult. In addition, the fact that all aldermen were split up into their own subject made it even more difficult. It was really the question of how much they allow each other (interviewee 5).</p>	Have ambitions stated in contracts so no further discussion is possible (interviewee 4).
Other		One of the absolute success factors was the persistence of the project developer (interviewee 1).

Table 11. Obstacles and success factors policy integration Little C, Rotterdam

In addition to the experienced obstacles and successes, some interviewees also philosophized about possible changes in project processes what led to some progressive insights:

- Policies can be seen as a compilation of good intentions. However, try not to realise every ambition on every plot. Look at the area specific challenges and the linked ambitions regarding sustainability, green, biodiversity, all those aspects and focus on that. Do not try to realise everything on every plot, this does not lead to good plans. (interviewee 5)
- Freedom of creativity for the developer and urban designer with little fixed requirements helps to come to innovative ideas and prevent unity of plans (5). In the case of Little C, the selected urban design met the initial set requirements the least from all submissions (interviewee 2). This design really opened the eyes of the municipality that densification can also be realised in different ways than just construction the next tower (interviewee 4).
- An integrated approach should not lead to repeatedly assessing plan and details, eventually conclusions should be drawn and decisions need to be made. That is not only the task of the project manager but also the municipal client, the alderman who is the administrative client should ensure the progress. (interviewee 4)

4.6 Spatial plan quality

Effectiveness

As already stated in the introduction of this case, the municipality of Rotterdam had the ambition to densify the city centre (interviewee 1, 2, 4). With the development of the residential area Little C it can be argued that this policy ambition has been realized. However, as the policy document analysis and some of the interviewees indicated, the initial envisioned spatial programme contained even more activities and bigger building volumes (Visie Hoboken 2030, 2009; interviewees 1, 2). Due to changing societal interests and stakeholder claims the programme could become less varied what made the business case more interesting for the developer (interviewee 1, 4, 5). In addition, the architectural firm CULD who is responsible for the urban design took the liberty to not listen to the exact building volume requirements asked by the developer and the municipality. Eventually, as was stated during one of the interviews, the chosen plan fitted the least with the initial set ambitions by the municipality (interviewee 2). However, the municipality had come to the realisation that what they had asked would not lead to a pleasant living environment, something they found even more important (interviewee 2). In this light the effectiveness of the spatial visions and envisioned ambitions can be questioned. The overall ambition to densify the city centre by redeveloping brownfields has been accomplished. However, the more detailed initial spatial vision including building volumes and programme has not been realised.

Regarding climate adaption, the municipality had no specific ambitions in the time of the development of Little C. Only contributive policies have influenced the realisation indirectly to some extent. No additional requirements were demanded besides the national applicable requirements in the building permit (bouwbesluit) (interviewees 1, 3, 4, 5). All climate adaptive measures that are realised in Little C were the initiative of ERA Contour and collaborating parties (interviewees 1, 5). Therefore, the effectiveness of concrete policy indicated as grade of achievement to realise climate adaptation measures cannot be assessed as there was no specific initial ambition.

To conclude, in the case of Little C, the most influential indicators on effectiveness can be argued to be the substantive integration indicators of the long-term strategy on municipal level and coherence between sectoral responsibilities. The processual integration indicator of coordination. Other than that, the effectiveness is mainly influenced by external factors not captured in the sixteen indicators.

Efficiency

The interviews taught that the municipal involvement was formally organized into two project teams: an internal team and an external team. The internal team consisted of official from different municipal sectors to guarantee an integrative approach. The involvement of so many municipal officials is quite intensive and therefore also quite expensive. As was stated during one interview "municipal ground exploitation run empty on plan costs. Twenty people who spend a couple of hundred hours a year on one project also costs a lot" (interviewee 4). In addition, it was also mentioned that the size of the project team influences the efficiency of the process. Because everyone needs to be taken along and needs to get the chance to provide input and gets enough time to think about it, the process can become very time-consuming. However, it was also argued that the active involvement of everyone is really important to safeguard the integrality and project quality (interviewee 1, 4). The integrated approach and the involvement of so many actors also led to some discussions as is also indicated in the previous paragraphs, discussions that

sometimes needed to be resolved at higher levels of government. This led often to the project manager actually defending the project, repeatedly explaining the ambitions and convincing continuation of the project. This happened multiple times and also influenced the efficiency of the process massively.

However, what influenced the efficiency of the project the most had to do with the quite unusual approach in project development. The fact that the municipality was initially not involved in the development of the spatial plan but that the developer took the lead and went directly to the highest municipal body, the council of mayor and aldermen (college van B&W), with quite a detailed plan, made the actual realisation quite challenging (interviewee 1, 4). Many crucial aspects in the plan that were approved by the highest level within the municipality did not fit with sectoral policies. The municipal officials had to go all out to realise a plan that actually conflicted with their own policies. To make compromises in a plan that is already so detailed developed and approved by the mayor and aldermen was difficult as the negotiating position of the developer was very strong (interviewee 1, 4).

To conclude, the efficiency of the process was influenced by multiple factors. It can be argued that the size of project team and the extensiveness of the process negatively impacted the efficiency, however these characteristics ensured the spatial plan quality. The development strategy also impacted the efficiency of the process later on as the negotiating position of the municipality was weakened.

To conclude, in the case of Little C, the most influential indicators on efficiency can be argued to be the substantive integration indicator of clear sectoral responsibilities for overarching goals. Moreover, interaction, formality, resources needed and comprehensiveness can be seen as the most influential processual integration indicators.

Legitimacy

In the internal project team that worked on Little C at least one official from every municipal sector was involved. Equality between team members was very important and is pursued during the process as all municipal interviewees confirmed (interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4). This structure can be linked to the concept of democratic decision making and legitimisation of the results of the process. In addition, legitimacy can be found in the collaboration with and involvement of external parties. Especially the Erasmus MC and the Hogeschool Rotterdam as stakeholders were closely involved. Moreover, the developer also collaborated with other stakeholders in the city district through the "Regieraad Hoboken" a board of directors of institutions located nearby the Coolhaven.

Another aspect of plan legitimisation that was mentioned by one of the interviewees was the use of plot-transcending spatial visions to argue for specific ideas. (interviewee 1).

In short, democratic decision-making in this specific project can be characterized as equality between different sectors in the plan-making process. In addition, the involvement of stakeholders in the formal structure of a board of directors (Regieraad Hoboken) ensured legitimisation of ideas with external parties.

To conclude, in the case of Little C, the most influential indicators on legitimacy are the processual integration indicators co-operation, interaction, loss of autonomy and comprehensiveness. Moreover, the substantive integration indicators of a long-term strategy on the municipal level and coherence between sectoral formulated objectives can be seen as influential factors of spatial plan legitimacy of Little C.

Chapter 5

Results Bajes Kwartier, Amsterdam

This chapter elaborates upon the main findings of the case of Bajes Kwartier in the Weespertrekvaartbuurt in Amsterdam. The following paragraphs discuss the main finding of the document analysis and the interviews conducted for the case in Amsterdam. First, an introduction about the history and context of the redevelopment of the Bajes Kwartier is given. The second paragraph focusses on the development strategy to pursue this compact urban form and the role of the municipality. In paragraph 5.3 is elaborated upon the topic of densification and how this relates to the development of Bajes Kwartier. The fourth paragraph then focusses on the topic of climate adaptation and how this topic has influenced the development. Thereafter, the concept of policy integration, subdivided in substantive integration and processual integration, is explored and defined in the specific context of the case of Bajes Kwartier. Finally, the sixth paragraph then links the project and findings to the three evaluation criteria: effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy.

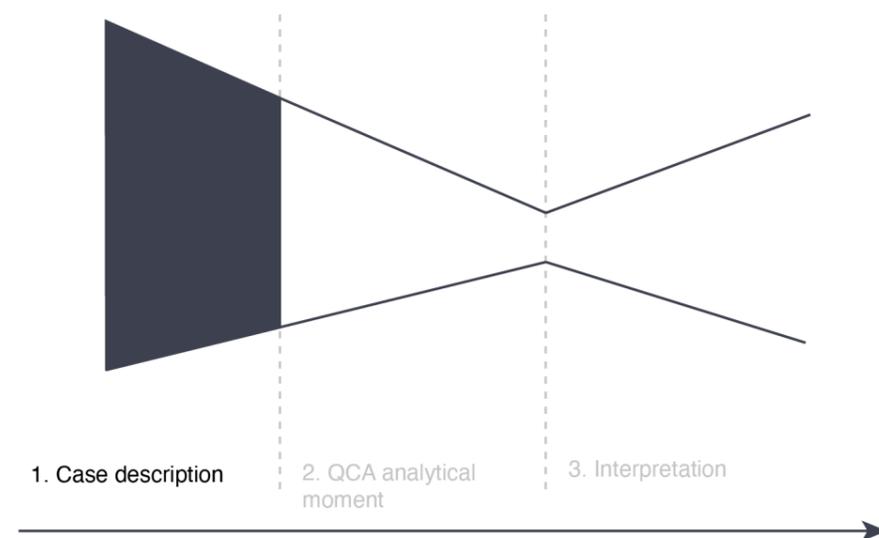


Figure 13. Position results chapter in funnel of complexity

5.1 Introduction

Located within the ring of Amsterdam, part of Amsterdam East, part of the city district Overamstel, part of the neighbourhood Weespertrekvaart can the construction site of Bajes Kwartier be found. The location has long been known as the prison Bijlmerbajes. The prison closed its doors in 2016 after more than thirty years of service. At this time, the "Rijksvastgoedbedrijf" is property and landowner. As the prison facility was moved to another location, the space became available for other uses. The municipality appointed in the spring of 2015 the location as a transformation location to accelerate the construction of houses to respond to the urgent demand of housing in Amsterdam. Due to the location near the city centre and the good accessibility the location was seen as an important element to pursue the densification ambitions of the city.

From 2017 onwards, real-estate developer AM, in a consortium with AT Capital and Cairn, are working on the redevelopment of the Bijlmerbajes into a residential neighbourhood with 1.350 houses and facilities such as restaurants, health care and offices. The project is already known for its high sustainability ambitions on circularity and climate adaptation. Currently the project is taken from the provisional design to the final masterplan. However, some of the construction work has already started.

The project characteristic can be found in figure 14 and the project time line with the most crucial events is projected in figure 15.

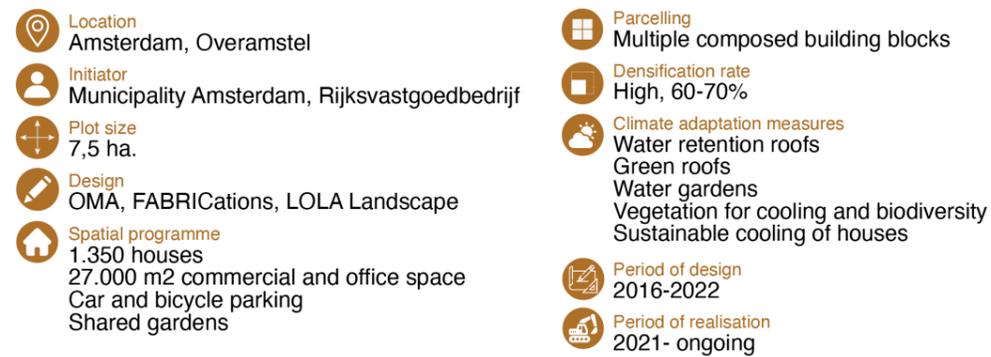


Figure 14. Characteristics Bajes Kwartier

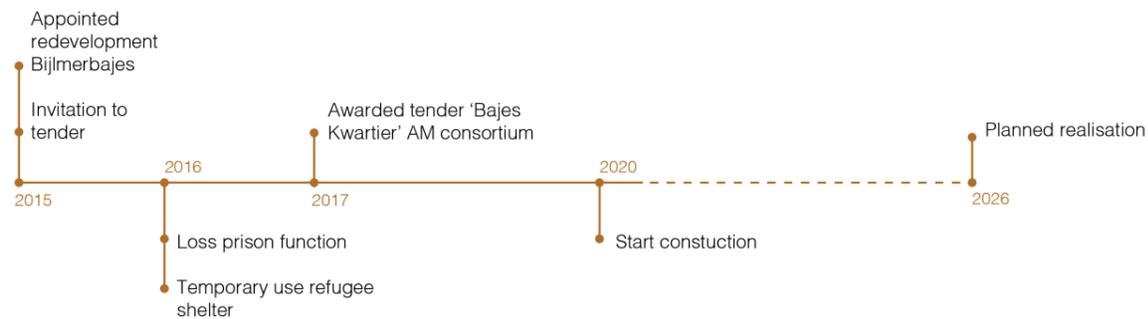


Figure 15. Timeline development Bajes Kwartier

5.2 Development strategy: the invitation to tender

The municipality of Amsterdam adopted an active approach in land policy as the municipality actively intervened as marked actor next to their role as a public (planning) regulator. Normally active land policy can be characterized by the public actor acquiring land. However, this was not the case in Bajes Kwartier. The landowner, the Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, directly sold the land to the developing consortium. But because the municipality appointed the former Bijlmerbajes as transformation location, they were directly involved in the process of allocating the land and was highly influential in terms of development criteria, it can be argued that the municipality took on an active role in this development made possible by the fact that the landowner, the Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, has a governmental character. By stating the fact that the municipality appointed the area as a transformation location to accelerate the construction of new houses and initiated this redevelopment the project can be placed on the left side of the development strategy matrix (figure 16).

The development rights were allocated through tender procedure. The municipality of Amsterdam used its position to specify the conditions for tenders among developers. Through the 'Nota van Uitgangspunten Herontwikkeling PIOA Amsterdam' the municipality provides minimal requirements that needed to be fulfilled by developers. The tenders were then assessed by a jury who had placed a weighting on the different elements. In the case of the Bajes Kwartier, 50 percent was price, the other 50 percent was distributed among five quality criteria of which 10 percent was sustainability (interviewee 8). The main rationale of a tender procedure relates to the fact that city governments cannot formally surpass national building requirements by means of added public legal frameworks. The national building code is one of the most important frameworks which frame municipal action, and it is enforced by national decree (van der Veen, et al., 2010). Yet, on plot level, the municipality can complement and further specify through zoning and ad hoc regulation. In practice, sustainable development ambitions that are not formalised in policy can be added through formal agreements in private contracts with developers (van der Veen, et al., 2010), as was the case for Bajes Kwartier. The tender procedure of the Bajes Kwartier was won by the consortium of AM, AT Capital and Cairn, with a design by OMA, FABRICations and Lola Landscape Architects.

The second characteristic of the development strategy is plot-development as opposed to integrated development (Buitelaar et al., 2008). The development of the Bajes Kwartier is product of spatial visions regarding intensification of land use in Amsterdam. As was discussed in the theoretical framework, the fundamental thought of integrated development is that prior to the actual development, the desired spatial, programmatic and financial state of the area, this characteristic is applicable to the case of Bajes Kwartier. In addition, the relation of Bajes Kwartier to other part of the city district or even city has been considered as becomes clear in the formulation of spatial vision on multiple scales. Concluding, the development of Bajes Kwartier can be addressed as an integrated development, putting it in the upper side of the development strategy matrix.

The combination of the case characteristics described above, puts the project Bajes Kwartier in the first quadrant of the matrix in figure 16, an integrated development through public initiative.

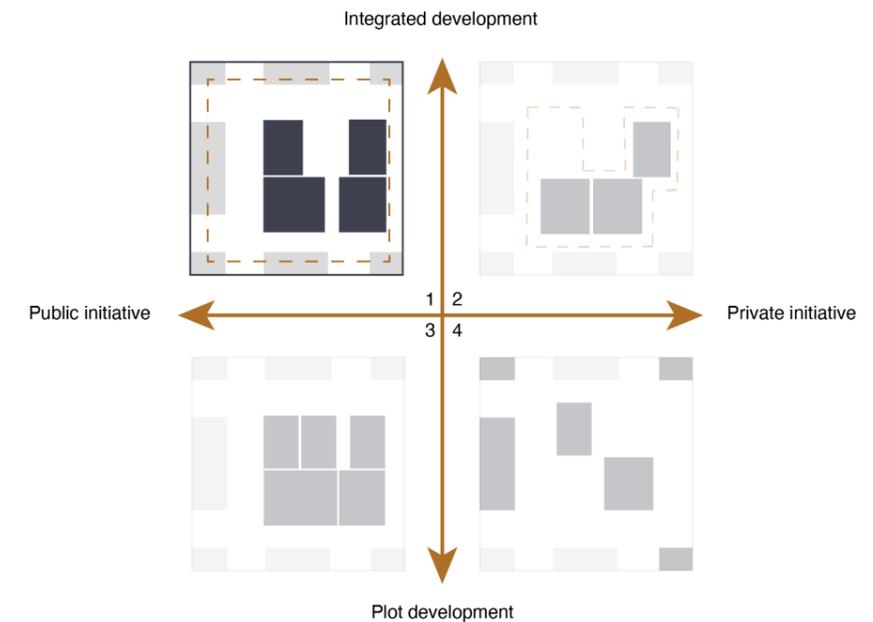


Figure 16. Position Bajes Kwartier in development strategy matrix

5.3 Densification

Document analysis

The document analysis on densification shows that the idea of transforming the location of the former Bijlmerbajes into residential area is present in multiple policy documents including city scale visions. Moreover, the redevelopment is in line with the overall ambition of Amsterdam to further densify land use in the city. The eventual demanded building volumes in the tender indicate an increase of gross floor space and thereby promote densification. The following paragraph elaborates in more detail on the results of the document analysis.

