



# 'Permanent' impacts of temporary use of vacant land on urban development and planning

An explorative study of the interaction between municipal policy and temporary use projects



Mies van Aar || August 2016



**WAGENINGEN UR**  
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# 'PERMANENT' IMPACTS OF TEMPORARY USE OF VACANT LAND ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

*An explorative study of the interaction between municipal policy and temporary use projects*

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## PREFACE

Before you lies the thesis report "Permanent' impacts of temporary use of vacant land on urban development and planning'. This is the result of my research to complete the master Urban Environmental Management with specialization Land Use Planning at Wageningen University. The topic of this research is a natural continuation of previous research that I have done during my masters. My interest in urban vacant land was first sparked by the book *Urban Wildscapes* (Jorgensen and Keenan, 2012), which highlights the social, spatial and ecological sides of these wild and 'unplanned' spaces within the city. In my first master thesis (for the master Forest and Nature Conservation) I have focused on the ecological side by researching the drivers of plant diversity in urban wildscapes. With this second master thesis, I was able to explore a social and spatial component of these spaces, in the form of temporary uses. Both vacant land and temporary uses fascinate me because of their 'wild' and 'unplanned' characteristics, which seem to contrast with their (often highly organized) urban surroundings, while at the same time being very attractive to many city-dwellers. By exploring the interaction between temporary use projects and municipal policy on temporary use, I want to contribute to a better understanding of how temporary use projects are influenced by and influence municipal policy, and how this affects the long-term development of the vacant land that these temporary uses occupy as well as the role of temporary use in urban planning.

I have had a lot of help from people, without whom I could not have done this research. First of all, I would like to thank all the people that I have interviewed for this research for taking the time to share their experiences and insights with me. I would like to thank Marleen Buizer, my supervisor, for her advice and encouragement, and for letting me discover what I wanted to do with my research and how to go about it in my own time, while always being available for any questions or difficulties that I had. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for supporting me during this period, for discussing my thesis with me, giving very useful advice and helping with practical stuff such as spelling checks and front page design. Daniel Lamont, Heleen de Wilde, Urban van Aar and many others, thank you for helping me finish this thesis as well!

While conducting this research and writing this report, I have learned a lot about temporary use of urban vacant land and its role in urban planning. I hope that reading this report will do the same for you, because - as Anna Jorgensen says in her introduction to 'Urban Wildscapes':

"[A] wildscape is not just a spatial designation but a way of thinking about urban space"

Mies van Aar

Nijmegen, 24<sup>th</sup> of July 2016

## SUMMARY

The financial crisis has led to the delay and cancelling of many large-scale development projects, causing an increase of vacant land in many European cities. These developments, together with changed cultural and technological circumstances, have led to an increase in (attention for) temporary use of vacant land. Temporary uses have always been part of urban areas, but because of these recent developments, temporary uses have moved from 'niche' to 'mainstream'. Temporary uses are appreciated for their creative and innovative qualities, which is often ascribed to their experimental and 'unplanned' character. Many Dutch municipalities are (actively) facilitating and even stimulating temporary uses. It is not yet clear what the impact of these temporary uses are on urban development, nor how these uses are influenced by municipal policy and vice-versa.

I have explored the interactions between municipal policy and temporary use projects, by researching: 1) existing policies for temporary use of vacant land and the motivations and ideas behind these policies, 2) the continuity and long-term impact on site development of temporary use projects, and 3) the effect that interaction between the municipalities and temporary use projects has on both of these previous points. Theory on view on planning ('blueprint planning' versus 'organic planning') based on the work of Marshall (2009), Buitelaar et al. (2012) and Buitelaar and Bregman (2016) was used to analyse the first point. A classification of temporary use project's impact on site development by Oswalt et al. (2013) were used to analyse the second point. For the interaction in general, a classification of strategies employed by actors involved in temporary use by Oswalt et al. (2013) was used.

This research was conducted in three Dutch municipalities (Nijmegen, Groningen and Arnhem) and includes 2 to 3 maximum variation case studies per city. I have studied a total of 8 temporary use projects, these projects included (community, allotment and production) gardens, parks, 'breeding grounds' for creative entrepreneurs and an alternative living community. Data collection was done through conducting semi-structured interviews. Per municipality 1-2 municipal officers who were involved in temporary use policy development and implementation were interviewed. Per project 1-2 of the project's initiators or managers were interviewed. The data was analysed by coding and memoing in Atlas.ti software.

I found that all three municipalities in this study try to facilitate temporary uses. The amount of policy on temporary use differs per municipality, and seems to be related to the amount of vacant land and temporary use projects in the municipalities. Planning in all three municipalities is undergoing a shift from 'blueprint' to 'organic' planning. Temporary uses fit well with this shift, but most of the temporary use projects in this study are (or were) located on vacant land within already planned (but delayed) 'blueprint' developments. Most of the temporary uses can probably not stay in their current form at their (first) location due to this. The municipalities in this study generally appreciate temporary uses, but do (or can) not let temporary uses stay at these locations because they count on the income from the value of the building ground which these uses are located on. However, many of the temporary uses in this study are likely to be able to move somewhere else (permanently in some cases), with the help of the municipality, after the initially agreed upon period for temporary use. Many projects (will) also have an impact on the future development of their site, by changing the development plans or even by being (partly) incorporated in the development. Municipal policy impacts temporary uses through this, but also through removing obstacles for temporary use. Legal rules and regulations as well as the mind-set within municipalities were identified as obstacles for temporary use in previous research, but seem to have been (largely) overcome in the municipalities in this study. I have identified differing views within the municipality (especially between different departments) as an obstacle for temporary use. This can be confusing for initiators of temporary uses and can lead to situations where different municipal departments are saying (or even doing) different things related to the temporary use, as well as to situations where temporary use projects have multiple contact persons within the municipality. Temporary uses influence municipal policy by functioning as an example for future temporary uses (and how the municipality deals with these), as well as by functioning as a catalyst to change municipal mind sets (e.g. related to the transition from blueprint to organic planning).

Municipal policy on temporary use will be influenced by the soon to be implemented new Environment and Planning Act. This act and the goals that go with it are likely to help overcome the mentioned obstacles, through reducing and

simplifying procedures and by focussing on facilitating initiatives and flexibility in planning. Policy and attitudes on temporary use in the municipalities under study seems to be anticipating this change in legislation already. The role of temporary use in urban planning on the long term will depend on whether the ongoing transition from blueprint planning to organic planning will persevere. Temporary use as we see it now is a symptom of a system in transition, and whether this transition institutionalizes or not will determine what will become of temporary uses in the future. Under blueprint planning, temporary use is likely to revert to the 'margin' again, and under organic planning it is likely that it will become a real part of mainstream urban development.

Recommendations for future research topics include the relation between the new Environment and Planning act and temporary use (policy), the role of temporary use in the transition from blueprint to organic planning, a more detailed look into the impact of the interaction with the municipality on temporary use projects themselves, and studying temporary use initiatives that were not able to establish themselves. Recommendations for municipalities include improving (internal and external) communication about and with temporary use initiatives. Municipalities should also be sensitive to the fact that by approving or rejecting certain temporary use initiatives and by facilitating or stimulating one project more actively than another, they influence who can participate in temporary use projects and who cannot.

## SAMENVATTING

De financiële crisis heeft geleid tot het vertragen en stopzetten van veel grootschalige bouwprojecten, wat in veel Europese landen voor een toename van het aantal braakliggende terreinen heeft gezorgd. Deze ontwikkelingen, samen met veranderde culturele en technologische omstandigheden, hebben geleid tot een toename in (de aandacht voor) tijdelijk gebruik van braakliggende terreinen. Tijdelijk gebruik is altijd een onderdeel geweest van het stedelijk gebied, maar door deze recente ontwikkelingen is tijdelijk gebruik van de 'niche' naar de 'mainstream' opgeschoven. Tijdelijk gebruik projecten worden gewaardeerd om hun creatieve en innovatieve eigenschappen, wat vaak wordt toegeschreven aan hun experimentele en 'on geplande' karakter. Veel Nederlandse gemeenten faciliteren en stimuleren tijdelijk gebruik projecten. Het is nog niet duidelijk wat de impact van deze tijdelijk gebruik projecten is op stedelijke ontwikkeling, noch hoe deze projecten beïnvloed worden door gemeentebestuur en vice versa.

Ik heb de interacties tussen gemeentebestuur en tijdelijk gebruik projecten verkend, door het onderzoeken van: 1) bestaand beleid voor tijdelijk gebruik voor braakliggende terreinen en de beweegredenen en ideeën achter dit beleid, 2) de continuïteit en lange termijn impact op gebiedsontwikkeling van tijdelijk gebruik projecten, en 3) het effect dat de interactie tussen gemeenten en tijdelijk gebruik projecten heeft op beide voorgaande punten. Theorie over visie op planning ('blauwdrukplanning' versus 'organische planning') gebaseerd op het werk van Marshall (2009), Buitelaar et al. (2012) en Buitelaar en Bregman (2016) is gebruikt voor het analyseren van het eerste punt. Een classificering van de impact van tijdelijk gebruik projecten op gebiedsontwikkeling door Oswalt et al. (2013) is gebruikt voor het analyseren van het tweede punt. Voor de interactie in het algemeen is een classificering van strategieën die worden toegepast door spelers die betrokken zijn bij tijdelijk gebruik door Oswalt et al. (2013) gebruikt.

Dit onderzoek is uitgevoerd in drie Nederlandse gemeenten (Nijmegen, Groningen en Arnhem) en bevat 2 à 3 maximum variatie casestudies per stad. In totaal heb ik 8 tijdelijk gebruik projecten bestudeerd, waaronder (buurt-, volks- en productie-) tuinen, parken, broedplaatsen voor creatief ondernemerschap en een alternatieve woongemeenschap. Ik heb data verzameld door het afnemen van semi-open interviews. Per gemeente heb ik 1 à 2 ambtenaren die betrokken waren bij de ontwikkeling en implementering van beleid voor tijdelijk gebruik geïnterviewd. Per project heb ik 1 à 2 van de projectmanagers of de initiatiefnemers van het project geïnterviewd. De data heb ik geanalyseerd door te coderen in Atlas.ti software.

Ik heb gevonden dat alle drie de gemeenten in dit onderzoek tijdelijk gebruik proberen te faciliteren. De hoeveelheid beleid voor tijdelijk gebruik verschilt per gemeente, en lijkt gerelateerd te zijn aan de hoeveelheid braakliggend terreinen en tijdelijk gebruik projecten in de gemeenten. In alle drie de gemeenten is een verschuiving van

'blauwdrukplanning' naar 'organische planning' gaande. Tijdelijk gebruik past goed in deze verschuiving, maar de meeste van de tijdelijk gebruik projecten in dit onderzoek bevinden (of bevonden) zich op braakliggende terreinen in reeds geplande (maar vertraagde) 'blauwdruk' bouwprojecten. Hierdoor kunnen de meeste van deze tijdelijk gebruik projecten waarschijnlijk niet in hun huidige vorm op hun (eerste) locatie blijven. De gemeenten in dit onderzoek waarderen tijdelijk gebruik over het algemeen, maar willen (of kunnen) tijdelijk gebruik projecten niet op deze locaties laten blijven, omdat ze rekenen op het inkomen van de bouwgrond waarop deze projecten zich bevinden. Veel van de tijdelijk gebruik projecten in dit onderzoek kunnen echter waarschijnlijk wel ergens anders heen verhuizen (in sommige gevallen zelfs permanent) met hulp van de gemeente, nadat de afgesproken periode voor tijdelijk gebruik is afgelopen. Veel van de onderzochte projecten zullen een impact hebben op de toekomstige ontwikkeling van het terrein waar ze zich bevinden, door de bouwplannen te beïnvloeden of door zelfs (deels) in de bouwplannen te worden opgenomen. Gemeentebeleid beïnvloedt tijdelijk gebruik projecten op deze manier, maar ook door het verwijderen van obstakels voor tijdelijk gebruik. Wetgeving en de mind-set binnen gemeenten zijn in eerder onderzoek naar voren gekomen als obstakels voor tijdelijk gebruik, maar in de onderzochte gemeenten lijken deze obstakels grotendeels te zijn overwonnen. In dit onderzoek kwam een verschil in kijk op tijdelijk gebruik binnen de gemeente (vooral tussen verschillende afdelingen) naar voren als obstakel voor van tijdelijk gebruik. Dit kan verwarrend zijn voor de initiatiefnemers van tijdelijk gebruik projecten en kan leiden tot situaties waarin verschillende gemeentelijke afdelingen verschillende dingen zeggen (of zelfs doen) met betrekking tot het tijdelijk gebruik project en situaties waarin tijdelijk gebruik projecten meerdere contactpersonen bij de gemeente hebben. Tijdelijk gebruik projecten beïnvloeden gemeentebeleid door te functioneren als een voorbeeld voor (de manier waarop gemeenten omgaan met) toekomstige tijdelijk gebruik projecten en door te functioneren als een katalysator voor het veranderen van de mind-set binnen de gemeente (bijvoorbeeld met betrekking tot de transitie van blauwdruk naar organische planning).

Gemeentebeleid voor tijdelijk gebruik zal beïnvloed worden door de nieuwe Omgevingswet die binnenkort geïmplementeerd wordt. Deze wet en de doelen die hierbij horen zullen waarschijnlijk helpen om de eerder genoemde obstakels voor tijdelijk gebruik te overwinnen, door het reduceren en versimpelen van procedures en door te focussen op het faciliteren van initiatieven en het flexibeler maken van ruimtelijke planning. Beleid voor en houdingen ten opzichte van tijdelijk gebruik in de gemeenten in dit onderzoek lijken al vooruit te lopen op deze wijziging in wetgeving. De rol van tijdelijk gebruik in stedelijke planning op de lange termijn zal afhangen van de mate waarin de huidige transitie van blauwdrukplanning naar organische planning doorzet. Tijdelijk gebruik zoals we het nu zien is een symptoom van een systeem in transitie, en of deze transitie institutionaliseert of niet zal bepalen wat er van tijdelijk gebruik zal worden in de toekomst. Onder blauwdrukplanning zal tijdelijk gebruik waarschijnlijk weer terugkeren naar de 'marge', en onder organische planning is het waarschijnlijk dat (wat wij nu zien als) tijdelijk gebruik een echt onderdeel wordt van 'mainstream' stedelijke ontwikkeling.

Aanbevelingen voor toekomstig onderzoek zijn het bestuderen van onder andere de relatie tussen de nieuwe Omgevingswet en (beleid voor) tijdelijk gebruik, de rol van tijdelijk gebruik in de transitie van blauwdrukplanning naar organische planning, een gedetailleerder onderzoek van het effect van de interactie met de gemeente op tijdelijk gebruik projecten, en het bestuderen van initiatieven voor tijdelijk gebruik die niet van de grond zijn gekomen. Aanbevelingen voor gemeentes zijn onder andere het verbeteren van (interne en externe) communicatie over en met tijdelijk gebruik projecten. Gemeenten zouden ook rekening moeten houden met het feit dat zij beïnvloeden wie wel en niet kan participeren in tijdelijk gebruik, door het goedkeuren of afwijzen van bepaalde tijdelijk gebruik projecten en door het actiever faciliteren of stimuleren van het ene project dan het andere.

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## INTRODUCTION

In many cities in Europe and America, the amount of vacant land has increased over the last decade. The recent financial crisis is an important driver behind this, as it has contributed to the cancelling of building projects and the decrease of municipal budgets for public (green) space and area development (de Bruin et al., 2012, Oswald et al., 2013). However, these vacant sites are not necessarily empty spaces. There are quite some benefits associated with these sites: they can harbour surprising amounts of (rare, native and exotic) plant and animal species (Bonthoux et al., 2014, van Aar, 2016a) and can be an unregulated, 'loose' space in which activities that are not allowed in regulated urban space can take place (Jorgensen, 2012, Jorgensen and Tylecote, 2007, Desimini, 2015). But these wild or unregulated aspects of these sites can also have negative effects; the biodiversity in these spaces can harbour invasive or nuisance species and the unregulated character can cause unwanted uses such as the dumping of waste (Jorgensen and Tylecote, 2007, Bonthoux et al., 2014, van Aar, 2016a). This can cause the residents of the area around the urban wildscape to have a negative perception of this space (Rupprecht and Byrne, 2014, Harrison and Davies, 2002, Dijk, 2015). A way to change this negative perception, while also retaining (some of) the positive effects of unregulated urban space, is temporary use of a vacant site (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Dijk, 2015, Oswald et al., 2013).

Even though temporary use is not a new phenomenon, temporary use initiatives have increased in industrialized countries over the last decades, as has the attention for the phenomenon (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Oswald et al., 2013, Parris, 2015c). Bishop and Williams (2012) describe that a large amount of economic, social and technical circumstances have led to 'a perfect storm', leading to the current boom in temporary use of vacant land. These drivers include economic circumstances such as de-industrialization of cities, but also economic circumstances related to the recent financial crisis and the following recession, such as a decrease in building and development projects and rising rates of (youth) unemployment. Social circumstances such as demographic change, the blurring of the divide between culture and counter culture, changes in how and when culture is a part of people's life and increasing community involvement (which is partly related to a 'withdrawing' government) play a large role as well. In terms of technical circumstances, social media and the increased connectivity that this had brought is one of the main drivers. All this has helped in moving temporary use from its 'alternative niche' into the 'mainstream' (Bishop and Williams, 2012). However, it is not yet clear what the influence of this increase in temporary use of vacant land could be on the future city, nor how urban planning could or should be involved (or not involved) in this temporary use (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Oswald et al., 2013).

Temporary use can take many different forms, from local residents starting an urban community garden to a pop up beach club or an artist collective using the space as a temporary work or living space (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Oswald et al., 2013, Parris, 2015c). Some temporary uses are initiated by owners or governments as consciously planned parts of the development cycle, others are bottom-up and informal. Temporary uses can be on vacant land, in vacant buildings, in 'underused' spaces or even in public spaces used differently than 'intended' or 'planned'. The timescale for temporary uses can vary from hours to years or decades, and some temporary uses are intended to be temporary but eventually become permanent.

Next to using the temporarily 'empty' space in a more intensive way than it would be used when it would 'just' be derelict, these kind of initiatives can offer a lot to the surrounding neighbourhood or city in terms of creativity, liveliness, image and community building (Bishop and Williams, 2012, de Bruin et al., 2012, Oswald et al., 2013). This might be one of the reasons that temporary use of derelict spaces is often invited by municipalities. In the Netherlands this happens in e.g. Amsterdam and Utrecht, where there are 'vacant site maps' with which residents can look up online on which sites what kind of initiatives would be permitted<sup>1</sup> (Corsten, 2015, de Bruin et al., 2012). However, whether these temporary use initiatives are invited by the municipality or not, rules and procedures (such as zoning plans) and the sometimes reluctant attitude of municipal officers towards temporary use can be big obstacles to developing temporary use (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Németh and Langhorst, 2014).

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.utrecht.nl/leidsche-rijn/tijdelijk-grondgebruik/>, [http://maps.amsterdam.nl/braakliggende\\_terreinen/](http://maps.amsterdam.nl/braakliggende_terreinen/)

When these temporary uses do overcome these barriers and develop successfully, they sometimes suffer from their own successes, in two different ways. On the one hand, the very nature of temporality of these projects can cause problems when successful projects have to be cut short in order to vacate the site for a new development (Drosten, 2014, Desimini, 2015, Németh and Langhorst, 2014, Oswald et al., 2013). On the other hand, when temporary uses are specifically invited by municipalities, site owners or developers, temporary use projects are sometimes merely used as a 'vehicle for gentrification' of the area. In these cases the temporary uses are used to 'rebrand' the area, after which the area can be developed commercially (which was not feasible before the temporary use), leading to commercial gain but through 'exploiting' temporary users (Andres, 2013, Bishop and Williams, 2012, Oswald et al., 2013). Even when a project was a success during its existence, these issues can leave a bitter aftertaste to an otherwise successful temporary use project. This can cause developers, municipalities and initiators of projects to be apprehensive when such a project of temporary use on vacant land is proposed (Németh and Langhorst, 2014, Oswald et al., 2013). On the other hand, many (successful) temporary use projects end without a problem, or even become permanent in one form or another (de Bruin et al., 2012, Oswald et al., 2013).

The question arises what influences the continuity of these temporary use projects and their long-term impact on the development of the vacant site they are using. A possible explanation can be found in the interaction of these projects with the municipality (Andres, 2013, Hentilä and Lindborg, 2003, Parris, 2015a). Temporary use resonates with developments in local planning, such as a shift towards participatory governance and the need for low budget projects for area redevelopment due to the financial crisis (de Bruin et al., 2012, Oswald et al., 2013). Many (Dutch) municipalities recognize the positive effects that temporary use projects can have, and are integrating temporary use in municipal policy and practice (Corsten, 2015, Drosten, 2014, de Bruin et al., 2012, Oswald et al., 2013). However, there are multiple different reasons or motivations for a municipality to make policy on temporary use. Temporary use can for example be beneficial from the point of view of 'organic planning' approaches as well as from a 'blueprint planning' approach. These approaches might result in different policies, influencing temporary uses in different ways (Oswald et al., 2013). At the same time, (the making of) municipal policy is likely to be influenced by temporary use projects within the municipality (Oswald et al., 2013).

This research will therefore focus on the interactions between municipal policy and temporary use projects, researching: 1) existing policies for temporary use of vacant land and the motivations and ideas behind these policies, 2) the continuity and long-term impact on site development of temporary use projects, and 3) the effect that interaction between the municipalities and temporary use projects has on both of these previous points. This leads to the research question: How do municipal policy on temporary use and initiatives for temporary use of vacant land impact each other and how does this affect the municipal policies' development and the temporary use projects' continuity and long-term impact on site development?

This report is structured as follows: in the first chapter the theoretical concepts guiding this research and the sub-questions are introduced. The next chapter will discuss the methods used in this study, followed by three chapters of results (one for each city). This is followed by a chapter in which I analyse the results of all cities together (cross-case analyses). Finally, I will conclude with a Discussion and a Conclusion chapter.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I will elaborate on the focus points for this research which were introduced in the introduction. For all these points I will discuss the relevant temporary use literature and introduce the theoretical concepts which I have used to guide the research and will use to analyse the case studies in the results chapters of this report. Within each section I will introduce the related sub-question(s), of which I will give an overview at the end of this chapter.

### POLICY ON TEMPORARY USE AND THE ROLE OF TEMPORARY USE IN URBAN PLANNING

In this research I will address municipal policy from a broad view of 'policy': it will include both practices and views of the municipalities under study, related to temporary uses. I will focus mainly on those issues that the municipalities have the possibility to influence. For example, national legal restrictions will be the same in all municipalities and are not necessarily considered part of the municipal policy, even though they might impact the local temporary uses. If temporary uses are not allowed or there is no official policy (e.g. temporary uses are incidentally allowed through policy or permit exemptions) within a municipality, this is also considered 'policy' (the policy of not making policy).

There are a number of strategies which municipalities can adopt to interact with temporary use (which will be described in a later section), as well as a number of practical policy interventions related to these different strategies (which will be discussed for the individual municipalities in later chapters). For the theoretical framework, I have chosen to focus more on the ideas or motivations behind the temporary use. In order to understand the interaction between temporary use projects and municipal policy on temporary use, it is important to understand what the municipality's motivations for supporting (or not supporting) temporary use are, and how this relates to their view on urban planning and urban change.

### ROLES OF TEMPORARY USE IN URBAN CHANGE

Temporary use can take many different forms, and can play many different roles in urban development and planning (Ferrerri, 2015). This role in urban change is not only dependent on the type of temporary use, but also on the dominant view on urban planning. In temporary use literature, two views on urban change and temporary use are often contrasted (Kamvasinou, 2015). On the one hand there is the view of temporary use as a secondary use. Temporary use is seen as an intermediate phase in the 'traditional' cycle of development, abandonment and re-development. In the other view, temporary use is part of a transformation of urbanism and city planning, temporary uses are or can become a primary function and temporary is 'the new permanent'. These views correspond to different ways of perceiving urban change in general, and are not a discrete distinction but rather a continuous spectrum. In the sections below, the current discussion in literature on these two views on the role of temporary use in urban change is summarized.

#### TEMPORARY USE AS AN INTERMEDIARY PHASE IN TRADITIONAL PLANNING

From this point of view, temporary use is a 'stopgap'. It is some in-between, secondary use that can flourish under 'weak planning conditions' in absence of financially, economically or politically viable development plans for the area (Andres, 2013, Bishop and Williams, 2012, Németh and Langhorst, 2014, Desimini, 2015, Oswalt et al., 2013). It is often emphasized that temporary use is shifting from a more 'alternative' and 'marginalised' niche position into the 'mainstream', where it is now appreciated as an important phase in urban redevelopment, helping with rebranding and revitalizing a vacant site and an area (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Ferreri, 2015, Németh and Langhorst, 2014, Patti and Polyak, 2015). In this view, temporary uses are incorporated in the 'traditional' planning structures, and become part of making an area commercially viable (again) (Ferrerri, 2015).

According to Ferreri (2015), in the discourse of neoliberal urban policy-makers "*the 'pioneering' examples of temporary magic are celebrated as exemplifying the kind of upbeat experimental and creative practices needed to temporarily keep up the pretence of constant urban growth [...] in the absence of real means to do so through official practices of place-marketing and re-branding*" (Ferrerri, 2015, 184).

Oswalt et al. 2013 describe how the image of 'creative city' which many administrations aim for, leads to acknowledging and aiding only those temporary uses which are commercial or entrepreneurial. They argue that "*while the urban marketing rhetoric is being updated, urban policy adheres virtually unchanged to its traditional methods, player networks and policy concepts*" (Oswalt et al., 2013, 14).

So in this view, planning and urban development continue as much as possible as 'business as usual', even though (economical) circumstances have changed. Temporary uses are used to bridge the gap in-between abandonment and redevelopment, or to re-brand an area. The focus is still on economic values and temporary uses are only integrated in this 'business as usual' when beneficial.

### TEMPORARY USE AS A PRIMARY USE, TRANSFORMING THE CITY

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From this point of view, temporary use is part of a new way of planning, including evolutionary planning, citizen initiatives and participatory governance (Oswalt et al., 2013, Bishop and Williams, 2012). Planning and urbanism are expected to change from predefined end-states, to an open-ended process where permanence is relative. This makes temporary use into a possible primary use as part of the gradual transformation of cities (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Németh and Langhorst, 2014, Oswalt et al., 2013). Temporary use can catalyse urban transformation, by creating disruptions (in public space) which can lead to more permanent reconfigurations of urban systems (Radywyl and Biggs, 2013).

Patti and Polyak (2015) argue that in many cases "*temporary use has become an integrated element of long-term planning, allowing experimentation with different functions and target groups, before establishing a program for a planned development. In this sense, temporary use is not limited to marginal, out-of-the-ordinary activities: it contributes to the transformation of planning itself*" (Patti and Polyak, 2015, 123)

Bishop and Williams (2012) relate the temporary use phenomenon to the current changes in planning, where instead of 'traditional masterplanning', more flexible approaches to (master)planning are emerging. They conclude that temporary uses should be seen as an essential part of the city. They also state that even though temporary uses seem to fit nicely with a focus on more participatory, evolutionary, bottom-up planning, the right planning framework to reach this potential is not in place yet. They argue that "*the temporary needs to be allowed to happen organically*" (Bishop and Williams, 2012, 216), which calls for "*strategies that adopt an iterative rather than an end-state approach to urban change*" (Bishop and Williams, 2012, 220).

Oswalt et al. (2013) describe a new form of planning: 'enabling' or 'open source planning', which primarily entails removing obstacles to the users. Such a form of planning gives the planner a new role as a strategist or agent, bringing other actors together. Planning instruments change from those enforcing centrally defined plans to instruments that enable the actions of multiple different actors in parallel (Oswalt et al., 2013). They compare open source planning to 'classical planning models' such as 'traditional masterplanning'. Where in traditional masterplanning, buildings are developed first after which spaces are rented to users, in open source planning "*the planning of buildings and open space is less important at the beginning of a project than it is in its later stages, once clear uses have developed and can be planned for with the long term in mind. As the process goes forward the plan is checked against reality and continuously adapted*" (Oswalt et al., 2013, 218). Furthermore, in open source planning, control is shared. This realizes synergies between owners, municipalities and active citizens and it gives room to unfinished and transitory states, integrating short- and long-term action.

In this view, temporary use is both the catalyst and the beneficiary of changes in urbanism towards a more incremental, open-ended way of planning.

### VIEW ON PLANNING AND RELATION WITH MUNICIPAL POLICY ON TEMPORARY USE

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The previous sections shows that there is a distinction (or spectrum) within views on the role of temporary use in urban change. These can be characterised in many ways, but an important aspect is the view on planning. I expect that the

views found in literature will be found to some extent within the municipalities under study. To analyse this I will use a spectrum of views on urban planning, which I have based on theory about evolutionary planning versus creationist and developmental planning (Marshall, 2009), and 'integral area development' versus 'organic area development' as described by Buitelaar et al. (2012) and Buitelaar and Bregman (2016). These two distinctions (or spectra) of urban development resonate with each other and with the earlier described views on temporary use.

### DEVELOPMENTAL AND CREATIONIST PLANNING VERSUS EVOLUTIONARY PLANNING

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Marshall (2009) describes the evolutionary planning paradigm (city as evolutionary entity) by contrasting it with two other planning paradigms: developmental (city as developing organism) and creationist (city as designed object) planning (van Aar, 2016b). Together these three planning paradigms form a spectrum of urban planning approaches. These paradigms and their characteristics are summarised in Table 6 in Appendix A (see also Table 1). Marshall (2009) notes that, even though creationist and developmental approaches have very different underlying principles and ideas about the city, in the end the practical application of creationist and developmental paradigms is quite similar: they both work towards a predefined 'ideal' end-state of the city (Marshall, 2009, van Aar, 2016b). In this research the creationist and developmental paradigms will therefore be considered as one paradigm, called 'blueprint planning'.

Evolutionary planning as described by Marshall (2009) has five important principles (see Table 7 and 8 in Appendix A for a description):

- 1) Make each step viable now
- 2) Proceed by small steps – avoid 'monstrosity'
- 3) Avoid suppressing 'unsolicited novelty'
- 4) Discard moribund models
- 5) Devolve decision making

Temporary uses fit well with these five principles of evolutionary planning, since they are often experimental (3, 4), small scale (2), adapted to current needs (1, 4) and are shaped by the users (5). They are therefore often associated with evolutionary planning approaches and organic, incremental regeneration processes (Andres, 2013, Hentilä and Lindborg, 2003, Kamvasinou, 2015, Németh and Langhorst, 2014, Groth and Corijn, 2005). Bishop and Williams (2012) discuss evolutionary planning as described by Marshall (2009) together with other emerging approaches to planning which are all without a pre-defined end state, have flexible phasing and an open time frame and are able to respond to changing conditions. They argue that the expansion of these planning approaches will facilitate a greater role for temporary uses in urban change (Bishop and Williams, 2012).

Since it appears that temporary uses (and possibly policies on temporary uses) fit well with evolutionary planning paradigms, the question is whether municipalities indeed plan for temporary use from an evolutionary view on planning. As shown by previous research on temporary use (see previous section), there is quite a clear distinction in literature about temporary use between more traditional 'blueprint planning' ways of looking at planning and more evolutionary approaches. From both of these views, temporary use can have beneficial (long-term) effects, so from both points of view it can make sense to include temporary use in long-term strategies for urban planning.

### INTEGRAL AREA DEVELOPMENT VERSUS ORGANIC AREA DEVELOPMENT

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The evolutionary planning paradigm as described by Marshall (2009) shows some parallels with developments in Dutch planning, such as 'organische gebiedsontwikkeling' and 'uitnodigingsplanning' (organic area development and invitation planning) which get attention in research, policy and practice (Buitelaar et al., 2012, Drost, 2014, GemeenteAlmere and GemeenteZeewolde, 2013, Koops, 2012, Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016). Especially organic area development as described by Buitelaar et al. (2012) and Buitelaar and Bregman (2016) shares a lot of characteristics with evolutionary planning as described by Marshall (2009). Buitelaar et al. (2012) and Buitelaar and Bregman (2016) contrast organic area development with the type of development for which they say the Netherlands is known; integrated urban development, which shows parallels with 'blueprint planning' as described above. They describe organic urban

development as: "the sum of relatively small-scaled (re)developments, with an open-ended process without blueprint, where development and management are intertwined, with a dominant role for end-users and a facilitation role for the government" (Buitelaar et al., 2012, 8 - translated by MvA). Buitelaar et al. 2012 distinguish a number of useful criteria to contrast integral and organic area development, which are shown in Table 9 in Appendix A (see also Table 1). They indicate that there is no clear distinction between integral and organic area development, but rather a continuum.

**ANALYSIS OF VIEW ON PLANNING AND RELATION WITH MUNICIPAL POLICY ON TEMPORARY USE**

The research question that relates to the introduced theory in the previous sections is: *Which policies and practices on temporary use do municipalities apply and how and from which view on planning did these policies and practices develop?* To answer this question, the views on planning (and the role of temporary use in planning) described in the previous sections will be used to analyse the view on planning in the municipalities under research, as well as the role that they see for temporary use in urban planning. For this analysis, I will use a spectrum from blueprint planning (based on Marshall's creationist/developmental paradigm and Buitelaar et al.'s description of integrated area development) to organic planning (based on Marshall's evolutionary paradigm and Buitelaar et al.'s description of organic area development). The characteristics of these two views on planning are shown in Table 1, and are a combination of Table 6, 7 and 9 in Appendix A.

Table 1: Characteristics of 'blueprint planning' and 'organic planning', based on Marshall (2009) and Buitelaar et al. (2012) & Buitelaar and Bregman (2016).

	<b>Blueprint planning</b>	<b>Organic planning</b>
<b>End state</b>	Is predefined and knowable, there is an optimal or target form	Is not known, there are multiple options and there is no optimal target form
<b>Urban change</b>	Results from interventions of planners or is developing towards a final, known, end-state	Is slow, incremental and can develop along multiple pathways
<b>Interventions in urban fabric</b>	Focus is on the final target form, part-finished fragments of grand designs might be acceptable	Focus is on making each step viable now
<b>Scale and novelty</b>	Risk of 'monstrosities' due to developments that are either too large, too novel or too sudden	Proceeds by small steps, novelty is tested on small scale before applied on a larger scale
<b>Reaction to unsolicited novelty</b>	Unsolicited novelty is averted or corrected, it is only allowed if it can be exploited	Is sensitive to where novelty is happening spontaneously, and tries not to suppress it
<b>Use of 'outdated' models</b>	Often adheres to existing models, even if 'outdated'	Outdated models are discarded
<b>Decision making</b>	Is done by planners which 'act on behalf of the citizen'	Is devolved to the lowest level
<b>Approach</b>	At once	Gradually
<b>Scale of development</b>	Large	Small
<b>Type of management</b>	Project management	Process management
<b>Plan type</b>	Blueprint	Strategic
<b>Type of developer</b>	Large developers	Small developers and individuals
<b>Role local authority</b>	Active and risk prone	Facilitative
<b>Development &amp; management</b>	Sequential	Mixed

## CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS

Exploring the long-term impacts of temporary use projects is important for understanding how temporary use in general influences urban development and urban planning in the long term. A study of historical examples of temporary uses in Amsterdam has shown that these uses can have a long-term impact on site development and the surrounding area, both in terms of morphology and in the programme that is developed (de Bruin et al., 2012). Studying the long-term impacts of temporary uses in relation to the policy under which these uses developed, can also show the impact that these policies have on the long-term site (and surrounding area) development. Having 'a legacy' as a project is often important for local volunteers who are involved in the temporary use (Kamvasinou, 2015) and initiators of temporary use often have a "clear interest in consolidating their use or even making it permanent" (Oswalt et al., 2013, 60). This is not just in terms of long-term impact on the site itself, but also in terms of the project itself. Therefore, the continuity of the temporary use projects (on site or somewhere else) will be studied next to the long-term impact on site development. Hentilä and Lindborg (2003) and Urban Catalysts (2003) describe a classification of temporary uses that is based on user tactics and focusses on the impact temporary use has on the development of a site. This classification is shown in Table 2. In the newest Urban Catalyst publication, a 9<sup>th</sup> category, Free Flow, was added (Oswalt et al., 2013).

**Table 2: classification of user tactics for temporary use and their impacts according to the 'Urban Catalyst' project (Hentilä and Lindborg, 2003, Oswalt et al., 2013, UrbanCatalyst, 2003). The descriptions and visual representations are adopted from Oswalt et al. (2013). In the visual representation, light grey stands for a permanent use, and dark grey/black for the temporary use(s).**

Category	Visual representation	Description
<b>Stand-in</b>		The stand-in has no lasting effect on the place. It merely uses the gap between the last use and the next. Such a low-impact approach makes realisation easier at the cost of transitoriness.
<b>Free Flow</b>		The use continues indefinitely by moving to new locations as the opportunity arises. This approach skilfully combines the pragmatism of the stand-in with long-term development, as it also uses the change of location to update its own activity.
<b>Impulse</b>		In-between use can generate decisive impulses for the programmatic profiling of its location: it establishes a new activity profile that is carried on in a new form after it ends.
<b>Consolidation</b>		Temporary use establishes itself at a location and is transformed to a permanent use.
<b>Coexistence</b>		Even after the appearance of new commercial uses, the informal temporary use continues to exist on a smaller scale. A niche existence makes coexistence possible.
<b>Parasite</b>		The temporary use exploits the potential of an existing long-term use by operating next to it.
<b>Subversion</b>		The temporary use strategically occupies the spaces of long-term use in order to disturb and transform it. Although such occupations and sit-ins are usually short-lived, they often effect a marked transformation on the institutions concerned.
<b>Pioneer</b>		Hitherto unused territory is at first temporarily appropriated by the simplest means and used in a transient manner. With the success of the temporary use, the activities continue indefinitely and take on increasingly permanent forms.
<b>Displacement</b>		Permanent uses are temporarily displaced and continue in an improved fashion until they are able to return to their permanent location. The temporary displacement can generate impulses for the reinvigoration of the program.

I will analyse the long-term impact and continuity of the projects through the categorization of impacts of temporary uses as described in Table 2. The research question that relates to this is: *What is the continuity and long-term impact on site development of temporary use projects within the municipality?* The long-term impact will in this project be seen as the impact that the temporary use has on the (more 'permanent') development of the site after the initial agreed upon period for temporary use ends (this period is usually 2 to 10 years). This 'permanent development' can be – depending on the site and project – an (already planned) development project that starts after the temporary use, or the temporary use itself staying at the site and becoming 'permanent'. The 'impact' in long-term impact is defined as the physical (morphological) and programmatic impact of the temporary use on the development of the site and possibly the surrounding area. When relevant, the larger impact of the project on the surrounding neighbourhood and community will be included as well. The 'continuity' will mainly focus on the 'survival' of the project after the first temporary use phase, this focusses on the 'internal impact' of the project; whether the project continues in one form or another (e.g. from neighbourhood garden to a more active neighbourhood community or from temporary bar in summer to a start-up company or a 'shifting use', continuing the same use on another site).

## INTERACTION BETWEEN TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS AND MUNICIPALITY

In many (Dutch) municipalities, the increased attention for temporary uses has also led to the development of a policy on temporary use. There are many examples where the development of municipal policy was influenced by previous experiences (both positive and negative) with temporary use (Oswalt et al., 2013, Patti and Polyak, 2015). These experiences might even influence not only the municipal policy on temporary use, but also the underlying view on planning (Oswalt et al., 2013). If municipal policy is being influenced by temporary use initiatives, especially those initiated by citizens, then this also fits with more participative forms of planning: if policy-making aims to be truly 'interactive', the policy-making *should* also be influenced by bottom-up initiatives, and not just the other way around; 'two-way traffic' (Buizer, 2008). The research question that relates to this is: *What is the influence of temporary use projects on the development of municipal policy for temporary use?*

One of the reasons that bottom-up temporary use projects are attracting attention from scholars, planners and citizens are their intrinsic characteristics of informal, unplanned and self-organized activity. These characteristics lead to space for creativity and experimentation, which is often viewed as a very important beneficial effect of temporary use projects (Oswalt et al., 2013, Ziehl and Oßwald, 2015, Ferreri, 2015). This provokes the question whether temporary use can even be planned. If the benefits of this use arise from the fact that these areas are 'unplanned', they might unavoidably change when policy and planning get involved.

On a more practical level, municipal planning and policy are also often an obstacle for temporary use projects. Procedures and (legal) rules are often not designed to deal with temporary uses and can hinder the possibility of a project to succeed or to be able to develop their initial ideas and plans. Next to this, one of the most important changes needed to implement temporary uses successfully is change in mind-set within governments and other stakeholders (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Németh and Langhorst, 2014, Oswalt et al., 2013, SEEDS, 2015). For example, one of the key challenges for wider implementation of temporary (re)-use identified in the final report of the SEEDS project on temporary uses is formulated as: *"The biggest challenge is still a wider acknowledgement and willingness to address the current need for more adaptive planning paradigms – both structurally and through a general mind shift among stakeholders. Municipalities and planners must develop a mind-set that actively supports temporary use as a resilient and valuable planning tool. It is more about the recognition than about the laws. Despite an emerging interest a majority of temporary projects still come to life as exceptions outside the usual process of urban renewal"* (SEEDS, 2015, 27).

So, even though it is clear that temporary use can have benefits for site and city development and/or transformation, and is thus interesting to involve in (long-term) planning policy, it is possible that this very policy will change the temporary use, possibly to a point where the beneficial effects will no longer be as strong (Oswalt et al., 2013). However, not planning or not making policy might also not be an option, since previous temporary use projects have shown that the current rules, procedures and mind-sets within governments are some of the most important obstacles to successful development of temporary use (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Németh and Langhorst, 2014, Oswalt et al., 2013, SEEDS,

2015). This leads to a dilemma, or puzzle if you will, around the questions if and how municipalities could or should get involved with temporary use through making policy and how this will influence temporary uses and their impact on long-term urban change. To shed some light on this dilemma, I will look at how municipalities interact with temporary use, and how this influences the temporary use projects' continuity and long-term impact on site development. The research question that relates to this is: *What is the influence of municipal policy on temporary use projects and their continuity and long-term impact on site development?*

According to the same book by Oswald et al. (2013) that was mentioned in the previous section, actors involved in temporary use (both from the side of the temporary use project as from the government) are employing different strategies for temporary use. These six strategies are characterised by the combination of intentions and actors involved (see Table 3). Multiple strategies can be present at the same time (in one city or even within one project), since they correspond to different stages of development of the temporary use (Oswald et al., 2013, Parris, 2015b).

**Table 3: Classifications of strategies for temporary use as described by Oswald et al. (2013). The description is based on the review of Parris (2015).**

Strategy	Description
<b>Enable</b>	In this strategy, all barriers to temporary use are removed in an urban area with many vacant sites. These vacant sites are publicised, access is facilitated and communication and legal barriers are removed. A mediator facilitates the process. The strategy is focused on the ideas of possible future users
<b>Initiate</b>	This strategy is mainly applied to very large sites, which are often too large for a single (group) of temporary users. In these cases a (municipality) agent is organizing a cluster of temporary uses on the site. A framework (strategy for the site) is developed, within which different temporary use activities can arise. This strategy is focused on reaching a critical mass of activity and users so that the site can develop successfully.
<b>Claim</b>	In this strategy – in contrast to the other strategies – the site is used without specific permission or permits from the owner and/or government, as a form of discontent or protest. The initiators often don't agree with the objectives of the owner of the site or of the local government. This strategy focuses on creating new public space, protected from cultural development and with room for diverse (and sometimes marginalised) groups and on generating public debate and media attention.
<b>Coach</b>	This strategy is about empowering and training self-organised users, by government or independent agents. The focus is therefore not on establishing a certain type of use or effect on the space, but creating social networks, support and capital.
<b>Formalize</b>	Some temporary uses become permanent, and often this is marked by formalisation, in which the more informal character of the temporary use gives way for permanent leases, permits and professionalization. This formalisation can be caused by external threats (e.g. eviction) or opportunities (e.g. the possibility to buy the site). This strategy often changes the profile of the use (which can result in failure).
<b>Exploit</b>	In this strategy, a commercial party (such as the land owner or another company) initiates temporary use for its own interest and on its own terms. Even though this can have benefits for all parties, including temporary users and the wider city, it can also turn out as an exploitation of the temporary use for commercial gains.

Some successful temporary initiatives manage to become permanent, while other have to disappear in order to make room for redevelopment. When temporary uses become formalized (defined as a transition to permanence where informal solutions give way to lasting structures, open-ended leases and permits, formal legal structures and professional management) their profile and identity often changes, which can result in failure of the 'formalized' temporary use (Oswald et al., 2013). Andres (2013) also argues that in order to ensure a long-term 'legacy', temporary uses need to change their approach (shift from using 'defensive tactics' to 'offensive strategies'). It is clear that the interaction with policy can change a temporary use project, especially when the project wants to ensure 'long-term

continuity'. Temporary uses – just like other bottom-up citizen initiatives – often have to change their initial ideas or language to be able to be accepted by those they need to be accepted by, such as the municipality and the site owner (Buizer, 2008, Dijk, 2015, Oswald et al., 2013). The research question that relates to this is: *How do temporary use projects change their activities and behaviour because of interaction with the municipality and how does this affect their continuity and long-term impact on site development?*

The insights presented in this section serve as a basis for my inquiry, further conceptualization of the interaction between initiatives and policy is based on concepts emerging from the field. I will use the classification of Oswald et al. (2013) in Table 3 to identify general categories of policy, actor, user and context combinations, within which I will study the interactions between policy and users.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research objective is: Exploring how interactions between temporary use projects on vacant land and municipal policy on temporary use projects influence the formulation of policy and the continuity and long-term impact on site development of temporary use projects.

The main research question is: How do municipal policy on temporary use and initiatives for temporary use of vacant land impact each other and how does this affect the municipal policies' development and the temporary use projects' continuity and long-term impact on site development?

Based on the theoretical framework, I have defined the sub-questions as:

1. Which policies and practices on temporary use do municipalities apply and how and from which view on planning did these policies and practices develop?
2. What is the continuity and long-term impact on site development of temporary use projects within the municipality?
3. What is the influence of temporary use projects on the development of municipal policy for temporary use?
4. What is the influence of municipal policy on temporary use projects and their continuity and long-term impact on site development?
5. How do temporary use projects change their activities and behaviour because of interaction with the municipality and how does this affect their continuity and long-term impact on site development?

## METHODS

In order to show the variation within both municipal policies and practices and temporary use initiatives, I decided to look at multiple cities, and at multiple temporary use projects per city. This is an explorative (quick scan) study, in which three Dutch cities (Arnhem, Nijmegen and Groningen) and multiple cases within each city were studied.

### SELECTION OF CITIES AND CASE STUDIES

I selected the cities in the proposal phase of the research. It was an information-oriented selection with maximum variation cases, where I selected cases based on their expected (difference in) information content, to maximize the utility of the case studies in providing information (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The main criterion was that there were enough temporary use initiatives on vacant land in the city, about which I could find information on the internet. I focused on the larger cities in the Netherlands (>150.000 inhabitants), since my research focuses on temporary use in urban areas and because larger cities are likely to have more temporary use initiatives than small ones. Based on a first search for possible cities to study, I selected 5 cities: Arnhem, Nijmegen, Groningen, Amsterdam and Utrecht. Since I only had time to study 3, I limited this down to three cities – Arnhem, Nijmegen and Groningen – based on the 'maximum variation' in policy (based on an initial search for policy documents on temporary use in these cities) and practicality.

I selected the case studies within the cities in a later phase of the research, once the interviews with the municipalities had taken place. The first criterion for case study selection was whether the municipal officer(s) who I interviewed had provided useful information about the temporary use project and the interaction between the municipality and the project, since this was necessary in order to be able to study the interaction. From the projects that were left after this, I selected 2 to 3 projects (per city) that would provide the most variation between them and would best represent the variation of temporary use projects in that city. There were two other factors that played a role in this selection as well; whether the projects had project initiators or project managers who were not municipal officers and whether the projects were located on vacant land. The first factor was important in Arnhem, where some of the temporary use projects were entirely initiated by the municipality. For some of those projects, other parties were consulted or involved later on, but there was not really a 'project initiator' or 'project manager' which I could interview – except for the responsible municipal officers. I decided not to include these projects, since it could not study the interaction between municipality and project in these cases. The other factor was mainly important in Nijmegen. Even though the focus of this research is on the temporary use of *vacant land*, I decided to include one project which is mainly about the temporary use of *vacant buildings* (even though the site also includes some land). I decided to include this case (the Honig Complex in Nijmegen) because both of the municipal officers that I interviewed in Nijmegen kept talking about it (even though I clearly stated at the start that my focus was on vacant land and not buildings). It turned out that the Honig Complex was very important for developing the temporary use policy (also the policy for vacant land) in Nijmegen, so I decided to include it in my analysis.

### DATA COLLECTION

I collected and analysed both primary and secondary data. I collected the primary data (in the form of audiotape and notes) during semi-structured interviews with municipal officers and with the initiators and/or manager of the temporary use initiatives (see Appendix B for the interview questions). The interviews were conducted in Dutch. During the research a journal was kept in order to document all relevant observations, notes and insights. The secondary data consisted of the municipality reports, announcements and policy documents that were provided by the municipal officers who I interviewed.

## SELECTION OF INTERVIEWEES

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For each city, I started with interviewing one or more municipality officers. I first tried to find out (on the internet) who was the contact person for temporary use (policy) for each municipality. I then contacted these people, explained what the goals of my research were and asked whether they thought that they could provide the information that I needed and if they were available for an interview. This is how I found my first interviewees in Groningen and Nijmegen. In Arnhem I could not find the information online, so I simply called the general information number of the municipality and got connected to my first interviewee. In Nijmegen and Arnhem, I interviewed two municipality officers. In both cases, the first interviewee recommended me to also talk with the second. Temporary use (policy) is embedded differently in these three municipalities, so the interviewees in the three different municipalities had quite different functions and worked within different municipal departments. However, they all had insight in both the municipal policy on temporary use and on (the interaction with) specific temporary use project within the municipality.

For each case study (temporary use project) I interviewed either (one of) the project initiator(s) or (one of) the project 'manager(s)' (in some cases, the initiator was also the manager). In one of the larger projects (Open Lab Ebbinghe) I interviewed two people, both the project manager and the contact person for student projects, who was also the advisor of the project on spatial planning issues.

## OVERVIEW OF DATA SOURCES

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### Nijmegen:

#### Municipality of Nijmegen

- Interview with Anonymous municipal officer (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>), policy advisor for Temporary Different Use (TAG) policy at the municipality of Nijmegen
- Interview with Anonymous municipal officer (Anonymous<sub>2</sub>), policy advisor for Temporary Different Use (TAG) policy at the municipality of Nijmegen
- municipal policy document (proposal, letter to the council and policy memorandum of 03-09-2015 and 15-09-2015) 'Notitie Tijdelijk Anders Gebruiken en bestemmen' (Note Temporary Different Use and zoning)

#### Honig Complex

- Interview with Teun van Teeffelen, site manager of the Honig Complex

#### De Lentse Aarde

- Interview with Fred Tank, initiator of De Lentse Aarde

#### De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden

- Interview with Max Receveur, one of the initiators of De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden

### Groningen:

#### Municipality of Groningen:

- Interview with anonymous policy officer for temporary use (Anonymous<sub>3</sub>) at the municipality of Groningen
- Municipal document (letter to the council of 23-09-2015) 'Tijdelijk gebruik leegstaand vastgoed en braakliggende grond' (Temporary use vacant real estate and vacant land)

#### Open Lab Ebbinghe

- Interview with Gerrit Schuurhuis, business manager of the Open Lab Ebbinghe foundation
- Interview with Mark Sekuur, a social geographer who is involved in Open Lab Ebbinghe as a freelance advisor on socio-spatial issues.

### Toentje

- Interview with Jos Meijers, initiator of Toentje

### Tuin in de Stad

- Interview with Frans Kerver, initiator of Tuin in de Stad

## Arnhem:

### Municipality of Arnhem

- Interview with Bram de Ruiter, head of the real estate and area development department of the municipality of Arnhem
- Interview with Luuk Tepe, City architect (Stadsbouwmeester) for Public Space for the municipality of Arnhem

### Bartokpark

- Interview with Peter Groot, one of the initiators of Bartokpark and chairman of DTO

### Coehoornpark

- Interview with Peter Groot, one of the initiators of Coehoorn Centraal, in which Coehoornpark is located
- Interview with Willem Jakobs, one of the initiators of the Coehoornpark

## DATA ANALYSIS

Because the analysis started during the data collection phase, the data analysis interacted with the data collection, and earlier interviews influenced the later ones as was planned up front (e.g. case selection of temporary use initiatives was based on the municipal interviews). After the data collection was done, the transcribed interview data and the data from document analysis were then analysed through coding (Silverman, 2015, Wagenaar, 2011), using Atlas.ti software.

### Data transcription

Data analysis started as soon as the interviews were conducted, through memoing and by transcribing the interviews. The parts relevant for analysis were transcribed verbatim (not true verbatim, as sounds and fillers were left out). The other parts of the interviews were only summarized. Transcription was done in Dutch, quotes were later translated to English when they were used in the report.

### Coding

The data analysis also had an iterative character, I often went back to already coded interviews to add or change codes, based on what I learned from the analysis of other interviews. I combined the data analysis and coding of the data for each temporary use project and municipality with writing the project description and answering the (relevant) research questions for this specific project/municipality. The focus in coding was on themes which were related to the research questions and the theories which I have presented in the theoretical framework. Examples are codes related to the characteristics of blueprint planning and organic planning in Table 1 (such as 'devolve decision making'), the impacts shown in Table 2 (such as 'Temporary use impulse for development') and themes related to the municipal policy (such as 'Subsidy' or 'Temporary is temporary'), interaction between project and municipality (such as 'Learning from temporary use' and 'Formalization') and adjustments in the projects (such as 'Keep the site representative'). Other codes were related to issues that were often mentioned, by multiple interviewees (such as 'Selection criteria initiatives').

### Pattern detection

During this analysis process, I kept a list of relevant themes that seemed to reoccur in multiple of the case studies – these themes were often related to the coding and included multiple codes. After finishing coding and describing all case studies, I used Atlas.ti (e.g. code cooccurrence explorer) to spot patterns in the coding that I had not found myself yet. I grouped all codes into themes (based on the already existing list of themes), which I then matched with the relevant research question (leaving some 'orphaned' themes, which became the 'other themes emerging from the field').

### Cross-case analysis

Finally, I did a cross-case analysis in which I compared the answers from each case study per research question, applying the theory from the theoretical framework to the case studies, and in which I discussed the themes relevant to that case study.

## VERIFICATION AND VALIDITY

In order to ensure the trustworthiness of the research, specifically its data collection, data analysis and emerging concepts or theory, I used the following validity strategies as described by Creswell (2009):

- **Data source triangulation.** Through using various sources of data – in this case policy documents and interviews with different actors – the data reliability is increased. For the identified themes and conclusions triangulation was applied since these were based on multiple case studies and thus multiple sources. However, triangulation was not always possible for all individual cases. Because of limited time and a large number of case studies, the number of interviews I could do per case study was limited. This is the downside of looking at a large number of cities and projects. In order to ensure the validity of my results, I specified in my results chapters that what is stated there is based on the view of a specific person (or in some cases two persons), the interviewee(s).
- **Member checking** was applied to test the reliability of the analysis, by sending (the relevant) parts of the report to the interviewees and asking for feedback. Each interviewee received the (draft version) of the sections based on their interview.
- **A thick and rich description** of the context of case studies (both projects and municipal policy) was given in the project description and the answering of individual sub questions for each project/municipality, to provide the reader with in-depth insight in the situation.

## ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

All interviewees were asked before the interview whether the interview could be recorded and whether I could use their name in my report, or if they would prefer to stay anonymous. All of them agreed to the recording and gave me permission to use their name. All interviewees had a chance to see their quotes and the description of their case study before these were published (through the documents send for the member checking) and had an opportunity to object to their publishing if they did not feel comfortable with this (which happened for some quotes, e.g. 'politically sensitive' points which had to be reformulated a bit). After reading the member checking documents, two interviewees preferred to be anonymous in the report after all. Due to the holiday period, not everyone was able to participate in the member checking. One of the interviewees was not reached at all, and thus was most likely not aware of the member checking document until this report was already published. I have therefore anonymized this interviewee as well. The others who were not able to participate in member checking were contacted (by telephone), but were not able to respond to the member checking document in time. Most of these people however did read (at least part of) the document, so even though they did not respond, I assume that they did not have (big) objections to the publication of it. I left out all names of people who I have not interviewed, since they did not have a chance to react to what was said before it was published.

## POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER

The position of the researcher is a pragmatic one, where *"instead of focusing on methods, researchers emphasize the research problem and use all approaches available to understand the problem"* (Creswell, 2009, 11). As a pragmatist, I am *"not committed to any one system of philosophy and reality"* (Creswell, 2009, 11). I have experience in very different fields of research, from natural (ecological) sciences with a positivist angle (my first MSc thesis) to social sciences (research on local nature perception) with a more social constructivist angle (my BSc thesis). I feel that for different research, different approaches are required, so even though I believe that in natural sciences a positivist approach is most suitable, in a research of the social realm I would prefer an approach that recognises the subjectivity of this human made reality. In general, I always like to focus on the practical application of a research and problem solving. In terms of the subject

matter, I have had an interest in urban nature and urban vacant land for several years. I have written my first MSc thesis on 'Drivers of plant diversity in urban wildscapes' and during my studies I have written several papers on planning in urban wildscapes and urban nature. For planning courses, I have written mostly about evolutionary planning and collaborative or participatory planning. Therefore, even though the specific temporary use literature was new to me, I do have some experience with researching vacant land and with the planning theory present in this research. I do not have a lot of experience with temporary use on vacant land. I have been to some of these (more commercial) projects as a visitor, for example to the Honig Complex in Nijmegen. However, I do not have affiliation with any temporary use project as a participant or as a stakeholder in another way, so also not with the ones in this study.

## READING GUIDE FOR RESULTS AND ANALYSIS CHAPTERS

In the following three chapters the results of this research will be discussed, in one chapter per city. Within these chapters, first the municipal policy and view on planning will be discussed (sub-question 1), based on the interview(s) with municipal officers and the relevant policy documents. After this, the studied temporary use projects within the municipality are described and discussed. The section for each temporary use project is structured as follows: first a project description is given – based on the interview with the project's initiator or manager(s). Then, the project's continuity and long-term impact (sub-question 2) and interaction with the municipality (sub-questions 3, 4 and 5) are described from the point of view of the project's initiator or manager(s) ('project's perspective'). Finally, the municipality's perspective on the project's influence on municipal policy (sub-question 3) and the municipal influence on the project's continuity and long-term impact (sub-questions 2 and 4) are described, based on the interview(s) with municipal officers and where necessary supplemented with information from policy documents.

After the results for all three cities have been described and discussed in this way, a cross-case analysis is done in the next chapter. In this cross-case analysis I discuss the results from the previous chapters per sub-question, using the theory from the theoretical framework.

## NIJMEGEN

### MUNICIPALITY OF NIJMEGEN; TEMPORARY USE POLICY AND PRACTICE

The recent attention for temporary use within the municipality of Nijmegen was first mainly focused on vacant buildings and the possibilities that temporary uses provided in terms of placemaking for these buildings. Around 2010, the municipality of Nijmegen was faced with vacancy on sites that were strategically important to the municipality, and that – due to the economic crisis and the loss of market forces – were not likely to be easily developed soon. The Honig Complex (which will be discussed more in detail later on) was one of these sites. The municipality of Nijmegen wanted to initiate temporary use here, and because this was legally not possible yet, they decided to 'tolerate' (gedogen) the use (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). The municipality of Nijmegen has learned a lot from the Honig Complex, and has based a large part of their policy for temporary use on these experiences:

*"[the Honig Complex] is almost a kind of big case which is an inspiration for thinking about the city. And for all practical problems [...] And focussing so much on the Honig teaches also: how should you do that in different parts of the city? [...] it is a useful tool for us" (Anonymous<sub>2</sub> – translated by MvA)*

The Honig Complex has functioned as a test case for temporary use in Nijmegen and has clearly influenced the development of policy for temporary use in Nijmegen (how exactly will be discussed in the part about the Honig Complex). When the (national) legislation on temporary use changed in November 2014, it became possible to legally permit it and thus the municipality started 'formalizing' the Honig Complex. This was also the basis for the new policy for temporary use in Nijmegen. In 2015, the TAG-policy (TAG stands for 'Tijdelijk Anders Gebruiken' – Temporary Differently Use) was adopted. From that moment on, temporary uses in Nijmegen would be officially permitted through temporary exemptions of the zoning plan, instead of 'tolerating' these uses, like they did before.

Within this policy document, 'the 8 points of TAG' were formulated. These 8 points describe what the municipality wants to achieve through this TAG policy, and also which criteria projects need to adhere to in order to be an 'official TAG-initiative'. Important reasons for the municipality to facilitate and stimulate temporary use are also mentioned in these points: temporary use increases liveability, it can be used for placemaking of areas, keeps buildings and sites available for future use and attracts and stimulates creative entrepreneurs (which is attractive to investors and buyers of real-estate). There are also a couple of criteria to which temporary uses in the TAG-policy have to adhere: 'temporary is temporary' (there is a clearly agreed upon end-date for the temporary use, which will be enforced), initiators are responsible for their own financial model, safety needs to be ensured and the project should also serve the public interest (not just the initiators own interests). Temporary use initiatives which are marked by the municipality as 'TAG-initiative' are judged more lenient when they are applying for a permit and the legal fees for permits for temporary use have been lowered as well. These 'TAG-initiatives' still have to adhere to legal rules and basic safety rules, but the focus in these permit procedures is on facilitating the use and being flexible with rules.

Nijmegen's policy on temporary use was shaped by experiences with temporary use. They have been able to gain these experiences because the municipal council and executive board decided to 'tolerate' the first temporary use initiatives. Anonymous<sub>1</sub> emphasizes that this decision took quite some courage of the council and board of the municipality. Both Anonymous<sub>1</sub> and Anonymous<sub>2</sub> think that the culture in and the character of the city of Nijmegen played an important role in this decision and is also important in their view on temporary use in general. They describe Nijmegen as a 'left-winged' city, which sees itself as 'free' and 'creative'. This previous policy of 'tolerating' has taught the municipality a lot:

*"Although we are stopping with 'tolerating', towards the future we will still keep looking for, yes, the space within the regulations in order to enable as much as possible, facilitate as much as possible. That is, that is certainly what it has brought us." (Anonymous<sub>1</sub> – translated by MvA)*

So this experience has shown the municipality that – even though temporary uses are now being permitted legally – it is important to keep looking for the 'space' in the regulations and remove obstacles for temporary use. But there were also other learning points, e.g. that a focus on safety is very important. This focus on leniency in regulations on the one hand, and a focus on safety on the other hand is also mentioned by Anonymous<sub>2</sub> and in the policy document.

Overall, it seems that the municipality of Nijmegen is giving a lot of attention to temporary use in general the last couple of years, and that their policy has gone from experimenting with temporary use (the tolerated situation with the Honig Complex) to quite a clear policy (TAG). In this new policy, they are still focused on facilitating and providing space for initiatives from citizens though. An important part of their current policy is also that they do not subsidize temporary use. However, it is possible for a temporary use to get subsidy from another policy domain when this is fitting (e.g. form sports or social domains), but in general temporary uses should be financially feasible without subsidy (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). This is important because the municipality of Nijmegen wants temporary uses to be able to organize and finance themselves, because they will be more independent and have a better shot at long-term continuity that way (Anonymous<sub>1</sub> and Anonymous<sub>2</sub>).

About the relation between temporary use and area development, both Anonymous<sub>2</sub> and the municipal policy document indicate that there has been a change in recent years in the way the municipalities thinks about and acts on area development; from 'blueprint-planning' to 'organic planning'.

*"The approach of both area developments [Waalfront and Waalsprong] from before the crisis are characterised as large scale 'blueprint-like' developments and ambitions, driven by a demand-led market. At present we are steering towards more organic area development which is characterised by stepwise, small-scale transformation using a global masterplan and a large time horizon. Although this form of area development offers chances to help areas through the crisis, there are now also sites and buildings where a definitive use will take at least several years or might possibly partly not be realised. Temporary use of these sites and buildings can be a part of the solution for the abovementioned problem." (Policy document municipality of Nijmegen – translated by MvA)*

Here we see that Nijmegen has changed their approach to area development in these two large areas of development (in which 2 of the 3 case studies in Nijmegen are located – De Lentse Aarde in Waalsprong and the Honig Complex in Waalfront), which seems to be a change from the blueprint view on planning to the organic view in planning (as described in the theoretical framework). But this does not mean that they also see temporary use as part of this organic area development. The previous quote shows that they seem to see both organic planning and temporary use as solutions to a problem that was caused by blueprint planning not being feasible anymore because of the economic crisis. The municipality was forced to reconsider how they were developing, since due to the crisis newly build houses were not being sold as fast anymore. This was costing the municipality a lot of money so they had to change their approach to more organic development, of which temporary use can be one of the instruments (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). But this was not the only reason, also social developments, such as an increased focus on sustainability and exploring new ways of living, working and building were reasons that the attention for temporary use in Nijmegen increased (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>).