The 'Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte' (2012), a national policy document effective in the time of the development of Bajes Kwartier, addresses the growing demand for housing and the pressure on the available space in the metropolitan region of Amsterdam (p. 73). More specifically, the demand till 2040 in the North side of this metropolitan region is estimated at 290.000 houses. The 'structuurvisie' promotes demand-oriented development and implements the 'Ladder of Sustainable Urbanisation' (p. 6, 13, 62). As part of the ladder, inner-city development and further densification of cities are mentioned as important principals of sustainable urban development (p. 13). On the municipal level the 'Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040' is the most important policy document concerning the spatial development. One of the main ambitions is to further densify and intensify the land use in the city centre. This comprises the development of extra houses in neighbourhoods that can currently be classified as monofunctional (p. 36). The argument that is given to legitimate this decision is that further densification and intensification protects the rural surroundings (p. 56). The 'Koers 2025' operationalizes the 'Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040' and the stated ambition to develop 50.000 houses before 2025 (p. 4). The neighbourhood Amstelkwartier, of which Weespertrekvaart-Bijlmerbajes is part, is indicated as a location to accelerate

the desired development of residential area (p. 36). More specifically, the development of 800 houses is envisioned for the Weespertrekvaart-Bijlmerbajes (p. 36). As a side track, the vision on public space 'Visie Openbare Ruimte 2025' links the ambitions to intensify land use to the increasing pressure on public facilities and public space that is already present. To move from the municipal level to a city district level, the 'Gebiedsplan Watergraafsmeer' describes in more detail the envisioned future of the city district Watergraafsmeer. It is expected that the population of Watergraafsmeer will increase strongly over the coming years. This growth is explained by the envisioned development of Amstelkwartier and Eenhoornbuurt as residential areas (p. 4). Moreover, the 'Gebiedsplan' also states the ambition to transform the location of the Bijlmerbajes into residential area (p. 4). The following policy document focusses on even a smaller scale, that of Weespertrekvaart. The urban plan of the neighbourhoods Weespertrekvaart states that a spatial assessment is done to ensure the integration and the coherences between different parts of the Weespertrekvaart neighbourhood (p. 4). In addition, it is stated that the 'strategiebesluit' and the spatial framework for the redevelopment of Bajes Kwartier will be more detailed than usually and based upon this spatial assessment (p. 4).

As is usually the case in tender procedures, the municipality had conducted a list of criteria that was asked from developers to address in their spatial plans. This 'Nota van Uitgangspunten Herontwikkeling PIOA Amsterdam' (list of criteria) also contained specification concerning the building volumes what strongly links to the density of urban space. The current gross floor space is estimated at 85.000 m² (p. 4). The municipality states the condition that the new spatial plan must not go below this building volume nor exceed the maximum of 135.000 m² (p. 8). Of this volume, between 94.500 m² and 108.000 m² must be designated as residential area (p. 8).

As the final masterplan has not yet been finished and approved, this research uses the prizewinning tender as indication of realized ambitions. The winning plan included approximately 1.350 houses on 97.500 m². In addition, 37.500 m² is designated to realize facilities and offices.

Table 12 gives a structured overview of the cascading policy ambitions on densification. The figure shows the stated ambition in the specific policy document that, from left to right, focuses each time on a smaller spatial scale. The Netherlands – Municipality of Amsterdam – City district Watergraafsmeer – Neighbourhood Weespertrekvaart – Plot size former Bijlmerbajes.

Interview results

Unfortunately, none of the interviewees is involved in urban planning and policy making concerning the urban structure of Amsterdam. Despite this, the interviewees were asked about their thoughts on current policies and how it affected the plan making process of the Bajes Kwartier. Some answers did not come directly from asking these specific questions but instead were given as (partial) answers to other questions. The quotations were derived from interview transcripts. Overall, all interviewees were aware of the overall ambition to densify and intensify land use in the city of Amsterdam which translated in the formulation of specific building volumes for the redevelopment of the location of the former Bijlmerbajes. However, the developer AM stated that the demanded building volumes did not pose a spatial challenge but were considered relatively easy to obtain.

Most interviewees mentioned that there were strict guidelines for building volumes (interviewees 6, 7, 8). Moreover, the distribution of residential and non-residential was also already decided by the municipality (interviewee 8). What also became clear during the interviews with the real-estate developer, with both the sustainability expert who worked on the tender and the sustainability manager who is involved in further project development, that the set programme and building volumes could easily have been more ambitious. "To be honest, the spatial programme was not the biggest challenge" (interviewee 7). The real-estate developer also conducted a research about programme and building volumes that proved that a higher density is feasible (interviewee 8). "You could have easily realised more houses than the maximum that the municipality had set, however it is a criterion that you don't question" (interviewee 8). Both interviewees form the real-estate developer did not know exactly where is set maximum building volume was derived from or why it was fixed as it was not communicated. However, an educated guess by one interviewee linked it to outcomes of other spatial studies such as mobility or environmental effects like noise nuisance (interviewee 8).

Densification

Table 12. Cascading policy ambitions Amsterdam

Policy Document	Policy Type	Policy Content
Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte	Symbolic policy	Introduction of the "Ladder for sustainable development" in which ideology of infill development is starting point (p. 6) In metropolitan region of Amsterdam, a demand for an additional 290.000 houses till 2040 (p. 73)
Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040	Symbolic policy	Ambition to intensify land use in city centre (p. 8) Realisation of 100.000 houses before 2040. From 2011 onwards, each year 2.300 new houses need to be built (p. 8-9) Spread of city centre by adding houses to monofunctional neighbourhoods, making them highly urban (p. 36)
Koers 2025 Ruimte voor de stad	Symbolic policy	Operationalisation of ambition to build 50.000 houses before 2025 (p. 4) Realisation of 800 houses in Weespertrekvaart-Bijlmerbajes in category 'metropolitan centre' (p. 36)
Visie Openbare Ruimte 2025	Symbolic policy	Pressure on public space due to intensified land use in city centre (p. 15, 20) The envisioned development should be accompanied with attention for public space that is attractive, vibrant and climate resilient (p. 21)
Gebiedsplan Watergraafsmeer	Symbolic policy	Weespertrekvaart residential area including houses on the plot of the former Bijlmerbajes (p. 4)
Stedenbouwkundig plan Weespertrekvaart-midden-zuid	Symbolic policy	Weespertrekvaart Midden-Zuid appointed in 2015 as acceleration location to respond to the growing demand for housing (p. 4) The PIOA, also known as the Bijlmerbajes, will be sold by the Rijksvastgoedbedrijf in 2017 and developed as residential area (p. 4)
Nota van Uitgangspunten Herontwikkeling PIOA Amsterdam	Concrete policy	Current gross floor space 85.000m ² and function 'societal purposes' (p. 4) Criteria new land use plan: floor space minimum of current situation, maximum of 135.000m ² of which 94.500m ² and 108.000 m ² should be residential area (p. 8) Maximal gross floor space of 27.500m ² for the flexible programme (p. 9)
	Symbolic policy	Public space should be designed to deal with water challenges and be heat resistant (p. 6, 18) technical solutions such as larger sewer pipes and higher dikes are no longer sufficient to limit nuisance and maintain safety: a different approach is needed. After all, the city is growing, with more buildings and more surface surfacing. This can lead to more flooding (p. 24) Rainproof design is a key principle. Greening public and private space is therefore needed and it contributes to heat resistance as well (p. 39)
	Symbolic policy	Amsterdam want to grow with the smallest impact on the environment possible. Making the city climate resilient is one of the elements. Smart 'green-solutions' as green roofs or facades play an important role (p. 11)
	Symbolic policy	For a sustainable city we need to anticipate to climate change (p. 8) Invest to make the city robust. For example, the creation of green roofs for water retention (p. 10) The changing climate in combination with the increase of paved surface put the water system under pressure (p. 19) Choosing a sustainable city means choosing for water storage. Challenge to keep this in mind whilst intensifying land use. This tension should be addressed. Intensification is only possible with sufficient water and vegetation or alternative water storage (p. 25)
	Symbolic policy	Requirements of spatial developments to deal with changing weather events due to climate change (p. 6) The Netherlands has to address especially the present and upcoming water challenges (p. 25) Need for clear framework to ensure climate resilient urban (re-)development (p. 25)
	Symbolic policy	Watergraafsmeer want to be frontrunner regarding climate adaptation and sustainability. Therefore, (...) water nuisance needs to be tackled and neighbourhoods need to be made heat resistant (p. 6) Main focus is to improve the vegetation structures in public space (p. 6)
	Symbolic policy	Ambition to make the city climate resilient and rainproof (p. 52) Rainwater will be caught and stored locally in water storing streets, facade gardens, roofs and gardens. (p. 52) Building permits will include exact requirements regarding water storage capacity (p. 52)
	Symbolic policy	Minimum unpaved surface needs to illustrate current situation of 7.300m ² . Unpaved surface outside the city canal (1.850m ²) should be compensated for if reduced (p.11) Topic requires innovative approach and can therefore not be translated into static requirements. It does have a prominent role in the assessment of tenders (p. 29)

Climate adaptation

5.4 Climate adaptation

Document analysis

From analysing the available documents, it can be stated that the municipality of Amsterdam has embedded the objectives of climate adaptation into different policies being both contributive, symbolic and concrete. By formulating concrete policies that exceed national standards, Amsterdam can be deemed ambitious regarding climate adaptation. Moreover, this ambitious character translated in the invitation to tender for Bajes Kwartier. Highly ambitious criteria were stated. The prizewinning tender by AM even exceeds these municipal expectations by envisioning the most sustainable neighbourhood of Amsterdam including climate adaptation as an important theme. The following paragraph elaborates in more detail on the results of the document analysis.

In the 'Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte' climate change has a dominant role in the development of the Netherlands. Sustainable water management to prevent flooding and limit the effects of extreme droughts, has a clear priority on the national level. National interest number nine "space for water safety, a sustainable fresh water facility and a framework for climate-resilient urban (re)development" (p. 52) indicates the need for resilient urban planning, but as the formulation indicates this ambition seems to focus specifically on the water challenges. In the projection of these national interest on regional scale, that of the metropolitan region Amsterdam, again the focus is on the posed water challenges (p. 71). Other effects of climate change and how spatial development can or should respond to these changes in terms of climate adaptation are not mentioned.

The preface of the "Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040" states that the challenges of climate change will affect the city (p. 7). In terms of climate adaptation, Amsterdam strives to become a climate-resilient city by ensuring sustainable development by investing in resilient water management and a robust green structure (p. 9). The "Structuurvisie" addresses the challenges that the increasing amount of build and paved surfaces, urban intensification, will pose in terms of sustainability. As a response to this tension, the document states the ambition that all projects that contribute to the intensification of Amsterdam should consider water management and vegetation (p. 25). Next to water challenges, also the challenges posed by the Urban Heat Island are addressed (p. 146). Specific climate adaptive measures are not mentioned in the "Structuurvisie" (aside from a small comment about green roofs (p. 10)), however "In any case, Amsterdam chooses to solve spatial challenges within the city boundaries" (p. 25).

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the main focus of the "Koers 2025" comprises the spatial strategy to tackle the shortage of housing. However, also some statements are made about climate adaptive development. Amsterdam strives to encourage economic and demographic growth whilst keeping the effect on the environment as low as possible (p. 11). For the building assignment this implies efficient use of resources, reduce CO₂ emissions, ensure unpolluted air and climate resilient and climate neutral development (p. 11).

The municipal vision on public space, the "Visie Openbare Ruimte 2025", addresses the increasing pressure on available space in the city as a result of the intensification ambition. It also mentions the importance of public space to tackle the sustainable development challenges and more specifically, climate adaptation (p. 24). The upcoming challenges concerning water management are presented, due to the decisions made in previous year like bigger sewer pipes and embankment of dykes, the city has a strong starting position, however these measures won't be sufficient enough in the future (p. 24). The concept of rainproof development is stated as a key principle in future developments of public as well as private space. Greening squares and streets as well as facades and roofs, especially in the dense city centre, is another stated ambition to improve liveability and heat resistance (p. 39).

On the city district level, the "Gebiedsplan Watergraafsmeer" further specifies the ambition regarding climate adaptation for the area. Despite the fact that the location of Bajes Kwartier is just outside the borders of this city district it is included in the spatial vision. The overall ambition is quite ambitious: "Watergraafsmeer wants to be forerunner in terms of climate adaptation and sustainability" (p. 6). To reach this ambition the city districts stimulates tackling water treats and heat resistance. Local residents and entrepreneurs are informed about the possibilities to contribute to a climate resilient Watergraafsmeer (p. 6). The city district wants to actively improve the quality of public space and facilitates locals who initiate small scale greening projects (p. 6).

The urban plan of the neighbourhoods Weespertrekvaart acknowledges and agrees with the ambition of Watergraafsmeer and gives a more detailed elaboration on how to realise this ambition. A number of concrete climate adaptive measures are stated including; water-storing streets, vertical gardens, green elements along waterfront, upon roofs and in private courtyards and water retention roofs. In addition, extensive research on groundwater levels resulted in strict demarcation of building plots (p. 54-55). Also, the concept of "rainproof" that was introduced in the vision on public space is mentioned (p. 52).

The "Nota van Uitgangspunten Herontwikkeling PIOA Amsterdam" includes the mandatory criteria regarding climate adaptive development. This reads: "Currently, the unpaved surface amounts to 7.300 m²; in future scenario this stays the minimum. Vegetation needs to be spread over at least three individual

areas of a minimum of 1.000 m² that are publicly accessible. The unpaved surface outside the canal amounts to 1.850 m². If this unpaved green surface disappears, it needs to be compensated" (p. 11). Other than these criteria no specific requirements regarding climate adaptation are stated. This because, as the "Nota" indicates, "This topic requires an innovative approach and therefore static criteria are not applicable. It does, however, have a dominant role in the assessment".

The prizewinning proposal by AM includes the ambition to become the most sustainable neighbourhood of Amsterdam. "The new neighbourhood Bajes Kwartier becomes climate adaptive. In other words: the neighbourhood will be designed to accommodate periods of heavy rainfall and heat." The measures that are included in the plan are green roofs, many public gardens, infiltration roofs and installations, water-gardens/plaza's that also function as playgrounds and the vertical gardens of the "Groene Toren" as eye-catcher.

Table 12 on page 57 gives a structured overview of the cascading policy ambitions on climate adaptation. The figure shows the stated ambition in the specific policy document that, from left to right, focuses each time on a smaller spatial scale. The Netherlands – Municipality of Amsterdam – City district Watergraafsmeer – Neighbourhood Weespertrekvaart – Plot size former Bijlmerbajes.

Interview results

During the interviews the interviewees were asked about the role of climate adaptation in the redevelopment of the Coolhaven, the initial set ambitions and realisation of these ambitions. Some answers regarding climate adaptation did not come directly from asking these specific questions but instead were given as (partial) answers to other questions. To summarize the finding, all interviewees indicate that climate adaptation plays a significant role in the redevelopment of Bajer Kwartier. Both the municipality as developer have high ambitions. However, in the finalisation of the masterplan, quite a few promised aspects needed reconsideration due to multiple factors including financial and technical reasons, but also contradicting sector policies. Both parties expressed feelings of frustration towards the process and especially regarding the processual integration. The paragraphs below elaborate upon the findings of the interviews in more detail.

During the interviews with the municipal sustainability advisers (interviewee 6, 9) it became clear that the municipality has high ambition regarding climate adaptation. However, these ambitions cannot always be translated into legally-binding requirements but rather listed in the 'Nota van Uitgangspunten' as desires and inspiration (interviewee 6, 9). The reason for this is that many ambitions are not covered in legally binding policies and have no legal basis. Therefore, it is not possible to make some measures mandatory. It was mentioned that in some way the responsibility is placed by the designers and developers to implement these measures. However, the municipality does look at the location of the tender and assesses whether they foresee some specific challenges that they would like to see resolved in the proposed plan (interviewee 6). Those conclusions are included in the tender in the way that the municipality challenges to design a plan that tackles these specific issues. However, as already mentioned, eventually they cannot make all measures mandatory. During the interview, it was also mentioned that some sustainability aspects the prizewinning proposal were more ambitious than the local legally binding policies at that time (interviewee 6). These ambitions were included in the private contract and thereby the municipality obtains the position to actually assess and examine plans and make these stated ambitions enforceable. What was also mentioned during the interview was the struggle on how to deal with changing policies. As one interviewee mentioned, the invitation to tender in 2017 was in the perspective of sustainability policies quite some time ago (interviewee 6). Over the years in which the project of the Bajes Kwartier was further developed, the municipality also developed their policies on sustainability and climate adaptation (interviewee 6, 9). The question how to ensure that a spatial plan that is based on a set of "outdated" criteria takes during the further development also new policies into account without making it impossible or not workable for the developing party, was posed (interviewee 6, 9).

Two interviewees were representatives of AM (interviewee 7, 8). The sustainability expert (interviewee 8) who worked on the tender proposal stated during the interview that they worked with four sustainability topics being energy, circular economy, climate adaptation and mobility. Both interviewees also mention that in many aspects they exceeded the ambitions of the municipality, being captured in the concept of 'daring sustainability' (interviewees 7, 8). Some proposed ideas that came forth from the 'daring sustainability' concept, were quite innovative and experimental for the developer as well (interviewee 8). Their motivation to include these ambitions derived from, among other things, the mission and vision of AM as real-estate developer. AM wants to develop inspiring and sustainable environments. Moreover, "a beautiful outdoor space adds value to property. However, we mainly do it for the future residents of this place" (interviewee 7). In addition, "we are a developer who wants to continuously be active in the city, so if we develop a sh*t project, that undermines the possibility to maintain this position in Amsterdam, in

that sense it is also valuable.” (interviewee 7). In regard to municipal climate adaptation ambition it was mentioned that the municipality had little to no concrete policies about heat stress and biodiversity in times of the invitation to tender (interviewee 8). Water management was however captured in legally binding policies. However, within this topic, AM wanted to challenge the municipal ambition and see if they could surpass them. AM worked together with LOLA Landscape Architects on the aspect of climate adaption as this landscape design company has a lot of expertise and experience with climate adaptive design (interviewee 8).