Temporary use is one of the areas in which the municipality can put 'letting go of government control' and giving room to citizen initiatives into practice (Anonymous<sub>1</sub> and Anonymous<sub>2</sub>). Temporary use is sometimes used to experiment with future uses, when it gives a new use or start-up company a chance to try things out, without immediately making the use permanent. After the initial period, it could either be decided to stop or continue the use based on success of the initiative. However, this is not possible for all initiatives, since some are located at sites where there are e.g. already building plans. Those initiatives definitely have to leave in the long term, but can temporarily be of value to the neighbourhood (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). This already shows that the municipality of Nijmegen seems to divide temporary use initiatives in a couple of ways, one of which is by whether they are on a location where there is a possibility to stay long-term or not. Both the policy document and Anonymous<sub>1</sub> also mention a distinction between initiatives at 'strategic locations' for the municipality (these are usually locations which the municipality is planning to develop) where they are focused on 'placemaking', and initiatives at other locations. In the first case, the municipality will initiate a use (they mention the Honig Complex as an example), the municipality will have a (financial) stake in this location and actively

stimulate the temporary use. The municipality also actively uses temporary use to experiment with future use in these types of locations (Anonymous<sub>2</sub>). In the second case, the initiative will be taken by citizens and the municipality will be focused on facilitating such an initiative, and will not be involved in terms of content or finances. Both these types of temporary use have their benefits for the city:

*"all those other small [initiatives] [...] I think that has an even larger impact on people's daily lives than a hotspot like the Honig, but those are initiatives which aren't that [...] focused on exposure. While at the Honig we have said up front that one of the criteria was: exposure is a prerequisite. If you are going to settle there, than you just have to be open for the public for a very large part of your time. That applies less to such a [small initiative]. There a lot of people are walking in and out, but that is not with large events, that is just because they are there for people. (Anonymous<sub>1</sub> – translated by MvA)*

The municipality-initiated 'strategic temporary uses' are important in terms of placemaking and are focused on exposure and drawing people to the site. The smaller citizen initiatives are focused more on social relevance and connection to the neighbourhoods. Anonymous<sub>1</sub> also mentions that these citizen initiatives might have a bigger impact on people's lives, but are catering to a smaller group of people than these municipality-initiated projects.

Anonymous<sub>2</sub> makes another interesting distinction; many of the temporary use initiatives, mainly those initiated by the municipality (e.g. Honig Complex) but sometimes also others (e.g. De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden), are showcases for future developments in urban planning. But they cannot change the entire way we live, build and plan overnight, so these developments are not 'available for everyone' just yet:

*"what we are doing right now is a bit like it is in the fashion world: you have haute couture and prêt-à-porter, what you wear. And what walks on the catwalk, that is all a nice discussion, but you are not going to wear that. And the whole discussion about Tiny Houses and urban nomads and facilitating that.. We use that to slowly change the way of thinking about spatial planning. But for a citizen who thinks: oh, I would like that.. and who calls [...], but then.. it is not wearable yet or something like that [...] Our whole way of spatial planning and that space is scarce, and that land is worth a lot here, that it has market value.. Yes, that is a kind of a fundament beneath our way of spatial planning. Why we are so tightly organised in the Netherlands. You cannot let go of that overnight." (Anonymous<sub>2</sub> – translated by MvA)*

This shows that temporary use really is a form of experimentation as well, and that a lot of these projects are really test cases which cannot be implemented everywhere just yet. These initiatives first need to be running for a while in order to find out whether these types of uses work and can be applied elsewhere. And for this, the mind-set within the municipality might also need to change:

*"That is not something that people are aware of yet. Within the municipality it's: oh, yes, temporary use.. Yes, then we can temporarily use buildings and site because that's practical. But no that it, how it impacts spatial planning. People are not really thinking about that yet." (Anonymous<sub>2</sub> – translated by MvA)*

So within the municipality, many people are aware of the possibility for temporary use, but more in terms of the 'practicality' of temporary filling an empty location. They are not yet aware of the possibilities and the impact for spatial planning. The municipality has a 'core-team TAG' which includes municipal officers from different departments and disciplines, who are together responsible for the TAG-policy and also assesses initiatives. There are sometimes differences in views within this team, e.g. between municipal officers, because some of them are less interested in temporary using locations, since it might slow down or hinder development plans. This also relates to financial issues, such as the value that these vacant lands have and the financial stake that the municipality has in this location (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). Both Anonymous<sub>1</sub> and Anonymous<sub>2</sub> emphasize that they think that this is an important and valid concern within the municipality when considering temporary use. The municipality often owns the location and there is often a (housing) development planned, which means that the municipality has already expected to get income from these lands. This is also an important reason for the TAG-criterion 'temporary is temporary':

*"Well that is exactly what I am saying about temporary is temporary. There are property values on that land, and other parties, they have a financial stake in that. You cannot just see those as non-valuable all at once. Like: yes it's nice that you have this many deficits there, but we like this so much." (Anonymous2 – translated by MvA)*

This quote shows that no matter how 'nice' a project might be, it can usually not 'just' become permanent, because there are financial stakes involved in the land that the temporary initiative is using. Anonymous2 also mentions that since temporary users usually can use the land for relatively little money, it is fair that the 'downside' of this is that you have to move eventually. Apart from this, there is another reason for 'temporary is temporary': a part of the energy and innovativeness of temporary uses is caused by the fact that they are temporary (Anonymous2). It would be nice if uses could have an impact on the future development of the area, but if you 'just like that' make the use permanent, it might lose its innovative energy.

Both Anonymous1 and Anonymous2 emphasize that temporary use in Nijmegen is more than just 'creative industry' or 'artists'. It is also about social neighbourhood initiatives and the municipality of Nijmegen is also looking into temporary use of vacant land as a possibility for developing temporary housing for low-income households (both for locals and for refugees with a residence status).

Next to the policy that is already in place, Nijmegen is currently working on a vacancy map which is accessible for citizens. However, there are some difficulties and dilemmas related to implementing such a map (Anonymous2). First of all, the municipality is still unsure about which lands and buildings to put on there, whether to use only public ones or also those from private owners. But more interestingly, publishing the map might also stimulate temporary use in a way that the municipality is not yet 'ready for'. The municipality already often gets calls from people who 'want a piece of land', but who do not really have insight in what it takes to start a temporary use project. Anonymous2 wonders whether facilitating temporary use also means actively communicating it to all the citizens:

*"we actually do want to make that map, but beware of what such a map will conjure up. You can also.. yes then you are going as a government again: look at this. While, actually you should just walk past a field with your dog and become curious about that place, because you want to start something there. And that you are trying to find out yourself: who is the owner and what is possible there according to the zoning plan? And not putting it all out there again as manageable pieces." (Anonymous2 – translated by MvA)*

So Anonymous2 also sees this in the light of own initiative of citizens; the municipality is facilitating temporary use when someone contacts them with a good idea, but people should come on their own accord. And publishing such a map puts the municipality more in a steering role again.

## HONIG COMPLEX

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The Honig Complex is a former factory complex of the Honig company (known for its soups and other alimentary products), which consists of multiple buildings and outdoor areas (Figure 1). The production of Honig products in the factory was stopped in 2012, and since 2013 the complex has been in use as a breeding ground for creative entrepreneurs. The temporary use of this location was initiated by the municipality and the real estate company BPD, who together (united in the developer 'Ontwikkelbedrijf Waalfront') are developing the Waalfront area, of which the site of the Honig Complex is a part. In an effort to get the area development off the ground, they wanted to try to make Honig into a 'hotspot'. To avoid losing money on the delayed development, the uses in the Honig Complex should be able to pay back the investments made to make the buildings suitable for use. Therefore a quartermaster was appointed for the Honig Complex, who thought of a concept where the focus would be on creative entrepreneurs, who would be able to pay rent but who would also be able to draw people to the area, to facilitate placemaking.

Teun van Teeffelen (whom I interviewed) was first mainly involved in the project as a structural engineer, to help with repurposing the factory buildings to all the types of temporary uses that they host now. He is now employed by the developer (and thus also by the municipality) as the site manager. He is not only responsible for the structural management of the complex, but also for the 'concept monitoring' (conceptbewaking) of the Honig Complex. He makes sure that new tenants will be a valuable addition to the complex and fit the profile which was first established by the quartermaster.

The buildings of the Honig complex are in total about 34.000 m<sup>2</sup>. There are 27 tenants in the Honig Complex, some of those have (multiple) subtenants, which brings the total of companies in the Honig Complex to around 170. These include entrepreneurs without employees, but also companies with 50 or 60 employees. The companies are very diverse, ranging from restaurants and bars to artists, health clubs and a housing cooperation. The site management only provides the 'basics', e.g. ensuring the buildings are wind- and waterproof, and safety lighting in the outside areas. The tenants are responsible for making their own rented space suitable for their uses, as well as for other things such as decorating the outside areas. To coordinate these kinds of things, as well as for example the marketing of the complex, the tenants have started a tenants association (of which the site manager Teun van Teeffelen is not a part). Teun van Teeffelen is in fact functioning as an intermediary agent between the tenants and their association and the owner of the site (which is the developer in which the municipality and BPD are combined).

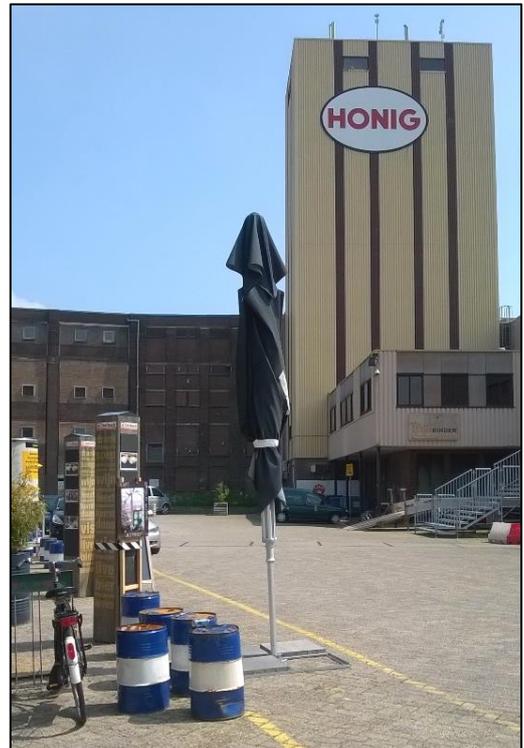


Figure 1: Honig Complex, view on the old factory

## PROJECT'S PERSPECTIVE

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### CONTINUITY OF THE PROJECT AND ITS LONG-TERM IMPACT ON SITE DEVELOPMENT

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The choice for a focus on creative entrepreneurship in the Honig Complex was made because creative uses often attract visitors and also people who might want to invest in the area. Teun van Teeffelen thinks that it is important that each tenant really contributes to the complex:

*"does an entrepreneur just want to be here because he has a relatively low rent and can make a lot of money, or does he really want to contribute to the concept? And that process of elimination is quite important [...] because temporarily repurposing says something: you want to add social value, or have an added value to society or to the location or whatever. There has to be something in there why you would want to, as a municipality [...] to temporarily deviate from the zoning plan there. Otherwise you would do it permanently. And that is also a bit to avoid unfair competition. So that story about why you want to be located here does have to contribute to the location and be sound" (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

This quote shows that the selection criteria for new tenants do not only include whether the tenant has a feasible business plan (to be able to pay the rent), but also whether they will add to the complex and will attract visitors to the complex. To make the Honig Complex work, collaboration is important, so the companies who are located there should be mutually reinforcing. Therefore, another selection criterion for new tenants is whether they fit with the other users and especially whether they will not be competing with those already there:

*"each tenant benefits when his neighbour also does really cool things. And that is really the added value from being located here. And if you [...] have only offices and one cool thing. Yes, then all those people will profit from that one*

*thing [...] I think that that is one of the most important things, sticking to that concept." (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

So it is not only a criterion to add value and be mutually reinforcing, but it is also one of the reasons that the Honig Complex is an attractive place for entrepreneurs to locate themselves. Teun van Teeffelen decides on whether a potential tenant can get a place in the Honig Complex, together with someone from the real estate department of the municipality (for the financial side). If a new use is potentially competing with an already existing use, Teun van Teeffelen will consult those users who the new use might be competing with.

The Honig Complex was taken into temporary use in 2013, for a duration of 8 years, so until 2021. One of the strengths of the Honig Complex is that the fact that the use is temporary made that all the users had to act on the opportunity to locate there quickly, and so they all started at the location together (Teun van Teeffelen). It becomes more difficult for entrepreneurs to get aboard now:

*"I do see as well: as time goes by it gets more difficult to attract new tenants, because the investment period is becoming shorter. While there are much more people who might want to [...] But on the other side we still see tenants developing themselves, or changing or new things are added. So that transition that you are still going through step by step is very important for such a place." (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

The pay-back period on investments is becoming shorter, which makes it more difficult for new uses to invest in a location in the Honig Complex as 2021 comes closer. However, it is very important for the complex to stay dynamic. Teun van Teeffelen hopes that this will continue until 2021, but when this deadline comes closer, it might be necessary to change the concept a bit, and to also allow other uses (which bring in money, but might not contribute to the other goals of the Honig Complex), especially if other tenants leave before 2021. To avoid tenants leaving early, all leases are until 2021, and cannot be terminated before that time, because a slow abandonment of spaces over the course of a couple of months or years before the deadline would be detrimental for the tenants staying behind. However, most tenants have invested so much in their space, that the rent is actually not the main concern; they are mainly focused on recouping their investments.

Teun van Teeffelen expects that some of the entrepreneurs from the Honig Complex will relocate to other types of breeding ground or hotspots (with relatively low rent) when the use at the Honig Complex is terminated. He thinks that other entrepreneurs will have 'proven their worth' in the start-up period at the Honig Complex, and will be able to move into their own buildings after this.

However, this is all assuming that all the activities in the Honig Complex will have to leave the location in 2021, which is what was agreed upon at the start. But there are also discussions going on whether the Honig Complex (or part of it) cannot keep existing after 2021. Last year there was a convention on the future of the location, and several universities are looking into the added value of the Honig Complex, both financially and socially. An example of this added value is that the housing prices in the area have increased. Teun van Teeffelen is in discussion with the municipality to see what the options are to keep a part of the Honig complex:

*"in a while the Honig will leave, will the added value also disappear or something? Because where will those entrepreneurs go to? There are many questions. Look, and I would really like it if parts will stay in place, or a little bit the core of that complex. I do not really care about the building itself [...] But we are watching really well, and continuously at the municipality.. you are actually lobbying, like: yes but, you can also do it like this, these are also solutions, think about other options for financing. Which might make it profitable to do it." (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

In order to keep this added value and positive effects of the Honig Complex, it might be an option to keep (a part of) the Honig Complex after 2021. An important issue to be able to make that possible would be the financing. But maybe even more important is that the municipality and the developers also see this as a suitable option:

*"I know that one of the entrepreneurs here [...] also says like: 'Yes, maybe we can buy it when we have to leave here. Yes, and then we will just develop it ourselves, right?' Yes, why not? Is what I'm thinking then. So there are definitely possibilities, but the municipality has to see those, and the owner has to see those and the entrepreneurs here have to see it as well. And they [the entrepreneurs of the Honig Complex] have to prove themselves first as well. I mean, we have been going here for two years, it is going really well, but in two years there might be a turning point and then it is a really boring dead place. That is also a risk for the municipality to say now: we're fully committed to this, we are not going to tear it down." (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

Here we see that Teun van Teeffelen definitely sees options for keeping (parts of) the Honig Complex after 2021, but it depends on the vision of all those involved (municipality, developer and entrepreneurs), and also on how the complex will develop in the coming years. It might just be too early now to decide on the future of the Honig Complex. The project should first show that it is still the hotspot that it is now in a couple of years. At the same time, he also says that it is important for him and the entrepreneurs in the complex to prepare for and stay on top of the plans for the Waalfront area's development.

Whether it can stay after 2021 or not, the Honig Complex will have impacted the area development and the surrounding neighbourhood. The selling of newly build houses in the Waalfront development is going better than expected, and this is partly because of the Honig Complex (some buyers have indicated they are buying a house there because of the proximity to the Honig Complex). The Honig Complex has also improved their relationship with the surrounding neighbourhood over time. At first there was some animosity from the neighbourhood, mainly because many of the people who live there used to work at the Honig factory before it was closed. However, some of the tenants in the Honig Complex were very active in involving the neighbourhood. It turned out that people from the neighbourhood would like more green space and vegetable gardens, so it was decided that they could have gardens in wooden boxes on the grounds of the Honig Complex. This helped in connecting the locals with the Honig Complex, and more contact and activities followed, such as neighbourhood barbeques. Local kids often play in the area, and some youngsters are interested in doing small chores for the entrepreneurs in the Honig Complex.

*"those are just really nice things to, well, just to mix two in my opinion totally different worlds. And maybe with that we can counter that gentrification a bit, by making sure that those old inhabitants still feel at home here as well. And, well, those are always small steps" (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

Teun van Teeffelen indicates that it is very important for him that the neighbourhood can also enjoy the benefits of the fact that the Honig Complex is located there, and that they can still feel at home in the area even though it is changing. This is an interesting contrast, because as he indicates himself, the Honig Complex is contributing to the gentrification of the neighbourhood: this area has a lot of social housing and is considered as one of the poorer neighbourhoods of the city, but the new houses which are being built are often higher priced, and the Honig Complex contributes to the attractiveness of this area to people who can buy more expensive houses. So the neighbourhood is changing, which might make the old inhabitants feel displaced, or in the long term might actually displace them. This change is partly because of the Honig Complex, but at the same time some of the entrepreneurs in the Honig Complex try to keep the people who have lived there for a long time 'on board' by making them a part of the activities in the Honig Complex.

#### INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL POLICY ON PROJECT AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND

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The Honig Complex was not a citizen initiative, but it was initiated by the municipality together with the real estate company BPD. They appointed a quartermaster to come up with a concept for the location and recruit tenants. Both municipality and BPD saw benefits in temporary use of the location.

*"Well it is not so much just the municipality, that's what I think is funny. It is also really, at the start it has also really been the Bouwfonds [now called BPD] which has said: it is something that we do more often, then we will fill that vacancy [...] And the municipality of course also sees the added social value of that, more entrepreneurship in the city, a better neighbourhood [...] So it did really come from both parties, I think that's nice to see. And I think that*

*that is also necessary, if you want to get that off the ground with a developer. Otherwise, as a municipality, you have to really convince such a developer: we have to do this, this is really important. Because if you do not have that support of the owner, it becomes very hard to start.” (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

BPD was used to filling vacant buildings with temporary uses, and the municipality saw the positive effects that such a breeding ground with creative industry could have for entrepreneurship in the city and for the surrounding neighbourhood. It was very important for the feasibility of the project that the idea came from both parties, instead of the municipality having to convince BPD (Teun van Teeffelen). To get the project started, the first goal of the quartermaster was to show the area to people, to open it up and make it more accessible and interesting, e.g. by having a theatre group perform their play there. This was followed by some brainstorm sessions for people who had ideas for the area. This all happened in 2013, so before the new national legislation on temporary use (Crisis- en Herstelwet & Besluit omgevingsrecht – Crisis and Recovery law & Decree environmental law) was adopted in November 2014. This meant that officially, the planned activities at the Honig Complex could not be permitted. The municipality decided to 'tolerate' (gedogen) the activities in the Honig Complex:

*“So then the municipality said: we are just going to tolerate, until the time that it will work out. And I think that that was a really good step, because then you're just starting and you only have eight years [...] and then you can indeed argue for a year about how you should do it, if you have to change the zoning plan that will cost another year, and then there's no point in doing it anymore. And they considered: yes, you know, we have this building here: do we want this or not? Then we will, instead of looking at the negative aspects, now take a look at: how are we going to make this happen, how are we going to make sure it will work? And that turning point is really important, that you have the right people around the table for that. Because along the way we have noticed that you then do not have the right people at the table and that you get a lot of resistance then.” (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

This quote shows that the decision by the municipality to start 'tolerating' was very important for the project, because it meant that they could start quite quickly. This is important in temporary projects which have a set time at which they have to leave the site again, because of the pay-back period of investments in the project. It also took a certain mentality of those involved (mainly at the municipality), to decide that they wanted to do this and then look at how they would make it possible, instead of looking at the negative sides:

*“But here it was about: well, which budgets do we have and how can do it as optimal as possible? Without getting bogged down in legislation. And he ensured that the fire department and the environmental service came to take a look here per project, to do an audit: well, then we will change this and this and then that will be it, the rest of the building decree we will just not look at for now. Because we just want to make it work.” (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

So this municipal attitude of 'how can we make it possible', meant that some of the legal rules were not followed as strictly as usual. The focus was on the (fire) safety of the complex, and not on following all of the guidelines. This was possible because they were 'tolerating' the project. However, when the legislation was changed in 2014 (this change was already expected when the tolerating started in 2013), the municipality decided to formalize the use in the Honig Complex, which meant that most tenants (except those whose use was already in line with the zoning plan) had to get an official permit. The first official permits have been issued recently.

Teun van Teeffelen indicates that the whole process, from figuring out how to start while it was legally not possible yet to now formalizing the permits, is really a collaboration. The municipality and the Honig Complex are learning how such a development can best be guided and managed together. So the municipal policy on this point was really developed based on the mutual experiences with the Honig Complex. The interaction went smoothly overall, even though Teun van Teeffelen does indicate that he thinks that the municipality's view of the project has changed over time, from very enthusiastic and enabling, to more focused on making everything work legally and formalizing it. He thinks that this is a natural development in these kinds of projects though, and they still work together well and discuss all issues.

## CHANGES IN PROJECT ACTIVITIES OR BEHAVIOUR BECAUSE OF INTERACTION

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The Honig Complex is right now going through a phase of formalization, where the 'tolerating' is being converted into official permits. Because these are actual permits, the rules now have to be applied more strictly than they did when the activities at the Honig Complex were being 'tolerated'. So this means that all of the tenants – after having audits and making changes to ensure the safety in the 'tolerated' situation – now have to go through audits again (this time stricter), have to pay for legal fees for the permits, and potentially even have to make more changes (and pay for them) to ensure enhanced security. Therefore, Teun van Teeffelen would have preferred it if they could have stayed in the 'tolerated' situation instead of having to go through a new procedure again:

*"as far as I'm concerned, those tolerating decisions [gedoogbeschikkingen] could have stayed and we should have gone along in that same context for the permitting phase as well. But yes, that.. at a certain point we had to just throw in the towel." (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

The Honig Complex had to comply with the municipalities wishes, and go through the process of formalizing the permits. However, the municipality was also susceptible to the Honig Complex's concerns, and responded to this by for example reducing the legal fees for acquiring the permit (Teun van Teeffelen). Teun van Teeffelen also indicates that he understands that there are risks involved for the municipality when they 'tolerate' such a project, and that it was a brave move of the municipality to start 'tolerating'.

*"But that the municipality has said: 'we are going to tolerate', I think that that is a really clever move. I think that the average municipality is really not going to do that. Because imagine that something goes wrong in that period, someone dies here, or whatever. Yes, then as a mayor you face disciplinary actions, and say: [...] why did you do this here? So, well yes I think in that respect it has brought us a lot, otherwise it wouldn't have gotten off the ground." (Teun van Teeffelen – translated by MvA)*

This shows that if something were to happen on the Honig Complex in the 'tolerated' situation, the municipality might be liable for it. Teun van Teeffelen says that he understands that because of this, the municipality prefers to formalize the situation. He indicates that the formalization might in a way also give the Honig Complex's entrepreneurs actually more freedom and responsibility for their own establishments (safety) situation, because the municipality (including e.g. the fire department) will be less focused on what is going on there now that it is no longer 'tolerated' but officially permitted, and thus 'declared safe'.

## MUNICIPALITY'S PERSPECTIVE

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### INFLUENCE OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS ON MUNICIPAL POLICY

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The first ideas for temporary use in the Honig Complex occurred around 2010. The municipality owned the Honig site, and the development in the Waalfront (the area in which the Honig is located) was delayed. The original plan was to tear down the Honig buildings, but this would probably result in the site being vacant for multiple years. So the municipality was looking for solutions for this site which would improve the liveability of the area and could also be used to make the entire development more attractive (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). The municipality was looking for ways to keep financial losses on the site and development low, and that they had heard about placemaking and temporary use project in other cities. The municipality of Nijmegen looked for example at the Strijp-S project in Eindhoven as an example for the Honig Complex (Anonymous<sub>2</sub>). The municipality realised quite quickly that changing the zoning plan for the Honig would be complicated and costly (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). They also realised that applying all legal rules for permitting, such as rules on parking and the required surveys for effects of changed use on animals and plants, would make the situation very complicated and maybe the project would then not be feasible at all:

*"if we would do all of that then it was still going to cost a lot of time and money to do it right. And that was at that moment the consideration of the previous executive board of the municipality, like: okay, we will take the leap. We*

*will really explore now what it is like to do the things with way less rules and see what it will bring. [...] Go ahead, we feel confident that you will do it right. 'Tolerating' like that is allowed, but only if you know that there is a concrete perspective on legalisation."* (Anonymous<sub>1</sub> – translated by MvA)

So the municipality decided to start 'tolerating' the Honig Complex. This was quite a leap of faith that they were taking, but they wanted to find out what this kind of experimentation would bring. Important arguments for the municipality to start the Honig Complex project were avoiding a decrease in liveability which vacancy of the site could cause, as well as stimulating innovation and (innovative) entrepreneurship (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>).

Tolerating the Honig Complex like the municipality of Nijmegen did, is only allowed legally when there is a prospect of the use becoming legal in the near future. This was the case because a change in national legislation was coming. So from the start it was clear that the Honig would be tolerated until the law would change, after which the Honig Complex would be 'formalized' (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). The experience of this formalization in the Honig Complex also became a test case for using this new legislation. The municipality did a pilot to see whether the initiatives at the Honig Complex could be permitted with this new legislation (Besluit omgevingsrecht – Decree environmental law). This turned out to indeed be possible, and the municipality of Nijmegen decided to start using this same approach for initiatives in the rest of Nijmegen (TAG-policy) (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). Honig was both a 'test case' and an 'advertisement' for the new TAG policy: the liveliness and success of Honig is one of the main things 'promoting' TAG in Nijmegen. But the municipality also learned a lot of things from this initiative that they now apply to other temporary use initiatives (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>). These include making the rules flexible where necessary, but also having a strong focus on safety. In the tolerated situation, the municipality already looked at safety of the visitors and entrepreneurs of the Honig Complex (such as fire safety and safety of constructions). But now that the formalization process of the Honig Complex has started, these regulations are looked at more in detail and external safety is also being included now (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>).

#### (MUNICIPAL INFLUENCE ON) CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

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The formalization of the Honig Complex is beneficial for its continuity, because in the tolerated situation, they ran the risk of getting complaints (e.g. from the neighbourhood) after which the municipality would have to evict them. In the new, formalized situation they have more legal security (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>).

The discussion about the Honig Complex staying long-term is now starting to emerge. Both Anonymous<sub>1</sub> and Anonymous<sub>2</sub> state that it is important to keep in mind the agreements that were made and the other parties that have a stake in the site, but they would also like to see the entrepreneurs from the Honig Complex coming up with a (business) plan to have the Honig Complex stay (in one form or another) or at least have some sort of impact on the future development of the site and area.

Anonymous<sub>2</sub> indicates that the strength of the Honig Complex is also in its temporary character, and it is not sure that it would be able to keep its innovative, lively character if it would become permanent.

## DE LENTSE AARDE

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

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De Lentse Aarde (The Soil of Lent or The Earth of Lent) is an allotment garden association in Lent (Figure 2), which is part of Nijmegen-North. Nijmegen-North is an area of Nijmegen which is on the other side of the river Waal from the rest of the city. In this area, a lot of new houses have been built in the last decade, most of them single-family houses. Nijmegen-North does not have many facilities such as cafés, compared to other parts of the city of Nijmegen. In 2012, Fred Tank, the initiator of De Lentse Aarde, was playing with the idea of starting a vegetable garden and/or a café, to bring more vitality to Nijmegen-North.

After 1,5 years of deliberation with the municipality (which will be described in detail below), De Lentse Aarde started out at their current location close to the new housing developments on the east side of Lent. They are located on vacant building ground (which is quite abundant in Lent, as the whole area is planned to be developed, but was delayed by the crisis), which they rent from the municipality. De Lentse Aarde started out with 4000 m<sup>2</sup> for 50 members in March 2014. Because of their popularity (they had a waiting list as soon as they opened), they expanded the garden in October 2015, so that it now has room for a little over 100 members. All of their members are from Lent, mainly from the adjacent neighbourhoods. De Lentse Aarde has a temporary use contract until February 2019.



Figure 2: De Lentse Aarde, view from the entrance

## PROJECT'S PERSPECTIVE

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### CONTINUITY OF THE PROJECT AND ITS LONG-TERM IMPACT ON SITE DEVELOPMENT

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The contract that De Lentse Aarde has until February 2019 could be extended, when there are still no concrete plans to build at the location at that time. Fred Tank hopes that they can stay at this location long-term, but this is very unlikely. De Lentse Aarde only expects to be able to stay for a couple of years longer after 2019 if the housing development would be further delayed (Fred Tank). De Lentse Aarde has been speaking to the municipality officers and alderman about the long-term options of the project, but has not been able to get a very clear answer from them, except that De Lentse Aarde can probably not stay at their current location. Their current location is designated for housing development, and the municipality has been very clear about needing the expected income from this building ground:

*"It is purely a matter of money, even councilmembers of GroenLinks [the Green party] who have been here [...] also say: yes, but we need this money. We cannot.. [...] if we build houses here we will earn a million. [...] we just cannot take you into account, even though we also see that the initiative is working, and that there is a need for the inhabitants of Lent. We do understand that, but it is not possible here. So the expectation is that in the long term we have to leave here. And where to, that, yes, that we do not know yet."* (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)

The municipality has communicated that they cannot let De Lentse Aarde become the long-term use of this location (instead of housing development), even though the project is a success and even though it fulfils a need for the inhabitants of Lent, because of financial reasons. Fred Tank hopes that the project can move to another location when they need to leave the current location, but that might be difficult since almost all vacant land or open space in Lent is designated for housing developments. It might be possible that they will have to relocate to an adjacent municipality where there is more space. However, De Lentse Aarde would prefer to stay in Lent if at all possible, because their proximity to the neighbourhood is one of the most important factors for their success:

*"I do think that a large part of the success of this has to do with the fact that you are very close to the residential neighbourhood, that a lot of people, here.. at night they can just come over here with their family. [...] And if you are much further away, then that will become much more difficult, then you will not go over there as easily. And, but we do want to continue indeed. And probably that will just mean that we have to move quite a bit in that direction. Maybe to another municipality"* (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)

Moving De Lentse Aarde to another municipality would mean that they will be less connected to the neighbourhood, and also that they cannot play their current role of helping to build the social structure and cohesion in Nijmegen-North, which is still developing:

*"in Lent you really have a developing neighbourhood. It is a very young neighbourhood [...] the social structures are just still developing, because this also contributes to the social cohesion of the neighbourhood, that's something that you really notice. It is something that connects, such an allotment garden, you notice that very strongly"* (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)

Overall, the future of De Lentse Aarde after 2019 seems very unsure, both at their current location and at a possible future location. However, Fred Tank emphasizes that they would not have been able to start the garden at all without the option for temporary use, so he is grateful that they are at least able to garden here for 5 years. He also still harbours hope that the municipality will help them to stay in the long run:

*"I do actually think that they see it, and that they do want to help, but that, yes now.. they will only act when it is really necessary, they are not going to make long-term.. commit to anything on the long term. And I think that you have to keep making sure that their attention is focused on you."* (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)

So when the time comes that De Lentse Aarde actually has to leave, the municipality might help them move, but they will not commit to that at this moment. It is important for De Lentse Aarde to stay on the municipal agenda, to keep communicating their success and their vision, to improve the chances of De Lentse Aarde being able to continue their gardening in or near Lent in the long term (Fred Tank).

#### INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL POLICY ON PROJECT AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND

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Fred Tank describes the contact with the municipality as 'difficult', mainly because he was appointed many different contact persons within the municipality and was redirected many times before he finally found someone within the municipality who actually worked with him and managed to find a suitable location where De Lentse Aarde could start their allotment garden.

Fred Tank first approached the municipality by emailing the neighbourhood manager (wijkbeheerder) about his idea for an allotment garden late 2012. He never got a reply to this email. After this, he approached the GEM (Gemeentelijke Exploitatie Maatschappij – Municipal Exploitation Company, which was responsible for developing Nijmegen-North and which is now part of the municipality) with the idea for a café and the allotment garden. The GEM referred them (Fred Tank and some others who he was teaming up with for the café idea) to someone within the municipality; the project manager for temporary use at that time. After a short while, this project leader left this position and introduced them to someone else within the municipality who would help them. Fred Tank perceived this as a very confusing and unclear process, since the contact person at the municipality kept changing. This next person then referred them (mainly for the café idea) to the neighbourhood manager of Nijmegen-North (which was already another person than the one he emailed at first, since the first neighbourhood manager was replaced by a successor). Fred Tank presented both ideas to the neighbourhood council of Lent. The ideas were then picked up by the municipality, but the idea for the café turned out to be unfeasible because they would have to invest too much to make the building that they had in mind suitable for use as a café. For the allotment garden however, the presentation at the neighbourhood council had sparked the interest of some other citizens who were interested in starting an allotment garden. The presentation led also to the appointment of a new contact person by the municipality. At the next neighbourhood council meeting, the municipality announced that they had found a suitable piece of land for the allotment garden. At the same time, other people showed their interest for the allotment garden plan, which led to a group of 10-15 people who started meeting regularly, making plans for their appointed piece of land. A group of about 20 people then founded the association De Lentse Aarde in the spring of 2013. This group was getting ready to start cultivating the land, when they heard that they could not use this location after all. It turned out that the project leader of that specific area said that he was planning to build houses there (Fred Tank).

After this disappointment, Fred Tank had contact with a Nijmegen alderman, who appointed another piece of land for temporary use for the allotment garden within a matter of days. All of a sudden, they also had a new contact person again because the previous one was gone or got a different position. Their new contact person was the project leader of another area in Nijmegen-North, which included the newly appointed location. However, the new location still needed to be tested for soil pollution. The soil pollution study took a couple of months; in the autumn of 2013 it turned out that there was asbestos in the soil, so it was not suitable for cultivation without (very costly) soil remediation. This was another huge disappointment for the association.

In the meantime, Fred Tank had kept in contact with the neighbourhood manager, who was helping them with getting attention for their plan within the municipality. As a constant factor within the municipality and Fred Tank's contact with the municipality, he emphasizes that she played an important role in finally realising their goal. She brought them in contact with the project leader of the entire Nijmegen-North area development, with whom the interaction was pleasant and who took them seriously. About this project leader he says:

*"I think that it was very essential that he also had the feeling that it was something serious. Even though he had.. in the meantime, some of the people of our group of 20 had gotten angry, and they had sent nasty emails or something like that, and he had seen those, amongst others directed to him I believe." (Fred Tank - translated by MvA)*

Even though some of the group had gotten angry with him, this project leader treated their idea as a serious plan and tried to help them, by referring them to another project leader of another area in Nijmegen-North. This project leader was different than the others:

*"And he referred me to a new project leader. And, yes, that was actually a very good project leader, and others.. that was also very peculiar in my opinion [...] I indicate: we would like this. And then you basically hear all sorts of.. then they do want to hear you, do want to listen to what you want, and then all of a sudden they say: here you have a piece of land, we have checked whether it is okay, you can settle here, for 5 years. And that fell through, that first piece, and then they just had a new piece of land. But what they didn't do was actually just talk first, to us, to me, like: what is it exactly what you want? [...] where would you like the land to be, what are the demands.. Indeed: what are your wishes? And that third project leader she did just talk to us: 'well, what is your search area?' (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)*

Next to it just being difficult that they had so many contact persons, this quote also shows that it bothered Fred Tank that the municipal officers that they were in contact with did not really listen to what De Lentse Aarde wanted. With this new project leader, who had the assignment to find a suitable location for them, it seems that Fred Tank finally felt heard. He now had a steady contact person, and one who really asked questions, listened and searched for a suitable location *together* with De Lentse Aarde, instead of just *for* them.

*"And she really talked to us, like: well, what are your wishes [...] we have also said: we actually just want to be on the eastside of this neighbourhood, in this area, yes, we do not want to be too close to the highway [...] she all took that very seriously. So within that search area that we had indicated, to the east of the new development, she has selected some options [...] and all those factors together, in consultation with us, has resulted in six locations, which we got to choose from [...] And that did work out. But that actually took us 1.5 years, well it took a year and it took three project leaders before we finally just a bit.. before we really had a serious conversation, and then it actually also went really well [...] And, yes, that was just really pleasant talking with her and with.. very decisive, very open, very transparent. Just really together. And, yes, that just all of a sudden went really well and fast and we also made clear agreements" (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)*

This shows that once Fred Tank had found the 'right' contact person within the municipality, the first one that he felt actually listened to what De Lentse Aarde wanted, the interaction and collaboration was pleasant and went smoothly. This collaboration led to the start of De Lentse Aarde at their current location. Now that De Lentse Aarde is settled at their location, they are in a discussion about their future with the municipality of Nijmegen. De Lentse Aarde would like

to stay, at this location or otherwise at another location which is still close to the neighbourhoods of Lent. Fred Tank thinks that the project is a success and that it fulfils a need for the inhabitants of Lent. He wonders why they cannot stay permanently, and why all the currently open space in Lent needs to be filled with housing developments in the future:

*"why not stay permanently? I mean, why is that not possible? Why does everything need to be filled with housing developments? I mean, if you live somewhere, you also want to live, and living, well, to play football, to play hockey, to swim, to garden, to have a vegetable garden, that all just takes space. And the municipality should provide for that. And I have had those conversations a couple times, also with the successor of [the alderman], also with politicians, with council members. And, yes then you really see that Nijmegen is very much taking the direction of: we need money. We have a huge budget deficit, every square meter that we can just properly convert, we just do it."*  
(Fred Tank – translated by MvA)

Fred Tank sees it as a responsibility of the municipality to provide space for the recreational functions that the inhabitants need and want, and he is disappointed that they instead argue that this is not possible because of financial reasons. He does not understand the fact that the municipality leaves so little open or green space for the inhabitants of Lent in their plans, and that when they do make space, he says it is for e.g. football fields, but not for gardening. Next to the municipality being vague about the future for De Lentse Aarde, they also do not seem to recognize the importance of such a function for the social cohesion of the neighbourhood:

*"in Lent you really have a developing neighbourhood. It is a very young neighbourhood [...] the social structures are just still developing, because this also contributes to the social cohesion of the neighbourhood, that's something that you really notice. It is something that connects, such an allotment garden, you notice that very strongly. Shouldn't you pay attention to that as a municipality? [...] there is something that citizens want. I think you should be very happy that that happens and I think you should stimulate it. And do not just think about those euros, but simply about the cohesion within a neighbourhood, especially a new one."* (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)

Fred Tank is frustrated with the fact that the municipality does admit that De Lentse Aarde is a valuable addition, but that they do not truly recognize the need that Lent and Nijmegen-North has for allotment gardens and other green functions, and that they do not put this above financial motivations. This disappointment about and frustration with the plans the municipality has for Nijmegen-North seems to be more broad-based than just at De Lentse Aarde. De Lentse Aarde has started an initiative together with other green initiatives in Lent (some of them temporary as well), called 'Geef Noord de RUIMTE!' (Give North SPACE!)

*"with about 8 organizations, who are sort of on the same wavelength we have started Give North SPACE!. To also give a clear signal to the area, but especially to the municipality, like: pay attention to the green space in North. Don't just convert it in pavement or concrete, people also need space to live. And that is something that is particularly difficult. It is purely a matter of money"* (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)

Here it becomes clear that there is a difference in what the citizens of Nijmegen-North expect from the municipality of Nijmegen in terms of green, open space and liveability of their neighbourhood, and what the municipality of Nijmegen has planned in terms of housing development and the money they expect to earn from that. This discussion is thus bigger than just De Lentse Aarde, it also concerns other green initiatives in Nijmegen-North and the plans of the municipality of Nijmegen for the entire area of Nijmegen-North.

## CHANGES IN PROJECT ACTIVITIES OR BEHAVIOUR BECAUSE OF INTERACTION

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Fred Tank's experiences with interacting with the municipality about De Lentse Aarde were overall not very positive:

*"I just see that those large organisations such as a municipality, do not communicate internally, operate very messy [...] you do really have to be a bit lucky to get your voice across [...] you have to have some sort of pit bull mentality. I actually had that, I have just kept on going, I thought: I just will not give up. I saw that a lot of other people in our group already thought: oh, we will not make it happen anymore, I'm giving up. And I thought: yes, I just need to keep*

*going. Suck it up. Keep making your point, again and again, just keep knocking on the door, then you'll make it." (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)*

This quote shows the importance of the tenacity and persistence of the initiator of the project, in advocating for his project at the municipality. Fred Tank indicates that without his tenacity, the project probably would not have been able to actually find a suitable location. The next quote shows that you need to find the right person within a municipality, with the influence and will to advocate for a project. Fred Tank also emphasizes that it was (and still is) even more important to keep focussing attention on De Lentse Aarde, because of the constantly changing contact persons within the municipality.

*"I think you also have to keep making sure that the focus is on you. What I just said, that neighbourhood manager, who at the start was some sort of, yes, ambassador for us within the municipality, she is gone [...] her successor, the next neighbourhood manager [...] is also gone, do you understand? And that is how you see a very high turnover rate and that can really depend on coincidence, on the contacts that you have made [...] it is very important for us that we.. that they keep knowing us, that they know that we exist, that we just make a lot of noise, like: we are still here as well. Because otherwise they will forget about you, and they will just walk right over you. That this has succeeded is to my opinion partly persistence paying off, but partly also some kind of coincidence. That you just encountered someone who was open to it. And I find that principally very wrong, because the municipality should be open to that." (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)*

So Fred Tank needed to be quite tenacious and vocal to be able to make De Lentse Aarde happen, and then it still to some extent depended on coincidence. He thinks that this is not right; a municipality should be open to initiatives such as De Lentse Aarde and whether these initiatives succeed should not be dependent on coincidence. His experience and view on this is quite interesting, since the municipality of Nijmegen does have a policy where they want to be very open to these kind of initiatives. Apparently this policy is not working as it should, or is at least not experienced as such by some of Nijmegen's inhabitants.

Fred Tank indicates that, once they had selected their current location, De Lentse Aarde made sure that they were taken seriously, by cooperating with the municipality and by honouring their commitments. He perceived this as very normal, since they had to figure it out together with the municipality. At the municipality's request, they consulted with the neighbours of De Lentse Aarde about parking problems, and they agreed with having no more than one permanent structure (garden shed) on the site. Fred Tank sees that as small adjustments, besides that they are left quite free as long as they pay the rent. He does perceive a change in the municipality's attitude towards De Lentse Aarde since they have started, where they are being taken more seriously and even used in promotion for the area:

*"the municipality has made a little movie about Nijmegen-North and this ended up in there, you know. At a certain moment it gets going and then it is a success and then they actually use it themselves to promote the neighbourhood here. Then they can use it. And, well, because they also see that it is going well, because we have made it. So in that sense they start taking you more seriously, but I think that that will fade away." (Fred Tank – translated by MvA)*

Now that the garden is a success, the municipality is using it in placemaking for Nijmegen-North. And even though De Lentse Aarde is being taken more seriously now that they are successful, Fred Tank does feel that this positive attitude of the municipality towards them will fade, unless he keeps focussing attention on De Lentse Aarde's existence and success.

## MUNICIPALITY'S PERSPECTIVE

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### INFLUENCE OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS ON MUNICIPAL POLICY

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De Lentse Aarde was one of the examples that showed the municipality that policy was needed (either 'tolerating' or formalizing) because temporary uses often do not fit with the existing zoning plan. An allotment garden use such as De

Lentse Aarde legally does not fit with the agricultural zoning that a lot of the land in Lent used to have, even though these uses seem very similar (Anonymous<sub>1</sub>).

### (MUNICIPAL INFLUENCE ON) CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

De Lentse Aarde is one of those projects who can most likely not stay in the long term, because of the financial value that the land that they are located on has:

*"they just know exactly until when they can stay there. And then, currently it's just like that, that they are then going to make way for the development which has been planned at that place. And which we have also calculated with in all exploitation budgets. Because that is of course the difficulty. That you cannot just say: well, you can keep your place. Because then you also burden the municipality of Nijmegen with the debt, through that. So that, because you will simply notice that on the budget, so there has to be a good answer for that then, at the moment that you do it. It is possible, but yes, there has to be something in return then as well."* (Anonymous<sub>1</sub> – translated by MvA)

So it is in theory possible to stay at such a location, but that this will cost the municipality a lot of money. However, for the specific location of De Lentse Aarde staying long-term is not possible according to the municipal policy document:

*"The association can lease the land that is intended for building in the future for at least 5 years. The association has filed a request to zone the land permanently for allotment gardens. Since that would cause a large loss on the land exploitation, the request has not been granted. The temporary expansion of the complex will be allowed."* (Policy document municipality of Nijmegen – translated by MvA)

This shows that the municipality does not allow the Lentse Aarde to stay at their location long-term, because of the income that the municipality expects to get from this land.

## DE NIJMEEGSE STADSNOMADEN

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden (The Nijmegen City Nomads) are a group of young people who have started a community for alternative living on a vacant piece of land (Figure 3), close to and owned by the Radboud University. The initiators for this were two friends (one of which is Max Receveur, who was interviewed), who knew each other from the squatting scene in Nijmegen. Together with three others that they had known for a long time, they 'squatted' the piece of land in the summer of 2015 by putting their trailers and caravans on it. This piece of land is located between two neighbourhoods, adjacent to the rail tracks, and is surrounded by sports fields, stables and (botanical) gardens. Before De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden settled there, the land had been vacant for 5 years after the scouting building that used to be located there was torn down.



Figure 3: De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden, view from the entrance

De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden are 'tolerated' (gedoogd) by the university, at first unofficially. But after showing the success of their project and after the municipality has promised to make space available for them at municipality owned vacant land, they are now 'officially tolerated' by the university.

De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden have made it their goal from the very start to be open and welcoming towards the neighbourhood and other locals. They want to give a new (temporary) use to vacant land, a use which is socially relevant and has a focus on sustainability. They organise all sorts of festivities – from birthday parties for local children to small music festivals to philosophy lectures. They want to contribute to the social cohesion in the neighbourhood. They also see themselves as a showcase project for this new 'alternative' way of living in trailers, within society and the neighbourhood instead of outside of it. De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden indeed became a showcase, with a lot of attention from the municipality and both regional and national media in the winter of 2015/2016. After all this attention, they have gotten a lot of requests from people who want to live with them, but since they are a very close-knitted community who need to be able to communicate and work together well, they have only allowed people to move in who they already knew or who were frequent visitors at their location. They are currently living at the location with 12 (relatively young) people, some of which are students. They all have their own caravan or trailer in which they live, with a communal kitchen, living room and sanitary facilities. They are self-sustaining and recycle as much as possible, by using amongst other things solar energy, rainwater and food and other stuff (such as furniture) that has been discarded by others.

## PROJECT'S PERSPECTIVE

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### CONTINUITY OF THE PROJECT AND ITS LONG-TERM IMPACT ON SITE DEVELOPMENT

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De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden are 'tolerated' (gedoogd) by the university, who is the owner of the land that they are located on. The municipality has included their way of alternative living in the new municipal 'Woonvisie' (Vision on living/housing) for 2015-2020, which means that their initiative and other initiatives like theirs can now temporary use municipal vacant land to live on. They are now talking with the municipality about moving to another (municipality-owned) location. However, they would prefer it if they could stay at their current location, because of their already established connection with the two surrounding neighbourhoods, but also with the university's students and employees (Max Receveur). Next to that, the view of De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden on reusing and recycling also extends to their view on vacant land, which is another reason why they would like to be able to stay on their current location and keep using it, until some other (more permanent) use will start at that location.

*"the other day we had a discussion about why we are actually nomads, when we would actually prefer to stay in one place. Then we came to the conclusion that a nomad with a herd of sheep also doesn't.. also would prefer to stay in the same spot the entire day, only the grass runs out. And so, I think that our nomad-factor can be found in: as soon as the land is not unused anymore, as soon as the piece of land gets a use again, then we have to move on, and that is then also our duty, and that is also our power. But to leave before that use is back, I find that difficult. [...] Like a shepherd who still sees more than enough grass, but moves on nevertheless." (Max Receveur – translated by MvA)*

This shows their view on temporary (re)use of sites, which is both idealistic, but also pragmatic. They do want to use currently unused sites, but that does not mean that they wouldn't like to settle somewhere permanently in the long term. Their temporary use is also born out of necessity:

*"we are all young: studying or just finished studying [...] And then you are not able to buy a piece of land, and then also make a project such as this happen on it. [...] That is also our recycle mentality, from land, to trailers, to everything.. food.. it's all.. It is not being used? Okay, we will use it. So that is a little bit also the mentality that you see in this, but yes, if you could in the end stay on a bought piece of land.. yes, then.. you know, then you can also continue thinking about settling down, or.. yes, then you can shift your focus more to other things again. So that is really a clear option." (Max Receveur – translated by MvA)*

De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden are now living the nomad lifestyle of temporary use, but that is not necessarily also their plan for the distant future. However, right now and the coming years they are all very invested in this living arrangement that they have at the moment.

The piece of land that they are currently using is planned to be a part of an extension of the university's sport facilities, in the form of a new gymnasium. However, it will take a long time, at least a decade, before this use will be realised, because a larger area of land than just 'their' location will be needed for this development, and the surrounding areas are now (still) in use as e.g. stables and gardens (Max Receveur). Whether they could temporarily stay at this location until it is developed depends mostly on the university's position in this. Max Receveur thinks they might be able to stay if the municipality would vouch for them towards the university. However, this is still an ongoing discussion. So, it might be possible that De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden can stay on this location for some more years, but they also might have to move. Either way, it is quite sure that they can continue their way of living on vacant land on a location within the municipality of Nijmegen, at least until 2020 (since the 'Woonvisie' is valid for the period 2015-2020). If they were to move, Max Receveur expects that the municipality will want them to move to vacant land in Lent in Nijmegen-North, where there are many vacant sites, due to delayed building plans.

Before De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden settled at their current location, the site consisted of rubble (from the demolished scouting building) mixed with sand. The neighbourhood was not very actively using the site. When De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden would have to leave their current location before another more temporary use will be established there, Max Receveur expects that the site will be used more actively by the neighbourhood than before De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden settled there.

*"I think that when we leave here that the neighbourhood will once again look out onto a desolate piece of land, with in the back of their minds: oh, when those nomads where there it was.. it looked nice over there, it was a cool place. And that they will see what they can do with it for themselves" (Max Receveur – translated by MvA)*

So he expects that the presence of De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden will have made the neighbourhood aware of this piece of land and its possibilities. He expects that the inhabitants will miss the current social function that their initiative is fulfilling when they have to leave, and will take this up themselves. This social function that De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden currently fulfils consists of being a 'free-space' (vrijplaats) and meeting place for many locals, not only direct neighbours but also those who might feel excluded in other parts of society. Amongst their visitors are for example refugees and patients from the nearby psychiatric facility. It is important to De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden to have such a social function which function 'developed naturally'. If they had to move, they would still try to fulfil this social function, but their function is also very dependent on their location. If they were to end up far away from neighbourhoods and close to industry, they might become more focused on e.g. events with loud music (which is not possible now) and less on the interaction with neighbours that is so important now (Max Receveur).

Before starting De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden, Max Receveur and some of the other current inhabitants were involved in another alternative living community, located in the forest in the nearby municipality of Groesbeek. This 'camp' existed for a couple of months, before the municipality of Groesbeek decided to enforce legal rules (there was no contract or official 'toleration' for this location) and evicted the group. This caused a lot of (legal) problems for the group. They have learned from this experience, and decided to do it differently for De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden. This previous camp was very secluded and quite closed, as opposed to the current location of De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden which is explicitly open and welcoming to everyone. This experience also showed them that it is necessary to have the goodwill and cooperation from the municipality when attempting such a project.

*"You of course have 3 different stages: you have an antagonistic municipality, you have a municipality who says: we do not agree, but leaves it at that, and you have a municipality who says: we support it. Such a neutral municipality might still work, but a municipality who is actively against it you will lose from, by definition." (Max Receveur – translated by MvA)*

This shows that Max Receveur would not try such a project again in a municipality which is not on board with the idea. He also emphasizes that the previous camp was (partially) a different group of people, and in general was more turned away from the society and their surroundings, where the current group living as De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden wants to be and is very actively involved in the surrounding neighbourhood and society.

## INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL POLICY ON PROJECT AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND

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The two initiators of the project first contacted two council members of GroenLinks (the green party) that they already knew from their own network about their plan for De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden. Important in this interaction was that Max Receveur and his friend trusted these council members, and felt that they could also tell them that they would 'just take' a piece of land, since they previously also had contact with them about squatting.

*"And those [councilmembers] said like: it sounds like a great plan, I think the rest of the council will be very enthusiastic about it as well, but we do not have any proof. It sounds like a good plan, but we have [...] no proof that you can do that." (Max Receveur – translated by MvA)*

Here we see that the council members indicated that they liked the plan, but that they needed some form of proof to show the rest of the council that the initiators behind De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden could indeed pull such a project off. The initial 5 inhabitants (the two initiators and three of their friends) then decided to 'squat' a piece of land, and start their project there to show its feasibility. Their choice for a piece of land belonging to the university was a strategic one:

*"This is land of the university. Yes. And that was a conscious choice. Because.. Because we were going to squat it, we thought: we can squat from the municipality, but then you will immediately step on the toes of the alderman who was to facilitate something for you. And a university has such a public function that they won't [...] send the riot police at you or something like that. Because they will otherwise, yes, make the students angry or something. It will be all over the news [...] and that is not a headline that you want as a board. So that is something, tactically that has been a thing." (Max Receveur – translated by MvA)*

De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden needed land from some sort of 'independent third party' that they could squat, but which they were not very likely to be evicted off. They felt this was necessary because they wanted to convince the municipality of the feasibility of their project without antagonising them. At the same time, they counted on the university not taking the PR-risk of evicting them, because of the university's public function and because the university's students were likely to sympathize with De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden. Their strategy was successful, both in being able to be tolerated by the university, as in showing to the municipality that their project worked. In October 2015 GroenLinks successfully used De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden as one of the 'showcase' projects for alternative forms of living, which they wanted to be included in the new Woonvisie. Most of the parties in the council were enthusiastic about De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden as well, and this led to the inclusion of 'alternative forms of living' such as De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden in the Woonvisie. In this document, the municipality commits to actively facilitating these alternative forms of living. This caused a lot of media attention, mainly because most Dutch municipalities try to discourage traditional 'trailer-camps' (which, as Max Receveur indicates, often have a different, more closed, character than De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden). Since all this media attention, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden have become a showcase project or example for temporary use and alternative living, and they still get a lot of questions and visitors because of this.

Since the Woonvisie has been adopted, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden are mainly in contact with municipal officers, discussing the future of the project, and whether the municipality will be able to help them stay at this location or move somewhere else. This interaction is pleasant according to Max Receveur – just as the previous interaction with the council members – and he enjoys talking with these municipality officers about their future options and urban planning in general. The municipality is at the moment mainly busy with making it possible to legalize this kind of use, since it is difficult legally to temporarily designate and rent out a piece of land for habitation, without providing any facilities such as water and electricity access (Max Receveur).

## CHANGES IN PROJECT ACTIVITIES OR BEHAVIOUR BECAUSE OF INTERACTION

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When speaking to the media, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden are careful in what they say, because what they say might become very public, and they do not want to give the wrong impression. They want to show that they are grateful that they have a place to stay. Besides that, they want to show their 'kind-hearted character' towards both the neighbourhood and the municipality.

*"we do try to keep a benign character, that we won't come across as a bunch of weirdos, but that we are simply a serious group which has serious ideas and tries to implement those." (Max Receveur – translated by MvA)*

As far as approval from the municipality goes, they mainly focus on being open to the neighbourhood; Max Receveur thinks that as long as people in the neighbourhood see their presence as something reasonable, so will the municipality. They do have to be careful with the number of visitors, because they do not have event permits. Especially in the first months of their stay, before the Woonvisie and before their official 'toleration' by the university, they had to be very careful in what they did (mainly making sure to cause absolutely no nuisance to neighbours), since a request from the university to the municipality for enforcement of the legal rules would have gotten them kicked out.

De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden are also actively positioning themselves as a showcase project for this new 'alternative' way of living in trailers, within society and the neighbourhood instead of outside of it. Next to this being important to them from an idealistic point of view, it is also a strategy to make sure that they are relevant to the neighbourhood and municipality and thus have a bigger right to exist than other, more internally focused 'trailer camps'.

*"I think that it is very important that we fulfil a public function, yes [...] Because then you get the visitors, then you just get people over, then you get the... If you are always just living here and do not have a public function, you quickly become a trailer park. And I think that that is something that we do not want to be, that we also aren't. We just want to challenge people, show them [...] then you are working on reinforcing that social cohesion. And making people aware" (Max Receveur – translated by MvA)*

This social function that they were planning on fulfilling from the start, also means that they make sure that the area is 'tidy' and representative for people who are passing by:

*"because you have neighbours and other people over the entire day, you make sure that it looks tidy, that it looks nice, that it looks merry" (Max Receveur – translated by MvA)*

De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden feel that the atmosphere of their location is very important in being accepted and loved by both municipality and neighbourhood.

## MUNICIPALITY'S PERSPECTIVE

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### INFLUENCE OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS ON MUNICIPAL POLICY

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The municipal council has recently decided that they want to facilitate initiatives such as De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden. So the municipality is currently looking at a suitable location for them. The municipality has to figure out how to do this legally, since the policy is now not to tolerate uses anymore but to legally permit them (Anonymous<sup>1</sup>). This political decision immediately had an impact, because a lot of people (not from De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden group, but others) were contacting the municipality as soon as the day after this council decision, asking for a piece of land to employ such an initiative on (Anonymous<sup>2</sup>). This is difficult, because De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden are a sort of showcase ('catwalk') project, and the fact that the municipality embraces these sorts of initiatives doesn't mean that it is immediately possible for anyone to just start such an initiative (Anonymous<sup>2</sup>).

### (MUNICIPAL INFLUENCE ON) CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

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The fact that the council decided that they want to actively facilitate initiatives such as De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden, means that De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden have a bigger chance at being able to employ their initiative in Nijmegen in the long term than they did before this council decision.

## GRONINGEN

### MUNICIPALITY OF GRONINGEN; TEMPORARY USE POLICY AND PRACTICE

The municipality of Groningen has – just as many other municipalities in the Netherlands – (vacant) land and buildings that they acquired as a strategic position; they bought it because they were planning to (re)develop a certain area. The municipality of Groningen has been working on the reuse of vacant buildings for decades, together with Carex, an organisation for temporary management of buildings that originated from the squatting movement in Groningen. The municipality has many reasons to make sure that vacant buildings (and land) are being reused: the liveability and image of the public space and neighbourhood, but also financial reasons, such as the income that is lost on vacant land or buildings and because a lot of vacancy does not inspire people to invest in the surroundings (Anonymous<sub>3</sub>).

The focus used to be on reuse of vacant buildings. Vacant land caused less of a problem, since it was necessary to have this land in reserve to be able to build on it later.

*"a city that is developing needs vacant land, and it will eventually be used. And as long as there was no financial need for it, it was not that important that it was temporarily used.. or that it was used." (Anonymous<sub>3</sub> – translated by MvA)*

This shows that the municipality of Groningen previously did not see vacant land as a big issue, since it was necessary for future development, especially since there was no financial need at that moment to (temporary) use these sites. However, in recent years, this changed. Even though less land was being acquired and Groningen still needs to develop housing, due to amongst other things the economic crisis, some planned developments were put on hold. This caused a financial problem for the municipality, which was felt even more because of the economic crisis.

*"we now of course do have vacant sites. And especially in the crisis, with those land exploitations, it was of course difficult because you had to write-off, and as a municipality you of course do not want to do that too much, because everything that you write-off is money that you cannot use for new developments. So we have also looked at how we could stimulate temporary use of those vacant sites. Well, at that time came, just in that crisis time urban agriculture was also on the rise, they have had a number of larger projects that resulted in the temporary use of vacant land. Mainly for urban agriculture. Amongst other things a garden for the food bank" (Anonymous<sub>3</sub> – translated by MvA)*

The economic crisis (by delaying development and generally tightening the municipal budget) gave the municipality more incentive to stimulate temporary use on their vacant land. This, together with the fact that some (citizen) initiatives on urban agriculture (such as Toentje) and the temporary use of the former CiBoGa site (Open Lab Ebbinge) started around the same time, increased the attention for temporary use in Groningen.

In a municipal policy document describing the temporary use policy between 2013 and 2015 and the results of these policies, it was stated that delayed developments and the effects of the economic crisis were important drivers for facilitating temporary use. This also caused a shift in how the municipality thinks about development:

*"Because of the crisis it became clear that large-scale and sequential developments were in the past and that we should focus more on more flexible, more organic urban development. Many land and buildings that had once been bought to be developed remained unused for a long time because of this. For these locations temporary uses can be a chance while awaiting for example new functions for a piece of land or building. Putting these locations on the map through temporary uses can for example ensure the acceleration of final area development." (Policy document municipality of Groningen – translated by MvA)*

So the municipality of Groningen sees temporary use in the light of a change from large-scale and sequential developments (comparable to blueprint planning as mentioned in the theoretical framework) to more flexible, organic developments (which shows parallels with organic planning). However, this quote does refer to placemaking as well,

'putting these locations on the map' to 'ensure the acceleration of final area development'. This suggests that even though the municipality is talking about organic planning, they still want to use temporary use mainly as an in-between use, to accelerate 'permanent' development (which fits more with the blueprint view on planning). The following statement about the municipalities view on temporary use also shows that both views still exist within the municipality and are a part of the municipal view and of the way the municipality handles these temporary use initiatives and projects.

*"Temporality is in principal the temporary use of vacant land or buildings, with the aim of keeping the environment liveable [...] Next to that, temporary uses can put areas on the map or ensure liveliness. So temporary use and temporary functions should in principle contribute to the interests of the project or the area in which they are located [...] Temporality is a means and not a goal. The vacancy is however increasing as a whole and the expectation is that this trend will continue. [...] Many of these vacant sites and buildings will not be filled anymore in the usual way. Temporality is therefore not just a means to put an area on the map while awaiting a new use anymore. Temporality will in many cases also become a new way of urban development, in which temporary uses can in the end lead to transformation or repurposing. Next to the earlier mentioned goal of putting a building or area on the map, other important goals are therefore: facilitate initiatives, promote economic dynamism, giving experiments a platform. Economic (employment) and social returns also play a role in this." (Policy document municipality of Groningen – translated by MvA)*

This actually shows that the municipality of Groningen in principle has a 'blueprint' view on temporary use, when the area still has a chance of 'regular' development. But since the vacancy is increasing, this might not be feasible anymore for every vacant site, and therefore temporary use can also play a role in the organic development towards transformation or repurposing of a vacant site.

When asked about the municipality's motivation for facilitating temporary use, Anonymous<sub>3</sub> described this mainly in terms of experimentation with future functions of the area and the prevention of the negative effects of vacancy:

*"Well look, temporary use, it is already temporary because you.. you do it because you do not yet know for sure which direction it should go in. So temporary use is also an opportunity, like at the Ebbinge quarter we have been able to better discover what fits. Well, that was also an eye opener so that is one of the reasons why we have a temporary.. yes.. policy.. we have a couple of guidelines. And we actually look at every case individually. So that is a chance to see: well, yes, what are the best chances for an area. You also want to.. you want temporary use to combat degradation and for a couple.. to counter a downward spiral in a certain area. You can use it to experiment, also in programmes." (Anonymous<sub>3</sub> – translated by MvA)*

This practical approach could fit with both of the views on planning described before. Since Anonymous<sub>3</sub> also emphasizes that each case is different, it is likely that the municipality sometimes looks at temporary use projects from a 'blueprint planning' point of view, and at other projects from an 'organic planning' point of view. This picture is also reinforced by the fact that Anonymous<sub>3</sub> uses terms from both views on planning. When talking about Open Lab Ebbinge for example, Anonymous<sub>3</sub> both mentions the experimental side of it, discovering what would be a suitable future programme for the area and which functions would fit there (organic), and the placemaking side of it, attracting attention so that the site will be easier to develop (blueprint).

The policy document on temporary use also emphasizes that not just financial, but also social interests play a role in temporary use. The municipality of Groningen focusses on facilitating initiatives by organising inspiration meetings (called 'oil nights') and trying to match initiators of temporary use projects with owners of real estate. This matching is done through a website, called Ruimte in Stad ('Space in City'), which has example projects and a map of vacant land and buildings. Even though the website functions and is visited quite a lot, it is not very successful in leading to actual matches between initiators and property owners. According to the municipal policy document, there are many possible reasons for this, amongst others that possible initiators who respond to the site often do not have the right expectations, and that initiatives often enter at different places within the organization, which leads to inefficient decision making and communication on the possibilities for temporary use.

According to Anonymous<sub>3</sub>, Groningen does not have real 'policy' on temporary use (in this research however, 'not having policy' is also defined as policy), since they do not have that much vacant land and the developments in society are so fast that policy quickly becomes outdated. Besides that, Anonymous<sub>3</sub> emphasizes that every case is different, and should have its own 'custom-made' approach. The effect of temporary uses and also of temporary use policy is difficult to measure, since it is difficult to know what would have happened without the temporary use or temporary use policy.

*"We have also noticed in that impact assessment that it is so difficult to measure, because how do you make it objective? Can you express it in money? No, you cannot express it in money, because you do not know [what] would have happened if it wouldn't.. you know? It is not just an accounting exercise. [...] So it stays very much tailored to each case, and seeing how the situation is in a neighbourhood where such an initiative is taken, is there already such an initiative, how important do we think it is, how important does the neighbourhood think it is?" (Anonymous<sub>3</sub> – translated by MvA)*

Each case being unique and the difficulty of measuring the effects makes it very hard for a municipality to 'objectively' judge project initiatives on e.g. their feasibility and their added value. The municipality of Groningen has experienced this first-hand, and is now working with several universities and other municipalities to determine the effect of citizen initiatives (amongst which some temporary use initiatives) on urban development.