The sustainability adviser of the municipality addressed the many spatial claims that can come together in the project: “We have a mandatory water storage on plot level, the so called “hemelwater verordening”, the site should be able to store 60 mm precipitation during 24 hours, this implies installing green roofs with water retention crates, but on those roofs also solar panels need to be installed, and the installations ventilation systems also demand space, perhaps even an elevator shaft. That are many spatial claims on roofs” (interviewee 6). During the interview with the sustainability expert of AM it became clear that municipal policies are seen as frameworks in which you have to fit your plan. In the plan making process this challenge of addressing many ambitions is solved by creatively connecting these challenges, the integration of climate adaption and other sustainability ambitions made including all different (policy) ambitions possible. “We tried to connect water storage, biodiversity and quality of public space in the design. Because of those connections, you integrate it, and then it becomes easier and more feasible” (interviewee 8).

The sustainability manager of AM who is involved in the finalisation and realisation of the masterplan and set ambitions was questioned about the process that followed after winning the tender assignment and how climate adaptation measures were then realised. One of the first challenges that became clear was that due to the fact that about some topics no policies existed yet. Therefore, the project team had to take the time to test whether some ambitions were feasible at all (interviewee 7). As was mentioned by the sustainability expert as well, it was given the time and financial reasons not possible to do these tests already in the tender phase (interviewee 8). Secondly, if the result of the research pointed out, or due to other circumstances, that a specific measure that was initially included in the tender was not feasible, AM had to think of other solutions to still reach the bigger ambition, often with success. However, because some measures were stated in the private contract with the municipality, it was difficult to convince the municipality of why they had to change strategy. As was stated, it felt like the municipality was sometimes losing sight of the greater underlying ambition and got too hung up upon specific measures and details (interviewee 7). Another challenge that was mentioned was when plans differ from municipal standards, as was the case in the Bajes Kwartier. Because the innovative plan did not fit standard assessment schemes the procedure took up a lot of time and often included a discussion (interviewee 7). In relation to this, the innovative solutions sometimes conflicted with other municipal policies. Because of the integration of policies, the eventual solution did not exactly fit with one sectoral policy. Because of the fragmentation of the municipal responsibilities, the discussion was extra complicated as it became clear that different municipal sectors were not on the same wavelength. “Sometimes you needed to convince the municipality of their own ambitions, meaning the ambitions of other sectors” (interviewee 7). Because of these experiences the sustainability manager of AM argued that ‘the municipality’ does not exist in the eyes of the interviewee.

In the realisation of climate adaptation measure the ‘window of opportunity’ has been mentioned as an important tool to either realise ambition or “hitch on” new ambitions. “Currently, biodiversity is a hot topic. This offers the major opportunity to, just outside our project, restore a nature corridor. This is not a part of our project but we find it very important as it strengthens our concept as well. It was never part of the assignment but because we were working on the Bajes, it seemed that the municipality thought it was interesting as well. Because it is possible to “hitch on”, they did so and it became a new ambition (interviewee 7).

5.5 Policy integration

Substantive integration

The theoretical framework describes six indicators of substantive integration of land policy. The analysis is structured along these six indicators. All results, obtained from document analysis and interviews, except for the fourth indicator, are presented in table 13.

Indicator	Results
1. The use of substance-oriented tools to obtain and produce knowledge	Both the municipality and the developer conducted researched to assess the effects of specific spatial interventions. Regarding the topic of densification, the municipality has completed an analysis resulting in minimum and maximum building volumes. The developer as well conducted a research to get a better understanding about the building volumes and spatial programme. In regard to sustainability and more specifically climate adaptation, the developer is required to share some specific calculations (BENG of which is TOjuli is part) also indicating the use of substance-oriented tool to obtain and produce knowledge (interviewees 6, 7, 8, 9). In addition, the developer involves knowledge institutions like the Hogeschool Amsterdam and Wageningen University and specialists like the landscape architects from LOLA-landscape architecture and RAINPROOF, to obtain and produce more knowledge on innovative subject like climate adaptation (interviewee 8).
2. The existence of a long-term sustainability development strategy (SDS) (or similar document) on the municipal level	The analysed documents “Structuur visie Amsterdam 2040”, “Koers 205”, “Visie Openbare Ruimte 2025” and the “Klimaat adaptatie strategie” can be characterised as long-term development strategies. Currently the municipality is still working on a more detailed version of the “Klimaat adaptatie strategie” as the subject was until recently often part of broader vision and is recently discussed as an individual subject (interviewee 9).
3. Clear designations as to sectoral responsibility for overarching goals	Fragmentation of municipal disciplines and responsibilities is strongly experienced by the developer, also illustrates by the following quote: “for me, thé municipality does not exists”. This fragmentation also expresses in conflicting objectives and contradicting feedback to developers (interviewee 8). The different municipal departments do no really work together in a daily project team or similar structure (interviewees 6, 9). The different disciplines mainly meet each other during the assessment of proposed plans. This information indicates that there are no clear designations as to sectoral responsibility for overarching goals.
4. The level of coherence between sectoral formulated objectives	The document analysis on densification and climate adaptation already shows the interrelation between the different policy documents. The translation of policy ambitions from higher levels of government or spatial scales to lower levels of government or spatial scales is made even more explicit in figure 16. The figure shows which ambitions are either taken along or disappear, and the introduction of new ambition. As the figure shows, overall coherence within sectoral objectives regarding climate adaption and densification are present but few linkages are made between the two topics indicating low coherence. Only the ‘Stuatuurvisie Amsterdam 2040’ assesses the tention between the two policies.

5. The existence of a central authority specifically entrusted with the supervision, coordination and implementation of the integration process	A formal project testing team (toets team) had been established for the redevelopment of Bajes Kwartier. This testing team consists out of the urban planner, spatial planners, sustainability advisers and engineers. The team looks after the interests and tests, as the name indicates, whether developer makes good on his promises and agreements. Next to the testing teams, also specialised committees assesses plans. Examples are the Puccini Committee and Welstand (interviewees 6, 7) Additionally, there is a supervising team. This team often included also an external architect and the sustainability advisers are on the other hand not included. Mentioned by multiple interviewees, it is mainly the urban planner who guards the spatial quality of the plan (interviewee 7).
6. The execution of tasks like supervision, coordination and implementation of policy integration	According to the developer, they were tested by the municipality endlessly (interviewees 7, 8). This statement is in accordance with the results of the interview with the sustainability adviser who stressed their role as testing committee rather than steering role (interviewees 6, 9). However, it was also mentioned that once a project reaches the realisation phase the monitoring of sustainability agreements stops (interviewee 6).

Table 13. Results substantive policy integration indicators Bajes Kwartier, Amsterdam

Processual integration

The theoretical framework describes ten indicators of processual integration of land policy. The analysis is structured along these ten indicators. All results, obtained from the conducted interviews, are presented in table 14.

Indicator	Results
1. Co-operation	<p>Within the municipality, the co-operation can be found in the testing team in which different municipal disciplines come together and represented and defended their sectoral interest. It was mentioned that this integrative approach is quite recently introduced (interviewee 6). Other than that, the co-operation between municipal departments is limited as the daily project team consists of only six or seven municipal officials not directly representing different disciplines (with the exception of the urban planner) (interviewee 7). If co-operation is desired or needed to resolve conflict it is primarily initiated by the project manager who invites representatives for a specific discussion (interviewees 7, 8, 9).</p> <p>The co-operation between the municipality and developer was argued to be lacking during the interview with the developer (interviewee 8). The desire to collaborate more was expressed as it could benefit the process and eventually the quality of the plan. The organisation of co-operation between the municipality and developer was characterised as the project managers of both organisations discussing between themselves to streamline lists and ticking of boxes (interviewee 8).</p> <p>The municipal sustainability adviser characterized the collaboration between her and the developer as controlling, advising and facilitating (interviewee 6). In addition, the interviewee mentioned that the co-operation is not free of conflict.</p>

2. Coordination	Coordination of interests of the different municipal sectors in project is the responsibility of the urban planner as indirectly became clear in multiple interviewees (interviewees 6, 7, 9). However, in the theoretical framework coordination between departments was described in the light of reaching joint decisions that are mutually enforcing and consistent. This can be argued not to be the case in the development of Bajes Kwartier. Moreover, the elaborated experience of the developer indicates that they feel responsible for coordinating different municipal interest and ambitions (interviewees 7, 8). It was described by one of the interviewees as "constantly switching on different boards" (interviewee 7).
3. Interaction	<p>Within the municipality interaction between departments is confined to the meetings of the testing team which are three official moment (sketch design, provisional design and final design) and when disciplines are directly asked to be joining discussion by the project manager (interviewees 6, 9).</p> <p>The interaction between municipality and developer can be found during these formal design assessments, in formal meetings between project managers of both organisation and when the developer themselves took the initiative to go to specific municipal departments (interviewees 7, 8). Again, it was stressed that the contact was always very formal, assessing (interviewees 6, 8). The developer is not satisfied by the interaction with the municipality as open discussion was difficult and fragmentation of disciplines led to contradicting conclusions (interviewee 7, 8).</p>
4. Interdependence	<p>As departments did not directly worked together on the project but were mostly asked to individually assess and review proposed plans and provide feedback the interdependence can be considered weak as this feedback does not influence the judgement of another discipline.</p> <p>The interdependence does however show in the role of the urban planner. In Bajes Kwartier the role of the urban planner can be described as dominant in the plan-making process. Therefore, all disciplines are very dependent on the judgement of the urban planning in defending sectoral interest and obtaining sectoral ambitions. However, this observation also indicates unbalanced positions of power and one-sided dependence.</p>
5. Formality	The project team including project manager, the testing team and additional assessing and reviewing committees are formal institutional arrangements to facilitate the process.
6. Resources needed	<p>From the municipal side, relatively few officials are regularly involved. As stated during the interview, only six or seven officials are directly included in the project team (interviewees 6, 7). However, many other, approximately thirty, officials are occasionally approached by the developer to think along about some details in the project development (interviewee 7). Moreover, the sustainability adviser mentioned the limited amount of time she can spend on one specific project as she has is involved in many more projects as the number of sustainability advisors is relatively low compared to other disciplines (interviewee 9).</p> <p>The involvement of social capital can be argued to be significant, however as this is not formally structured or organised, it is difficult to assess whether this results in many financial resources.</p>

7. Loss of autonomy	In the case of Bajes Kwartier this indicator is closely related to the indicator of interdependence. As was derived from the interviews there seems to be inequality within the project development. The urban planner appears to have a significant influence in comparison to other disciplines (interviewees 6, 9). These unbalanced power positions are enforced by the selected involvement of disciplines in the decision-making process. Moreover, as was mentioned by the sustainability advisor, the limited time she has available for one specific project often means that she cannot join every project meeting, opposed to department with more officials that can share the workload more evenly. More explicitly it was stated that "the people who sit always around the table have clearly a better relation and are more involved" (interviewee 9). This again illustrates the unbalanced power position within the project development. In terms of loss of autonomy, it can be argued based on the findings above that some individual departments did lose some autonomy but on the contrary, the urban planning department gained even more autonomy.
8. Comprehensiveness	The comprehensiveness of the process in terms of involved actors already becomes somewhat clear from the other indicators. The developer involved and consulted many different municipal officials throughout different phases (interviewees 7, 8). The municipality itself limited the involvement of different disciplines to the formal testing moments or specific discussions with the developer (interviewee 6). In terms of time it has been stated that the development has been quite smoothly and thereby quick compared to some other projects (interviewee 6). Spatially can the redevelopment of Bajes Kwartier be seen as a part of a bigger redevelopment of the whole neighbourhood Weespertrekvaart.
9. Accessibility	No comments were made about the accessibility between municipal departments. However, during the interviews with the developer it became clear that some departments were not very accessible or approachable for the developer, especially not if needed for collaboration (interviewee 8).
10. Compatibility	The municipality is aware of the fact that some policies are conflicting. They are also aware of the fact that in project development these conflicts are present in the assignment tender but see it as the responsibility of the developer to deal with these conflicts (interviewee 6). Conflicting interest indicate a weak compatibility and as the municipality does not aim to resolve these issues within their own organization first, the processual integration is complicated.

Table 14. Results processual policy integration indicators Bajes Kwartier, Amsterdam

Obstacles and success factors of policy integration in the development of Bajes Kwartier

During the interviews the obstacles and successes of policy integration were discussed. Not only the obstacles of policy integration were discussed but automatically other aspects that negatively influence spatial developments that are strongly related to an integrated approach. In addition to the experienced obstacles and successes, some interviewees also philosophized about possible changes in project processes what led to some progressive insights.

The obstacles and success can be divided into different themes which are presented in table 15 below.

Theme	Obstacles	Success factors
Project team	Fragmentation of municipal disciplines and responsibilities. Both in communication and assessment as feedback can be contradicting as detailed policies are often conflicting (interviewees 7, 8).	An enthusiastic municipal project teams consisting of people who are willing to go the extra mile to include ambitious sustainability ideas (interviewee 9). Integrative municipal assessment teams including multiple disciplines (interviewee 6).

Municipal influence	From a municipal perspective: finding the balance in being ambitious and challenging developers but still ensuring a realistic business case (interviewee 6). Little collaboration and exchange of knowledge between municipality and developer (interviewee 8).	Have patience, listen carefully and move along (interviewee 7)
Impact of policies	The accumulation of policy ambitions can lead to an unfeasible business case. It is argued that the municipality does not realise this enough (interviewee 7).	Include sustainability ambitions from the very beginning (interviewees 6, 7, 8, 9).
Established administrative systems and project organisation	Different municipal disciplines not being aware of ambitions of other disciplines and the accompanying spatial consequences. In other words, the achievable integration is difficult to realise in the current organisation of the municipality (interviewee 7). Administrative system and project arrangements that withhold municipal official to pursue overarching ambitions as they formally cannot relate it to one specific project (interviewee 9).	
Other	Strict contractual agreements at the beginning of the process leads to loss of flexibility later on (interviewees 7, 8). This is specifically problematic when the administrative system of the municipality is too opaque and quick decision-making is thereby not possible (interviewee 7). Strict plot boundaries obstruct the possibility to address overarching problems or ambitions (interviewees 8, 9). More specifically the GREX system obstructs the possibility to invest money in surrounding areas even if it is of major influence (interviewee 9). The tender procedure in general is quite sluggish in terms of starting the invitation to tender till realisation. During this period, policy might change and the initial stated requirements can become obsolete. However, responding to these changes is not embedded in a basic tender procedure (interviewee 6, 7, 8). Specialisation of the subject sustainability. This requires in-depth discussions between experts and cannot easily be included in project team meetings (interviewee 8).	The plot size of Bajes Kwartier made it possible to experiment with integrated concepts (interviewee 7). The use of windows of opportunity to come to new ambitions and implementation (interviewee 7). Creative solution to address conflicting policies (interviewee 8).

Table 15. Obstacles and success factors policy integration Bajes Kwartier, Amsterdam

In addition to the experienced obstacles and successes, some interviewees also philosophized about possible changes in project processes what led to some progressive insights:

- Spatial developments are becoming too complex for current process structures. It is not possible to follow a hierarchical structure but rather there is need for a sort of fluid form to organize the spatial development (interviewee 8).
- Think beyond plot boundaries and make sure to not make plots too small (interviewee 7, 9).
- The establishment of informal public-private relationships or network is becoming more important as climate adaption can be seen as a public-private subject, needing better collaboration and mutual enforcement. In addition, policy innovation asks for these informal setting in which knowledge and experienced can be shared more freely than in project setting (interviewee 8).
- Understand and treat sustainability as a subject with progressive insight as knowledge continues to be generated and ambitions become higher (interviewee 8).
- Instead of tackling problems from the perspective of the organisation we should reason more from the nature of the problem. Nowadays, each department contributes a part of the solution by giving advice, but it would be better to tackle the problem all together in dialogue (interviewee 9).

5.6 Spatial plan quality

Effectiveness

The document analysis and the interviews taught that the municipality of Amsterdam had high ambitions regarding climate adaptation. As the Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, a private company with strong governmental character, owned the land, the municipality was enabled and had to power to control what was going to be realised. However, the municipality is an important stakeholder what gives them the power to influence the process and ensure that the municipal interest was included in the tender. However, as many ambitions are not legally binding they did not and could not land in the official "Nota van Uitgangspunten". However, as submitted tenders were tested and compared to each other, the partaking developers and urban design firms, including AM, felt the need to address and include these not officially binding ambitions anyway. AM had submitted a very ambitious project plan that even exceeded the municipal sustainability ambitions. This is also part of the reason why they were awarded the assignment (interviewees 6, 7, 8). The non-statutory supplementary promised ambitions were formalised in a private contract between developer and municipality as landowner as addition to the public contract with national legally binding requirements that is signed between the developer and municipality as plan assessor. Currently AM and collaborating parties are working on the details of the final masterplan and already the first construction work has started. As it seems, some of the ambitions are not going to be realised. This due to multiple factors. One important argument that was mentioned during the interviews was the fact that during the tender phase it is not possible or feasible to really explore and assess the possibilities and ideas. Therefore, when the tender is awarded it was not certain that all proposed ideas are actually realisable (interviewees 7, 8). However, the developer also argued that if it became clear that some ideas were not possible to realise, they thought of alternatives to still reach the underlying ambition (interviewee 7). However, it was stressed during the interview that this changing strategy was extremely difficult to get the municipality on board. This is not seen as unwillingness to cooperate but rather the inability of the administrative system to deal with change. "The system is too opaque for the world outside" (interviewee 7).

In addition to the arguments above, another remark that was made by the municipal sustainability adviser that is worth mentioning whilst assessing the effectiveness, it was addressed during the interview that the municipality is aware of the fact that some policies are conflicting and that therefore also in tender conflicts are embedded in the given assignment. Moreover, it was argued that the partaking developers are responsible for dealing with these conflicts by making own considerations and deciding on solutions (interviewee 6).

As for densification ambitions it can be argued that the opposite was the case. The municipality succeeded to include a strict minimal and maximal building volume in the "Nota van Uitgangspunten" that eventually became legally binding in the public-law contract. However, as is stated by the developer AM, the building volumes did not result in a spatial puzzle as the given volumes were relatively small. In fact, as became clear during the interviews with the developer, they could have easily realised more houses and other functions even though the ambition to realise 800 new houses (stated in the "Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040") was already exceeded in the spatial plan. It was not clearly communicated as to why these limitations were set. These findings seem to contradict with the previously stated ambitions in documents by the municipality to optimise land use by intensifying.

Overall, it can be argued that the effectiveness expresses itself in too ambitious expectations regarding climate adaptation (or sustainability in general) that later on prove to be not realistic and therefore ambitions seem not to be achieved (low effectiveness). Regarding densification objectives, it can be argued that not

the full potential has been strived for by the municipality in this specific case. Therefore, the effectiveness of realisation of densification objectives on plot level is high as the stated ambition is easily realised but on the municipal level the effectiveness can be questioned.

To conclude, in the case of Bajes Kwartier, the most influential indicators on effectiveness can be argued to be the substantive integration indicators of long-term strategy on municipal level and the execution of supervision tasks. The processual integration indicators that influenced the effectiveness of policy integration in Bajes Kwartier are co-operation, interaction and formality.

Efficiency

The involvement of the municipality in the plan-making process is limited. The main form of involvement expressed itself in testing the proposed provisional design and final design (interviewees 6, 9). Also, the interviews with the developer confirm this. On a daily basis only six or seven municipal officials are involved. The collaboration between the municipality and developer was sketched as the municipal process manager and process manager of the developer together checking ambitions and ticking off boxes. When a disagreement occurred the supporting teams of experts were involved to solve the disagreement (interviewee 8). These discussions are experienced as time-consuming activities (interviewee 9). It was argued that spatial developments have become too complex for this model making it inefficient, although at first glance it seems very efficient. Another comment about this model and the role of the municipal process manager was made. At the beginning of a spatial development it can be characterized as a process as opposed to a project so it makes sense to install a process manager. However, once a process turns into a tangible project very specific decisions need to be made and a municipal process manager is not allowed to do so by definition. He or she needs to check with all individual municipal compartments what is very inefficient (interviewee 7). More general, the fragmentation of the municipal responsibilities is experienced as very difficult and inefficient by the developer (interviewees 7, 8). To illustrate the interviewee mentioned that for him 'the municipality' does not exist (interviewee 7). Overall, the fragmentation of municipal responsibilities required a lot of effort from the developer to coordinate all interests. But also, the few municipal involved officials were required to put in a lot of effort to assess and review proposed ideas and check with all individual departments making the process very time-consuming and inefficient.

To conclude, in the case of Bajes Kwartier, the most influential substantive integration indicator on efficiency is the execution of supervision tasks. The most influential processual integration indicators on efficiency are co-operation, interaction, formality and interdependence.

Legitimacy

On a daily basis, six or seven municipal officials are involved in the form of a municipal project team. As was stated during the interviews with the municipal sustainability advisors, the mutual relationship within this team is unbalanced. Also due to the historical context, the urban planner has more power in the decision-making process. This expresses itself in the urban planner being responsible for weighting up interests and making final decisions (interviewee 6, 9). More general, it was mentioned there are fewer sustainability advisers working for the municipality of Amsterdam, meaning that they all have more projects to work on and therefore are not able to be involved as much as other disciplines in specific projects. The fact that it is simply not possible for sustainability advisers to join every meeting for a specific project, results in sustainability as an objective not being as represented as much as other disciplines (interviewee 9). The level of democratic decision making can therefore be questioned.

In the tender process on the other hand, fixed levels of importance are established to ensure fair distribution of subject importance and helps to objectify the assessment of different tenders. For the redevelopment of Bajes Kwartier, the price accounted for 50 percent and the other 50 percent was distributed over five different quality criteria of which sustainability was one (interviewees 6, 8). Also, whilst testing the provisional design and final design, all municipal disciplines are formally involved. The proposed designs need to be approved by multiple committees at different levels of government. Some committees integrate different disciplines whilst others focus on specific criteria, for example the 'welstandscommissie' which focusses on esthetic quality.

It can be argued that this extensive testing process by multiple committees needs to ensure project legitimacy. On the other hand, as discussed, in the daily project team the power play between different municipal disciplines can be argued to be unbalanced and thereby the legitimacy can be undermined.

To conclude, in the case of Bajes Kwartier, the most influential indicators that impact plan legitimacy can be indicated as the substantive integration indicators of a long-term strategy on the municipal level, execution of supervision tasks and the processual integration indicators on interdependence, formality, loss of autonomy and comprehensiveness.

Chapter 6

Cross-case analysis

The in-depth case studies of Little C and Bajes Kwartier provide insights on meaning and practice of the substantive and processual integration of land policy, more explicitly, the integration of densification and climate adaptation ambitions. In addition, the spatial plan qualities in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy have been explored and assessed. Valuable insights can be obtained from comparing these two unique spatial planning practices. To identify similarities or contrasts across these cases, a cross-case analysis of the results of the empirical research was conducted to compare the findings. Moreover, the comparison allows to go beyond the case-to-case explanation by testing the theories and assumptions on which this research finds its foundation.

This chapter positions itself in the second phase in the funnel of complexity in which maximal parsimony is strived for (figure 17) and is structured along the lines of the case description chapters. First, relevant case characteristics that have influenced the development and thereby integration of policy, are put beside each other. Secondly, the results indicating the interpretation and practice of policy integration are juxtaposed along the framework of substantive and processual integration. Finally, the evaluated spatial plan qualities are compared and found similarities and/or contrasts are elaborated upon.

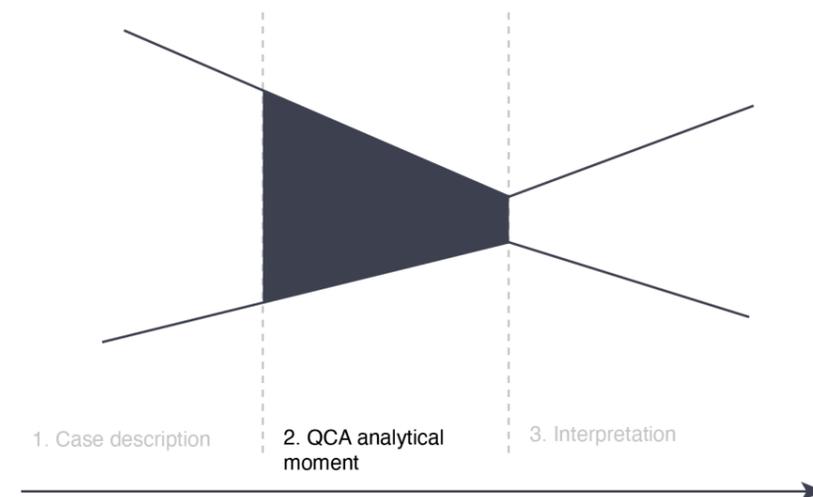


Figure 17. Position cross-case comparison in funnel of complexity

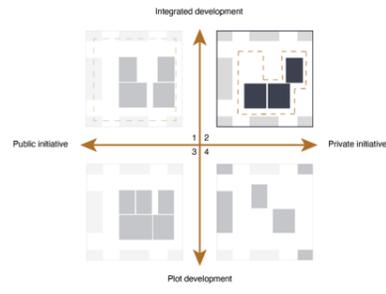
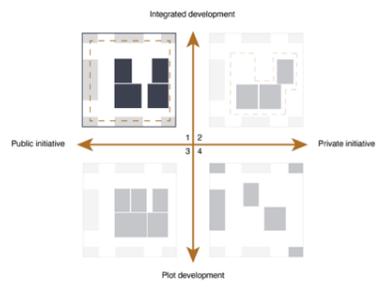
6.1 Development strategy and the role of spatial ambitions: differences and similarities

The overview in table 16 gives a first impression on the differences and similarities between the projects Little C and Bajes Kwartier. Overall it can be argued that both projects can be characterised more or less in the same way: a neighbourhood created within the existing urban fabric with high sustainability ambitions. However, the road to realisation could not have been any different. To start, Little C is the product of an unsolicited proposal without a hard deadline, fixed long-list of municipal ambitions and criteria that exceed national legally-binding requirements, and direct competition of other developers. Bajes Kwartier on the other hand, has been developed in a public tender procedure, with a hard deadline, fixed long-list of municipal ambitions and criteria that exceed national legally-binding requirements, and there was strong competition between developers who all wanted to win the tender.

As argued, the role of municipal ambitions regarding climate adaptation differs between the two projects. As more comprehensively explained in the case description of Little C, the municipality of Rotterdam had little contributive or concrete policy regarding climate adaptation in the time of the redevelopment of the Coolhaven. Only the requirements that are included in the legally-binding concrete national policies were demanded like rainwater retention capacity. The symbolic policies like spatial visions did lightly touch upon the topic of sustainability but did not mention any specific climate adaptive measures that could inspire spatial developments. As the municipality did not have any specific ambitions, it can be reasoned that they also did not use any specific instruments to ensure achievement of goals. The developer ERA Contour is seen as the main initiator for including and more importantly, realising climate adaptation measures like the water retention "roof" on ground level and the smart urban structure to prevent heat stress by good ventilation. To summarize, Little C actually includes more climate adaptation measures than envisioned and demanded by the municipality.

On the other hand, the municipality of Amsterdam did have very high ambitions regarding sustainability and more specifically climate adaptation for the development of Bajes Kwartier. All these ambitions were included in the tender and as most ambitions derived from symbolic policies, they were not legally-binding. In terms of contributive and concrete policies, in addition to the national legally-binding policies, the municipality of Amsterdam have developed additional concrete policies regarding water retention and energy that exceed national standards. To ensure realisation of ambition the municipality used an extensive range of instruments in addition to spatial visions, including a Nota van Uitgangspunten, private contracts and fines. Quite remarkable is the fact that AM even exceeded the vision and demands of the municipality in their awarded tender. However, thus far in the process some ambitions are concluded to be not realisable. Alternatives are explored but implementation is not certain yet. To summarize, the municipality of Amsterdam had high ambitions for Bajes Kwartier and AM responded to this by even exceeding the municipal vision on sustainability. However, during further project development due to multiple factors, revisions were needed and not all initially stated ambitions will be achieved despite the effort of the municipality to ensure realisation by the use of steering instruments.

These specific contexts did not only influence project development in terms of freedom for the developer and expectation management but also the role and negotiating position of the municipality and possible use of steering instruments is affected by development strategy, thereby influencing the effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of both spatial planning practices. Moreover, these context characteristics strongly relate to the specific practices of policy integration that will be elaborated upon in the following paragraphs.

Project characteristics and set ambitions	Coolhaven Little C, Rotterdam	Bajes Kwartier, Amsterdam
Development strategy	Integrated development – private initiative 	Integrated development – public initiative 
Initiator	Real-estate developer ERA Contour	Municipality of Amsterdam
Project development	Unsolicited proposal	Tender
(former) landowner	Municipality of Rotterdam	Rijksvastgoedbedrijf
Inner-city redevelopment aimed at urban densification	Yes, former brownfield/parking area	Yes, former land use as prison was discarded
Plot size	±1 ha	± 5 ha

Spatial programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none">  Spatial programme 318 houses 25.000 m2 commercial space 9.820 m2 office space Daniel den Hoed family home Car and bicycle parking Shared rooftop gardens  Parcelling 15 composed building blocks  Densification rate High, 80-90%  Climate adaptation measures Water retention roof ground level Green roofs Vegetation for cooling and biodiversity Use of cool materials Urban ventilation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">  Spatial programme 1.350 houses 27.000 m2 commercial and office space Car and bicycle parking Shared gardens  Parcelling Multiple composed building blocks  Densification rate High, 60-70%  Climate adaptation measures Water retention roofs Green roofs Water gardens Vegetation for cooling and biodiversity Sustainable cooling of houses
Climate adaptation ambitions and realisation	<p>National applying concrete policies. Lightly touched upon in local symbolic policies like spatial vision. Moreover, some contributive policies include objectives that relate to climate adaptation. However, overall not really high on the priority list of the municipality. No specific municipal representatives involved in project development.</p> <p>Developer: more progressive than municipality and responsible for realisation of climate adaptation measures.</p>	<p>Additional local concrete policies exceeding national policies. Extensively discussed in local symbolic policies like spatial visions. Very high ambitions that translate into high assessment criteria in spatial developments. Special sustainability representatives involved in project development.</p> <p>Developer: initially more progressive than municipality but had to revise ambitions as not all are realisable</p>

Table 16. Cross-case comparison project characteristics

6.2 Defining policy integration: differences and similarities

Comparing the definition and practice of policy integration is addressed by comparing the findings on substantive and processual indicators of policy integration. Tables 17 and 18 give an overview of the indicators and findings summarized in key terms.

Substantive integration

The substantive integration of policy in both spatial planning practices is in some respects similar. The use of substance-oriented tools can be found in both project as well as the involvement of external experts. The second indicator, the existence of a long-term sustainability strategy is also covered in both cities in the form of spatial visions on multiple scales. Regarding the fourth indicator of coherence between sectoral formulated objectives, it can be argued that in both cities policy ambitions related to densification and climate adaptation are considered and put into perspective on a higher (city) spatial scale. However the direct conflict is not addressed. Moreover, when policies become more detailed and sectoral some conflicts arise such as preferred roof use (energy generation or water retention). Next to these similarities, also differences in the practice of substantive integration can be indicated. Considering the third indicator concerning clear sectoral responsibilities for overarching goals, it can be argued that in the development of Little C, the sectoral responsibilities for achieving the overall goal were more coherent and clearer than in the project development of Bajes Kwartier. Fragmentation of sectoral responsibilities was implied and sectoral objectives and ambitions were not harmonized. Regarding the existence of an authority for supervision, coordination and implementation, both cases match this indicator but differently. In Rotterdam an area manager and an especially assigned board of directors were responsible for the supervision, coordination and implementation of policy integration. In Amsterdam this task was picked up by a formally assigned testing team and a supervision team. Considering the sixth and final indicator, it can be concluded that for both cases these formal assigned authorities executed their tasks based on the findings of the conducted interviews.

Substantive integration	Results	
	Coolhaven Little C, Rotterdam	Bajes Kwartier, Amsterdam
1. The use of substance-oriented tools to obtain and produce knowledge	Quantitative research impact spatial interventions External experts	Quantitative research impact spatial interventions External experts
2. Long-term sustainability strategy on the municipal level	Municipal spatial visions	Municipal spatial visions
3. Clear sectoral responsibilities for overarching goals	Shared ambitions and clear and supporting sectoral responsibilities	Shared ambition. However, fragmentation of departments, no clearly formulated shared ambition, no clear responsibilities
4. Coherence sectoral formulated objectives	Overall strong relation between policy ambitions on higher spatial scale. But the more detailed policies get, the more conflicts arise. Noticeable is however the difference between local vision and the eventual realized spatial plan	Overall strong relation between policy ambitions on higher spatial scale. But the more detailed policies get, the more conflicts arise. Noticeable is however the difference between the "Nota van Uitgangspunten" and the provisional design.
5. Existence of authority for supervision, coordination and implementation	Area manager Board of directors	Testing team Supervision team
6. Execution of supervision, coordination and implementation	Yes, through monitoring on different levels	Yes, through fixed assessments

Table 17. Cross-case comparison substantive policy integration

Processual integration

The processual integration of policy is strongly related to the organisation of project management. The municipal project management for both can be argued to be quite different based on the findings. In short, in Rotterdam the project team worked integrated, including all disciplines on a daily basis, and area-oriented, whereas in Amsterdam the organisational structure did not automatically include all disciplines and the contribution of departments was more subject-based rather than area-oriented. The differences in involvement also explain the different findings for the indicator's coordination, loss of autonomy, comprehensiveness, needed resources and accessibility. Compatibility between municipal departments was in both cases sometimes low, indicated by conflicting policies. However, how was dealt with conflicting policies was in both cases different. In Rotterdam a sense of willingness to collaborate and compromise was observed whereas in Amsterdam it was not seen as a responsibility of the municipality to resolve these conflicts within their organisation but rather as that of the developer. Another important difference is the relation between the developer and municipality. In Amsterdam this relation can be characterised as very formal, assessing and monitoring the proposed plans. Whereas in Rotterdam the interviewees gave the impression of a more informal, amicable relation between municipality and developer in which the municipality facilitated where possible and was strict where necessary.