## OPEN LAB EBBINGE

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Open Lab Ebbinge is a temporary use project at a large site near the city centre of Groningen, with temporary buildings (pavilions) with a range of uses, from a day-care, to an exhibition space, to a restaurant. The site is also in use as a recreational area (with an urban beach) and can host large events such as festival (Figure 4). Open Lab Ebbinge is located at the CiBoGa site, which is the former site of the gasworks in Groningen. In the '90s it was decided to develop housing and build an underground parking garage at this site. The deal to build both the parking garage and the housing development was made with a number of contractors, amongst which BAM. The parking garage was built, but the housing development got delayed and stagnated, and the plans were altered multiple times. Around 2008, a couple of things were happening on and around the CiBoGa site which led to its temporary use. A group of people from the local entrepreneurs association came up with a plan for the use of this location, because they felt that the vacancy and the state of the site had a negative impact on the surrounding area. Their idea was to use the site temporary, to make it a public space with temporary pavilions in different building styles, to make it a showcase of temporary and mobile constructions and to use the rest of the area as a recreational area where events could be hosted. At the same time, the municipality was looking for ideas which could revive the Ebbingekwartier (Ebbinge quarter), which is the part of the city in which the CiBoGa site is located.



Figure 4: Open Lab Ebbinge, view from the event venue on the pavilions

These local entrepreneurs who initiated the project then asked Gerrit Schuurhuis, who had experience in dealing with (local) governments, to help them with the interaction with the municipality, and to start the Open Lab Ebbinge foundation. Other board members for the Open Lab Ebbinge foundation were sought, who had specific expertise

relevant to the project. The entrepreneurs who initiated the project stayed involved in the foundation, but on a daily basis Open Lab Ebbinge is now run by a professional project team, with freelance advisors such as Mark Sekuur, who advises Open Lab Ebbinge on socio-spatial issues.

It took a couple of years to get from idea to project implementation; Open Lab Ebbinge started using the CiBoGa site in 2011. The municipality subsidized Open Lab Ebbinge, and also helped them in applying for European subsidies. These subsidies were mainly used to make the area suitable for the use, construct the necessary infrastructure and to pay for the costs of the Open Lab Ebbinge foundation itself. The project was planned to last for 5 years, until July 2016, but they have recently gotten an extension of half a year, because some of the building plans are delayed. The Open Lab Ebbinge foundation is responsible for the management of the location, and functions as a 'matchmaker' for the site, they facilitate others who want to organize events on the site or who want to locate their business in a temporary pavilion on the site.

## PROJECT'S PERSPECTIVE

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### CONTINUITY OF THE PROJECT AND ITS LONG-TERM IMPACT ON SITE DEVELOPMENT

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The Open Lab Ebbinge foundation's goal is not to develop activities on the site themselves, but to serve as a matchmaker and facilitator for those who do want to do something at the site (Gerrit Schuurhuis).

*"And then we will make sure that the area will be optimally brought to the attention, so in terms of PR and marketing. And in the meantime we will also make sure that we are going to organise a lot. Not us, but we invite people to organise a few things. So that the area will continuously be brought to the attention, like: look at this, this is such a nice area. And, yes, this is a temporary site. But you can also live here" (Gerrit Schuurhuis – translated by MvA)*

This shows that Open Lab Ebbinge wants to get the site in the spotlights again, by making people aware of the potential of the site and by tempting people to want to employ activities there. So they are focused on placemaking, in order to boost (speed up or ameliorate) the future development of the site and to make the area an attractive place to live again:

*"That was actually the idea, with as a goal of course to just make this area, to get energy in it again, so that the area would start shining again. And with the goal in the end that people wanted to live, stay, work here again. So a little bit of placemaking" (Mark Sekuur – translated by MvA)*

So the idea of Open Lab Ebbinge was really that the temporary use would serve the long-term development, by revitalising the area. The ways in which they initially wanted to do this, by being a showcase for temporary building and an event venue, were mostly achieved, but the diversity in building styles of the pavilions was not achieved. This was mainly because there wasn't enough time (5 years) to make the investment in these different types of buildings feasible (Mark Sekuur). All projects on the site needed to be financially independent; Open Lab Ebbinge did not invest or 'subsidize' individual initiatives. So even though there was no specific selection on type of initiative (so no 'concept monitoring' as is the case in some other case studies), the projects were being evaluated on their financial feasibility. The pay-back period on the investments (maximum 5 years, and even less for pavilions which were built later on in the project) was an important reason for entrepreneurs to decide not to build a pavilion at the site (Gerrit Schuurhuis).

Open Lab Ebbinge's goal of revitalizing the area seems to be achieved since the development of the area has started. Since the project has started, the zoning plan for the CiBoGa site (and thus for the future development of the site) has changed. This is partly because there was time during the Open Lab Ebbinge project to reconsider the earlier plans, but also because of what Open Lab Ebbinge showed was possible and worked at this location. The initial zoning plan for the area would lead to a very densely build area, but the new zoning plan has more room for public green space and recreation (Mark Sekuur and Gerrit Schuurhuis). However it is hard to pinpoint exactly what the influence of Open Lab Ebbinge has been on this change in zoning plan, because you cannot compare it to what would have happened without this project, and because the situation of the CiBoGa is unique because of its proximity to the city centre (Mark Sekuur).

The users of the temporary buildings have to leave once the agreed upon period for Open Lab Ebbinge is over. They knew up front that they had to leave, and many of the temporary buildings will also be moved to other locations. The official end of Open Lab Ebbinge's temporary use contract is in July of 2016. But because some of the plans for the development in the area are not finalized yet, they can stay for half a year longer. Some of the temporary users are already moving to other locations though, also because the fact that they could stay longer became clear quite close to the end of the contract period.

The Open Lab Ebbinge foundation is looking for another project that they can work on after this. At a new location, the project team would try to work in a similar way (Mark Sekuur and Gerrit Schuurhuis). The situation would become different at another site though, because Open Lab Ebbinge started out as a citizen initiative which professionalized. When starting a new project, they would start with an already professional team. Mark Sekuur indicates that he thinks that at a new project they would still try to work with locals and the parties that are already present there, but it would not be citizen initiative anymore.

Even though the municipality facilitated the temporary use and provided subsidies, Gerrit Schuurhuis and Mark Sekuur still consider Open Lab Ebbinge to be a bottom-up citizen initiative. Open Lab Ebbinge is a project that was initiated by local entrepreneurs, so the project is 'grounded' in the neighbourhood. Open Lab Ebbinge is also paying attention to limiting the inconvenience of the building activities that are going on at the site right now, both for the neighbours and for the temporary users of the site. Making the area more accessible, mainly by constructing the popular bike path (about 5000 cyclist per day) that runs through the area and removing the fences that used to surround the area, was very important for the development of the site. This enabled the site to become a part of the neighbourhood and the city again (Mark Sekuur and Gerrit Schuurhuis).

#### INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL POLICY ON PROJECT AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND

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In 2008, the municipality of Groningen was looking for ideas to give the Ebbinge quarter a boost. The Ebbinge quarter area already had quite some creative entrepreneurship, so the municipality wanted to encourage this more, with the idea that more creative entrepreneurship would lead to more entrepreneurship in general and would boost the development of the area. The municipality had made some money available for ideas which would encourage creative entrepreneurship and they hosted a number of 'speed date sessions' for people who had ideas for the area. One of the ideas that came up during these sessions was the idea that the local entrepreneurs association had to revitalise the CiBoGa site through temporary use. The initiators asked for money from BAM (the developer of the CiBoGa site) for writing a bidbook to further develop and underpin their plan. After this bidbook was published, the negotiations with the municipality and other parties started in order to figure out how to implement the idea. This is where Gerrit Schuurhuis was asked to join the project. It took quite some lobbying to convince the municipality of the idea (Gerrit Schuurhuis). In the end, the municipality facilitated the project, subsidized it and helped them with applying subsidies from the European Union as well. According to Gerrit Schuurhuis these kinds of projects or developments are usually done by a municipal project team, but because he really needed to convince the municipality, he thinks it wouldn't have been possible from within the municipality:

*"look if you are a civil service, then you can never influence all sorts of people to get them to join your idea. [...] we have gotten one alderman of the executive board of the municipality to support it. Then it was not at the point yet that the executive board of the municipality embraced it. [...] from that moment onwards we also informed the council committee who deals with these sort of developments each year, we invite them and keep them posted. So actually just influencing in that way. When a municipal officer would do that, he would immediately be called back by his boss, like: what are you doing here?" (Gerrit Schuurhuis – translated by MvA)*

Gerrit Schuurhuis describes that as a sort of 'independent party', he had more leeway to actively influence people within the municipality to support the idea. He thinks that the development would not have been possible in this way if the municipality had done it themselves, not just because of the convincing that was needed at first, but also because of the way that the municipality usually develops such an area. At the start of Open Lab Ebbinge the municipality had (and

perhaps still has) a way of looking at urban development that was quite different from the kind of development that Open Lab Ebbinge is (Mark Sekuur and Gerrit Schuurhuis). Mark Sekuur describes this as follows:

*"It is a bit of a strange initiative, organic area development [...] and temporality, those were at the time terms that were not at all customary within municipalities. We were all still thinking in terms of Vinex developments, from A to B [...] So that was really completely new. [...] You did see that a lot of people were very sceptical at first, also the municipal officers, and well everyone [...] well, temporality, that is all also just strange, and how does that go? And thanks to that alderman, he made sure that they have followed through with it, that also the spatial planning department went along with it, and you see that with time a transition has taken place in thinking about what the value of this initiative for this area has been"* (Mark Sekuur – translated by MvA)

So at the start of the Open Lab Ebbinge project the municipality was still very much thinking about urban development as large scale, sequential activity (comparable to the blueprint view on planning mentioned in the theoretical framework). The Open Lab Ebbinge project is more an organic way of developing, which was very new at the time (Mark Sekuur). But enough people within the municipality were convinced to start the project, and there seems to have been a transition in how the municipality looks at the Open Lab Ebbinge project over time (Mark Sekuur). However, Mark Sekuur also thinks that the municipality was more or less 'forced' to change their view on area development, because due to the economic crisis, many large scale developments were stagnating. Even though the municipality has seen that Open Lab Ebbinge has changed the site into a 'hotspot' and therefore now thinks differently about these types of temporary initiatives, it might still not be natural for them to develop an area in this way:

*"by now you see that within the spatial planning department, and the economic department as well, they are thinking differently about the possibilities of these kinds of initiatives, temporary initiatives. But it is still not in their DNA, also.. the working with it. You do notice that as well, that, they haven't been trained for it, it is a change in culture that needs to be experienced within the municipality. And also now that the economy is picking up, you notice that mainly the traditional parties, and those are a lot of parties, that they are very much going back to the so-called 'old thinking', like you could call it: profit maximisation, large scale developments, and, well, no messing around in the margins with these sorts of small initiatives, and what does all of this actually provide financially? So those are the questions that are slowly starting to be asked again. (Mark Sekuur – translated by MvA)*

Mark Sekuur is afraid that this change in mind-set might have been temporary, and that the focus might be shifting back to a more 'blueprint planning' way of thinking now that the economic situation has improved again. He thinks that this is also because of financial motivations, he indicates that the municipality of Groningen expected to make a lot of money from their vacant land. So he thinks that it will be hard for some parts of the municipality (especially the real estate department) to see the potential of Open Lab Ebbinge -like developments and to not 'go back to their old habits'. He also thinks that Groningen is also not challenged to experiment more with new types of area development, because the housing market in the city is doing very well.

Open Lab Ebbinge still has to 'fight' for its role as a manager of the site, mainly because not all departments within the municipality are used to the fact that even though the municipality owns the site, the municipality is not the one who manages it (Mark Sekuur and Gerrit Schuurhuis). The municipality often does things on the site (like storing building materials, or giving out a permit) without consulting with Open Lab Ebbinge first. So they need to stay on top of what's happening, to stay in control of the site. But overall, Open Lab Ebbinge still has a good position. The municipality appreciates that Open Lab Ebbinge functions as an intermediary agent between the municipality and citizens in matters concerning Open Lab Ebbinge (Gerrit Schuurhuis). And even though Gerrit Schuurhuis sometimes 'almost feels as if he's a municipal officer', he indicates that the fact that he is not gives Open Lab Ebbinge space to experiment:

*"And that is actually also something: that you have to be aware of what kind of role you are fulfilling, and that you have to dare every now and then [...] that you do things that are actually not [permitted]... well for example putting that little building there before you have a permit. You know, like that. Because, I was consistently like: yes, it's Open Lab, it is a space for experimenting."* (Gerrit Schuurhuis – translated by MvA)

This quote shows that Open Lab Ebbinge could not have had the space to experiment as they do now, when the project would have been entirely run by the municipality.

The municipality seems to have learned from the Open Lab Ebbinge project (Mark Sekuur and Gerrit Schuurhuis). But at the moment that Open Lab Ebbinge started, the municipality did not really have policy or a vision on temporary use and this does not seem to have changed very much, it still does not seem to be an important priority in their spatial policy (Mark Sekuur).

#### CHANGES IN PROJECT ACTIVITIES OR BEHAVIOUR BECAUSE OF INTERACTION

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The municipality subsidized Open Lab Ebbinge, and also helped them in applying for European subsidies. A temporary use such as Open Lab Ebbinge would not have been possible at the CiBoGa site without subsidies, mainly because it took a lot of money to make the site suitable for use, due to the state the site was in, but also because it is a very large site (5 ha) (Mark Sekuur). Because the municipality was subsidizing Open Lab Ebbinge, the municipality insisted that Open Lab Ebbinge was not allowed to organize events themselves (only facilitate others to do so). This was to avoid unfair competition (Gerrit Schuurhuis). Another issue in the discussion with the municipality was the (financial) responsibility for the area management. The municipality for example wanted to put a fence around the area, but Open Lab Ebbinge managed to convince them that the area should be accessible and open in order to make the project work. Overall, these kinds of discussions came up, but were sorted out by both parties together (Mark Sekuur and Gerrit Schuurhuis).

#### MUNICIPALITY'S PERSPECTIVE

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##### INFLUENCE OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS ON MUNICIPAL POLICY

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The temporary use initiative Open Lab Ebbinge on the former CiBoGa site started at the beginning of the economic crisis (2008/2009), and it became an important project for the municipality of Groningen, since it developed at the time that they were starting to focus more on temporary use of vacant land as well. Open Lab Ebbinge also changed the municipality's view on their own position in urban development:

*"It has worked really well, so that we do have, by gradually taking vacant land into use, temporarily, we do have learned from it. So that has certain advantages, and you can learn from it as a city. What we have also learned from it is [...] that it is very government-steered. We, as a municipality, decided to a large extent what was going to happen, and what should happen. While we now do things way more together with inhabitants, with companies.. so the interaction with the demanding, or the parties for whom we in the end have to do it, did become much bigger, because of that. Including because of the influence of temporary use of space." (Anonymous3 – translated by MvA)*

Here we see that the municipality learned from the experience with Open Lab Ebbinge, and started giving more responsibility to citizens. Both the municipality and the involved citizens (in this case the initiators of Open Lab Ebbing) had to get used to this new division of tasks, where instead of the municipality developing an area themselves, they entrusted this to citizens (Anonymous3). The interaction with Open Lab Ebbinge taught both parties about the right balance between responsibilities:

*"So then you get a different kind of collaboration, then you both develop [...] then you also discover where your responsibility lies, and where you can also take it, where your know how lies, where your knowledge lies. So that is still.. that is of course a continuing development, but we are as a service, as the municipality of Groningen we are developing from a supply.. we supply, to a more demand focused organisation. And one of the things has been that temporary use, because that.. yes, you cannot possibly do that alone, because you have to go looking for the demand. What do people want? What do people need? Because you have to keep moving as a municipality, as a government, as a city, because inertia.. yes, that is always tantamount to decline. And you have to keep preparing for what is coming." (Anonymous3 – translated by MvA)*

So Open Lab Ebbinge – and temporary use in general – was important in starting this change in mind-set and way of working within the municipality of Groningen. As described before, temporary use was necessary for financial reasons and to ensure the liveability and attractiveness (also for developers) of the sites that were vacant and the areas around it. Temporary use in its turn was one of the drivers for the municipality to develop more towards a demand-driven organization, because they could not do temporary use alone; they had to work together with citizens, to find out what sort of functions people wanted and needed. Anonymous<sub>3</sub> states that it was very important for the municipality to 'keep moving'. So it appears that these changes towards more temporary use and a demand-driven municipality were something that the municipality *needed* to do. Open Lab Ebbinge was one of the cases which helped them to realise this and develop this new approach.

### (MUNICIPAL INFLUENCE ON) CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

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Open Lab Ebbinge's temporary uses at the CiBoGa site have changed the programme of this site, since it has shown what kind of functions are really needed and wanted in the area:

*"it was mainly used there to figure out the future development of that area very precisely, what kind of programme will actually fit there exactly? Because you think that a city needs this or that, but only when you really try it, you discover what.. yes, what people do and do not.. what they need, what they want, et cetera. And then you get a way more interesting programme."* (Anonymous<sub>3</sub> – translated by MvA)

This shows that Open Lab Ebbinge was used to experiment with possible future functions. When asked whether the temporary use at the CiBoGa site was deliberately deployed for this experimentation with functions and whether this was the idea from the start of the project, Anonymous<sub>3</sub> replied:

*"Well, you never really now up front. We did think like; if we let it be used temporarily, then that area will be more in the mental map of city-dwellers, of the people who live around it, of the people who will possibly use it in the future. And that it would have such an impact on the programme, no, we did not really foresee that beforehand. And it worked really well to put that place on the map. It has worked really well, so that we do have, by gradually taking vacant land into use, temporarily, we do have learned from it. So that has certain advantages, and you can learn from it as a city."* (Anonymous<sub>3</sub> – translated by MvA)

Open Lab Ebbinge influenced the long-term site development, even though this was not necessarily the idea at the beginning. At first, Open Lab Ebbinge was mainly thought of by the municipality as a way of placemaking for the CiBoGa site and the surrounding Ebbinge Quarter. Open Lab Ebbinge also taught the municipality more about how they can use temporary projects like this to their advantage. However, the Open Lab Ebbinge project itself might have functioned better if it had a longer time to develop. At the start of Open Lab Ebbinge, it was not legally possible to give a site into temporary use for more than 5 years (this rule changed in November 2014). This made it very hard financially, because it is very hard to build something and make it feasible within 5 years, you would probably need 10 to 12 years to make temporary building projects such as those at Open Lab Ebbinge feasible (Anonymous<sub>3</sub>).

## TOENTJE

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

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Toentje ('little garden' in local dialect) is a vegetable garden in Groningen (Figure 5), which produces vegetables for the local food bank (Voedselbank). The project started in 2012, when Jos Meijers, the initiator of the project, wrote a plan for a garden for the food bank, with which he approached the municipal officer responsible for poverty policy. The new poverty policy that this municipality officer had just written contained an idea about a production garden for the food bank as well, so they decided to work together to realise this. This led to the creation of Toentje, for which first construction started in November 2013. The first vegetables were produced in 2014.

Toentje started out on a vacant site owned by a local housing corporation, at the edge of an existing neighbourhood where a housing development was planned. At first it was thought that they could stay for 5 years, but since the housing market got better sooner than expected, they had to leave the first site within 2 years. They recently moved to another site, bigger than the previous one (5400 m<sup>2</sup>) and very close to the old site. This new site is part of a park (Oosterpark), so it is located in an area which is indicated as green space in the zoning plan. Before Toentje started using this site, it was public green space, consisting of, amongst other things, a football field which was underused and in bad shape. Toentje still has a temporary contract for 5 years at this location. About 30 volunteers are currently active in the garden. Toentje is subsidized by the municipality, making it possible to have two paid employees, one of which is Jos Meijers, the initiator of Toentje. The municipality, together with the housing corporation that owned the land, also helped pay for the construction of the garden and the move to the new location.



Figure 5: Toentje, view from the side

Next to producing vegetables for the food bank, Toentje is now producing local honey ('Groning') together with a local beekeeper. They also plan to open a 'social restaurant' mid-2016, in collaboration with a local restaurant and a local culinary school, showing the food supply chain in combination with the garden, and working with and for local minimum income households. This restaurant is located at a breeding ground (broedplaats) called 'Het Werk' (The Work) for creative entrepreneurs, which is located in the block in between the former and the new location of Toentje. 'Het Werk' developed around the same time as Toentje, so Toentje was not located in this neighbourhood because of the breeding ground, and the breeding ground did not necessarily develop because of Toentje, even though Toentje was one of the parties involved in turning it into a breeding ground.

## PROJECT'S PERSPECTIVE

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### CONTINUITY OF THE PROJECT AND ITS LONG-TERM IMPACT ON SITE DEVELOPMENT

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Toentje had to leave their first location sooner than expected, since the housing corporation who was the owner of the land sold it to a developer who will build houses on it (the building has not started yet). The building plans at the previous location have not changed due to the presence of Toentje, so Toentje did not impact the program of the future development that will take place at this site. However, Toentje was used by municipality and developer to 'advertise' for this area, which shows that Toentje might have contributed to the potential that this location now has for development.

*"Yes, that's how it is the entire time isn't it, also with these kinds of things, such as breeding grounds and vacant land which are temporary taken into use, are made pretty. Those are always the pioneers, the predecessors of urban development. Because that developer then flaunts: oh, look at this: Toentje nearby, and beautiful greenery. And in the meantime they will wipe us off of it, and houses are being [build].. That is purely a form of marketing practices, there's no more to it." (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

This shows that Jos Meijers perceives that Toentje was 'used' by the developer for placemaking, for increasing the attractiveness of the area, but this did not stop the developer from making Toentje leave when they wanted to build on that specific location. He sees this as a movement that is common in urban development and also happens at other temporary use projects.

The presence of Toentje's office and new restaurant at the breeding ground 'Het Werk', combined with their connection with the neighbourhood, public space function and the proximity for the food bank are important reasons for the fact that it was possible for them to relocate Toentje so close to the old location.

*"Yes, we are located here and we cannot just relocate to somewhere outside of the city. Besides that you have.. Then you will lose an entire public function, because we are just public space, always have been. And there is a fence surrounding it, but you can always enter. People also always just come walking in, sit down, enjoy themselves" (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

So it is important for Toentje to have this public function, and they want to keep their current connection with the neighbourhood.

At the new site, they do not run the risk of having to leave to make way for development, since the new site is located in a green zone. They expect to be able to stay at the current location for a long time, at least for 5 years, and possibly longer after that when there is still a need for vegetables for the food bank at that time, or perhaps when there is no need anymore, they can be transformed into another green function.

*"we [can] actually just stay there for 5 years or longer [...] Well, we.. yes, in theory, if we will just do well, we can stay here for a very long time. We now just get a 5 year contract, if there are no food banks anymore in 5 years, then we will have.. you know, great, then we do not have to do anything anymore either. But well, if in, yes, 5 years it will be an even greater success, or in 10 years, well, than.. or in the end the food bank is not there, but then you will have a piece of urban agriculture for the neighbourhood or for the restaurant here, well than it's okay as well." (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

Even though producing vegetables for the food bank is their main goal, Toentje might in the long term also change into something else that is relevant to the neighbourhood. In the long term, Toentje hopes to contribute to the local cohesion of the neighbourhood, with both the garden and the restaurant. Their legitimacy comes from helping people and inspiring them, mainly on issues related to (local) food, gardening and green space.

*"we have a right to exist and we get money because we just help a lot of people. And not just the food bank, but also the people who work with us, and inspiration for other people." (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

Here we see that Jos Meijers does feel that Toentje needs to 'legitimize' itself, using both space and money, and that they do this by helping and inspiring others.

## INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL POLICY ON PROJECT AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND

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Since developing the idea for Toentje, Jos Meijers has had contact with municipality officers from many different policy domains; poverty policy, ecology, urban agriculture and food, real estate, temporary use and the coordinator for participation in green space (citizen initiatives). So even though there was contact with the municipality officer in charge of temporary use, there were also a lot of other policy domains involved. The interaction with the municipality was generally good (Jos Meijers). When they were developing Toentje, the municipality was just developing their view on related issues (mainly food and poverty policy), so when asked to what extent the municipal policy on temporary use of vacant land had influenced the project, Jos Meijers replied:

*"On us not that much, but what we from the start on.. we were actually keeping pace with the municipality. Because the municipality was also just working on that at that moment, to.. they just had a new vision document on food, so they were also just in that transition. So we were actually with some other, bigger projects in the city also for them just the test cases, as in: does it work, and how are we dealing with it, and does it have, what's the word, right to exist? So in that sense we have worked together very well the entire time." (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

Toentje was used as a test case for the municipality, and the municipality and Toentje figured out in collaboration what was the best way to go about projects such as these. Jos Meijers experienced this as a pleasant way of working. He did

however perceive a clear distinction between the view of different municipal policy domains on Toentje (and temporary use in general). Officers from the real estate department seemed generally less open to these types of uses:

*"Those who are most stuck in their ideas are those from real estate. The municipality, but also the project developers. They still only think in money and economic growth [...] But, I do hope that they will see: hey, this is what it does with people. But then they will have to get out of their office first. [...] So, yes, you want to change that as well." (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

So he perceives that developers and officers from the real estate department mainly think in economic terms, and therefore are less receptive to other benefits of temporary uses such as Toentje. The fact that it was possible to develop this project despite the reluctance of some within the municipality, is credited by Jos Meijers to others within the municipality who were able to convince those who were less favourable to the idea. These were people such as the young project leader of the area, the urban ecologist and some others involved in food and urban agriculture policy. These people could convince the real estate department with arguments such as these:

*Because there [ - the real estate department - ] it [- the temporary use -] is being sold to of course, like I said before, as in: 'well, look, then you will just let those people use it temporarily, and then you will have.. it will look nice, and then, there you go, when the housing market recovers, we'll just stuff it full again'." (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

This is an argument from the blueprint view on planning, where temporary uses are just an in-between use, which are mainly beneficial for placemaking of the area so that it will be easier to develop later.

#### CHANGES IN PROJECT ACTIVITIES OR BEHAVIOUR BECAUSE OF INTERACTION

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In their interaction with the municipality, Toentje did not have to adjust much to be able to get their plans accepted (Jos Meijers). However, there were definitely some things that Toentje did or is that made the municipality more receptive towards their project. The fact that they were producing vegetables for the food bank was the 'magic word' for Toentje being facilitated by the municipality at first:

*"So, and then the municipality first said: 'well, then you have to hand in a business plan, because you know, all those write-off values of that vacant land, and that will all cost the municipality money, and how are you going to pay for that?' And I said: no, that is not what it is about, then you sort of defeat the purpose. As in, you should just give such a piece of land to use for free, and as a 'prudent man' you manage the land well, then you can also.. After that you give it back again. [...] Yes, in the end they also saw: yes, the food bank is of course the magic word, isn't it?" (Jos Meijers – translated)*

Toentje was able to convince the municipality of the value of their project, without being able to pay for the land in the way that the municipality first wanted, by showing the public interest that was served by starting this project; the food bank. After Toentje had existed for a while, some of the municipality officers did change their opinion of the project, and this might even have influenced how they will judge similar projects in the future:

*"a lot of people did not think that it would become such a success. They thought: well, we will have to see about that, it is quite a big piece of land, and.. And in the end they saw that we just had everything tightly in place. Garden always neat, always clean, high yield, a large number of people working, many.. inspiration project for other people.. So then they were like: well, wait a minute, that is a good benchmark." (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

This shows that an important factor in these municipality officers changing their opinion, was the fact that the garden was running smoothly, and that the garden was always tidy (Jos Meijers). So this was another way how Toentje influenced the municipality's attitude towards them.

After starting on their first location and proving their worth, Toentje became a showcase, an example also for people from other cities. This was an important factor in the municipality's decision to help them find a new location:

*"they come from all over the place: hey, why does it work for you and why not for us, and how does that work, and.. So you also set some sort of example. And the municipality sees that as well, they of course also flaunt with us, we are some sort of pet-project for them. So they were also like: 'yes, we cannot really do that, that we first open it with a lot of fanfare, and then stimulate it, and sponsor it, and appreciate it, and embrace it, and then in the end you wipe it of the map, you cannot do that of course'. And we were with.. Of course you do that a bit cheekily.. You just start the expansion now, that's why we do this [referring to the restaurant]. So than we also said: yes, but, we have to stay near this place" (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

Next to their 'showcase' function influencing how the municipality looked at and dealt with them, this quote also shows, the 'cheeky' attitude that Toentje has towards the municipality. This cheeky attitude, and 'just doing things', not being afraid and having a good story all were important as well in successfully getting things done with the municipality (Jos Meijers).

Toentje did need to comply with legal rules and permitting procedures, but Jos Meijers did not see this as a problem, he sees it as natural since the municipality in the end has the final responsibility.

*"You just have to deal with legal rules. Look, the municipality justly says: 'all those citizen initiatives and more citizen participation, everything has to lie with the citizen, very nice, but if the citizen in the end messes up, then they will just as well point at the municipality again'. So the municipality always has that final responsibility. So, yes, then you just have to.. just have to get it right together with them.. and just know what you are doing." (Jos Meijers – translated by MvA)*

The last part of this quote also shows that it is important to collaborate with the municipality and show a professional attitude (Jos Meijers). Toentje has been told by the municipality that their project has more right to exist due to their professional approach, when compared to the average vegetable garden, since those are run by volunteers and often slowly fade out after a couple of years, because the people behind it are not being paid for their work. However, in the end, despite their professionalism, Toentje does rely on municipal subsidies because they have no steady source of income for Toentje (they give away the vegetables for free after all). This means also that they are at the mercy of the municipality's whims. If after the next elections the new executive board decides not to support Toentje anymore, then Toentje will probably not be able to continue (Jos Meijers).

## MUNICIPALITY'S PERSPECTIVE

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### INFLUENCE OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS ON MUNICIPAL POLICY

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Toentje had some influence on the way that the municipality deals with temporary use projects, since it was one of the urban agricultural projects that was developed at the same time that the municipality's attention for temporary use increased (Anonymous3).

### (MUNICIPAL INFLUENCE ON) CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

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Toentje became a success and is being moved to another location, because housing will be developed on the old location. The presence of Toentje did not have any programmatic effect on the new development. Toentje's new location previously was underused public green space and Toentje can stay there for a long time, possibly permanent (Anonymous3).

## TUIN IN DE STAD, GRONINGEN

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Tuin in de Stad (Garden in the City) is a garden with a greenhouse (Figure 6), located on a piece of vacant land next to the rail tracks, quite close to the city centre of Groningen and in-between a couple of neighbourhoods. The land was formerly in use as a plant nursery and garden centre. The land is owned by the municipality, who bought it in the '60s to provide a location for the plant nursery. When the last plant nursery (there had been a number of different owners and companies, but all the same kind of function) went bankrupt, Frans Kerver and his partner – who used to live very close to the site – started to talk to the municipality about the possibilities of using this land, which led to the start of Tuin in de Stad at this location in 2009.



Figure 6: Tuin in de Stad, view on the greenhouse

The focus of Tuin in de Stad is on creating social value, and creating a kind of 'free-space' (vrijplaats) which is open and accessible to everyone. Tuin in de Stad is very flexible and open to experimentation. The idea is that it develops organically and there is a focus on letting volunteers employ their own activities. Tuin in de Stad is a volunteer-led initiative, which is not subsidized by the municipality, so they rely on what they can earn with some of the activities they do and on prize money (they have won two prizes for citizen initiatives for urban green in 2012). Tuin in de Stad has developed many different activities over the years. In the winter they sell Christmas trees, which is their main source of income. They have built a space within the greenhouse in 2014, which contains a kitchen and sort of 'living room'. Within the kitchen they used to have a 'Free Café', where locals cook and eat together, with food that would have otherwise been wasted. There are a number of local day cares who come to Tuin in de Stad regularly, as well as some neighbourhood kids who often play there.

Tuin in de Stad is currently in the process of moving to a new location. At the current location, a housing development is planned. Their new location is within a park at the edge of the city.

### PROJECT'S PERSPECTIVE

#### CONTINUITY OF THE PROJECT AND ITS LONG-TERM IMPACT ON SITE DEVELOPMENT

The land that Tuin in de Stad is located on was bought by the municipality to facilitate a plant nursery, so it was not originally bought to build houses on it. Somewhere during the '90s, the municipality developed plans to build on this location, in the context of a programme for a more compact city, in which 'left-over' sites in or near the city centre would be used for building. When Tuin in de Stad started at this location, it was already clear that the municipality was planning to build houses there at some point. After quite some discussion between Tuin in de Stad, the municipality and other involved parties (which will be described more in detail later), the municipal council decided in December 2015 that Tuin in de Stad had to leave the location to make way for a housing development. In the end, the presence of Tuin in de Stad has had no influence on the plans for the housing development. There has been some discussion if some sort of Tuin in de Stad-like activity could continue at the location next to the building plans, but this did not work out (see next section). Tuin in de Stad did however have an impact on the neighbourhood and on surrounding areas. Tuin in de Stad has a focus on people's own initiative and likes to enable people to take responsibility themselves (Frans Kerver). Next to the impact that this has had on some individual people's personal development, it also led to a number of spin-off initiatives, on or

around Tuin in de Stad. The Free Café recently moved from Tuin in de Stad to another local breeding ground, Backboneo50. There were also a number of green initiatives which developed just outside Tuin in de Stad, which were inspired and sometimes helped by Tuin in de Stad. Two of those initiatives are also neighbourhood vegetable gardens, which are also located on vacant land, so those initiatives can most likely not stay in the long term either. The third initiative is a fruit orchard by locals, which is located in previously underused public green space, and this is therefore more likely to be able to stay long-term (Frans Kerver). So even though Tuin in de Stad has to leave their current location and will not have any programmatic effect on their location, their presence at this location will leave its traces in the surrounding neighbourhoods, through the spin-off projects and the impact they have had on individual people's lives.