Processual integration	Results	
	Coolhaven Little C, Rotterdam	Bajes Kwartier, Amsterdam
1. Co-operation	Internal project team includes representatives of all relevant disciplines External project team with developer, facilitating, thinking along, monitoring	The testing team includes representatives of multiple relevant disciplines The project team consists out of a few municipal officials as does the supervision team Co-operation with developer mainly assessing and monitoring
2. Coordination	Explicit role project manager internal and external project team Dialogue between all disciplines (directly and indirectly affected) Joint decisions	Urban planner coordinates the integration of disciplines up until tender after which it becomes the responsibility of the developer. Separation of discussions. Dialogue only between directly affected disciplines No joint decisions
3. Interaction	Internal project team frequent contact (once every two weeks) Lot of (formal and informal) contact between developer and municipality	Project team met frequently, however as few disciplines are included; little interaction between all municipal disciplines No satisfactory contact between developer and municipality according to developer
4. Interdependence	Strived for mutual agreements. Thereby high interdependence	Little interdependence. Dominant role urban planner leads to one-sided dependence
5. Formality	Establishment of formal institutional arrangements: internal and external project team, Regieraad Hoboken	Establishment of formal institutional arrangements: project team, testing team, supervision committees
6. Resources needed	Many resources needed in terms of financial resources and social capital	In project team relatively low social capital and use of few financial resources Consultation of disciplines throughout process by developer led to high social capital Fragmentation makes estimation of financial resources difficult

7. Loss of autonomy	Equality within the project team Municipal disciplines could be overruled in fair discussion Layered structure administrative system	Unbalanced power positions led to some disciplines losing autonomy and other gaining more autonomy Layered structure administrative system
8. Comprehensiveness	Time: project development took a long time. First ideas originate from 1988 Space: strong relation to surrounding environment Actors: internally all disciplines were represented. External: strong involvement of stakeholders	Time: relatively smooth and quick development Space: strong relation to surrounding environment Actors: the developer involved and consulted many different municipal officials. The municipality itself limited the involvement of different disciplines to the formal testing moments or specific discussions.
9. Accessibility	Internal project team ensured good accessibility between departments	No comments on accessibility between departments From the developer's perspective the accessibility was challenging
10. Compatibility	Sometimes conflicting sectoral ambitions Willingness to collaborate and compromise	Sometimes conflicting sectoral ambitions Municipality does not aim to resolve these issues within their own organisation first. Responsibility of developer

Table 18. Cross-case comparison processual policy integration

6.3 Spatial plan quality: similarities and differences

The spatial planning practices and distinctive implementation of policy integration, influenced by the different development strategies, can be evaluated by the spatial plan quality in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy. Each quality is elaborated upon and the most influential factors.

Table 19 compares the quality of the spatial planning process and output of the two cases. Regarding effectiveness, expressed in realisation of initially set ambitions, the comparison makes clear that for both projects the effectiveness of overall densification policies in policy integration practices is high as both projects achieve a more compact urban form. However, some nuances need to be made as both projects are not exactly coherent with initial set ambition regarding spatial programme and building volumes, questioning the effectiveness of established urban densification visions. The comparison of effectiveness of climate adaptation policies in policy integration practices does not result in a coherent explanation. In the case of Rotterdam, no ambitions were formulated by the municipality in the time of the redevelopment but despite these contextual factors climate adaptation measures have been realised. Therefore, effectiveness cannot be assessed. In Amsterdam on the other hand, many ambitions were formulated and translated in project development, however, actual realisation of these ambitions is uncertain. Therefore, the effectiveness can be considered low. Overall, the most influential factor positively influencing the effectiveness that is indicated for both cases is the existence of a long-term strategy on the municipal level. Especially for the effective realisation of densification ambitions it seems important to have this ambition embedded in long-term strategy. Again, for effective realisation of climate adaptation ambition no comparison could be made due to the absence of ambition in the project in Rotterdam.

Considering the efficiency, expressed by time-cost ratio of planning process and effort, both cases show great differences. The extensiveness and comprehensiveness of the more informal project management in Rotterdam results in a low efficiency score whilst the relatively concise scope of the very formal project management in Amsterdam initially pleads for high efficiency. However, comparing the experienced effort of both municipality and developer, the case in Rotterdam indicates a more efficient process than the case in Amsterdam. The results of the comparison on time-cost ratio and experienced effort contradict each other and plead for different project management to optimize efficiency. The most influential factors both negatively and positively influencing the efficiency indicated for both cases are interaction and formality. As stated, the amount of interaction influences the time-cost ratio negatively but the effort positively. Additionally, the level of formality, indicating the formal organisational structure, influences overall efficiency positively as the comparison of the two cases implies.

Finally, the legitimacy of both cases is compared. Legitimacy is expressed by the level of democratic decision-making, involvement of stakeholder and equality within the project organisation and between the developer and municipally. Additionally, some other aspects related to legitimacy were indicated. The practice of policy integration influences project legitimacy in multiple ways. Overall, the comparison implies that the level of democratic decision and equality within the project team, are positively affected by more interaction, co-operation, comprehensiveness and loss of autonomy. The effect of policy integration on the involvement of stakeholders cannot be compared as too little information has been provided on this topic in the case of Amsterdam. The case in Rotterdam, however, pleads for formal organisation of involvement. Another clear aspect that positively impacts project legitimacy is the existence of a long-term strategy on the municipal level. For both cases the existence of such documents was mentioned in the argumentation to legitimize the specific project characteristics.

	Results	
Quality criteria	Coolhaven, Little C, Rotterdam	Bajes Kwartier, Amsterdam
Effectiveness	<p>Realisation of densification objectives: Long-term ambition to redevelop Coolhaven. Initial envisioned/ desired building volume and spatial programme not achieved. However still infill development realised and overall densification of city centre.</p> <p>Realisation of climate adaptation objectives: no specific municipal ambitions regarding climate adaptation. Developer's effort to realise climate adaptive measures. As no ambitions were set by the municipality of Rotterdam, the grade of achievement cannot be assessed.</p> <p>Influential indicators:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Long-term strategy on municipal level 2. Coherence sectoral responsibilities 3. Coordination <p>Other than that, the effectiveness was mainly influenced by external factors not captured in the sixteen indicators.</p>	<p>Realisation of densification objectives: Long-term ambition to redevelop former Bijlmerbajes. Relatively easy to realise spatial programme and building volumes. Grade of achievement therefore high. But the given opportunity to densify can be argued to not be used to its full potential.</p> <p>Realisation of climate adaptation objectives: the municipality of Amsterdam had high ambitions regarding climate adaptation. The developer responded to these ambitions with even higher promises. However, during later phases of project development, some ambitions appear to be not realisable. Therefore, grade of achievement can be argued to be low.</p> <p>Influential indicators:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Long-term strategy on municipal level 2. Execution of supervision task 3. Co-operation 4. Interaction 5. Formality

Efficiency		
	<p>Time-costs ratio planning process: The comprehensiveness and extensiveness of internal project team demanded relatively many financial resources. The many moments of interaction to facilitate co-operation and coordination to reach joint decisions, made the process very time-consuming.</p> <p>Effort of municipality and developer: Both the developer and municipality worked in project teams to realise Little C. Both parties are very pleased with the efforts of the other and the collaboration was argued to be very satisfying and efficient.</p> <p>Influential indicators: 1. Clear sectoral responsibilities for overarching goals 2. Interaction 3. Formality 4. Resources needed 5. Comprehensiveness</p>	<p>Time-costs ratio planning process: The involvement of the municipal project team in the plan-making process is limited. Therefore, from the municipal project team perspective, relatively little financial resources, social capital and time needed to be invested. However, fragmentation of the municipal responsibilities led to separation of discussions between the municipality and developer what was argued to be very inefficient in terms of time-costs ratio for both the developer and municipality overall.</p> <p>Effort of municipality and developer: Overall, the fragmentation of municipal responsibilities required effort from the developer to coordinate all interests. But the few municipal involved officials were required to put in a lot of effort to assess and review proposed ideas and check with all individual departments making the process very time-consuming and inefficient.</p> <p>Influential indicators: 1. Execution of supervision tasks. 2. Co-operation 3. Interaction 4. Formality 5. Interdependence</p>

Legitimacy		
	<p>Democratic decision-making: Democratic decision-making in this specific project can be characterized as joint conversations in which equality between different sectors was established in the plan-making process.</p> <p>Involvement of stakeholders: The involvement of stakeholders in the formal structure of a board of directors (Regieraad Hoboken) ensured legitimisation of ideas with external parties</p> <p>Equality: Equality within the internal project team was argued to be very important. All interviewees agreed with this and also experienced it this way. Everyone is content about their role and contribution. In addition, the developer ERA Contour is very pleased by the collaboration with the municipality and this feeling was mutual. Bot informal and formal, both personal and professional, the relation between developer and municipality was highly appreciated, contributing to the sense of legitimacy.</p> <p>Other: Spatial visions are explicitly indicated as instruments that ensure plan legitimacy. However, the eventual plan of Little C was not exactly line with the initial local visions of Hoboken and the Coolhaven. Instead of the city campus a family neighbourhood has been created.</p> <p>Influential indicators: 1. Long-term strategy on the municipal level 2. Co-operation 3. Interaction 4. Loss of autonomy 5. Comprehensiveness</p>	<p>Democratic decision-making: In the daily project team, not all disciplines were involved. The urban planner has a clear strong influence. Other disciplines, sustainability especially, are less represented. The level of democratic decision-making can therefore be questioned.</p> <p>Involvement of stakeholders: Stakeholders are involved by the developer in the plan-making process. Other remarks about the involvement of external stakeholders were not made.</p> <p>Equality: Unbalanced power position. Urban planner clear overhand. Distribution of power of other disciplines defined by fixed priorities and criteria set at the beginning of the project. Relation between developer and municipality can be characterized as very traditional in which the municipality has the higher power position.</p> <p>Other: In the assessment of tenders, fixed priorities and levels of importance were established to ensure fair distribution of criteria and help to objectify the assessment of different tenders.</p> <p>Influential indicators: 1. Long-term strategy on the municipal level 2. Execution of supervision tasks 3. Interdependence 4. Formality 5. Loss of autonomy 6. Comprehensiveness</p>

Table 19. Cross-case comparison spatial planning quality

“The mindset of people is an essential aspect for succeeding in integrated development”

- Anonymous expert, 2022



Chapter 7

Expert meetings: validation of preliminary results

During the expert meetings the findings of the document analysis and interviews were discussed along the lines of ten statements capturing the most important and remarkable preliminary findings of the indicated obstacles and success factors supported by the insights from the cross-case analysis. The statements can be found in appendix II). The experts were asked to reflect upon the findings and whether the situation illustrated was recognizable to either validate or nuance the results. The outcomes of the two group discussions can be organized in four subjects derived from the four distinguished themes in the result paragraphs on obstacles and success factors for the individual cases. All four subjects are elaborated upon in an individual paragraph below. The different subjects being: (1) development strategies and non-legally binding ambitions, (2) accumulation of ambitions in spatial developments: freedom versus framework, (3) the actual realisation of ambitions and (4) important processual aspects of integrated development. To which themes these subjects relate, is explained in the subtitle of each paragraph.

7.1 Development strategies and non-legally binding ambitions

This first paragraph links to the obstacles and success factors within the theme of ‘municipal influence’.

The results of the document analysis and interviewees indicate the difficulty to ensure the implementation of policy which is non-legally binding as is the case with many climate adaptation objectives. More specifically, the situation of the two cases, Little C being an unsolicited proposal and Bajes Kwartier being a tender, were illustrated and put before the experts. Multiple instruments and aspects to steer development to realize non-legally binding ambitions were discussed. The short-list of formal instruments includes: an anterior agreement (anterieure overeenkomst), intention agreement (intentie overeenkomst), private contract (privaatrechtelijk contract), land use plan (bestemmingsplan), visions (visies) and development perspective (ontwikkelperspectief). In the in the tender procedure of Bajes kwartier, additionally, a programme of requirements (programma van eisen) or list of criteria (nota van uitgangspunten,) could be applied. The overall conclusion was that a municipality should have their ambitions and priorities clear and provide a workable framework (experts 10, 11, 12, 13). Moreover, one expert pleaded for being bold as project team in your request towards the developer (expert 13). The critical note, to what extent these instruments are effective and how to improve their influence, especially in the case of an unsolicited proposal, was posed as a question and is considered a challenge in practice (experts 13, 14, 15).

Additionally, regarding the realisation of non-legally binding ambitions, also dialogue with the developer is seen as important ‘instrument’ to get ambitions included in project developments (experts 10, 11, 12). Referring to one’s moral duty as inhabitant of this world to encourage sustainable development has also been experienced as successful approach (expert 11).

For municipal steering in spatial developments, the type of developer has been argued to be very important to take into consideration (experts 10, 14). Some developers have more societal focus and some are really in it for the money. ERA Contour is known as a more innovative and creative developer amongst the interviewed experts and therefore they were not surprised by the voluntary societal focus within the project of Little C (expert 10). The experts had little experience with AM and therefore could not elaborate upon their position as developer in Bajes Kwartier.

The negotiation position of the municipality in both cases was discussed as well. Comparing the two cases of Little C in which the municipally was land owner and Bajes Kwartier where the municipality did not own the land, two conclusions were drawn. First, in active land policy, as was the case in Rotterdam, it is relatively easy to steer the development. However, the “Didam-arrest” that is effective since November 2021, now forbids public authorities to exclusively sell property and land to one party, making the practice of active land policy also more complicated (expert 10). Moreover, the development strategy of the

unsolicited proposal also weakens the negotiation position of the municipality. As for Bajes Kwartier, the experts were not surprised by the fact that the municipality still has such a strong position without owning the land as the Rijksvastgoedbedrijf has a strong governmental character and plays on the same side as the municipality (expert 10).

7.2 Accumulation of ambitions in spatial developments: freedom versus frame-work

This second paragraph links to the obstacles and success factors within the theme of 'impact of policies'.

All experts agreed on the fact that too many requirements limit creativity which can lead to uniformity in tenders (experts 10, 11, 12, 13, 14). However, the question was posed whether this is necessarily a bad thing as it ensures the achievement of ambitions and gives municipality the opportunity to select a tender on the basis of the best price (experts 12, 14). A critical side-note was placed here, that if a municipality already got such a specific vision that tender become uniform, what is then their question for the market? In the scenario in which a municipality has a clear vision, it was proposed that the municipality already pre-selects parties to keep the process financially feasible (expert 10). One expert argued that the stated ambitions in tenders are mainly meant to inspire developers and to seduce them to do more than legally required (expert 15).

Next to the limitation of creativity also the flexibility of tenders was discussed. As was a result of the case study, a tender procedure takes often a lot time between initiation and realisation. Within this period, insights are gained and policies change, but the fixed agreements between municipality and developer are difficult, or even not possible, to adjust. This finding and associated challenges is also experienced in the daily work of the experts (experts 10, 11, 12, 13, 14). Despite some challenges, composing a list of criteria (nota van uitgangspunten) or similar document at the start of the development, is seen as very important as it ensures that the developing parties take notice of municipal ambitions and steer the development (experts 10, 11, 12, 14). A tension field exists between being flexible to cope with changing insights on the one hand and providing a clear framework to ensure the realisation of current policy ambitions on the other hand (expert 14).

In regard to the accumulation of ambitions that can include conflicting objectives, the expert opinions on who's responsibility it is to resolve this conflict, were unanimous. Everyone agreed that the municipality should provide a clear framework and that it is the responsibility of the municipality to make their ambitions detailed enough to resolve conflict. It was stated that the developer will most likely choose the option that is financially the most appealing and not the option that contributes to societal challenges (experts 10, 12, 14). It is the task of the municipality to realize everyone's role within the process and understands that developers earn money by building houses not by representing the societal interest (expert 10). However, the experts have experienced cases in which the final decision was left for the developer as was also the case in Bajes Kwartier. It was argued that this has most likely to do with naivety or that it is easier to leave it to the developer as they supposedly know the demand of the market better (experts 10, 13).

7.3 Actual realisation of ambitions

This third paragraph links to the obstacles and success factors within the theme of 'established administrative systems and project organisation'.

Elaborating further upon the flexibility of tenders and their limitation to deal with changing policies, these arguments also apply more generally. As was stated during the expert meetings, spatial developments are lengthy processes, in general the bigger the project the longer the process (expert 10). With this in mind, the focus should be more about the problems we want to solve in three or five years instead of now. Problems we are currently facing, demand different kinds of solution but cannot be tackled with large scale spatial redevelopment projects (expert 10). However, current policies are argued to be aiming at current problems and often do not anticipate enough on potential future scenarios (expert 10). Therefore, spatial plans that we make today based upon current policies are outdated once realised, resulting in practitioners always chasing after the facts (experts 10, 13). One potential solution for this challenge that was posed was that public authorities can steer ongoing processes by adjusting public law and thereby forcing changes. For example, the law that obligated gas-free development was implemented quite abruptly and for developers this meant either to take it or leave it. In addition, it was argued that there are different kind of tender procedures, some allowing for more adjustments and revisions later in the process (experts 10, 11, 12). However, one expert expressed the frustration of developers when municipalities change the rules of the game whilst playing. For municipalities little to no consequences apply if being flexible with agreements whilst a developer faces serious consequences if they do not hold

up to agreements, this was argued to be unjust (expert 14).

Another preliminary finding that was discussed during the expert meetings was that promises made by developers are not fulfilled due to various aspects. First, according to the experts, it is logical that a developer who wants to sell his plan will not present a dull and grey vision without ambitions (experts 10, 13). However, it is then up to the municipality to assess the realizability of the plans and how to make arrangements that ensure realisation, this is experienced as quite a challenge (experts 10, 11, 13).

Secondly, the question was posed whether detailed sectoral policies that are addressed in later phases of project development are experienced can form a challenge. All experts agreed that this is often the case. It was mentioned that not only policies can be challenging later on in the process, but that also sometimes already other formal agreements are made due to which some ideas are legally not feasible, but that these agreements were not clearly communicated (expert 13). The overall conclusion was that because, or if, some aspects are integrated too late, the plan-making process becomes more difficult (expert 14).

Another element that was discussed that influenced the realisation of ambitions was the argument that plans that differ from municipal standards are reluctantly accepted as they often mean more work or it is not (yet) the responsibility of one specific discipline (expert 11). The main objections come often from city management or maintenance (experts 11, 13). The experts deal in their work with this latter problem by just implementing it either way and facing the consequences afterwards (experts 13, 14). The crux of this matter is to involve the disciplines that have to test the plan sooner in the process. However, it was mentioned that often municipalities do not have the capacity to ensure this (expert 14).

The fourth aspect to why ambition and promises in plan-making are sometimes not realised was argued to be the lack of knowledge of the developer or simply the technical impossibility (experts 10, 13). It was argued that the municipality can sometimes be too naive in believing the market to have an answer for everything (expert 10).

The experts were also questioned about how the overall municipal ambitions are not realised in project development and whether they recognize the "implementation gap" that came forth during multiple interviews. This challenge was recognized by all experts (experts 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15). The idea of fair compensation in the form of a funds that ensures realisation close to the project area, was posed by multiple experts (expert 10, 13). This system is already implemented in some cases, however, the monitoring and organisation on the municipal scale is often problematic resulting in failure of implementation (expert 10, 13). In addition, some sustainability ambitions involve a bigger system shift what thereby was argued to be impossible, either technically or financially, to realise on plot-scale (expert 13).

The critical side note, that there should be differentiation between small private developments and big developments with a more extensive programme, was posed. It was argued that for small scale private developments it is more difficult to include all specific policies and custom solutions should be more accessible (experts 11, 13). The way municipalities sometimes frenetically hold on to general policies is a problem for finding custom solutions. Moreover, it was argued that policies need to become more suitable for different spatial scales (experts 10, 11, 12). Over overcome this implementation gap some municipalities provide examples of measures on different spatial scales what seems to be helping (expert 14).

7.4 Important processual aspects of integrated development

This final paragraph links to the obstacles and success factors within the theme of 'project team'.

The first argument made about the way policy integration needs to be implemented is that it is very project specific. Depending on the project scale and set ambitions, different disciplines need to be included and are to have different positions within the project team (expert 12). Good coordination and structure of this process was argued to be the responsibility of the project manager, making this job more complex by the day (experts 10, 13). The challenges of this task were discussed among the experts. Especially the timing of involvement of different discipline is seen as challenging. For example, the people of public space management and maintenance are used to assessing very technical drawings. However, if climate adaptation becomes an ambition you might want to include them earlier in the process. But as they are used to assessing drawings and not making them, they are not sure about their role so early in the process. But on the other hand, involving them too late, and drawings are rejected, then often little can be done to find alternatives as the project development is already too far. This was described by one of the experts as the chicken or the egg dilemma (expert 11).

Moreover, all experts foresee the development of new work methods as very important to streamline processes and make them more efficient. Namely, the current method of just asking everyone's input is not working anymore, there is a need to start working differently (expert 11). A 'omgevingstafel' as interactive work method was described by multiple experts as a promising technique (experts 11, 14). A

'omgevingstafel' brings stakeholders together at the very beginning of a development to discuss ambitions and already assess whether these ambitions are feasible and realizable, this encourages expectation management (expert 14). In addition, it is a good way to facilitate joint decision-making (expert 11). However, an independent moderator is very important (experts 10, 11, 14).

Additionally, process efficiency in terms of municipal effort and needed financial resources was recognized as not optimal as was also a finding of the case study (experts 10, 11). However, the question is which knobs do you want to turn to improve the efficiency, is it the salaries, the rewarded credits, and so on. The experts addressed the ignorance of municipalities in the problem of process efficiency but that they are in control to improve the efficiency and duration of projects (experts 12, 13). On the other hand, it was argued that the desire to work integrated, requires the exchange of a lot of knowledge which simply takes up time (expert 15).

The relation between developer and municipality was also discussed as a crucial element. Transparency between all involved parties was argued to be crucial as mutual trust is needed to come to the best project possible (expert 13). Moreover, a statement that captures the overall conclusion was that the mindset of people is an essential aspect for succeeding in integrated development (expert 11). More specifically, the realization of climate adaptation ambitions, the development of talent of the public space management and maintenance is very important to ensure the realization (expert 10).

“Do not try to make circumstances fit your plans, make plans that fit the circumstances”

- George S. Patton, 1930



Chapter 8

Discussion

In this chapter, the results of this research are used to answer the three sub research questions in paragraph 8.1. With this step, the third phase of the funnel of complexity is entered in which the interpretation of results takes place (figure 18). Moreover, in paragraph 8.2 the used methodology is evaluated in terms of validation and trustworthiness.

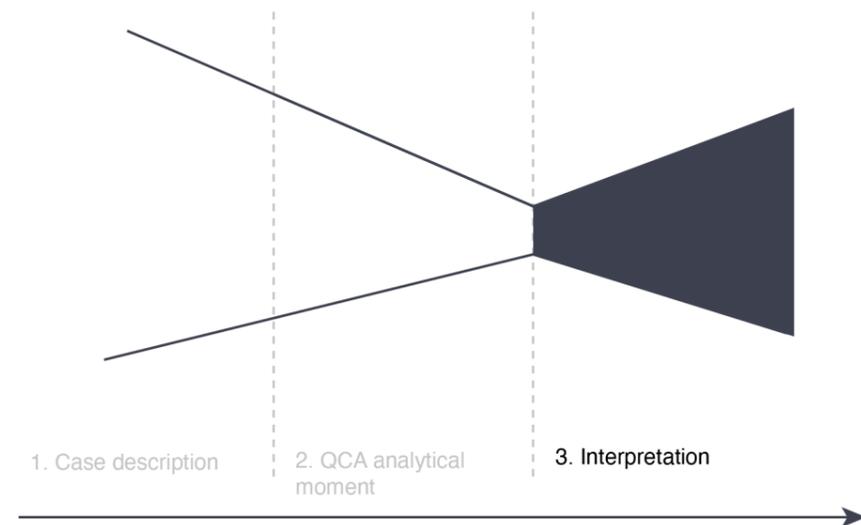


Figure 18. Position discussion chapter in funnel of complexity

8.1 Sub research questions

Sub question 1. How can municipal practises to pursue objectives of densification and climate adaptation simultaneously, be described in terms of substantive and processual integration?

The manifestation of policy integration in the light of the theoretical framework

Obtaining densification and climate adaptation objectives

The development strategy influences the practice of policy integration significantly and therefore should be considered first. Strategies of land policy are often classified into passive and active land policy depending on the role of the public authority in the land market (Hartmann & Spit, 2015). The results of the empirical research argue that this specific role of the public authority influences their ability to integrate policies in spatial developments. Moreover, based on the results of this research it can be argued that this consequence is strongly related to the negotiation position of the municipality within the development. In active land policy in which a public authority is the initiator, the integration of policies can be practiced from the very start and the public authority has a strong position to influence the policy integration process and thereby output (case Amsterdam, Bajes Kwartier). Whereas in passive land policy in which a private developer is the initiator, most likely, the integration of policies takes place in a later phase within the spatial development process and the public authority as a relatively weak position to influence the policy integration process and thereby output (case Rotterdam, Little C)., Concludingly, it can be argued that the practice of active land policy is an important contextual factor or even requirement to improve policy integration processes. However, putting these findings in a broader scientific perspective, it has been argued that less active land policy strategy has become unavoidable for local governments (Buitelaar & Bregtman, 2016; Tennekes, 2018). In general, it has become increasingly difficult for municipalities to acquire land for development at inner-urban locations due to multiple factors (Van der Krabben &

Needham, 2008). Understanding the effect of this shift upon the practice of policy integration and thereby the effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of planning practice, is important as this research argues that active involvement of municipalities in redevelopments benefits the process of policy integration. In other words, the shift towards more passive forms jeopardizes effective, efficient and legitimate implementation of policy integration.

The results of this research reveal that municipal practices to obtain the objectives of densification policies in both cases resulted in the appointment of redevelopment locations within the city centre. Therefore, both cases can be argued to be described as a form of 'hard' densification, large-scale redevelopments that result in significant change in urban form (Bibby et al., 2020; Dembski et al., 2020). Moreover, reflecting upon both cases in the light of the theoretical framework, both developments can be characterised as integrated development rather than plot-development (Buitelaar et al., 2008; Hobma et al., 2019). The main difference between the two cases is, as already argued in the previous paragraph, the role of the municipality being active in Amsterdam Bajes Kwartier and passive in Rotterdam Little C, placing the two projects in different quadrants of the development strategy matrix as established in the theoretical framework.

To reflect upon the role of climate adaptation policy it is necessary to first state the overall feeling of awareness and importance of the subject in the time of the case projects. As the results of the case in Rotterdam show, despite the addressment of climate adaptation in national and local policies, limited awareness amongst involved municipal officials influence the representation of policy in practice. The limited awareness results in few to no concrete policies and thus the topic of climate adaptation manifests itself mainly in contributive policies (low intentionality, relatively high substantiality (Dupuis & Biesbroek, 2013)). Putting these results in the broader scientific context, similar findings are published in recent literature. Research about awareness of the need for climate adaptive measures has been conducted by Lenzholzer et al. (2020). This research argues that lack of awareness in different actor groups jeopardizes the realisation of climate adaptive measures. The results of the case in Rotterdam is in accordance with these findings and underlines the proposed recommendations to raise more awareness.

The role of climate adaptation in the case in Amsterdam is quite the opposite from the findings in Rotterdam. In this case, high awareness is perceived and is argued to translate in symbolic (high intentionality, low substantiality (Dupuis & Biesbroek, 2013)) and concrete policies (high intentionality, high substantiality (Dupuis & Biesbroek, 2013)). These policies in their turn result in high ambitions in project development. However, this example illustrates that awareness is not enough to realise climate adaptive measures. This has to do with multiple factors but the most important two being (1) accumulation of ambitions (substantive dimension) which is the result of (2) municipal fragmentation which can, but is unfortunately not, overcome by strong processual integration. This insight can be seen as valuable contribution to the research by Lenzholzer et al. (2020) as it argues that lack of awareness is not the only point of improvement to realise climate adaptive cities in the future.

Detangling the concept of policy integration

The findings stated above should be considered whilst addressing the specific meaning and practice of policy integration. In fact, the practice of policy integration can be partly explained by the results stated above. Namely, as already argued, the development strategy determining the position of the municipality and thereby possibilities for practicing policy integration. Moreover, the contributive, symbolic or concrete nature of policy influences the representation (both social and legal) of climate adaptation objectives and thereby also the practice of policy integration.

Overall, regarding the practice of policy integration, different interpretations and implementation can be found within cases and across cases. Therefore, the proclamation that policy integration is an undefined and ambiguous concept (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003; Meijers & Stead, 2004; Tosun & Lang, 2017; van Straalen, 2012; Candel & Biesbroek, 2016) is in line with the results of this research. However, systematic analysis of sixteen indicators related to the substantive and processual dimensions of policy integration resulted in the following findings.

Considering substantive integration of densification and climate adaptation policies it can be stated that the use of substance-oriented tools, the development of long-term sustainability strategies and the establishment of a formal authority to ensure supervision, coordination and implementation are common in spatial planning practice to deal with conflicting policy objectives. The importance of the second indicator of a long-term sustainability strategy can find support throughout scientific research. Research by Eichhorn et al. (2021) state that the establishment of a clear common vision and objectives are seen as a good starting point for policy integration by a number of cities. However, this research also points out the fact that despite the appearance of coherence between policies on a higher spatial level in these municipal vision,

clear conflicts exists between the more detailed and sectoral policies. An interesting reflection is provided when linking these results to the notion by Lafferty and Hovden (2003) who argued that for the successful integrated implementation of sectoral formulated policy ambitions on smaller scales, municipalities should have developed an integrated understanding on the municipal level. Namely, this research implies that an integrated understanding on the municipal level is present but still successful implementation of sectoral formulated ambitions is challenged. This finding disputes the notion by Lafferty and Hovden (2003) and addressed the need to consider coherence on sectoral level.

The practice of processual policy integration can be argued to be different for each studied case. The characterisation of processual integration strongly relates to project management within the municipal organisation. The two forms that were identified in this research can be characterized as, (1) the instalment of an integrated project team, including all disciplines on a daily basis, which worked area-oriented (Rotterdam) and (2) an organisational structure which did not automatically include all disciplines and the contribution of departments was more subject-based rather than area-oriented (Amsterdam). Regarding the indicators of processual integration, differences were found in the description of almost all indicators (co-operation, coordination, interaction, interdependence, resources needed, loss of autonomy, comprehensiveness, accessibility). Only the formality of the process and compatibility between departments took on a similar form across the studied cases.

Reflecting upon the findings on substantive and processual integration in light of the theoretical framework, the argumentation by Nilsson & Persson (2003), that also provided the reason for making this distinction, is that the actual policy output sometimes has little to do with the process; it can be argued that the assumed link between process and output might be weak in reality. The results of this research, however, argue that the practice of processual integration has a direct effect on the practice of substantive integration and thereby providing a critical reflection upon the argumentation by Nilsson & Persson (2003). For example, municipal fragmentation and thereby weak coordination and co-operation (processual) leads to unclear sectoral responsibilities for achieving the overall goal (substantive). In addition, the results of this research argue that the substantive integration of the policy objectives on densification and climate adaptation do not pose as much as a challenge as the processual integration of these conflicting objectives.

Sub question 2. How are the quality criteria of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy impacted by integrated spatial planning practices?

Assessment of plan quality in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy

The underlying hypothesis of the adopted analytical framework that the specific practice of policy integration influences the output of the planning process can be argued to be confirmed by the findings of this research. In the following paragraphs, the impact of these different practices is assessed in relation to the spatial plan qualities as defined in the theoretical framework: the effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy. In addition to the practice of policy integration, other case characteristics as development strategy and typology of climate adaptation policies as discussed in sub question one, are addressed as contextual factors influencing the output of the spatial planning process.

Role and effect of policy integration practice on effectiveness of spatial planning

The grade of achievement in obtaining climate adaptation ambitions is foremost influenced by the typology of policy. Concrete policies have a strong legal basis and thereby developers face the obligation to implement them in plan-making process, resulting in high effectiveness. The realisation of symbolic policies on the other hand are more dependent upon the role and negotiating position of the municipality, what in its turn is strongly related to the development strategy (active or passive land policy strategies). In addition, this research claims that the organisational structure of municipal project management, linked to the concept of processual integration, also influences the effectiveness of realising symbolic policies. This statement applies for contributive policies as well symbolic policies as climate adaptation is intertwined within another policy and representation is not self-evident. Therefore, the representation in the process influences the eventual achievement of objectives. In general, the argument that stronger processual integration leads to better achievement, and thereby effectiveness, of symbolic and contributive policies, applies. Regarding the two specific forms that were identified across the studied case, the results claim that the form of processual integration found in Rotterdam has a higher effectiveness in obtaining non-legally binding policies than the form identified in Amsterdam. Regarding the role of substantive integration, mainly the aspect of a central authority to supervise, coordinate and implement is crucial to ensure the realisation of non-legally binding ambitions and thereby effectiveness. However, the creation of a long-term sustainability strategy, in the form of a spatial vision, is seen as an important starting point to realize ambitions.

Putting these findings into perspective of the broader scientific discussion, it seems common to link the concept of effectiveness to the choice of specific policy instruments to obtain a certain ambition (Hartmann & Spit, 2015; Eichhorn et al., 2021). More generally speaking, in existing literature mainly the substantive dimension in planning processes are considered whilst assessing effectiveness. The results of this research plea that not only policy instruments and other substantive factors influence effectiveness but that also processual aspects of spatial redevelopments should be considered.

Role and effect of policy integration practice on efficiency of spatial planning

The time-cost ratio of municipal effort throughout the process is fore mostly related to the aspect of processual integration. Regarding the two specific forms that were identified across the studied case, the level of efficiency in terms of time-cost ratio of municipal effort throughout the process differs. In general, the more social capital is involved the more effort and financial resources are needed which was the case in Rotterdam. Reasoning in this line would lead to the conclusion the stronger the processual integration the lower the efficiency of the spatial planning practice. However, as can also be concluded from this research, weak processual integration leads to miscommunication, extensive discussions and overall slowing down the process which results also in low efficiency, which was the case in Amsterdam. Therefore, it can be argued that finding the right balance in including social capital in the processual integration is crucial to optimize process efficiency.

Concluding that efficiency is in the foremost place influenced by the processual aspects, the explanation for low efficiency can be related to the established municipal administrative systems in which project organisation takes place. Eichhorn et al. (2021) implied that an integrated approach often counteracts with established municipal administrative systems. The results of this research are in line with this argument by pleading that especially municipal fragmentation negatively effects efficiency. More specifically, as was adopted as the definition of processual integration: "processual integration focuses on creating dialogues, building consensus and negotiating on adequate action plans" Runhaar & Driessen (2009, p. 419), it can be argued that the current established municipal administrative systems insufficiently facilitate these types of interactions.