Frans Kerver indicates that their current location was ideal because it was quite secluded (due to the limited access from the road) but still at a location close to a number of quite different neighbourhoods. The power of Tuin in de Stad was that they were open to everyone and that a different kinds of people felt welcome there:

*"what's really special about this place is that we have managed not to be an exclusive place for hippies or young people or this or that. [...] young and old, rich and poor, whatever, they all visit this place. And that is a bit because of the way we have presented ourselves to the outside world, the things that we organise and the things that we are doing here. [...] you can really use such a garden to make connections. But then you have to be in-between neighbourhoods, then it has a function" (Frans Kerver – translated by MvA)*

Tuin in de Stad ensured this inclusiveness through the kind of activities they organised and the way they went about things. But the location was very important as well, they had to be in-between neighbourhoods to be able to fulfil such a function. At the new location in the Westpark, they are further away from the city centre and neighbourhoods in general. It is therefore likely that the profile of Tuin in de Stad will change, from more social on the old location to more focused on outdoor recreation at the new location:

*"you really have to take the location as a starting point. Well, and this site is not located in-between [neighbourhoods].. it is sort of an unknown park, which is actually only visited by dog-owners. And there is a children's garden and a scouting, which in itself is nice and is in line with us. There is a lot of space and it has a recreational zoning, so that gives a lot of freedom. But where the social component really predominates here, we think that there the being outside, playing outside, those kinds of things, will predominate. And here people come by on their own accord and there you will have to attract people, which is really something else." (Frans Kerver – translated by MvA)*

This shows that the location really influences the character of the use, and that the fact that they have to move to a very different location will also change the character of Tuin in de Stad. The activities that they will employ will be different than at the previous location. Tuin in de Stad is planning to focus on activities that will bring in money first, because they still do not want to be reliant on subsidies. So they are planning to have some sort of café or restaurant, a workshop and a camping, all to bring in money. With all their activities, they experiment and see what works at that location, just as they did at the previous one.

*"And then you have to see [...] what is going to work. It is just, if something works: do more of the same thing, if it doesn't work: stop doing it. That is sort of the principle that you are following. And what people bring to the table themselves. So there is not a predetermined plan or something like that." (Frans Kerver – translated by MvA)*

Frans Kerver says that Tuin in de Stad developed organically, and this quote indicates what he means by that: without a pre-set plan and just seeing what works by developing step by step, continuing what goes well and discarding what is not going well. They plan to continue this way of developing at their new location. Tuin in de Stad can stay for 10 years at its new location, and Frans Kerver expects that it will be possible to stay longer (perhaps permanently) since the site is located in (underused) green space without any other (building) plans for the location.

## INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL POLICY ON PROJECT AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND

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Tuin in de Stad started as an initiative from Frans Kerver and his partner, who contacted the municipality about the options of using this space after they found out that the plant nursery that was located there went bankrupt. The focus of Tuin in de Stad was on a sort of 'free-space' (vrijplaats) from the start:

*"And it actually all started with my partner, because she has always wanted a place where you 'could do all sorts of things'. [...] Talking with the municipality, the municipality said: well, it is a nursery, so whatever you do, you have to sell plants. And what you do besides that, well, as long as the neighbours don't complain, we're fine with it." (Frans Kerver – translated by MvA)*

So from this quote it seems that the contact with the municipality went quite smoothly at first, as they were left quite free in their activities at the location. Their first contact with the municipality was with municipal officers from green and social policy domains, who helped to lobby for the project within the municipality (Frans Kerver). Frans Kerver notices a clear distinction between municipal officers from these two policy domains, and those from the real estate department. He perceives that the green and social department were more supportive of Tuin in de Stad (and also of other similar initiatives), but did not have the power to decide about such a project, because that decision power lies with the real estate department. He thinks that it is necessary to get municipal officers from the real estate department 'on your side' if you want to achieve something, in terms of being able to start a project or having the possibility of staying long-term on a location. His experiences with the real estate department were not very positive, but he indicates that this might also be because those meetings always brought 'bad news', because they were discussing the building plans of the Tuin in de Stad location in these meetings, and thus the fact that Tuin in de Stad had to leave the site.

The agreement when Tuin in de Stad started using the location in 2009 was that they would have to leave when the municipality wanted to start building on the location. In 2013 they were told that they had to leave because building would start. Tuin in de Stad then wrote a letter to the municipality, titled 'who owns the city?' (van wie is de stad?) questioning the decision of the municipality to build houses on the Tuin in de Stad site, and the lack of public participation that Tuin in de Stad perceived in this discussion and decision. This led to an extra council meeting, in which an alderman proposed to combine a site on the other side of the train tracks with the Tuin in de Stad site, to see if a development which combined housing with Tuin in de Stad-like activities was possible (Frans Kerver). The site of Tuin in de Stad alone would be too small for this. Several parties then came together to discuss this, amongst which the municipality, Tuin in de Stad, VDM (the company which would build the houses at the Tuin in de Stad site) and Lefier (the housing cooperation which owned the location on the other side of the train tracks). Frans Kerver appreciated this gesture of collaboration, and also that the municipality – alderman, politicians as well as municipal officers – are very approachable in Groningen. However, these discussions did not lead to a common plan.

*"then we sat together two times, that was in the autumn of 2013 [...] but the only ones who made a plan, were us. [...] if you look back now, it is just a pity that there wasn't more effort put into that and, yes, we have done what we could, but... [...] what you are left with is a kind of mistrust like: well, if you do not bring a bag of money to the table they do not take it seriously. Then they want.. they are certainly not going to put time, money, effort into it." (Frans Kerver – translated by MvA)*

The other parties were not very proactive in developing a common plan for the location. So Frans Kerver felt that the others were not putting in the effort to come up with a common plan, and that Tuin in de Stad's plan was not taken seriously because they did not bring money to the table. In 2014, VDM, the building company, went bankrupt. Tuin in de Stad then decided just to carry on with their activities, even to start building a space within the greenhouse with their prize money, and just to see what happened. But the housing development plans were only delayed, not cancelled. When Tuin in de Stad was faced with these building plans again in 2015, they asked for an impact assessment of their effects at this location. This assessment was done, and a report was made in which the effects of Tuin in de Stad at this location were compared to the effects that a housing development would have. The council then discussed this, and

decided to build houses. Frans Kerver is disappointed by this discussion and its outcome, not only because Tuin in de Stad has to move, but also because he feels that the municipality did not really look at what Tuin in de Stad brings to the city. He thinks the municipality is really focused on earning money from the housing development and mainly uses the argument 'a deal is a deal' when it comes to why Tuin in de Stad had to leave. He also feels that they do not leave enough room for the input from citizens:

*"the majority of the council says: temporary is temporary, and it has to stay that way. Because otherwise we cannot do these sort of things anymore [...] While I believe that it is all about: well, look at what is happening here, and why are people willing to do that for free. And what do they actually want? And what is the source where all of that is coming from? And can't you use that to develop your city? [...] I still think that it is a pity, yes, they are just building house here, more or less from the drawing board. And from a supposed market demand [...] And they do look a little bit at the surroundings [...] But they are mainly focused on the market [...] to this very day our direct neighbours don't know anything [...] they know that building will start here, but, what is being build, when it will be build.. they do not have any say in it. And I really think that that is a way of thinking and governing and urban development, well I would almost say: that is no longer acceptable. And a way of urban development also that is only still being used because the stakes, it is about money and alleged stakes and parties who have a stake in that, that is all going on behind the scenes. And that isn't transparent at all and the inhabitants of the city do not get any say in it." (Frans Kerver – translated by MvA)*

This shows that Frans Kerver thinks that the municipality is not open to using a citizen initiative such as Tuin in de Stad in urban development, and is focused on financial stakes and on the market, instead of looking at what direct neighbours of the location and other citizens want. He thinks that this attitude of the municipality that he perceives is outdated, and that it is a pity that the citizens aren't included more. This statement that Frans Kerver makes, about the municipality not being open to including Tuin in de Stad-like initiatives in urban development, also links to another reason why he is disappointed about the move to another location and the way the municipality is dealing with the whole situation. He says that the new locations that they were offered for the move are all quite 'safe' locations for the municipality, often locations quite far from the city centre and far from neighbourhoods with which they could connect.

*"the locations that we were offered now, yes, those are all harmless locations, outside.. on the edge of the city and all. Of which the municipality thinks: ah, yes, we won't sell that in the coming 10 years anyway. And that is just a shame. Because the municipality on the one hand is talking so much about: together we make the city, and citizen participation, who knows what. And in.. that's in words, but in action it is often: help each other, preferably for free, because that will save us in the costs for social work and healthcare. And as soon as it becomes risky, or tense, the municipality bails." (Frans Kerver – translated by MvA)*

Frans Kerver thinks that the municipality only offered Tuin in de Stad new locations that do not contain any risk for the municipality. He feels that the municipality is talking a lot about citizen participation, but is only interested in this when there are no risks involved for them. He also has the idea that the municipality only reacts to and gets involved with the ideas of citizens when this fits their own agenda. He sees a distinction between two types of developments:

*"I do not think at all that my ideas are always the best ideas, but I would like to [be] [...] in contact. I want to get a response. Because then you are working together. Well, and the standard is: you do not get a response. So actually they do not think that it is a good idea. But they also don't offer you... Within the municipality there also aren't any processes or formats for this.. to develop an area organically. And those two currents within the municipality are.. the mainstream, like I told, yes, and the left-over spots." (Frans Kerver – translated by MvA)*

Here we see that Frans Kerver perceives two currents within the municipality, earlier in the interview he has called this mainstream 'the current of city development, with project developers, professionals, politicians etc. involved'. The other one (with the 'left-over spots') he calls 'the current of citizen initiatives'. He says that the first stream gets all the money and that in the second stream it is very hard to make ends meet. Overall, he seems very frustrated by the fact that the

municipality claims to support citizen initiatives and alternative (or organic) urban development, but in the end still chooses for the 'mainstream' (blueprint) development and the financial motives.

### CHANGES IN PROJECT ACTIVITIES OR BEHAVIOUR BECAUSE OF INTERACTION

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When Tuin in de Stad got the prize money in 2012, they waited with using it, because of the municipality's building plans. When these were delayed, they decided to use the money like they planned anyway, and remodel the greenhouse in 2014. This delay in building and the fact that they have to move, to a location further away from the neighbourhood, are the main ways in which the municipality had an impact on Tuin in de Stad's plans (Frans Kerver). Frans Kerver thinks that they should have 'just done' things (without having or asking permission) earlier:

*"we haven't built for years, we should have just immediately started building, a patio near the water. We should have done all sorts of things here. We should have just started a café or restaurant here. [...] we cannot sublet here officially, we do not have a permit to sell food or drinks here, all sorts of things were not allowed here according to the contract. And we have honoured that. And in hindsight I'm thinking: we shouldn't have done that [...] we have the people behind us and then that would have become even clearer, I think."* (Frans Kerver – translated by MvA)

So Frans Kerver thinks that if they would have been able to employ more activities there – something that they should have 'just done' according to him, even though it wasn't allowed– the public support for Tuin in de Stad would have become clearer. He thinks this would have helped them in staying at their current location.

### MUNICIPALITY'S PERSPECTIVE

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#### INFLUENCE OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS ON MUNICIPAL POLICY

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Tuin in de Stad influenced municipal policy mainly when it had to leave its first location, when the research into and the report on the social impact of Tuin in de Stad was made:

*"from such an assessment you then do learn how as an organisation you need to speak with one voice, that you need to have a contact person, that you also need to be on top of what happens. That you can also learn: this is some sort of free-space where people can do as they please, within certain conditions [...] And from that you also learn that for your own programmes, for example for your social programme, that it might be way more important.. or that next to, let me put it subtly, that next to the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood clubs and centres maybe a kind of free-spaces are very attractive for some people and function very well. So that as a city you should not board up everything but that you should also offer a certain free space. Well that kind of notions you get from these initiatives. That can be very diverse."* (Anonymous3 – translated by MvA)

From this experience the municipality learned that it is difficult to measure such effects and that it is important to have one contact person within the municipality. The results of the report also gave the municipality insight into the social value of such a 'free-space' as Tuin in de Stad, which could be valuable in their social policy programmes. However, Tuin in de Stad was not at all happy to leave its first location, even though it was agreed up front that the project would be temporary and that Tuin in de Stad had to leave when development would start at their location. These kind of experiences influenced how the municipality looks at temporary use. The municipal policy document described initiatives not wanting to leave as one of the risks of temporary uses. Such experiences influence how the municipality now deals with other temporary use initiatives:

*"We of course also have negative experiences. There are also initiators who sometimes do not want to leave a location even though a deal has been made that it is temporary. Then it frustrates the developments that are also necessary. So then you start making different kinds of agreements up front. So in that sense it influences it.."* (Anonymous3 – translated by MvA)

These experiences – of the initiators being reluctant to leave, but also of difficulties with measuring the positive effects of an initiative – show that the municipality, even though seeing each temporary use as 'a unique case', also learns from each temporary use case and this influences their decisions and how they act with future temporary use cases.

### (MUNICIPAL INFLUENCE ON) CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

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Even though Tuin in de Stad is a garden, it does not have a production function (as much as Toentje for example does), it mainly has a social function for the surrounding neighbourhood. They have to leave the first location and have found a new location with the help of the municipality, this new location is within a park, so in public green space that is not zoned for development.

*"Tuin in de Stad [...] is more of a social institution, locals can go there if they have gotten a bit out of touch with society. So that is way more a social institution than that it [is] really a production [garden] [...] now we will start building houses there early next year, so we are now working with Tuin in de Stad to move them. To start using a new location in the Westpark, west side of the city. And there they will also garden more. (Anonymous3 – translated by MvA)*

So Tuin in de Stad has (or used to have) quite a social function for the surrounding neighbourhood. At their new location, they will not probably get a more 'green' function and focus more on the gardening, also because they will not be as close to neighbourhoods as they are now. So this means that their profile or programme will change at their new location. However, the municipality does still expect that they can have a similar effect on the new location:

*"Tuin in de Stad, [...] is also an initiative which has quite some impact. Which works really well on certain points. So then we did say: well, then we'll do an impact assessment to see what the impact is and how big it is. But also if it is only possible on that location. Or that we can also say: well, then we'll move it and then we will help you to move it. Well, that was the outcome." (Anonymous3 – translated by MvA)*

The move will influence the kind of effect that Tuin in de Stad can have on the long term and on its surroundings, but according to the municipality, Tuin in de Stad can still have similar effects on their new location as they did on their old location. Anonymous3 expects that at the new location, Tuin in de Stad will attract more young people from the western neighbourhoods of Groningen, and also visitors from the rest of the city, since Tuin in de Stad at their old location used to attract a lot of visitors from all over the city. The presence of Tuin in de Stad at their first location has not impacted the development programme at that location. The building plans have changed a bit, but not because of Tuin in de Stad. It was considered whether it was possible to keep room for some Tuin in de Stad like activities, but there was no room for this (Anonymous3).

## ARNHEM

## MUNICIPALITY OF ARNHEM; TEMPORARY USE POLICY AND PRACTICE

The real estate department of the municipality of Arnhem owns and manages several sites and buildings which they acquired strategically (to use in potential future (re)developments). When they cannot immediately develop such a site, they look at temporary uses, which often have a focus on continuing previous use (e.g. agricultural uses on sites which are meant for city expansion, or temporary housing in buildings). However, especially for inner city sites where buildings have been torn down, they try to fill these areas with uses which can attract attention to the site, so uses with a focus on placemaking. Currently, vacant land is also being considered for the (permanent or temporary) housing of refugees (Bram de Ruiter). The municipality of Arnhem has initiated and implemented a number of temporary use projects themselves. Examples are the 'Reizende tuinen' (Travelling gardens) project – where vacant sites were temporarily filled with art installations or play grounds which travelled from site to site – and the Wifituin (Wi-Fi garden) – where the municipality constructed a garden with benches and free Wi-Fi on a vacant site near the central station. The municipality does not have a specific policy for the filing of sites with these types of temporary uses, but works on a project basis. This is more improvisation than that there is really a specific policy (Luuk Tepe).

*"Frankly the municipality doesn't have policy on vacant land. And then from my role as City architect for Public Space in Arnhem, I have tried to get a bit of a more active attitude from the municipality in that, to do things a bit less haphazard.. So in that way some things got off the ground. But I do see now.. I also have the idea already that it, yes, the problem isn't that big anymore, also because the crisis is over. Actually quite a lot is being built and by now the places that were really eye-catching, and of which it is very unpleasant if they are vacant, have been dealt with. It is not really something that is very relevant today, like: well, we really have to have all sorts of policy for that now."*  
(Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)

Luuk Tepe tried to encourage a more active attitude from the municipality, and to a certain extent this worked. This led to projects such as the Bartokpark and a project for filling vacant lots at a Vinex-location (Schuytgraaf), where a lot of sites were empty. This quote shows that the need for policy for temporary use of vacant land is not that urgent (anymore) in Arnhem. Most vacant sites which could have caused problems, e.g. in terms of liveability have either been filled already with temporary or permanent uses (by the municipality or citizens) or have been sold (Bram de Ruiter and Luuk Tepe). The size of the city also contributes to not having a policy, since most people who do want to start an initiative know how to approach the municipality with their ideas, even without a specific policy:

*"I do have the idea, but that might have to do with the size of the city as well, that the network in Arnhem is such that people know how to find each other. Because the parties that want something will surely eventually end up with someone who can help them. So I do not think that because of that initiatives haven't been able to get off the ground"*  
(Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)

So it seems that most people who are interested in temporary use still know how to find the municipality. This can be directly at city-level, but especially citizen initiatives of people who live close to a site approach neighbourhood managers with their ideas. This is embedded in the policy for public (green) space (Bram de Ruiter and Luuk Tepe). For a part of the inner-city (Zuidelijke Binnenstad) there is a manager for temporary uses (both for vacant land and buildings), who also actively facilitates and stimulates temporary use. This is an area of the inner city in which the municipality is also actively improving public spaces and tries to encourage the creative industry (Luuk Tepe). Overall, there are many different people within the municipality of Arnhem who are in one way or another involved with and contact person for temporary uses (Luuk Tepe). The municipality generally tries to facilitate initiatives when people have an idea, even though not everyone within the municipality has the same view on temporary use:

*"I think that the municipality is generally quite well disposed towards those kinds of initiatives and because of that... they also do say that there is sometimes a cultural difference in that between different departments. One thinks that it is all marvellous and important and cares a bit less about the business side of it. And, well, that sometimes leads to*

*a clash, I could say. And we try.. that department would try to convince us [the real estate department] that it is important and nice and we try to bring across: look, it is fine, but also try to arrange things business-like and proper. So you don't, in due time, when you want to get rid of it, are faced with all kinds of procedures or other things.” (Bram de Ruiter – translated by MvA)*

This quote shows that some departments mainly see the positive sides of temporary uses, but the real estate department emphasizes that it is important to make sure that everything is officially agreed upon, so that there are no problems when the temporary use has to leave in the future. This is mainly an issue when a temporary use really catches on and is embraced by the neighbourhood and the municipality still has (building) plans with the land.

*“because we actually try to do things low profile there, to avoid that those initiatives lead to something permanent. Because we actually do, yes, want to keep using that as strategic land. And at the moment that you do start doing things there, well, then that will at least raises expectations, than you have to really manage those expectations well, like: okay, it is really only for a couple of years, and then [...] Because, at the moment that anything comes up we are going to redevelop it.” (Bram de Ruiter – translated by MvA)*

Here we see that the real estate department is hesitant with temporary uses on strategic sites that they still want to develop. They want to avoid problems (such as protests from the neighbourhood) when such a use has to make way for a development. However, Bram de Ruiter also indicates that, even if this would happen, it is not a problem if the use stays long-term, as long as the executive board and the council of the municipality decide on such a case.

*“And certainly politicians and sometimes also policy departments are inclined to go through with that and embrace such initiatives. And there you can see an area of tension between the real estate department and those departments. And in itself we have no difficulties with that as long as we just apply the rules, like: okay, fine if we embrace that, but that means that we have costs [...], or have to devaluate potential income from the land. And, well yes, that gives this financial result. If that is a choice, then we should do that. But there is sometimes an area of tension in there. So an initiative which catches on, and often also catches on politically, versus how we have things in our books administratively. Well, that can hurt financially. But okay, as long as they have taken care of that, then we do not mind that much either.” (Bram de Ruiter – translated by MvA)*

So if a temporary use were to stay long-term, this would have financial consequences because of the value that the land still has because most of these locations are planned to be developed. In such a case, the municipal council and executive board can decide that letting the (formerly temporary) use stay is worth the financial consequences. There are also cases in which the development of an area was already cancelled, and the municipality still has the land that they strategically bought in this area for the planned development. In these cases temporary use is a chance to let citizens temporary fill the area, and explore future uses of the area. Even though the municipality of Arnhem does not have a specific policy on stimulation of temporary use, they are open to citizen initiatives to fill these spaces, and – when possible – embrace initiatives by citizens (Bram de Ruiter). This also fits with the trend of participative governance:

*“we of course also try to make increasingly less rules and policy actually and you try to relate to: what are the needs of the neighbourhood, without doing things top-down. So.. Previously that was of course more like: okay, we roll out all sorts of plans or things over the neighbourhood or city, but you do see that that is becoming less. And that is of course quite a change, I almost think that that is the case in most cities, really that blueprint on the city, that is a bit in the past now. And just see like: what is possible. And then it does depend on: how active are, sometimes those neighbourhood teams, how active are the inhabitants, participation in the neighbourhood.” (Bram de Ruiter – translated by MvA)*

This shows that temporary use also fits into the municipality trying to look for the wishes and needs of inhabitants instead of making rules or policy and imposing a 'blueprint' on the city. So it seems that the municipality used to have a view with fits more with the blueprint view on planning (see theoretical framework), but is now trying to be more open to citizen initiatives. This shift from blueprint planning to a more open (perhaps also more organic) planning and the

experiences with temporary use have also helped in the real estate department being more open for temporary uses (Bram de Ruiter). Next to fitting in this openness for citizen initiatives, temporary use also has quite some benefits for the municipality, it can for example be used in creating a 'buzz' (reuring) around the site, so as placemaking, as well as for increasing liveability and for experimentation with future use (Bram de Ruiter and Luuk Tepe):

*"I think that it makes a very positive contribution, because you can already try out a bit a certain use in a low-profile way. [...] Is that going to work in such a place? It is a kind of test. And at the same time the presence of such an initiative can in its turn evoke other things."* (Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)

Temporary uses can 'test' the future use of an area, and they can also lead to other developments in that area (see e.g. the example of Bartokpark in Arnhem). The municipality has experienced these positive effects of temporary uses from previous initiatives, but they have also had some negative experiences, e.g. with uses that did not work out as planned (even made the space worse than it was before) and cost the municipality a lot of money to fix (Luuk Tepe). However, these (negative) experiences have not really influenced how they look at new projects, each (proposed) temporary use is different and the effects are always hard to predict. Therefore, each case is looked at with an open mind (Bram de Ruiter and Luuk Tepe)

Temporary use projects in Arnhem are usually arranged through official contracts, and the aim is also that they pay a market-based rent. When this is not possible, the municipality might subsidize the project when the project fits with municipal policy (on other domains). So instead of having to pay less rent, they have to pay the full rent and get subsidized, because this makes it clearer how much money the project costs the municipality, and also for which reasons they are being supported. Coehoorn Centraal is an exception on this, where the rent is more based on covering the managements costs (Bram de Ruiter).

## BARTOKPARK

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The Bartokpark is a small park in the city centre of Arnhem, which contains a huge statue of an aardvark (called het Feestaardvarken – 'the Party Aardvark') (Figure 7). The park started out as an idea by Buro Harro (a landscape architecture company) and Peter Groot, chairman of DTO (Departement Tijdelijke Ordening – Department of Temporary Planning). DTO is a group of professionals who work on spatial transformation and innovation projects, most of which are in Arnhem.

The Bartokpark is located on land which is owned by a project developer. The building that used to be there was torn down, and further development of this location was delayed. When the initiative for the Bartokpark was started in 2012, the site had been vacant for a couple of years. The municipality of Arnhem and the initiators worked together to plan the park and convince the developer of the temporary use. The park was realised within a couple of months of the first plans for it. The first design for the park was a heather and sand dune landscape with the statue of a silhouette of a wolf (to show Arnhem's connection with the nature of the Veluwe). At the start, the park consisted of some heather plants and it quickly became a popular spot for locals to recreate. Once the park was in place, it quickly drew attention, and when the creator of the Party Aardvark – an artist who was asked by Burgers Zoo to create a statue that the Zoo wanted to give to the city of Arnhem to celebrate the Zoo's 100 year



Figure 7: Bartokpark, view on the Party Aardvark from the side

existence – came across the site looking for a location for his statue, he decided he wanted to place the statue there. In 2013, this was realised, and the park was updated, replacing the previous plants (which came from a garden centre) with actual heather from the National Park 'De Hoge Veluwe'.

## PROJECT'S PERSPECTIVE

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### CONTINUITY OF THE PROJECT AND ITS LONG-TERM IMPACT ON SITE DEVELOPMENT

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The Bartokpark was really an experimental temporary use, where first ideas led to other developments. The focus of the initiators was at first just on making an area that was derelict due to a delayed project into good public space. They figured that if development would not start there for the next couple of years, it was better to make the site look nice for the time being. They very deliberately decided not to programme the temporary use, so not to organize all sorts of activities:

*"programme, on that site of the city.. just first make sure that it becomes a good place, as a location, and then that programme will come by itself in time. And that has proven to be true. I mean, very soon, people were reading, having a nice chat and having a drink, even in that stuffy little Bartokpark 1.o." (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

The initiators felt that first some 'placemaking' was needed, since this part of the city centre was at that moment not very popular. And this quickly seemed indeed to work with the first version of the park. When the idea to put the Party Aardvark in the Bartokpark was suggested, this brought new opportunities to the park. It was redesigned and made bigger (to accommodate the statue, which takes up a large area). Through the artist's connections with Burgers Zoo, the park's initiators and designers then came into contact with National Park De Hoge Veluwe, and were able to transplant actual heath to the park. The redesigned park with the Party Aardvark in it really started to influence the surrounding area:

*"and then you also see that [...] from the opening of the Party Aardvark, the unveiling, a really nice interaction between the library and the Party Aardvark [develops]. Those kids who have been in the library [...] can afterwards go outside and climb on that thing and it's really fantastic. It has just become a really different place because of that. So there is really something.. the city has really tilted, the routes have started to run differently in the city. The Kortestraat, that little street which ends there, that was a dying little street. All companies that were located there were having a really hard time. And now it is just a really good location, there is also just a lot more traffic there. It has become a really nice place." (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

This shows that the new Bartokpark with the Party Aardvark – combined with other developments in this area of the city, e.g. the opening of the new library right across the street from the Bartokpark – led to a change in this part of the city. It became a more popular place to be at, and this affected the surrounding streets. A part of the city centre which was first a bit peripheral, became all of a sudden more popular. This has an impact on the surrounding area:

*"And the consequence is that, now that is has become a really dynamic place, that the city is as it were turning around. And that is not just because of the park, but also the combination of the park with the Party Aardvark and the library did put things into motion. And yes, now it is the case that the Theatre at the Rhine, which is located at the backside of the park, they now have their entrance in that alley of the Rijnstraat, they are now remodelling and are going to make their main entrance on the park side. While that park is still a temporary park." (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

So the city has really 'turned around' in this part of the centre, to face towards the Bartokpark. However, the Bartokpark's use is still temporary. There will probably always be some sort of access rights to this area (due to the accessibility of the surrounding buildings), but there is still a large chance that the park will have to make way for a development of the site (Peter Groot). This is interesting because this means that quite 'permanent' decisions are being made (e.g. the change of the main entry of the theatre to face the park), based on the park, which is temporary.

The Bartokpark is often looked at by other parties, e.g. other municipalities as an example project of how to make an area livelier again:

*"We have also been asked by another municipality [...] almost literally they asked: can you make a Bartok for us as well? That's not how it works. I mean, if you mean by 'a Bartok' an instrument with which you can put things into motion, that's possible, but [...] they said: it needs to be a park.. yes, but maybe it is not a park that you need [...] it's different every time, what's needed to put the area in motion." (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

Peter Groot emphasizes that it is not possible to make a 'recipe' for successful temporary use, which can be applied in all situations. Each case is unique and temporary use projects should always start by looking at the surrounding area and what sort of use is needed or fitting there.

### INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL POLICY ON PROJECT AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND

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In 2012, Peter Groot was at a meeting at architecture centre CASA (which is close to the Bartokpark site), and was talking to some people, amongst who a landscape architect from Buro Harro. They were looking out onto this vacant site and were discussing whether they should do something with this area. They had recently had a meeting with an alderman of the municipality of Arnhem, in which the alderman had indicated that that vacant site was a real eyesore to her. But the municipality could not really take action on it, since the site belonged to a developer. So Buro Harro and DTO decided to make a design for the area as an 'independent third party'. Peter Groot indicates that the alderman was immediately enthusiastic about the plan. The City architect (who was also interviewed) was appointed to run the project, for which a small budget was reserved. The City architect then presented the plans to the project developer who owns the site.

*"There was some friction between municipality and developer, about the fact that the developments were suspended [...] And this [temporary use] was of course for the developer also a good way as well to show some sort of goodwill. [...] And that is of course the advantage that you as a sort of independent party [...] drop ideas, it is not a loaded subject. If the municipality would have made the plan, then they [the developer] would have probably reacted in a really different way." (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

According to Peter Groot, these negotiations were made easier by the fact that the (private) initiators, as an 'independent third party', had taken the initiative. He thinks that it would have been harder for the municipality to convince the project developer when the project would have been initiated by the municipality.

The collaboration between the municipality and the initiators of the Bartokpark overall went well, and the municipality was actively supporting and helping the project. Peter Groot thinks that one of the reasons that the municipality was so enthusiastic about the project is that the initiators had a good story. They presented it as not just a nice park, but embedded it in other policy domains, such as environment, art and culture and public space.

*"we always try to include multiple policy domains, so that it really is a story with a broad foundation [...] then you can see it from multiple parties, from multiple points of view. However, that sometimes also makes it very vulnerable, because.. if you take a lot of policy domains then they are all just going to look at each other, who makes the first move and who is the first to move money." (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

This shows that embedding a project in other policy domains has its benefits, because it becomes more likely that the project is broadly supported. But it might also become problematic when different municipal departments are involved and all wait for the other to act.

Another reason for their smooth interaction with the municipality, was that they already had experience working with (the same) municipal officers before:

*"DTO is just a very compact group, but also within the municipality, yes, Arnhem isn't that big of a city, it isn't a metropolis. So I think that that is also the big advantage of a city such as Arnhem, that it is comprehensible. It is large*

*enough to be a city, but also small enough to have a kind of village-like structure, where you know each other and where it is really easy to know how to approach people.” (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

The fact that Arnhem is not a very large city makes it easier to know who to approach for such a project, according to Peter de Groot. He also indicates that the initiators' 'track record' and professionalism have played a role in this. The initiators (from DTO and other organizations) are both citizens and professionals. They have the experience and knowledge of a professional, but are doing these projects (often on a voluntary basis) because they are involved citizens. This can however also cause some problems, it was not always easy for the initiators to make things work financially.

*“I am originally an architect, so I also have.. a kind of hobby that has gotten out of hand, all those foundations.. And the municipality [...] is always being paid while sitting around the table, and we are always the ones who have to do things in their spare time, and that makes it difficult sometimes. They say: yes, there is no money and can't you do it yourself.. well, wait a minute, we are already doing a lot of things ourselves. So, it is sometimes difficult to find the right way of doing that.” (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

The work that Peter Groot (and his colleagues) do through DTO and other foundations for temporary use projects such as Bartokpark, is in fact volunteer work. Even though he is an architect by profession, he does not get paid (or at least not well) for most of these temporary use initiatives. This is sometimes difficult, because the municipality is often not eager to pay for these sorts of projects, even though it also contributes to their (policy) goals. Peter Groot indicates that he does not mind the fact that the municipality 'uses' these kinds of initiatives or projects, e.g. in the case of the Bartokpark where the fact that it was a 'third party initiative' was very convenient for the municipality in improving an area that was an eyesore to them. But he also says that the municipality needs to realise that it is not possible to keep doing this sort of work on a voluntary basis 'indefinitely' and that sometimes there needs to be a reward for the kind of work that the and his colleagues are doing.

#### CHANGES IN PROJECT ACTIVITIES OR BEHAVIOUR BECAUSE OF INTERACTION

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An issue between the municipality and the project was with legal rules about safety when the statue was placed, because the statue was used by a lot of children to climb on. There was talk of putting fences on the statue to avoid this. But according to Peter Groot, the municipality was willing to look for room in the regulations, so that this fencing of the statue could be avoided, without it being illegal.