Role and effect of policy integration practice on legitimacy of spatial planning

Regarding the role of substantive integration in the legitimization of the planning practice, in both cases the clear coherence of long-term sustainability strategies and clear translation of ambitions on multiple spatial scales was seen as way to legitimize spatial developments. Also, the presence of a formal authority to supervise, coordinate and implement the policy integration process links to the idea of legitimization. From the perspective of processual integration, some specific indicators relate directly to the concept of legitimacy and more explicitly the level of democratic decision making: cooperation and coordination, loss of autonomy and formality. In both distinguished forms of policy integration practices these indicators took on a different form. In Rotterdam the structure of the integrated project team can be linked to strong cooperation and coordination leading to a high level of democratic decision-making. Moreover, the loss of autonomy was high as mutual consent was strived for also implying a high level of democratic decision-making. The formal aspect of the process limits to the formal establishment of the project team and other involved organisation. In Amsterdam the direct cooperation between municipal departments was limited and not all disciplines were involved at the same level. In addition, the coordination was argued to be a very top-down approach and as little direct interaction took place, the loss of autonomy was not directly experienced. These characteristics can be argued to undermine the democratic decision-making process. The aspect of formality however was very apparent in the process which ensured project legitimacy in its own way. Namely, concrete agreements about the prioritisation and weight of different objectives and ambitions was used as framework providing the basis of decision-making and thereby ensure the legitimatisation of the spatial plan.

The underlying reasoning for addressing legitimacy as spatial planning practice was that the government character of the intervention calls for democratic legitimacy (Hartmann & Spit, 2015). The results of this research imply that initially the bureaucratic character and bureaucratic organisation of project management is aimed to promote these democratic ideals. However, insights provided by this research also argue that just involving different municipal disciplines does not seem sufficient to safeguard project legitimacy. Unequal power relation within the municipal organisation or project management can jeopardize the democratic character and thereby legitimacy of the planning practice. Placing these findings in the broader scientific debate, many scientific researches focus on democratic legitimacy in terms of public participation referring to key thinkers like Jacobs (1961), Arnstein (1969) and Healey (1997), but little literature focusses upon the democratic deficit within municipal organisation.

Sub question 3. What factors influence the successful implementation of integration of densification and climate adaptation policies?

To provide insights for policy changes and recommendations

From the long-list of obstacles and success factors provided in the results chapters supported by expert's validation and insights, some overarching themes were extracted that all influence the effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of planning practice and can therefore be considered as crucial factors that influence the successful implementation of policy integration. The following paragraphs these themes make a reappearance and the summarized associated obstacles and success factors are presented in tables. A more detailed elaboration can be found in the results chapters but within the scope of the sub research question, an overview suffices. The tables indicate whether the posed finding negatively or positively influences spatial plan quality, adding an extra layer of analysis to provide new insights. Moreover, the obstacles and success factors are related to the provided indicators of policy integration to create a deeper understanding and provide input for recommendations. Lastly, the findings are placed in context of the broader scientific debate, illustrating which obstacles and success factors are commonly recognized and which are added to the debate.

Project team: Important processual aspects of integrated development

The most remarkable and important findings of this research regarding success factors and obstacles of project team characteristic are presented in table 20.

Factor	Impact implementation policy integration and spatial plan quality			Related indicators
	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Legitimacy	
Many involved actors	✓	✗	✓	Co-operation, resources needed, comprehensiveness
Unbalanced power relations within the team	–	–	✗	Sectoral responsibility, loss of autonomy, coordination
Few involved actors	✗	✓	✗	Co-operation, resources needed, comprehensiveness
Enthusiastic team members	✓	✓	–	No specific related indicator
Shared understanding of responsibilities and ambition	✓	✓	✓	Sectoral responsibility, coherence sect. objectives, co-operation

Table 20. Success factors and obstacles project team characteristics

This research argues that project team characteristics and individual project team members significantly influence the successful implementation of policy integration and the quality of the planning process and output. Especially the characteristics of team size, power relations and willingness to cooperate of individual members. Current literature does not address the actual municipal project team composition as an important factor. The focus in literature is more on the effect of institutional arrangements on implementation of policy integration (Candel & Biesbroek, 2016; Eichhorn et al., 2021; Jochim & May, 2010; Tosun & Lang, 2014). Institutional arrangements can be argued to be strongly related to the organisation of project teams but analysis does not capture the nuances between cases that exist within the context of the same institutional system which this research deems important. Therefore, the results of this research add to the scientific debate by pleading for more consideration of project team characteristics and their effect upon the successful implementation of policy integration and spatial planning quality.

Municipal influence

The most remarkable and important findings of this research regarding success factors and obstacles of municipal influence are presented in table 21.

Factor	Impact implementation policy integration and spatial plan quality			Related indicators
	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Legitimacy	
Active land policy strategy	✓	—	✓	Central authority entrusted with the supervision, formality
Passive land policy strategy	—	—	✗	Central authority entrusted with the supervision, formality
Weak expectation management	✗	✗	—	Sectoral responsibility, coherence sect. objectives
Clear and united 'voice of municipality'	✓	✓	✓	Coherence sectoral objectives, co-operation
Strong (in)formal relation with developer	✓	✓	—	Formality, interaction

Table 21. Success factors and obstacles municipal influence

The role and position of public authorities, for example the municipality, in the land market and spatial developments is a well discussed topic in literature (Gerber et al., 2018; Shahab et al., 2020). Moreover, the effects of these positions are more than once assessed in terms of spatial plan quality (Hartmann & Spit, 2015; Needham, 2014). However, the relation between the position of a public authority and effect on implementation of policy integration successfully remains underexposed in literature. As the results of this research state that the adopted development strategy, influencing role and position of public authorities, is crucial for determining possibilities to practice both substantive and processual policy integration, this aspect needs more consideration in the scientific debate on policy integration.

Impact of policies: Accumulation of ambitions in spatial developments: freedom versus framework

The most remarkable and important findings of this research regarding success factors and obstacles of policy impact are presented in table 22.

Factor	Impact implementation policy integration and spatial plan quality			Related indicators
	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Legitimacy	
Accumulation of policies	✗	—	—	Coherence sect. objectives, coordination
Non-legally binding ambitions	✗	—	—	Long-term strategy municipal level, comprehensiveness
Early acknowledgement of ambition	✓	✓	—	Co-operation, interaction, comprehensiveness
Separation main and side issues, focus overall ambition	✓	✓	—	Long-term strategy municipal level, coordination
Formal establishment of ambitions in contracts	✓	✓	—	Execution tasks central authority, formality

Table 22. Success factors and obstacles impact of policies

The third distinguished theme from the long-list of identified obstacles and success factors is the impact of policies. Especially the obstacles of the accumulation of policies and the non-legally binding character of policies are regarded to influence both the successful integration of policies as well as the realisation of policy objectives. Some of these challenges are also recognised in current literature. More specifically, Candel & Biesbroek (2016) identified competing objectives and competing issue attention as key challenges for policy integration which can be related to the obstacle of policy accumulation identified in this research. In literature is responded to these challenges by focussing on improving coordination (Tosun & Lang, 2013; Runhaar et al., 2014) which is also an overarching indicator capturing the identified success factors in this research.

What, however, gets little attention in literature is the non-legally binding character of policies and the effect upon the practice of policy integration. The findings of this research imply that this either legal or non-legal basis of policies significantly affects the approach to how these policy objectives can and should be substantive and processual integrated to optimize the quality of spatial planning practice.

Established administrative systems: Actual realisation of ambitions

The most remarkable and important findings of this research regarding success factors and obstacles of established administrative systems are presented in table 23.

Factor	Impact implementation policy integration and spatial plan quality			Related indicators
	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Legitimacy	
Fragmentation municipal disciplines	✗	✗	✓	Sectoral responsibility, coherence sect. objectives
Opaqueness municipal system	✗	✗	—	Accessibility, compatibility
Underlying political agenda's	✗	✗	✗	No specific related indicators
Administrative limitation regarding project management	✗	✗	—	Formality, resources needed, comprehensiveness,

Table 23. Success factors and obstacles established administrative systems

As addressed in the introduction, literature recognises the established administrative system and its potential or inability to coop with policy integration and especially conflicting objectives. Tosun and Lang (2017) argued that, to date, contemporary governance systems react to spatial developments and coherent problems by proposing and adopting specialised policy measures, a sector-based approach. Eichhorn et al. (2021) addressed that these sector-based governance systems and associated approaches fail to address the variety of interrelationships, conflicting objectives and demands. These arguments are underlined by the results of this research.

Especially the fragmentation of the municipal organisation has proven to be an obstacle to successful policy integration. This effect is enforced by the opaqueness of the municipal system and administrative boundaries. This fragmentation as specific characteristic of the established municipal administrative systems has been long observed by researches including the consequences of this fragmentation in producing disjunctive policy-making and fostering disjointed policy implementation (Jochim & May, 2010). The influence of underlying political agendas present in the established administrative system due to the installation of political-oriented aldermen, jeopardizing the effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of spatial planning has been considered in this researched as important aspect. However, this aspect of governance is not addressed in literature on the effects of administrative systems and their potential or inability to coop with policy integration (Tosun & Lang, 2017; Eichhorn et al., 2021; Jochim & May, 2010). Therefore, this research adds this final aspect to the scientific debate on the impact of established administrative systems on successful implementation of policy integration.

8.2 Reflection methodology

In this paragraph the used methodology is reflected on, discussing the limitations regarding case selection and external validity, the number and characteristics of interviewees and the availability of information.

Case selection and external validity

The case study of this research included two cases. Due to this relatively small number the external validity, the applicability of results in other cases, can be critically questioned. Moreover, the generalisation of results might also result in invalid arguments that do not represent all cases. The use of thick description addressed this limitation and improved the validity as it emphasises the role context but not all uncertainties can be eliminated.

The selection of cases should also be considered as the selection procedure is subject to subjectivity. As indicated in the methodology, a preliminary analysis that favoured Amsterdam and Rotterdam as case study municipalities was conducted most objectively, but the subsequent selection of specific project within these two municipalities was based on available knowledge and expert recommendations, making it quite a random selection. The randomness evokes critique regarding internal validity, the extent to which cases are in fact comparable and the extent to which it is certain that a cause-and-effect relationship can be established.

In addition, the fact that Little C is already realized while Bajes Kwartier is still under development could also have an effect on the perspective of the interviewees. The potential effect might relate to either being able to overall contently reflect on Little C and other sides still being in the delusion of the day making overall reflection on Bajes Kwartier more challenging. This might have resulted in more negative or positive reactions and overall an inaccurate representation of reality.

Interviews and interviewees

The total number of interviews, including the experts, amounts to fifteen. A total of five interviews was conducted for the Rotterdam case and four interviews that focused explicitly on the case in Amsterdam. The number of interviews can be addressed as a limitation as the results do not comprehend the experiences and perspectives of all actors involved in the projects and therefore can be argued to be incomplete. The validation of the results obtained from the interviews by six experts from consultancy Over Morgen helped to reflect and eliminate improbabilities and confirm findings based on their professional experiences.

In addition to the number of interviews, also the selection of interviewees requires critical reflection. As discussed in the methodology, for each of the case projects, the municipal project manager, the involved spatial planner, the municipal climate expert and the project developer were contacted for an interview. This selection would allow for insights from different perspectives that are relevant for this research. For the case in Rotterdam these people were all interviewed except from the municipal climate expert as this role was non-existent in the time of the development of Little C. For the Amsterdam case it was really challenging to plan interviews. As for the preferred selection, only two municipal climate adaption experts were interviewed and two representatives of the developer AM. The project manager was absent due to personal reasons and her successor had just started so could not provide the needed information, the involved urban planner was also not available due to personal reasons and other contacted officials have unfortunately not responded. Moreover, as only a few municipal officials are involved in the development of Bajes Kwartier, the overall availability of interviewees was very limited. Regarding the conducted interviews it can be argued that some perspectives remain underexposed and possibility an inaccurate representation of events was constructed.

Availability of information

In addition to interviews, official documents were analysed. The policy documents were obtained through interviews or personal correspondence. Some documents were unfortunately not publicly accessible and could therefore not be obtained and analysed. In addition, some documents were simple not found on the internet, nor by the officials in the municipal archive. The impossibility to include all relevant documents in this research can be argued to undermine the validity and trustworthiness.

“Policy integration: ~~a~~ solutions
for the sustainable city
paradox?”

INFINITE



Chapter 9

Conclusion and recommendations

In this chapter the main research question is answered in paragraph 9.1. The second paragraph provides recommendations for planning practice and paragraphs 9.3 touches upon the recommendations for further research.

9.1 Main research question

In the introduction of this research the societal relevance of unravelling the wicked problem concerning the conflicting policy objectives of densification and climate adaptation was addressed as well as the knowledge gap in how the concept policy integration is interpreted and practiced by different actors in different contexts and what the coherent implications of such an interpretation and practice are in obtaining specific policy objectives in literature. The aim of this research was to explore the different practises of policy integration and assesses the impact and potential of these practises to solve the conflicting policy objectives of densification and climate adaptation in an urban context in an efficient, effective and legitimate way. Two projects, Little C in Rotterdam and Bajes Kwartier in Amsterdam, were researched in an explorative case study and analysed in a cross-case analysis. The empirical research was structured around the main research question:

“How do manifestations of the integration of densification and climate adaptation policies influence spatial planning quality in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy?”

The main research question has been split up into three sub question which each constructively contribute to the formulation of an answer to the main research question. The first sub research question studied the manifestation of policy integration. The effect of practice of policy integration upon spatial plan quality was explored in the second sub question. Lastly, the factors that influence successful policy integration were identified in the third sub question. The following paragraphs that formulate the answer to the main research question are structured along the lines of these three sub research questions.

Substantive and processual manifestation of policy integration

The results of the first sub research question show that there is currently no comprehensive approach to solving conflicts between urban densification and climate change adaptation objectives in spatial development as was underlying hypothesis derived from scientific literature (Eichhorn et al. 2021). Moreover, regarding the practice of policy integration, different interpretations and implementation can be found within cases and across cases. Therefore, the proclamation that policy integration is an undefined and ambiguous concept (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003; Meijers & Stead, 2004; van Straalen, 2012; Dupuis and Biesbroek, 2013; Candel & Biesbroek, 2016; Tosun & Lang, 2017) is underlined by the results of this research.

The empirical evidence of this research claims that the objective of densification is obtained by the appointment of inner-city redevelopment locations and thereby densification policy forms the incentive. The ambitions regarding climate adaptation find further elaboration in subsequent phases of project development influenced by the manifestation of policy integration. However before detangling the manifestation of policy integration, the two contextual factors of the adopted development strategy and the typology of climate adaptation policy were considered. Regarding the effect of the adopted development strategy, this research argues that the characteristics of active land policy strategies are important factors to ensure and improve practices of policy integration. However, as discussed, more passive forms of land policy strategies will become unavoidable in the near future what calls for greater understanding of possibilities of policy integration in passive land policy strategies (see also future research recommendation, paragraph 10.2). Considering the effect of typology of climate adaptation policies on the implementation of objectives in policy integration practices two overall conclusion can be drawn: (1) the effect of contributive and symbolic policies is limited and significantly influenced by processual integration aspects and personal awareness of involved actors. In addition, (2) also the existence of concrete policies on climate adaptation does not automatically result in realisation of policy objectives. The implementation of concrete policies

is mainly undermined by the accumulation of ambitions (substantive aspect) and municipal fragmentation (processual aspect).

The systematic analysis of the two dimensions of policy integration and coherent indicators provided a number of insights. Considering substantive integration of densification and climate adaptation policies it can be stated that the use of substance-oriented tools, the development of long-term sustainability strategies and the establishment of a formal authority to ensure supervision, coordination and implementation are common in spatial planning practice to deal with conflicting policy objectives as they were found throughout the cases. The practice of processual policy integration, on the other hand, can be argued to be different for each studied case. The characterisation of processual integration strongly relates to project management within the municipal organisation. These differences were found in the description of almost all indicators (co-operation, coordination, interaction, interdependence, resources needed, loss of autonomy, comprehensiveness, accessibility). Only the formality of the process and compatibility between departments took on a similar form across the studied cases. Moreover, this research argues that substantive integration of climate adaptation across inner city redevelopment projects is practiced quite similar but that the processual organisation of project development is differently interpreted and practiced differently by different actors in different contexts.

These findings partly overlap with existing literature on how cities deal with the sustainable city paradox (Eichhorn et al., 2021) and is in line with literature stating that implementation of policy integration differs across planning practices (Meijers & Stead, 2004; Tosun & Lang, 2017; Uittenbroek et al., 2013). However, this research adds valuable insights to the scientific discussion by providing the nuance between substantive manifestation and processual manifestation of policy integration in planning practice. To reflect upon the applied theoretical framework, this research embraced the argumentation by Nilsson & Persson (2003) for making the distinction between substantive and processual integration as they argued that the actual policy output sometimes has little to do with the process and that the assumed link between process and output might be weak in reality. However, based on the findings of this research, it can be argued that the two dimensions of substantive integration and processual integration are too interrelated to be addressed individually. The practice of processual integration reflects in the practice of substantive integration as the process organisation is often responsible for the execution of substantive integration. Due to this interrelationship results cannot be analysed independently what forms a weakness in the theoretical underpinning that substantive and processual integration can be assessed independently as two separate dimensions. Moreover, the sixteen indicators used to systematically assess and define practice of policy integration make it impossible to capture the full complexity of policy integration. Moreover, the results of this research show that some indicators overlap with each other and some important aspects are not covered. Another limitation that poses a threat is the internal focus of the indicators. External factors are not considered, limiting the scope of the research and comprehensiveness of the results. Moreover, the same indicator was interpreted differently across cases. Therefore, the objective comparison in a cross-case analysis can be questioned.