#### MUNICIPALITY'S PERSPECTIVE

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##### INFLUENCE OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS ON MUNICIPAL POLICY

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The vacant site where the Bartokpark is now located, was a real eyesore to the municipality of Arnhem, but they could not really do something with the site because it was owned by a private developer. So when DTO came with an initiative, they were very open to it. Some budget was freed up to facilitate the project. The interaction was really based on collaboration:

*“So, yes, that is just a bit the interaction in which it was nice I think that we didn't really take any positions or something. It wasn't that the municipality was in charge or that they were in charge or something like that. We have a bit had the idea that we were all a bit equal.. at least that was my experience that we were all equal in that, and just as, yes as partners tried to make the most of it.” (Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)*

Here we see that the municipality and the initiators tried to develop this project as equals. The municipality mainly had an opinion about some safety- and management issues, but the actual idea for the site really came from the DTO. Luuk Tepe also indicates that he thought that the municipality shouldn't really have an opinion about that, since they did not own the site, and they should just be happy that something happened there.

## (MUNICIPAL INFLUENCE ON) CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

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Formally, the municipality wasn't a party in the Bartokpark project, since it was an idea of a private organization, for a site which was owned by a private developer:

*"strictly seen we weren't even a party in that, because they were, yes, private initiators, that DTO. And there was a developer, and the municipality formally had no role at all in the whole story. But yes, the municipality can of course mediate a bit and rise above the parties and help by just giving a little bit of financial support, which was also necessary. [...] The developer of course wants to do business with the municipality, they need the municipality, and the other way around too by the way, so they value having a good relationship with the municipality. And the municipality also of course has a certain authority with a developer. [...] So that is an example of how the municipality can help to facilitate something like this." (Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)*

The municipality could help in facilitating the development by providing financial support, and by negotiating with the developer who owned the site. Since it was important for the developer to get or maintain a good relationship with the municipality, it was easier for the municipality to convince him than it might have been for the project's initiators. But, this facilitating role was also taken because the municipality had a clear stake in the temporary use of the site of the Bartokpark:

*"I myself have mainly been busy with sites of which I thought: yes, those are really important for the experiencing of the city, but the municipality doesn't do a lot about it, or doesn't have a lot of options for that. And one of those was where the Aardvark is located now, at the library. Because that was a site owned by a developer, he had a plan to build but it went.. it wasn't feasible anymore, yes, and so he just did nothing there. Which is really understandable from the developer's point of view, but, yes, it is located in a city centre. And with all those fences around it, that is of course very unattractive." (Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)*

So in this case, the municipality couldn't do anything about the site, because they did not own the site. The development that the owner had planned at this site was cancelled and a vacant site was left right in the city centre. So when a group of initiators came with an idea for the site, the municipality embraced this. The effects that the Bartokpark would have could not be foreseen at the start of the project, also because one idea for the site (a little heather park) led to another (the Party Aardvark statue).

*"because such an initiative is present, it can also invite other things, which are.. That Aardvark is of course a good example, because at first it was a little heather garden, which in itself was quite nice but wasn't used that much. But because that heather garden was there, came [...] the idea [...] to put the Aardvark there. [...] That combination with the library is really good and those shopkeepers that are located close to it are of course very happy, because the Kortestraat was really a kind of back door to nowhere. And now it is really a nice.. yes it works much better as an entrance to the inner city. So, yes, like that all sorts of things can happen that you did not foresee upfront, and that do, yes and if it works, it works." (Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)*

One idea led to another, and the Bartokpark and the Party Aardvark combined really work together well with the surrounding area. They have contributed to the placemaking of the area, in a way that was not expected at the start of the Bartokpark project. Because the Bartokpark is now such a success and has – together with other developments such as the library – helped in changing this part of the city, the discussion is now starting what will happen in the long term.

*"that Aardvark [...] that is partly located on someone else's property. So in due time, something will have to happen with that. It was also a permit for just 5 years. But what you of course see, it has such an appeal, so you.. I think that it will be very hard to eventually turn it into something else. But well [...] it was also meant to be temporary [...] So let's see what will come out of it." (Bram de Ruiter – translated by MvA)*

Here we see that on the one hand, the municipality recognizes that the use is very successful and that it will be hard to put another use there. On the other hand, the site is owned by a developer, and it is worth a lot of money so it will be

very hard to let the Bartokpark stay there (Luuk Tepe). However, it could theoretically be possible for the Bartokpark to stay in the long term:

*"But what eventually would be possible, if he wants to start building, and the Aardvark has to leave – because that is also the agreement, that if they want to build it has to leave, that also makes sense – that the Aardvark has become so popular that, yes.. the citizens will actually demand from the board that the municipality will buy it. And.. it is a very large sum, but something like that is conceivable that it might happen, especially if something like that were to occur around the elections." (Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)*

Staying long-term could be possible, if the citizens really protest when the Bartokpark has to make way for a development and if the municipality is compelled to buy the land because of these protests. In the end, no matter what will happen in the long term, the Bartokpark will have influenced the future development of this area:

*"I also do think that partly because of that heather garden and the Aardvark, also the theatre that is located there, they are planning to expand, but they are going in that direction.. And because they are a bit earlier then the developer's new plans, they also have influence with that on what the developer is now, yes, thinking up." (Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)*

So the effects that the Bartokpark has on the surroundings in its turn influences the future development of the Bartokpark site.

## COEHOORNPARK

### PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The Coehoornpark is a park in the Coehoorn Centraal project (Figure 8), which is located very close to the city centre and central station of Arnhem. The municipality planned to (re)develop the entire Coehoorn area, and has bought most buildings in the area as strategic real estate, in anticipation of the redevelopment. However, the development was first delayed and finally cancelled. In 2013, two citizens of Arnhem (one of whom was Peter Groot) who had already been involved in a lot of temporary use and city transformation projects, came with the idea of a place where the creative industry of Arnhem would become more visible. They proposed to temporary use the Coehoorn area and make it into a breeding ground for creative industry. The municipal council was very enthusiastic



Figure 8: Coehoornpark, view from the entrance

about this idea, and within a very short period of time, the municipality decided to let them take charge of the Coehoorn area for 5 years. The initiators then started the Coehoorn Centraal foundation.

From the start of Coehoorn Centraal (which mainly consists of buildings) the initiators of Coehoorn Centraal had the idea to make a park at the piece of vacant land in the Coehoorn Centraal area. This piece of vacant land was the location of the former 'Kleine Eusebius' church, which was torn down in 1990. In 2012, it was in use as a temporary parking lot and storage space for building materials from the building activities at Arnhem Central Station. In 2013, landscape architect Willem Jakobs had some spare time and was interested in doing something to spruce up this piece of vacant land. A lot of different developments came together then: Coehoorn Centraal was interested in creating a green space there, with Willem Jakobs they now had someone who could design and organize such a project, and they saw an

opportunity of financing and kick-starting this project as well. NL Greenlabel, which is an organization focused on the promotion of sustainable materials and green space, was planning to host a conference in Arnhem and wanted to compensate the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions of their visitors. The idea was coined that they could contribute to the Coehoornpark in order to do this. NL Greenlabel had some budget to spend on this (which came from Alliander and the municipality of Arnhem) and also arranged some donations (e.g. some plants and paving). The Secretary of State of the Ministry of Economic Affairs (which includes nature policy) came to this conference, and would be able to open the park. All of this became known just two months before the conference started, so in a very short period of time, the municipality cleared the site of cars and building rubble, and Willem Jakobs, together with some local resident and a contractor, constructed the park in ten days.

## PROJECT'S PERSPECTIVE

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### CONTINUITY OF THE PROJECT AND ITS LONG-TERM IMPACT ON SITE DEVELOPMENT

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Since the park was created in such a short time, and with a limited budget, there was a lot of improvisation in the construction of the park as well as in the legal status of the park (which will be explained further in the section on interaction with the municipality). The park was really an experiment with the type of uses that work and are needed in this location:

*"from this project it becomes clear that there is a need for a kind of green oases in the neighbourhood, well for me that doesn't have to be in that same location in 5 years [...] it's okay to move it over a bit, as long as such a neighbourhood had such a function. That is actually what we want to demonstrate with that temporary use" (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

The park has showed that it fills a function that the neighbourhood needs, the experiment with a temporary function has turned out well in this case. This is also recognized by the municipality:

*"The park has proven that I think, that: [...] Arnhem really is a green city, yet at that place there is a kind of lack of public space where you can meet each other. [...] And the neighbourhood badly needs that [...] So the alderman has also [...] said on TV [...] that he cannot imagine that it will have to go [...] But, in terms of zoning plan I think there is still a tower planned there, so then you will have to adjust that first. But on the other hand, the municipality itself is the owner, so that does make it somewhat easier." (Willem Jakobs – translated by MvA)*

Even though the site of the park is still indicated as building land in the zoning plan, a neighbourhood park seems to be a function that this part of the city needs, and it works well in this location. An alderman of the municipality has publicly stated that he cannot imagine that the park would be replaced, so it seems that there is quite a big chance that the park can stay at this location long-term.

Before the temporary use started, the site was being used for parking and for storage of building materials. It was not a place that was known to many people:

*"that's the funny thing, because it has literally for 22 years just been a kind of, yes, non-existent place or something, there was just a fence around it and no one.. Everyone seemed to have forgotten that it was there." (Willem Jakobs – translated by MvA)*

So not many people were aware of the site or saw the potential before the temporary use started. The park has put this site in the 'hearts and minds of people' (Peter Groot). Coehoorn Centraal has a comparable effect on the neighbourhood, turning it from a quite unknown and uneventful neighbourhood where neighbours did not have a lot of contact with each other to a well-known part of town with a local community that is becoming more and more active (Peter Groot). Coehoorn Centraal and the Coehoornpark reinforce each other and have together increased the liveliness and attractiveness of the neighbourhood. The park gives room for experimentation, not just with the future use of the site, but also with a new way of designing and developing a green area (Willem Jakobs). Next to that, the park is currently

functioning as a meeting place for the neighbourhood and it is also being maintained by local residents. But because of its proximity to the city centre and the 'gap' in the buildings on one side of the park – which opens up to a very busy street nearby – it attracts quite some visitors from the city-centre too. So the park is a kind of courtyard, while at the same time also being a city park (Willem Jakobs).

### INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL POLICY ON PROJECT AND THE OTHER WAY AROUND

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Since the park was made in such a short time, there was never any real official permission given for the park. So in a way, the park is being 'tolerated' (gedoogd) by the municipality (Willem Jakobs).

*"Well, we have just said that there should be a park [...] And it is not a public area, it is not a public park [...] The nice thing about the Coehoorn is actually that it is one big experiment. There are.. we didn't start this project with the idea: after 5 years it should be this, or something. No, it is just, we are just going to try that. [...] That's what we are doing, with all of us together, and there are no agreements set in stone. So such a park.. we have a kind of users-agreement with the municipality, but that hasn't even all been formally put in writing yet." (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

Because Coehoorn Centraal already had the status of 'experimental space', and the Coehoornpark was part of the Coehoorn Centraal area (although this could be disputed, since the Coehoorn Centraal lease was only for the buildings), the Coehoornpark became part of this experiment. At the time, Coehoorn Centraal was just saying: there is going to be a park, and with the NL Greenlabel conference and especially the imminent arrival of the Secretary of State to open the park, there was a sort of 'just do it' mentality, where the initiators sometimes went through with things even though there was no official municipal permission. The pressure of the Secretary of State arriving in a couple of days also made it easy to get the municipality to agree or help with things. There were also people within the municipality who were lobbying for the park. The municipality had a stake in the park as well, they even contributed money to it through a joined fund with Alliander (Willem Jakobs). So the municipality cleared the area of cars and building materials, but there were some issues as well:

*"we even had to halt construction.. the municipality also isn't one thing, but those are all separate little kingdoms who all deal with such a question differently, and some are of course also legally obliged, and.. well, we were digging without having a permit for the soil [...] Yes, so it was, one part of the municipality has paid and the other part of the municipality says: guys, you have to halt construction and the soil needs to be inspected first." (Willem Jakobs – translated by MvA)*

This clearly shows that within the municipality there were very different views on the creation of this park. But, the lobby of those in favour of the park, the pressure of the Secretary of State coming in two weeks and the 'just do it' mentality of the initiators ensured that this problem was also solved (or at least: jumped over), so the park could open in time. Without this 'just do it' mentality, the park might not have been created:

*"one of the alderman [...] also said: yes, sometimes it is just way better to ask for forgiveness afterwards, than permission upfront. And that is just the story, especially with these kinds of things" (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

So even (some people within) the municipality of Arnhem recognize(s) that this 'just do it' mentality was necessary to get the park going in this case. But, the way that the park started, so informal and 'tolerated' by the municipality instead of formally permitted, caused some uncertainty about what the park actually is and who owns it. Was it a public space or more of a (private) neighbourhood garden? Did it belong to the municipality, to the neighbourhood association or to Coehoorn Centraal? And who was to pay for maintaining it? In the end, it was decided that it became a part of Coehoorn Centraal, and that it is semi-public space (it is accessible, but the gates are locked at night). However, the finances are still an issue, since Coehoorn Centraal is not subsidized and is funded by rental income from the buildings that they sublet. So Coehoorn Centraal's budget is tight and the park does not bring in enough money (it generated a little bit through hosting events there) to cover its own maintenance costs.

Another issue caused by this informal or tolerated situation of the park (even though it was decided with all involved parties – including the municipality – that the park is part of Coehoorn Centraal, this is not formally permitted) is that of the safety of the site and who has the responsibility for this.

*"for example that little ramp that's in the park, yes, and also as public space, well that wouldn't be allowed, that is too steep. Well, yes, on the other hand, yes, there wasn't more space or budget or something, so we just made it that way. [...] in the Netherlands there are so many rules, also for these kinds of things. [...] an interesting moment [...] when the trees had been pruned, and then a gust of wind came and a tree fell down, a pretty large branch and also on someone's bike [...] back wheel was totally wrecked, € 100 damages, luckily not more. And then there was that moment, with all those pleasantly collaborating, improvising groups together. Yes, whose fault is it then actually? [...] And that was kind of funny, we were really standing there ... Literally you felt the heels being dug in." (Willem Jakobs – translated by MvA)*

This shows that because the use of the site is not officially permitted, not all safety rules for public space are met, also because there is no budget for this. This can cause problems when an accident happens, because it is not clear who is liable. In this case, there were just small damages so it was easily solved. The question remains what would happen if a bigger accident would happen:

*"if someone would have really gotten hurt. My guess is, and I think that that is justified, that it then after all is the municipality who, yes, is actually responsible for a lot of things. And I also think that.. other people cannot bear that, and with that they also do create space actually for citizens or whoever to undertake things. If.. It is a bit of a double standard, because the municipality always has to work flawlessly, and I do not think that that is always justified. Things that I can do, are not possible if.. a municipality always has to be perfect. And perfection is killing when you want to do something." (Willem Jakobs – translated by MvA)*

It is likely that the municipality would ultimately be responsible for what's happening on the site. Willem Jakobs makes an interesting observation about this; he thinks that by having this responsibility, the municipality creates space for citizens to undertake these kinds of projects. If the citizens would have to bear the responsibility for these kinds of risks, they would probably not be able to do these kinds of projects. And at the same time, a project that is tolerated such as this one, can be more experimental and 'flexible' in terms of complying with rules and regulations, because they are not part of the municipality, which has to be 'always perfect'. Such a tolerated situation as this could only work when there is sufficient mutual trust, and when the municipality also knows and trusts that the project organization will not let truly unsafe situations persist (Peter Groot). There are also benefits for the municipality in the current situation, since the park has a big (positive) impact on this part of the city, but runs on its own energy and it doesn't cost the municipality any money (apart from the money they invested for the initial construction) (Willem Jakobs).

Within the municipality, there are many different views on such projects as Coehoorn Centraal and the Coehoornpark.

*"the term municipality is of course also a vague one because it is such a many-headed monster. If you talk to people of Real Estate, they have a really different story than if you talk to someone from Public Space, or Green, or to... [...] I mean, Real Estate only sees euro symbols, so they think about that very differently, and people from arts and culture or economics see this area very differently. They also see euro symbols, but they mainly see economic activity [...] It is the case that there is an increasing amount of people, within the municipality, who believe in the other approach, that you just start with something really small and slowly expand it, so way more that organic way of developing. There are an increasing number of parties who are being convinced that that can lead to really nice things. [...] they just see it happening. I mean, this was just 3 years ago just a place which no one ever visited, where nothing was happening." (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

Some of the municipalities departments seem to be mainly focused on the financial benefits (or disadvantages) of temporary use projects. But according to Peter Groot, more and more people within the municipality start to believe in organic area development (organic planning). He thinks the fact that they can just see it happening in Coehoorn Centraal

and the Coehoornpark plays a large role in this. Willem Jakobs, on the other hand, thinks that the municipality has not learned to 'change their ways' from the Coehoornpark project. He indicates that he thinks that the Coehoornpark could have been even better if the municipality would have been more actively involved, for example by investing more directly into the park, or spending money on citizen participation to involve the neighbourhood more. He thinks that the money that the municipality spent on the project is mainly in terms of paying the hours of the municipal officers that were involved in the project. He thinks that this money could have been invested more effectively in the project, by not only devolving responsibility for and decision making about the area to the initiators, but also letting them invest the money that the municipality would usually spend on such a public space. This issue of finances also relates to the fact that the initiators of these projects usually are not (or barely) getting paid for it. Even though it is possible to do such a project on a voluntary basis, it is not a very sustainable situation in the long term, which is something that the municipality does not really seem to be aware of (Peter Groot and Willem Jakobs).

### CHANGES IN PROJECT ACTIVITIES OR BEHAVIOUR BECAUSE OF INTERACTION

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The professionalism of the initiators of Coehoorn Centraal and Coehoornpark, and the work (e.g. of DTO) on previous projects with the municipality, made the whole process of dealing with the municipality easier (Peter Groot).

*"we speak the language of the policy-makers and we speak the language of the people on the streets so to speak, so we are a kind of translation centre." (Peter Groot – translated by MvA)*

Speaking the language of both the municipality and the citizens, enables the initiators to place themselves in an intermediary position between the two groups. The fact that they speak the language of policy-makers also might have made it easier for them to be able to get the municipality to cooperate with the Coehoorn Centraal and Coehoornpark projects.

### MUNICIPALITY'S PERSPECTIVE

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#### INFLUENCE OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS ON MUNICIPAL POLICY

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The Coehoornpark was the closest thing in Arnhem to a temporary use initiative which was entirely initiated by citizens (Luuk Tepe). Within the municipality, there were some people who at first did not agree with the use:

*"I do remember that the municipality did, or a few people within the municipality did resist it, because we wanted to use that site as a storage area for Arnhem Centraal. And that.. at first it absolutely couldn't be removed, and then it turned out.. but that is surely under political pressure again, that an alderman says: forget it, we think that such an initiative is important, so just find another site for your storage." (Luuk Tepe – translated by MvA)*

So some municipal officers within the municipality did not agree with the temporary use, because the municipality used the site to store building materials. But since the executive board of the municipality valued the initiative, this storage use had to make way for the project. The site of the Coehoornpark is still marked as a potential building site, which causes a tension between the initiative and the possibility for future development:

*"that was actually also still on the records as to be developed [...] And that is sometimes an area of tensions, between the real estate department, who say: okay, we actually want to do something with that. Versus the neighbourhood initiative or otherwise, or from another policy domain, who say: I actually want something with.. which goes against what we actually wanted. But well, at the moment that we just properly bring it before the executive board, then decide not to do that anymore, well then that doesn't matter.. then it is just properly ticked off and then that also isn't a problem." (Bram de Ruiter – translated by MvA)*

This shows that the tension that there was at first between the temporary use initiative and the real estate department, was dissolved when the executive board of the municipality decided in favour of the park.

### (MUNICIPAL INFLUENCE ON) CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

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Even though at the start of the Coehoornpark, some people within the municipality saw some problems with it, they now generally recognize its value:

*"And that has now, yes actually become a little green park where all sorts of initiatives by the neighbourhood and otherwise are happening. And all of a sudden, well, is a really valuable place and is being used as an example [...] while it was actually not foreseen, at all, so that is just, yes actually something spontaneous that emerges then. So then you see like, well that coincidentally it is being filled in, and very successfully." (Bram de Ruiter – translated by MvA)*

So even though the use was not planned – and maybe not even wanted by some – it has now become a successful and valuable space.

## CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

In this section a cross-case analysis will be done per research question, taking into account results from all case studies and municipalities. The theory as discussed in the theoretical framework will be applied and discussed at the relevant question and topics related to these questions that emerged from the field will be discussed as well. Relevant themes that emerged from the field but do not fit any of the questions, are discussed at the end of the chapter.

## MUNICIPAL POLICY ON TEMPORARY USE AND RELATION WITH VIEW ON PLANNING

**Research question 1: Which policies and practices on temporary use do municipalities apply and how and from which view on planning did these policies and practices develop?**

### POLICY ON TEMPORARY USE DIFFERS PER MUNICIPALITY

In two out of the three municipalities that were researched (Groningen and Nijmegen), the attention for temporary use was really sparked by a large project, at a location important for the municipality (Open Lab Ebbinghe and the Honig Complex, respectively). These projects were kind of a test case on temporary use for these municipalities, and the advantages of temporary use that were discovered there were a(n important) reason for these municipalities to focus on stimulating temporary uses. Arnhem did not have such a large project (yet, Coehoorn Centraal might have the potential to play this role for the municipality of Arnhem), and (thus) Arnhem also is not really focused on stimulation of temporary use.

In this research, not having policy is also seen as a policy. So all three cities have a certain 'policy' for temporary use (which is the way in which they view and deal with temporary use). The main difference between the cities is whether they made this policy explicit and detailed by writing it down officially or not. Nijmegen has the most detailed policy, followed by Groningen. Even though the interviewee in Groningen stated that they 'did not really have a policy' (just like the interviewees in Arnhem did), Groningen does have some policy instruments in place to stimulate temporary use, such as the map of vacant sites. Arnhem has the least specific policy of the three cities, with no specific policy instruments for temporary use and no official policy or guidelines for temporary use either.

Nijmegen has quite a detailed and elaborate policy on temporary use, especially when compared to the two other cities. The interviewees in both Groningen and Arnhem mentioned that they 'did not have enough vacant sites' or were not a large enough a city for it to be relevant for them to make specific policy on temporary use. This is interesting, because all three cities have similar sizes (150.000 to 200.000 inhabitants). However, it might be true that Nijmegen has more vacant sites than the other two cities, since Nijmegen is still developing two large areas (Waalfront and Waalsprong). So from these three cities, the image arises that the degree to which a municipality makes specific policy (and is focused on temporary use) depends on the amount of vacant land that they have and whether they have experiences with (large and strategic) temporary use projects.

Both Groningen and Arnhem are saying that 'each project is unique', and that each project should be looked at individually. This is different from Nijmegen, where, even though they judge each project on its own merits, they do have a specific policy which details what is temporary use and what is not. This view on the 'uniqueness' of each project might also play a role in whether or not there is a policy, but I suspect that it is rather the other way around; when a municipality has a limited amount of vacant land (and thus temporary uses), it looks at every project individually and there is no need to make policy, but when the amount of vacant land (and temporary use projects) increases, the municipality makes a policy on temporary use and thus does not look at each project as 'unique' case (anymore).

It is interesting to note that Arnhem mainly has temporary use initiatives initiated by the municipality, while Groningen has a balance between citizen-initiatives and initiatives where the municipality was involved from the start, and Nijmegen has more citizen-initiatives and only some that are initiated by the municipality. So the amount of 'citizen initiatives' seems to be higher where there is more policy. This of course does not show any cause-effect relation

between these two factors, it might be that a municipality is more inclined to make policy when there are more initiatives, or the amount of policy and citizen initiatives might both be influenced by an external factor (amount of vacant land available, or the character of the city), but this pattern could just as well be a coincidence.

In general, all three municipalities are open to temporary use projects, and are willing to facilitate them. They generally tend to only actively stimulate temporary use in areas which are important, strategically (in terms of development) or for the liveability of the city.

## ONGOING TRANSITION FROM BLUEPRINT TO ORGANIC DEVELOPMENT

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All three municipalities report a shift in their view on area development from 'blueprint planning' to 'organic planning'. Sometimes they just use these terms, but they have also described these views on planning, in terms that are consistent with the characteristics used in Table 1 in the methods section. Blueprint planning is described by the different interviewees at the municipalities as a plan for a large area, with a known end-state which the municipality 'projects' on the city. Organic planning is described as a more gradual, incremental development, proceeding in small steps and with a large role for citizens and a more facilitating role of the municipality. However, it should be kept in mind that a) these interviewees often also have a background in spatial planning, so are no stranger to all of these paradigms and terms, b) they usually mention this shift from blueprint planning to organic planning as a development in urban development that is relevant for temporary use, but that does not necessary mean that they also see temporary use as a *form* of organic planning. Rather, the image arises that the stagnation of many 'blueprint' developments caused a problem for the municipality, for which temporary use formed a solution. So this is actually looking at temporary use from the 'blueprint' point of view; temporary use is being used as a temporary solution and more importantly as a mechanism for placemaking to boost (speed up or ameliorate) the (already planned) blueprint development. This is especially the case in those large vacant sites that are at strategic locations for the municipality, this is e.g. the case for the Honig Complex and Open Lab Ebbinge. It is probably not a coincidence that these were exactly the two cases that kick-started the attention for temporary use in their municipalities; (the development of) these sites are of vital importance to these municipalities, and the temporary use played an important role in revitalizing these areas.

However, this is not to say that these municipalities are insincere in their claim to be shifting from blueprint planning to organic planning. But it is exactly that, a *shift*. Most vacant sites which are currently available for temporary use are simply vacant because they are part of delayed (or cancelled) *blueprint* area developments, so temporary uses are often located within these delayed or cancelled blueprint developments (this is the case for almost all of the cases that were looked at in this research – even though I did not select for this). As long as these developments are not cancelled, it is almost impossible for the temporary uses at these sites to really contribute to organic area development – because of the large financial stakes (including land value and already made deals with developers) involved in these developments, as soon as the development becomes feasible again, it is usually started and the project has to make way. Only in sites where the development was actually already cancelled (e.g. at the Coehoornpark), organic development gets a true chance.

It is possible that in the future, (more) temporary use projects will be able to contribute to organic development of areas. The interviewed municipality officers all mentioned that temporary use initiatives fit well in the trend of a shift towards participative governance, where the municipality is letting go of government control and is focussing more on facilitating (and sometimes stimulating) citizen initiatives. However, for this to truly be working, temporary use should be started at sites where these experiments can also lead to a transformation or repurposing if they turn out to be successful.

## PRACTICAL ISSUES RELATED TO TEMPORARY USE

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Next to (a municipality's view on) the role of temporary use in urban planning, there are also some more practical benefits, obstacles and risks to temporary use that influence municipalities' views on temporary use.

There are quite some benefits to temporary use (next to the benefits that were already discussed in the previous section). Many of the interviewees at the municipalities mentioned the positive effect that temporary uses can have on maintaining or improving the liveability of the areas surrounding vacant land. Besides that, temporary uses often increase the social cohesion in a neighbourhood and can be used to support start-up companies (in cases like Honig and Open Lab Ebbinge). These are important reasons for municipalities to have a favourable view of temporary use and temporary uses are usually also *expected* to contribute to society (in a broad sense), by improving e.g. the social or spatial situation in the neighbourhood where they are located, in order to be accepted and/or facilitated by the municipality. Temporary uses which only have benefits for those who are directly involved in the project are usually not well received by the municipalities in this study.

One of the obstacles to temporary use are legal rules. Not just the obvious one of zoning plans which do not match the use (this obstacle has largely been overcome by new Decree environmental law from November 2014), but also other legal rules. An important one is rules on safety, such as fire safety, safety of constructions and accessibility for first responders & escape routes for visitors in case of a calamity. These rules are quite strict in the Netherlands, and were made with permanent uses in mind. This can cause a problem for temporary uses, which can often not fulfil all of the demands (due to financial or practical reasons). Interviewees from all municipalities mentioned that it was important that these projects were safe, and that the safety of these sites needed to be ensured. But in Nijmegen and Arnhem they were at the same time willing to 'look for the space in the rules' and be more lenient with rules when this was possible. This is a difficult point for municipalities, since they are in the end responsible for ensuring safety within their municipality, and especially on sites that they are the owner of. Next to these rules on safety, there are other rules which can form obstacles. Especially the municipality of Nijmegen is also actively looking for 'space in the rules' where necessary to facilitate temporary use. They do this for example by lowering the legal fees for the required permits. The municipality of Arnhem does not really say that they do this, but in fact the whole Coehoorn project is sort of 'tolerated' and quite some legal rules are not applied there, so it does seem like they also 'look for the space in the rules' where necessary. Groningen seems to be stricter in applying legal rules, they have not 'tolerated' projects (the other two municipalities did) and do not mention looking 'for space in the rules'.

The financial feasibility of an initiative is also an interesting issue that the municipalities deal differently with. In Nijmegen and Groningen, temporary uses are generally supposed to show that they are financially feasible with a proper business plan. Nijmegen mentions that 'they do not give subsidy', however this only means that they do not subsidize temporary uses just *because* they are temporary uses. The municipality of Nijmegen is financially involved in the Honig Complex (although the goal of the Honig Complex is to break even) and they do not rule out subsidizing temporary uses from different policy domains (e.g. sports or green space). This is actually not that different from the policy in Arnhem and Groningen, where they also have the principle that temporary uses should pay rent (either based on market value or on breakeven point for the municipality) and only subsidize if the temporary use fits within one of its policy goals (besides temporary use).

One of the risks of temporary use for municipalities is that the temporary use might become such a success that problems arise when the use has to make way for the (previously planned) development. All of the interviewed municipalities are aware of this risk and some have also experienced such a situation. Generally, this does not stop these municipalities from facilitating temporary use, but they usually do make agreements up front that 'temporary is temporary', in order to make it clear that the temporary use has to leave after the agreed upon time for temporary use. This is not always the case in the end, but it is hard to determine up front which temporary uses can stay in the end and which cannot, so it is safer to always agree upon 'temporary is temporary'.

## CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

### Research question 2: What is the continuity and long-term impact on site development of temporary use projects within the municipality?

I have defined long-term impact at the start of this research (in the methods section) as: *"the impact that the temporary use has on the (more 'permanent') development of the site after the initial agreed upon period for temporary use ends (this period is usually 2 to 10 years). [...] The 'impact' [...] is defined as the physical (morphological) and programmatic impact of the temporary use on the development of the site and possibly the surrounding area. When relevant, the larger impact of the project on the surrounding neighbourhood and community will be included as well."* Continuity was defined as: *"the 'survival' of the project after the first temporary use phase, this focusses on the 'internal impact' of the project; whether the project continues in one form or another"*. However, as is often the case when conducting semi-open interviews, other types of impact were often mentioned by the interviewees, as well as the factors contributing to the continuity and impacts of the project. I will first discuss the continuity and long-term impact on site development as I had defined them at the start of the research, and will then describe important themes relating to continuity and long-term impact that emerged during the research.

### THREE CATEGORIES OF LONG-TERM IMPACT ON SITE DEVELOPMENT AND CONTINUITY

The categories for impact on site development as described by Oswald et al. (2013) and discussed in the theoretical framework chapter, can to a certain extent be applied to the case studies (see Table 4). There are some issues related to applying this classification to the case studies, which I will discuss before describing (in the section after Table 4) the three categories of long-term impact on site development and continuity which emerge when applying this classification to the case studies in the research.

For a lot of projects in this study, it is not sure yet what will happen in the long term, so there are multiple options for classification. Besides that, the classification (with an exception of the Free Flow class) is focused on the effect that the project has on the (first) site. Some of the projects in this research (e.g. Toentje and Tuin in de Stad) have started out at one location, but moved to another location later on. So, all projects are in multiple categories, because it is either not sure yet what will happen, or because they show characteristics of multiple of the categories.

The categories as described by Oswald et al. (2013) are useful for classification of long-term impact on site development, but some of them relate more to the continuity of the project (e.g. 'Free Flow'). In some cases, long-term impact on site development and continuity of the project are tightly linked (e.g. 'Consolidation'), while in other cases the project might have a certain impact on site development (e.g. 'Stand-in' or 'Impulse') while being in another category in terms of continuity (e.g. 'Free flow'). This shows that the long-term impact of a temporary use project on site development and the project's own continuity are often linked to each other and are sometimes hard to see separate from one another. However, it also means that this categorization could be more precise. A differentiation could be made between categories that relate to impact on site development (e.g. 'Stand-in', 'Impulse'), those that relate to continuity (e.g. 'Free Flow'), and those that relate to both ('Consolidation', 'Co-existence').

The categories Parasite, Subversion, Pioneer and Displacement are not mentioned in Table 4 because they applied to none of the projects. In the case of Parasite, Subversion and Displacement this is because these categories are not within the scope of the research; they all concern either temporary use on or in combination with a permanent use, so not on a vacant site (Parasite and Subversion) or a permanent use which is temporarily located somewhere else (Displacement). The Pioneer category could theoretically have been encountered, but since this concerns a temporary use on 'hitherto unused territory', it is not very likely to happen in an urban setting – especially in the Netherlands where all land is already included in zoning plans.