How spatial plan quality is influenced by practice of policy integration

The second research question provided insights in the effect of policy integration upon the quality of spatial planning practices in terms of efficiency, effectiveness and legitimacy. The underlying hypothesis that spatial planning qualities are affected by the practice of policy integration is coherent with the findings of this research. Regarding the effectiveness it can be argued that the stronger both the substantive and processual integration the higher the grade of achievement in obtaining climate adaptation ambition. The efficiency and legitimacy are both mainly influenced by the specific practice of processual integration. Policy integration requires more social capital and thereby more financial resources and effort expressed in time. However, weak processual integration also negatively impacts efficiency as the process becomes opaque. Therefore, finding the right balance can be linked to optimisation of efficiency. Considering the concept of legitimacy in terms of democratic decision-making, this research argues that the specific practice of processual integration decides the level of democratic decision-making and thereby legitimisation. The six most important aspects that indicate the effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy can be argued to be (1) the existence of a long-term development strategy, (2) clear sectoral responsibilities of overarching goals, (3) the executions of supervision tasks, (4) interaction, (5) interdependency and finally, (6) the resources needed.

The concept of policy integration has been argued to be undertheorized in literature (Lafferty & Hovden, 2003; Meijers & Stead, 2004; Tosun & Lang, 2017; van Straalen, 2012; Candel & Biesbroek, 2016) but even more, the relation between policy integration practice and the effect upon spatial planning quality in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy can be argued to be entirely unresearched. As no other scientific research regarding this specific relation has been found in an extensive literature study,

the insights provided by this research do not add to a scientific debate but start a new debate that can be deemed relevant considering the implementation of the Environmental Planning Act in October 2022. However, a critical reflection upon the underlying theoretical and analytical framework places some important side notes. In this research the practice of policy integration is linked to the output of the planning process: the quality of the spatial plan. However, the theoretical and analytical perspective upon policy integration does not consider external aspects that also influence the output of the spatial planning process, like the political arena or economic prosperity or hardship, that were also often mentioned themes by interviewees. This clear limitation should be considered whilst interpreting the results.

Policy integration challenges

The third research question points out that the main challenges to improve the implementation of policy integration lies within the processual dimension rather than the substantive dimension of policy integration. The substantive integration of the policy objectives on densification and climate adaptation do not pose as much as a challenge as the processual integration of these conflicting objectives. The identified obstacles and success factors relate to the themes of project team characteristic, municipal influence and external communication, impact of policies and established administrative systems and project organisation. In scientific literature some challenges regarding policy integration are already known. These challenges include compartmentalization, fragmentation, competing and incoherent objectives, policy under- and overreaction, competing issue attention, and inconsistent instrument mixes (Candel & Biesbroek, 2016). And it is argued that these problems mainly emerge when societal issues are confronted with traditional forms of sectoral policy making within hierarchic governance systems (Jochim & May, 2010). However, current literature does not address is the effects of functioning of project team and individual team members, and the effect of development strategy and related municipal influence on the implementation of policy integration, two factors that this research argues to have a significant impact. Moreover, some valuable insights upon the themes 'the impact of policies' and 'established administrative systems' were added to the scientific debate. Regarding the impact of policies this research argues that the legal basis of policies should be paid more attention in research and regarding the established administrative system, the influence of underlying political agendas should gain more recognition as it significantly influences the integration of climate adaptation policies. By identifying and addressing these factors, this research contributed to a deeper understanding of factors that influence the successful implementation of policy integration.

To conclude, the introduction of this research the societal relevance of unravelling the wicked problem concerning the conflicting policy objectives of densification and climate adaptation was addressed as well as the knowledge gap in how the concept policy integration is interpreted and practiced by different actors in different contexts and what the coherent implications of such an interpretation and practice are in obtaining specific policy objectives in literature. This research has contributed to the empirical evidence on practices of policy integration by detangling the concept of policy integration by differentiating between the dimensions of substantive and processual policy integration and systematic analysis of sixteen indicators and assessing the output of these specific practices in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy. The answer to the main question: "how do manifestations of the integration of densification and climate adaptation policies influence spatial planning quality in terms of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy?" can be found in the elaborate discussion about the impact of development strategies and municipal influence, the typology of climate adaptation policies especially legal basis and awareness, different configurations of indicators on policy integration and the identified obstacles and success factors. Moreover, this research argues that the main challenge to improve practices of policy integration and thereby spatial planning quality, lies within the processual dimension rather than the substantive dimension.

9.2 Recommendations for planning practice

Five recommendations for every-day planning practices to ensure successful implementation of policy integration to overcome the sustainable city paradox, are derived from the results of this research. More specifically, the argumentation for these recommendations finds its foundation in the obstacles and success factors provided by the third sub research question, supported and supplemented by expert's validation and insights, and put in the broader context by the established insights regarding the impact of specific practices of policy integration on the quality of spatial planning practices and plan.

These five recommendations do not only apply for the integration of climate adaptation and densification objectives but can be projected to the integration of other municipal disciplines and policy objectives as well. Some recommendations are strongly related to the recommendation for future research. This scientific embedding is briefly mentioned but a more detailed elaboration can be found in paragraph 9.3.

1. Finding the balance: safeguarding (non-legally binding) objective and preservation of flexibility and creativity

This research claims that the practice of policy integration is significantly influenced by the adopted development strategy. As argued in this research, the non-legally binding character of climate adaptation policies makes realisation of objectives hard to guarantee. The possibilities of the public actor to enforce the implementation in a top-down approach are very depended upon their role and position in the spatial development (either passive or active). Having a high position of power as is the case in active land policy, enables the use of instruments such as, to make the realisation of non-legally binding ambitions more certain. Having a lower position of power, the public actor is restricted in choice of instruments making the realisation more unsure. This line of argumentation pleas for a strict and long-list of requirements, only possible in active land policy practices, to safeguard non-legally binding objects and more general, the societal interest.

However, there is also a flip side of the coin. Another challenge that is addressed in this research is the accumulation of ambitions. This phenomenon strongly relates to the extensive long-list of requirements. The accumulation of ambitions in the early stages of the plan-making process, or more specifically, in the invitation to tender, is argued to limit creativity and innovation, resulting in unity of tenders.

Moreover, the accumulation of ambitions and policy is experienced as not necessary a challenge regarding substantive integration but more in the practice of the processual integration. Especially the fragmentation of municipal departments, as is present in the bureaucratic administrative systems of public authorities, results in opaqueness and associated challenges as discussed in this research.

In addition, the formation of a prefixed long-list of requirements also obstructs the flexibility by which requirements can be altered later on in the process as is sometimes necessary. Namely, from a legal perspective, the alternation of these prefixed requirements is not just or even allowed as it is considered "changing the rules of the game whilst playing".

The results of this research plea for rethinking the "game" that represents the processual integration within spatial developments: the objectives, the rules, the player. Ensuring flexibility and space for creativity whilst safeguarding the societal interest that is represented in not (yet) legally binding policies. The concept of flexibility in processes, in literature recognized as resilience management, will be elaborated upon in paragraph 9.3 on future research.

2. The early acknowledgement of climate adaptation objectives

Strongly related to the previously mentioned opaqueness within processual integration, the timing of the involvement of municipal disciplines and policies is in this research implied as a challenge. One of the indicated obstacles relates to too late acknowledgment and involvement of policies in the plan-making process what obstructs smooth implementation and sends developers back to the drawing board. In addition, often innovative spatial solution that implement new ideas to optimize the integration of objectives, experience difficulties in formal municipal project assessment.

This results in delays, costs and sometimes even alternations to the design just to make it assessment-prove what makes the process less efficient and plan less effective. Innovative ways to integrate climate adaptation policies can be argued to be hindered purely by the administrative structure of the municipality. To overcome these obstacles, policy innovation regarding project assessment and early acknowledgement of climate adaptation objectives, are desired.

3. Shared ambitions and internal coordination and cooperation

It can be argued that many obstacles and success factors that influence the quality of the researched spatial plans, were found the internal coordination and cooperation as aspects of processual integration. Unclearness of existing arrangements, specific ambitions and responsibilities can be appointed as the most prevalent obstacles. In addition, low compatibility between municipal departments forms a barrier in communication, making coherency even more challenging. The results of this research stress the importance of strong coordination and cooperation to improve plan quality. Low compatibility can be overcome by strong coordination and unclearness of existing arrangements, specific ambitions and responsibilities can be resolved by strong cooperation. Moreover, having a shared overall ambition, putting sectoral policies into perspective of this ambition, and focusing upon the underlying reasoning instead of specific measures, has showed to reduce nitpicking and unnecessary discussions. Overall it can be argued that the internal coordination and cooperation are crucial elements that assure spatial plan effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy.

4. Overcoming literal and figurative limitations of spatial boundaries on policy integration

An important obstacle of policy integration was found to be the literal and figurative spatial boundaries. Despite the integral character of the developer as described in the development strategy, the administrative system (in which working hours need to be linked to specific projects and thereby plots) and the financial

model (GREX) do not allow for actual integral development that can involve the direct plot surroundings. This research argues that consideration and involvement of direct surrounding is necessary as sustainability, more specifically climate adaption measures, benefit from being put in bigger perspective. Moreover, it was argued that often municipal broad policies sometimes do not translate well on plot-level. This lack of suitable scale-jumps in policies lead to what can be argued an "implementation gap". Additionally, linked to the concept of accumulation of ambitions, wanting to realise many ambitions on a relatively small plot is claimed to simply not fit or does not results in the best plans.

Therefore, the recommendation based on these finding pleas for redeveloping the administrative system and rethinking the financial model to allow for actual integral spatial development. To overcome the accumulation of ambitions, adopting a more area-oriented approach is argued to be a successful method as it enables prioritisation of challenges and ambitions and a better focus can be achieved, enforcing the effectiveness of spatial planning. The "implementation gap" is discussed in paragraph 9.3 as important concept to include in further research.

5. Rethinking public-private relationships and the desire for informal networks

The importance and effect of the relationship between municipality and developer is one of the most noticeable findings of this research. It was argued that the stance of the municipality should be depended upon the type of developer in terms of their societal focus. However, too formal contact seems to result in many obstacles which obstructs effectiveness and efficiency. Overall, better collaboration is argued to not only improve the effectiveness and efficiency but also creates a space in which (policy) innovation is encouraged as knowledge is exchanged and combined. However, the empirical evidence of this research claims that better collaboration includes a more informal relationship in addition to the formal and mutual transparency. Both these elements are experienced as difficult as the municipality faces the double hat problem: on the one hand being a public actor bounded by law to occupy a formal position but on the other hand, being involved as a private land owner that can adopt a more progressive perspective and wants to stimulation and facilitate innovation. This problem results in a field of tension in which numerous municipal officials do not dare to mingle. Therefore, it is argued that it is not unwillingness of municipalities to cooperate but rather the inability formed by the administrative system. To overcome this obstacle, it is expected that the role of informal public-private networks becomes more important as they provide the platform where can be interacted more freely and the appearance of conflict of interest is prevented. This concept of informal networks will also be elaborated upon in paragraph 9.3.

9.3 Recommendations for future research

Due to the general lack of knowledge regarding the practice of policy integration, studies that provide empirical insights on the practice of policy integration in an urban context in which conflicting objectives are strived to be realized simultaneously, are recommended. Moreover, the elaborated limitations and weaknesses of the theoretical framework already provide input for further research. In addition, some challenges or concepts that are addressed in the recommendations also allow for further research.

First, the challenge of flexibility in development strategies to ensure effective planning was addressed in the context of accumulation of ambitions and a fixed long-list of requirements. In scientific literature the concept of 'resilience management' might provide useful insights to tackle this challenge (Marana et al., 2019). Theory on resilience management takes the broader urban context into account but it might be an interesting starting point for research into the flexibility and resilience of spatial development strategies more specifically.

Secondly, this research has indicated a 'implementation gap' that negatively impact the effectiveness of obtaining policy objectives. The phenomenon of the implementation gap is a well-discussed topic in scientific literature (Ansell et al., 2017; Hudson et al., 2019). However, a quick literature review shows that the concept of policy integration has not yet been related to this implementation gap. Research into this relation might provide useful knowledge about effective implementation of public policy in which policy integration is enforced and the implementation gap overcome.

Thirdly, the role and importance of informal public-private networks to stimulate policy innovation and improve spatial plan qualities was mentioned in this research as important aspect for successful (processual) policy integration and effective, efficient and legitimate realisation of policy objectives. The concept of informal public-private networks strongly relates to theories on collaborative governance. The theory on collaborative governance addresses the poor institutional position of officials to contribute to innovative policy solutions and claims that a solution can be found by promoting a more frequent and systematic engagement of politicians in processes of collaborative interaction with public and private actors (Torfing & Ansell, 2016). Linking this theoretical perspective to the theory on (processual) policy integration can lead to new insights that will overcome current obstacles.

Finally, it is important to research the effects of the implementation of the Environmental and Planning Act in October 2022 upon the practice of policy integration. It would be valuable to gain knowledge on how the transition to the new Environmental Act can either overcome current obstacles or poses new challenges.

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Interview protocol

Voorafgaand aan interview

Dankwoord voor deelname

Persoonlijke introductie

Doel van het interview

Formaliteiten: audio opname, dataverwerking, vertrouwelijkheid en anonimiteit (consentformulier)

Structuur van het interview

Inleidende vragen

Wat was uw rol in het project?

Vanaf welke fase betrokken?

Wie waren er betrokken in het planproces en was er sprake van een bepaalde rolverdeling?

Waren er binnen deze rolverdeling nog duidelijk verschillen in mate van zeggenschap?

Zo ja, hoe uitte dit verschil zich?

Wie hadden een leidende rol?

Kernvragen

Hoe hebben de gemeente brede beleidskaders invloed gehad op de plannen?

Hoe is beleid geland in de uitvraag en uiteindelijk het project? Hoe zijn jullie daarover geadviseerd?

Sturend of belemmerend ervaren? Waarom?

Welke beleidsdocumenten, naast de juridisch bindende, zijn leidend geweest?

Wat waren de initiële ambities in het project met betrekking tot verdichting/woningbouw en klimaat adaptatie?

Was er sprake van een spanningsveld?

Welke overwegingen hebben een rol gespeeld?

Hoe is zijn die ambities geland in het privaatrechtelijk contract?

Wat is er afgesproken, wat is er bindend wat een streven?

Publiekrechtelijk: welke toetsten zijn er afgenomen om te kijken of het project in lijn is met beleid?

Was dit passend voor het project?

Zijn de doelen van klimaat adaptatie en verdichting door bepaalde actoren behartigd in het proces en hoe was de samenwerking tussen deze actoren?

Veranderde dit door verschillende fases heen in het proces?

Wat verstaat u onder 'integraal beleid'? /Wanneer is beleid integraal in uw ogen?

Wat waren cruciale momenten waardoor er een andere kant op is gegaan?

Waar had dat mee te maken?

Kijkend naar het uiteindelijke plan, zijn alle initiële doelen gehaald?

Hoezo wel/niet?

Hoe is hier tijdens het proces op gestuurd? Waarom bepaalde keuzes gemaakt/overwegingen?

Wat zijn de obstakels geweest van de integrale samenwerking en welke aspecten waren juist succesfactoren?

Afsluitende vragen

Terugkijkend op het project en de onderwerpen waar wij over gesproken hebben, zijn er dan nog andere dingen die in u opkomen die hierop aansluiten en relevant zijn om te benoemen?

Zijn er betrokkenen geweest die voor mijn onderzoek ook relevant zijn om te spreken?

Dankwoord

Statements expert meeting

1. Onderhandelingspositie van de gemeente was in beide casussen verschillende: Little C was een unsolicited proposal waarbij de grond wél van de gemeente was en Bajes Kwartier kan gezien worden als een stedelijke transformatie waarbij de gemeente geen grondeigenaar is maar wel betrokken werd. De belangrijkste sturingsinstrumenten die de gemeente in beide gevallen kan inzetten om niet-juridisch bindende ambities te borgen zijn:...
2. Tender procedures niet ideaal in het opzicht dat ze een lange aanloop hebben en niet snel kunnen anticiperen op veranderd beleid. (Moment van uitvraag en moment van indiening/realisatie te ver uit elkaar). Het werken met een vastgestelde nota van uitgangspunten is niet flexibel genoeg en belemmert integratie van nieuwe inzichten in een later stadium. Met name belangrijk voor duurzaamheidsambities gezien beleid rondom klimaat adaptatie etc. nog sterk in ontwikkeling is.
3. Het integreren van ambities in de ontwerpfase vaak geen probleem met de nodige creativiteit, maar...
 - a) doordat een plan daardoor van afwijkt van een standaard wordt de toetsing lastig en loopt het project vast.
 - b) tijdens de verdere plan uitwerking en uitvoering komt al het gedetailleerde gemeentelijke beleid om de hoek kijken wat vaak lastig in te passen is/belemmerd werkt.
4. Te veel eisen in een tender beperken creativiteit en daarmee mogelijke innovatieve ontwikkelingen
5. De verantwoordelijkheid om conflicterende belangen af te wegen ligt bij de ontwikkelaar.
6. Schaalsprong van beleid: het door vertalen van gemeentelijk duurzaamheidsbeleid op plot niveau is vaak niet passend. Plot niveau vaak niet de goede schaal om ambities te realiseren.
7. Er is behoefte aan meer informele publiek private samenwerkingen en kennis uitwissing op duurzaamheidsthema's, deze beleidsinnovatie vraagt om informele netwerken. Maar gemeenten vinden dit lastig als het te dicht op een project zit voor de onafhankelijkheid en de schijn van belangenverstremgeling.
8. Proces efficiëntie: gemeentelijke grondexploitaties lopen leeg op de plankosten.
9. Projectteam:
 - a) Een integraal projectteam betekend dat er uit elke discipline iemand is vertegenwoordigd?
 - b) Gelijkwaardigheid vs. hiërarchie.
 - c) De omvang van een projectteam