Table 4: Classification of case studies into categories from Oswalt et al. (2013)

Category		Description
Stand-in	<i>De Lentse Aarde, Tuin in de Stad, Toentje</i>	The stand-in has no lasting effect on the place. It merely uses the gap between the last use and the next. Such a low-impact approach makes realisation easier at the cost of transitoriness.
Free Flow	<i>De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden, De Lentse Aarde</i>	The use continues indefinitely by moving to new locations as the opportunity arises. This approach skilfully combines the pragmatism of the stand-in with long-term development, as it also uses the change of location to update its own activity.
Impulse	<i>Honig Complex, Bartokpark, Coehoornpark, Open Lab Ebbingse</i>	In-between use can generate decisive impulses for the programmatic profiling of its location: it establishes a new activity profile that is carried on in a new form after it ends.
Consolidation	<i>Honig Complex, Bartokpark, Coehoornpark</i>	Temporary use establishes itself at a location and is transformed to a permanent use.
Coexistence	<i>Honig Complex, Bartokpark, Coehoornpark</i>	Even after the appearance of new commercial uses, the informal temporary use continues to exist on a smaller scale. A niche existence makes coexistence possible.

Three groups of 'temporary use impacts on site development' can be distinguished in the projects that I have researched. First of all, there is the use that starts out as temporary somewhere (on this site, the project is a 'Stand-in'). It proves its value at this site, but it is not possible (or allowed) to stay here long-term (due to building plans and the value of the land at the location), so they move to another location where they can stay long-term and possibly become permanent (Consolidation). This has happened in the cases of Tuin in de Stad and Toentje, I call this 'Consolidation at different location'. In the case of green initiatives like Tuin in de Stad and Toentje, underused green space seems to be a good candidate for the (more) permanent location, since this does not have a development purpose and is already purposed for green uses in the zoning plan.

For the second group, De Lentse Aarde and De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden, this same 'Consolidation at different location' scenario might also happen in the long term. However, since they are now still at the first location, it is not clear yet what might happen. In the case of De Lentse Aarde, it is pretty sure that they cannot stay where they are. So an option is 'Consolidation at different location', but the use ending entirely when they have to leave is also possible (in which case it will just have been a 'Stand-in'). Finally, it would be possible that they move from location to location and become a 'Free Flow'. This might sound unrealistic for such a land-bound activity as allotment gardening, but when the timescales are large enough (e.g. 10-30 years per site), this is possible. In fact, it is even observed in a lot of cities (e.g. in Amsterdam) that uses which take up a lot of land, but are still wanted close to where people live, are located at the edge of the city, after which city expansion catches up with them, so they have to move again to the 'new' edge of the city. The case of De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden is pretty comparable with that of De Lentse Aarde, they might be able to stay a bit longer than De Lentse Aarde since the development plans at their location are less concrete, but the expectation is that they do have to leave their current site in the long term. Their focus on being 'city nomads' makes it most likely that they will be (come) Free Flow, however, the group will probably not want to live as city nomads for decades, so options would also be 'Stand-in' (e.g., if they can stay at the current site for 5-10 years and decide to seek different forms of housing once they have to leave the site), or 'Consolidation at different location' when they have to leave their current location and want to continue their current lifestyle, but with more certainty.

The final group of temporary uses are those that have already shown to give an impulse to or change the (possible) future development of the site. About these projects there is usually an ongoing discussion on whether they can stay at the current location (and in which form). These temporary use projects include the Honig Complex, Bartokpark and Coehoornpark. It is already quite certain that they will impact the future development (so they are at least 'Impulse'),

and they might be able to stay at the location, in something closely resembling their current form ('Consolidation') or perhaps in a slimmed down version next to the development of the site ('Coexistence'). Of course, in the scenario of 'Impulse', it is possible that (a part of) the use will – next to having had an impact on the future development of the location – also continue at another site, especially in the case of Honig this is likely. However, this will probably become a very different type of use, so could perhaps be seen more as a spin-off of the project than as a real continuing of the project.

Lastly, there is one project that hasn't been put in one of these groups yet, Open Lab Ebbinge. In fact, Open Lab Ebbinge gave an 'Impulse' to the site, and has led to spin-offs (in the form of the Open Lab Ebbinge foundation looking for other projects to focus on, and some of the entrepreneurs and buildings from the site moving somewhere else to continue there). So because the users are really splitting up and continuing elsewhere separately, this is not really a 'Consolidation at another location', but more spin-off. The Open Lab Ebbinge project is actually comparable to those in the third group, but because the project is already almost finished, in this case it has become clear what the outcome is already.

From this classification, as well as from the case study descriptions, it becomes clear that most uses have to leave in the long term. So the often stated 'temporary is temporary' from municipal officers also seems to be brought into practice. However, it also becomes clear that temporary uses often are able to have long-term impacts in one way or another: they can continue as 'permanently temporary' uses moving from one site to another, become permanent at another location, impact the future development of the site they were located on, or lead to spin-off initiatives in their surrounding area or to spin-off initiatives elsewhere in the city. The way in which the character of the temporary use project influences the continuity and long-term impact on site development, and the fact that 'temporary is temporary' often is the case for the first location (but not always for other subsequent locations) has a lot to do with municipal policy, and will therefore be discussed in the section about the effect of municipal policy on continuity and long-term impact.

## IMPACTS OF TEMPORARY USE PROJECTS AND FACTORS INFLUENCING CONTINUITY

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When discussing the impacts of temporary use projects, there were quite some different aspects mentioned by the interviewees. Some of these related to the impact on site development, but other impacts were described as well.

When it comes to site development, placemaking was mentioned or described by almost all interviewees at temporary use projects (and by all municipal interviewees). All of the projects contributed to creating more liveliness and attracting more visitors and attention to the site than before the use started. This could lead to an impulse for development (speeding the development of, or making it more feasible, e.g. by making people more eager to buy a house in the area), and in some case it is quite certain that it did (e.g. at the Honig Complex and Open Lab Ebbinge). In some cases, the temporary use and the attention that it has attracted have also led to a transformation or repurposing of the site, so it has not only sped up future development but also changed it. This is often related to the function that temporary use has as experimentation with future uses for the site; to see which uses work at that site and are needed or wanted by the neighbourhood and users of the site. Projects in which the project has led (or will likely lead to) repurposing or transformation of the future use are Open Lab Ebbinge, Honig Complex, Bartokpark and Coehoornpark.

In several of the projects and municipalities it was emphasized that temporary uses also have social impacts. Many temporary use projects are places where people from the neighbourhood can gather (this was an effect that almost all projects had, though some a bit stronger than others). Some of the sites are really a kind of 'free-space' (vrijplaats) where all types of people, including those with personal or psychological problems, or those who do not always feel included by society, can feel at home. This is especially the case for Tuin in de Stad and De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden, and perhaps to a lesser degree also for Toentje. Finally, some of the projects are active in creating awareness, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden for all types of sustainability and social issues, and Toentje mainly for food and agriculture related issues.

Since most of the projects have a social impact and are very connected to the neighbourhood, it is also very important that the project fits well with the neighbourhood. Some of the interviewees at temporary use projects mention that the

use has to fit with the 'DNA' of the site, neighbourhood or even city. So embedding the use in local circumstances is very important for the success of the use as well as the local support for it.

Whether the project organization is being paid for their work or not was often mentioned as having an impact on the continuity of the project. In the cases of the Honig Complex, Open Lab Ebbinge and Toentje, the project initiators are being paid for their work (through municipal subsidies), which ensures that there are always people who can put time and effort into the project, which benefits its continuity. In other cases, the initiators are actually working as professionals in related fields (e.g. (landscape) architecture), but are not being paid (at least not enough to actually consider it a 'job') for their efforts, this is the case with Bartokpark and Coehoornpark. In such a situation, the continuity of the project might be threatened, because the project initiators might not be able (or want) to continue putting time and effort in it for free. Other projects, such as De Lentse Aarde, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden and Tuin in de Stad are run by volunteers who are not being paid for it. These projects manage to continue due to the time that these people are spending on it. They often have other stakes in the project (e.g. having space for an allotment garden or having space to live), which motivates them to put effort into the project.

Finally, most temporary users would actually prefer their projects to be able to stay at their location in the long term, so they would prefer it if the project would be(come) permanent. However, they usually also recognize the value of temporary use. First of all, almost all of the projects would not have been possible if they wouldn't have been temporary (first). These uses would not have been able to buy or rent the land that they are using temporarily now, or their type of use would not have been allowed by the municipality (at that location or at all) permanently. This was mentioned by the initiators of Toentje, De Lentse Aarde, the Honig Complex and De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden. So, the fact that these projects exist at all, is *because* they are temporary, even if they would like to be(come) permanent. Second of all, this temporary status often gives the project a chance to show what they are worth. It gives an opportunity to prove that this use in general or this use on this location is valuable. In that way, in some cases, the project gets a chance to become permanent, but this would not have happened if they wouldn't have been temporary first (like with Toentje). Next to that, the temporality in itself also brings something to these projects that a permanent use would not have that strong: a vibe of experimentation, innovation and a certain energy and willingness to cooperate. This all leads to synergies at some of these sites (e.g. at the Honig Complex, Coehoornpark and Bartokpark), that would probably not have occurred if it would not have been temporary. Some even go as far as to say that these projects might lose that 'power' if they were to become permanent (e.g. at the Honig Complex this might be the issue).

## INTERACTION BETWEEN MUNICIPALITY AND PROJECTS

The different actor strategies as described by Oswald et al. (2013) and Parris (2015b) can be present at the same time (in one municipality or even within one project), since they correspond to different stages of development of the temporary use and also to different strategies that a municipality can apply in different locations. In some of the case studies, the municipality did not really have a specific strategy since they were not really involved in the start of the temporary use. In this case, it is really the project that decides the strategy. Finally, some of these strategies ('Coach' for example) can also apply to how initiatives *within* the project are being treated by the people in charge of the temporary use project. Table 5 shows the division of the different projects (and municipalities) over the strategies.

Table 5: Classification of case studies and municipalities into strategies from Oswalt et al. (2013)

Strategy		Description
<b>Enable</b>	<b>Municipality of Groningen (general), Municipality of Nijmegen (general)</b>	In this strategy, all barriers to temporary use are removed in an urban area with many vacant sites. These vacant sites are publicised, access is facilitated and communication and legal barriers are removed. A mediator facilitates the process. The strategy is focused on the ideas of possible future users.
<b>Initiate</b>	<b>Honig Complex – municipality of Nijmegen, Open Lab Ebbinge – municipality of Groningen, Coehoornpark (as a part of Coehoorn Centraal) – municipality of Arnhem</b>	This strategy is mainly applied to very large sites, which are often too large for a single (group) of temporary users. In these cases a (municipality) agent is organizing a cluster of temporary uses on the site. A framework (strategy for the site) is developed, within which different temporary use activities can arise. This strategy is focused on reaching a critical mass of activity and users so that the site can develop successfully.
<b>Claim</b>	<b>Coehoornpark, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden</b>	In this strategy – in contrast to the other strategies – the site is used without specific permission or permits from the owner and/or government, as a form of discontent or protest. The initiators often don't agree with the objectives of the owner of the site or of the local government. This strategy focuses on creating new public space, protected from cultural development and with room for diverse (and sometimes marginalised) groups and on generating public debate and media attention.
<b>Coach</b>	<b>Tuin in de Stad – internal</b>	This strategy is about empowering and training self-organised users, by government or independent agents. The focus is therefore not on establishing a certain type of use or effect on the space, but creating social networks, support and capital.
<b>Formalize</b>	<b>Honig Complex – municipality of Nijmegen</b>	Some temporary uses become permanent, and often this is marked by formalisation, in which the more informal character of the temporary use gives way for permanent leases, permits and professionalization. This formalisation can be caused by external threats (e.g. eviction) or opportunities (e.g. the possibility to buy the site). This strategy often changes the profile of the use (which can result in failure).
<b>Exploit</b>	<b>Honig Complex – municipality of Nijmegen, Open Lab Ebbinge – municipality of Groningen</b>	In this strategy, a commercial party (such as the land owner or another company) initiates temporary use for its own interest and on its own terms. Even though this can have benefits for all parties, including temporary users and the wider city, it can also turn out as an exploitation of the temporary use for commercial gains.

As Table 5 shows, the municipalities of Groningen and Nijmegen generally have an 'Enabling' approach, since they actively facilitate temporary use, by making specific policy which encourages temporary use (Nijmegen) or by publishing available sites and inviting people to come with ideas for them (Groningen). However, none of the studied cases in these cities really started their initiative because of this policy or through this website, so it is not actually applied in any of the case studies.

At the Honig Complex, Open Lab Ebbinge and Coehoornpark (as a part of Coehoorn Centraal) the 'Initiate' strategy is applied, since these areas all have a kind of 'site manager' (which can be paid by the municipality like in Honig and Open Lab Ebbinge, or not, like in Coehoorn Centraal) and provide a framework for other temporary uses to take place at the site. The initiators that I interviewed at the Honig Complex and Open Lab Ebbinge are in fact these 'site managers' for those project. The Coehoornpark is in a way one of the temporary uses that was invited within the framework of a larger

project (Coehoorn Centraal), and so I have interviewed both one of the 'site managers' of Coehoorn Centraal and the initiator of the 'subproject' the Coehoornpark.

Both the Coehoornpark and De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden are in fact 'Claimed' spaces, because they are being tolerated and the users started the use before the municipality had given permission (the Honig Complex was also tolerated, but this is different because the council actively decided to 'officially tolerate'). These projects do not entirely fit the 'Claim' strategy though, because they are not doing it as a protest per se. In both cases, there is a belief within the projects that these kind of uses should be able to exist, and if it wouldn't be possible entirely legal, than tolerated was fine too. They are also focussed on changing rules (e.g. on living on vacant land and area development), but do not necessarily object to the local government. These projects just want to speed up and anticipate on the already ongoing change in mind-set within the municipality and the change in view on area development. And even though they do also seek media attention, it is all on a friendlier level and especially also in a more collaborating way with the municipality than the 'Claim' strategy as described by Oswalt et al. (2013) and Parris (2015b). Perhaps this 'gentle form' of the 'Claim' strategy is typical for the Netherlands, where there is a history of 'tolerating': even though such a use is technically illegal, the interaction with the municipality might be friendly and the municipality might actually also agree with the use.

The 'Coach' strategy is not really seen in any of the municipal strategies, these strategies are usually focused either more on spatial interventions or on *facilitating* citizen initiatives, but not so much on actually coaching (so empowering and training) initiatives. This strategy is seen within one of the projects though; in Tuin in de Stad there is a focus on co-creation and on encouraging people to employ their own ideas on the site.

Formalizing is mainly seen in the procedures for official permits that the Honig Complex is currently going through. However, this is not formalization in terms of becoming 'permanent', but more in terms of becoming 'legal'. In general, it seems that most temporary uses in the studied municipalities (and likely also in other cities in the Netherlands) are already officially permitted from the start on and have a lease contract (although temporary) and often even are an official organization (e.g. foundation) from the start. So even if these projects would become permanent, there isn't really any formalization to be done, because they were already legal and quite professionalized from the start. An exception are the projects which are being 'tolerated', even though this toleration is also usually a conscious decision by the municipality – and uses have to still comply with basic safety and legal rules.

Finally, in the cases where the temporary use project is consciously used by the owner of a site (municipality and or developer) to boost the future development, such as at the Honig Complex and Open Lab Ebbinghe, the 'Exploit' strategy is being used. In these cases the projects are being 'exploited' (although in some cases, this might be a bit of a harsh word and 'used' would be better) to boost the future development, and have to leave as soon as their 'job is done'.

## INFLUENCE OF MUNICIPAL POLICY ON PROJECTS' CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

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**Research question 3: What is the influence of municipal policy on temporary use projects and their continuity and long-term impact on site development?**

In all of the case studies, the municipality played a large role in the continuity and long-term impact of the project.

## PROJECTS MAKE WAY FOR DEVELOPMENT; FINANCIAL MOTIVATIONS

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Most of the projects likely have to make way for a development in the long term, even if the temporary use is successful and might be valuable to continue. Some projects even have to leave even though the municipality recognizes their value and is recognizing the role that temporary use can play in (organic) area development. The fact that projects still have to make way usually has to do with financial motivations on the site of the municipality and/or owner of the site; the vacant land has already been counted on to provide income for the municipality or owner. This is confirmed by interviewees from all municipalities. Most of the cases are located in a vacant area where a (housing) development is planned. These developments are temporarily put on hold, but not cancelled. Often the development area is bigger than the area used for temporary uses, and the land was sometimes bought as a 'strategic purchase' (land that might be

strategic to have for a development later on). The owner of the land (usually the municipality) is still counting on the revenue from the development at some point in the future – either by selling it as land for housing development or by developing it themselves. This usually leads to a situation where using or zoning the land in another way long-term (such as when the temporary use were to be made permanent) will only be possible when the municipality decides to 'cut its losses' for this land, so is willing to lose money. In some cases this is done when the development as a whole is not feasible or desirable anymore (Coehoornpark). However, when the development is still planned to happen, the municipalities in this study seem not very eager on repurposing (part of) that development area in order to let a temporary use project become permanent. The municipalities perceive that as them having to pay a very (or too) high price (land for housing development generally is one of the most expensive types of land in the Netherlands) for the temporary use. This also has to do with the financial choices a municipality has to make. In all of the three municipalities that I have studied, one or more of the interviewees have stated that the municipality cannot just contribute financially (this also involves giving a 'discount' on rental prices for land or buildings) to temporary use initiatives, because this will cost the municipality in another policy domain, and that this is often hard to understand for the citizens (specifically the initiators of temporary use projects) that are involved. However, some of the interviewees at the temporary use project mentioned that they did understand that the municipality had to choose were to spend their money (and that letting them use the land for free was also a way to spend money), but that they felt that the municipality should listen more to the citizens when deciding where to allocate their money. They argued that there was a great need for the functions that the temporary use provided, and that the municipality should help facilitate these functions, whether costs were involved or not.

So financial issues – both in terms of whether or not the municipality is investing in or subsidizing temporary uses, as well as in the sense of the value that the land of the temporary use location usually has – plays a very big role in the effect that the municipality has on temporary use projects and their continuity and long-term impact on site development.

#### CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM SITE IMPACT

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It has already been established that most projects are not able to stay long-term (at their first location) because of the land value, so this negatively impacts their continuity. However, the municipality will in some cases help them move – when the use has enough benefits to make it more or less permanent and when they have another location available for it.

In terms of the long-term impact on site development, there is quite a big difference between projects. Whether a project can have an effect on the long-term development, mainly seems to be dependent on the focus of the project on placemaking, the degree to which the municipality was involved in initiating the project, and whether the location of the temporary use is a strategic one. It seems that certain of the categories for long-term impact mentioned before (see Table 2 and Table 4) are more likely in certain 'strategies' (see Table 5). First of all, if a project is very successful in placemaking (attracting visitors and attention to the site) they seem to have a bigger chance of having an impact on the long-term site development (so becoming 'Impulse' or 'Coexistence' or perhaps even 'Consolidation', rather than just 'Stand-in'). Second of all, projects which the municipality initiated themselves or where involved in from the very start, especially those located on strategic locations (Honig Complex, Open Lab Ebbinghe, Bartokpark) – so projects in which the municipality has an 'Initiate' or 'Exploit' strategy, also seem to have a bigger chance of impacting the future development of the site. This makes sense because the municipality often initiated the uses with that goal in the back of their minds, so it is to be expected that they will be more open to these projects influencing future developments. Projects that are initiated by citizens (through a 'Claim' strategy or through the 'Enabling' strategy of the municipality), and especially those in strategic locations (De Lentse Aarde, Toentje, Tuin in de Stad) seem to have a very small change of impacting their (first) location. However, it is sometimes possible for them to move to another location where they can have an impact on the longer term.

Even though it was for all projects clear up front that they would have to leave the site again in due time (usually when development was planned to start), the fact that projects have to move or even stop has a big impact on these projects people who are running them. Some initiators do not mind moving that much, even though it of course means having

to build everything up from the ground (quite literally) in a new location, this is e.g. the case for Toentje and De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden. Other initiators however are quite upset over the fact that they have to leave, especially if they cannot relocate at all or have to relocate to a location that is less desirable to them (this is the case with De Lentse Aarde and Tuin in de Stad). In these cases, the initiators of these projects indicated that the municipality makes a conscious choice of not letting them stay. They understand that the municipality has financial stakes in the land and the development, but also think that the municipality should be open to citizen initiatives and to the needs of people in the nearby neighbourhoods. This reveals a field of tension between municipalities and projects, and shows one of the effects (or perhaps even disadvantages or risks) of having temporary uses (especially those which developed 'organically' out of citizen's wishes or needs for certain functions) in a delayed 'blueprint planning' project where there is little room for including these uses in long-term use of the area if they turn out to be successful and popular.

#### DIFFERENT VIEWS WITHIN MUNICIPALITY AND ENTRY POINT OF PROJECT IN ORGANIZATION

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Within each of the municipalities, there is a difference in views on temporary use and specific temporary use projects. Municipalities are very large organizations, so it is to be expected that this is the case to some extent, if only because the large amount of people working there. However, both the interviewees at the municipalities as well as at many of the projects emphasized that it was also a difference in opinion between different municipal departments. It seems that departments that are usually in favour of temporary use are on the policy level, in areas such as social policy or public (green) space policy. The real estate department, and sometimes also the more practical 'site management' departments are often less inclined to embrace temporary use. In the first case (the real estate department) this seems to have to do with the financial motivations and value of the land that were mentioned before, but also with the fact that they were used to blueprint planning, where they were in charge of the development. The last argument, seems to be the most relevant for the 'site management' departments; they are used to the fact that they manage a site when the municipality owns it.

These differences in opinion within the municipality can have a big impact on temporary uses. First of all, according to many of the interviewees at the temporary use projects, those within the municipality that generally support their project, are usually not the ones in power: they can advise and decide on their own policy domain, but the real estate department is usually in charge of vacant land. So when the real estate department is not in favour of temporary use, and other departments cannot convince them, it will get quite difficult for a temporary use to start at that location. Second of all, even if this first obstacle has been overcome and the municipality has decided to let the temporary use start, there is still the issue of municipal departments not always communicating well. In some projects (e.g. Coehoornpark, Open Lab Ebbinge), one municipal department would support and allow the temporary use, but at the same time other department (usually the more 'practical' ones, e.g. 'site management' ones) would still oppose the temporary use (Coehoornpark) or act like it was still their site to manage (Open Lab Ebbinge). However, already implemented temporary use projects do seem to be influencing the opinions of people all over the municipality (this will be discussed more in detail later).

Even if the municipal departments do not really disagree, they are still not always clear in their communication with the project, and are not speaking with one voice. This is especially the case when a project initiator does not immediately approach the 'right' person within the municipality for their project. They then usually deal with a lot of people before finding the people who can actually help them in facilitating their project (e.g. at De Lentse Aarde). So the way in which the project enters the municipal organization and whether they manage to reach the right people with their initiative also has a large influence on the chances of the project, mainly the chances of starting in the first place. This is mainly relevant for the project which were really initiated by citizens; those where the municipality also played a (large) role in initiating the project do not really have this issue. Within the citizen-initiated projects, some of the project initiators have their own network within the municipality and are familiar enough with municipal organizations to find out quite quickly who to talk to (e.g. Bartokpark, Toentje, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden). For them, this is also not really an issue. However, for those citizens who are not that familiar with the municipal structure (De Lentse Aarde), it can be very hard to find the right person to help facilitate their project. Another important distinction is whether a (citizen) initiative 'enters' the municipality through politicians in the council and/or executive board, or through the municipal officers. De

Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden are an example of a case where they first approached the municipal council, who then endorsed the project. Only after this the contact between De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden and municipal officers started. Bartokpark was also first discussed with an alderman, who supported the idea and referred them to a municipal officer. In other cases (Tuin in de Stad, Toentje, De Lentse Aarde and Coehoornpark), the project contacted both politicians and municipal officers, but the first contact went through municipal officers.

### CO-CREATION OR NOT?

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In most of the studied cases, the interaction between the municipality and the project initiators or managers was perceived as pleasant and cooperative by the latter. This was especially seen in the cases where the municipality had an important role in initiating the temporary use. It was also emphasized by many of the project initiators or managers that figuring out how to go about the temporary use in 'co-creation' with the municipality was very important for the success (especially the successful start) of their project. This is also shown by those cases in which the interaction was less pleasant and co-creation was (partly) absent. In the cases of De Lentse Aarde and Tuin in de Stad, the initiators did not feel like their ideas for their project and/or their hopes for the long-term options of their projects were heard by the municipality (at first). At De Lentse Aarde, the project did not get off the ground until someone at the municipality was found who really listened to what they wanted and helped them find a solution (instead of thinking up plans without them). At Tuin in de Stad, a similar story of discussing plans for the future of the site was told, only with a less successful end since Tuin in de Stad came with ideas but did not perceive the others around the table (amongst others the municipality) doing the same. So overall, it seems that whether or not co-creation or collaboration (as equals) between municipality and project is present can have a big impact on the continuity (and sometimes ability to start at all) of temporary use projects.

### DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY IN POLICY AND RULES, WILLINGNESS TO MAKE EXEMPTIONS

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The attitude of the municipality on making exemptions, tolerating, and being lenient in judging permit applications and generally 'looking for space in the rules' is likely to also influence temporary use projects, mainly in terms of whether they will be able to start in the first place. Especially on the cases that are (or were) 'tolerated' (Honig, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden, Coehoornpark) this has a big influence, these projects would not have been able to start without this attitude of the municipality (or at least would not have survived for long).

### INFLUENCE OF PROJECTS ON DEVELOPMENT OF MUNICIPAL POLICY

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#### **Research question 4: What is the influence of temporary use projects on the development of municipal policy for temporary use?**

The experiences with temporary use projects influence 'policy for temporary use' (the way that the municipality deals with temporary use projects) in all three municipalities. Interviewees in all three municipalities indicate that they have learned from both positive and negative experiences with previous projects, especially from the experiences with the larger projects (Open Lab Ebbinghe and Honig Complex). From these experiences the municipalities mainly learned about what to look for and pay extra attention to in assessing and permitting new temporary use projects. However, most interviewees at municipalities as well as projects emphasize that each temporary use project is unique, and that is not possible to follow a pre-set plan to develop temporary use. So no matter how much municipalities might learn from temporary use projects, the municipalities also emphasize that they look at each new case with an open mind.

The 'temporary is temporary' attitude in the municipalities also partly comes from experiences with previous temporary use projects. However, these do not only have to be temporary use projects in the own municipality. The municipalities as well as the project initiators looked also at projects in other municipalities, to learn from the experiences there. At the same time, many of the temporary use cases that were studied are also visited by people from other cities who are interested in creating similar temporary uses. Most of the temporary uses are also used by the municipality as a showcase. How differs per project. Some of the projects are used by the municipality in communications about (the

liveliness and attractiveness of) the neighbourhood or the city (De Lentse Aarde, Toentje). Others are used as a showcase for innovation and experimentation, with new ways of living or new ways of developing areas, like in the cases of De Nijmeegse Stadsmaden, Honig Complex, Open Lab Ebbinge, Bartokpark and Coehoornpark. These temporary uses thus also play a role in changing the view of people within and outside the municipality on these issues. Many of the temporary use projects in this study have also helped in changing the view on temporary use in general within the municipality, and the (changing) view on temporary use in its turn contributes to a mind-shift within the municipalities. Many of the project initiators indicate that the municipality's view (especially the view of those departments which are generally less disposed towards temporary use – see previous section) of their project has changed over time, from being sceptical about the feasibility of the project to appreciating the value and benefits (e.g. social effects, placemaking) of the project. Many of the interviewed municipal officers indicate that temporary use fits well in a mind change towards letting go of government control and being more open to citizen initiatives and a shift from blueprint to organic planning. In some cases, temporary uses (especially the successful ones) also contribute to this mind change, by showing that these new ways of planning and governing can indeed produce positive results. So in that way, temporary uses can also contribute to a transition to a different system of urban planning (e.g. from blueprint planning to organic planning) by experimentation, innovation and showing what is possible. In general, temporary use projects which have a positive impact on site and surroundings help with changing the mind-set in the involved municipalities, not just the mind-set related to temporary use, but also related to facilitating citizen initiatives and changing roles between government and citizens in general.

#### CHANGE IN PROJECT'S ACTIVITIES AND BEHAVIOUR DUE TO INTERACTION

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##### **Research question 5: How do temporary use projects change their activities and behaviour because of interaction with the municipality and how does this affect their continuity and long-term impact on site development?**

The temporary use projects in this research adjusted themselves to the municipality in different ways, usually, the project initiators indicated that they didn't mind adjusting themselves, but it were adjustments nevertheless. First of all, there are the specific conditions that the municipality wanted the temporary uses to comply with. These often involved safety rules (related to fire and building safety and accessibility) or other legal rules. Second of all, there are the things that project initiators and managers keep in the back of their minds, and which they (partly) do because they think it will influence the municipality's acceptance of the project. This is for example a focus on keeping the site tidy or representative, which will show the municipality that the project has its act together, but will also increase acceptance of the project by the neighbourhood. In general, acceptance and involvement of the neighbourhood is important for the projects, because if the neighbours support the project it is more likely that the council and executive board of the municipality do as well. This also works the other way around; if the neighbourhood complains about the temporary use to the municipality, this might cause problems for the temporary use project.

Some projects also consciously focus attention on certain aspects of their project because they think it will legitimize their project in the eyes of the municipality or increase support for the project. This is for example done by making sure the site is open and accessible (so can function as a kind of public space) and attracts visitors and is generally known by locals. Emphasizing the social relevance of the project also is an example of this.

In general, many of the initiators had to be very tenacious to get their project accepted by and facilitated by the municipality. They had to constantly keep asking for attention for their project, in some cases contact many people within the municipality before they could start the project or keep convincing people of their ideas, and often also 'defend' their project once it had started (e.g. by making sure that the municipality would not take over their tasks). So in a way they had to 'adjust' (by becoming very tenacious) in order to be accepted in the first place and in order to keep defending their position once established. This was the case in e.g. Tuin in de Stad, Open Lab Ebbinge and De Lentse Aarde.

In some cases, the project initiators indicated that they did *not* (or should not have) adjusted to the municipality, which actually improved their position in the long term. This is the case for the mentality of 'just doing things' without asking

permission first (in cases where they suspect they would not get permission if they did ask). In these cases, 'just doing something' (often starting or expanding the use) improved their position and made it harder for the municipality to say no afterwards and make the project undo what they had done. Examples of this were given at Open Lab Ebbinge, Tuin in de Stad, Toentje, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden and Coehoornpark. This 'just do it mentality' often is employed not only because 'it is better to ask for forgiveness afterwards than for permission up front', but also because the municipalities were sometimes just very slow in deciding on something or to take action. This shows that the 'unplanned' and experimental character of temporary uses often makes it easier to accomplish something in a short period of time (in a way that would not be possible when being an official, permanent use which has to comply with all the rules).

## OTHER THEMES EMERGING FROM THE FIELD

### ROLE OF INDEPENDENT THIRD PARTY

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In some cases, the usefulness of an 'independent third party' was mentioned'. In the case of the Bartokpark, the fact that not the municipality initiated the project but an 'independent third party' made it easier to convince the developer who owns the land of the temporary use project. At the same time, the project initiators would probably not have been able to convince the developer in the way that the municipality did, so one might also consider the municipality the 'independent third party'. De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden consciously chose a site which was owned by an 'independent third party' (the university) so that they would not offend the municipality by just claiming a piece of their land, because it was the municipality that they wanted to convince of the feasibility of their type of temporary use.

### RELATION BETWEEN LOCATION AND USE

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There are a number of ways in which a project and a location can be combined. There are cases in which the location is already known, and a use is sought for it (these are often the sites where an 'Initiate' or 'Exploit' strategy is used), this was the case at the Honig Complex and the Open Lab Ebbinge. In other cases, initiators wanted to employ a certain use and are looking for a suitable location (De Lentse Aarde, Toentje, De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden), finally, there are also cases where a specific use just sort of developed organically at a certain location (Coehoornpark, Bartokpark, Tuin in de Stad). This is interesting because it shows that some uses are very 'site-specific' and others are not. Those projects that are site-specific would be very hard to move as a whole (e.g. Honig Complex, Coehoornpark), or at least moving the project would profoundly change the project (Tuin in de Stad), since the temporary uses developed at or were designed for that location specifically. Those uses where there was an idea for a use first and a location was sought for that use afterwards, are easier to move. Of course there might still be practical and financial issues related to moving an already established use, but it would be less likely to profoundly change the character of the use, since it is less site-specific (this has been the case for Toentje, and might also happen with De Lentse Aarde and De Nijmeegse Stadsnomaden).

### SELECTION CRITERIA FOR INITIATIVES

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Even though the start of the projects was not the focus of this research, it is interesting to note that there are quite some common factors mentioned in whether or not a municipality is inclined to allow a temporary use. In the case of the larger projects which also encompass other temporary use initiatives (Honig Complex, Open Lab Ebbinge) there are also selection criteria within the temporary use projects for new initiatives, which are often comparable to those of the municipality.

First of all, financial feasibility is important. Projects are often expected (by municipalities but also by e.g. Honig Complex and Open Lab Ebbinge) to come up with a sound business plan to show that they can pay rent. Another important criterion is that the project initiators are able to implement their own ideas; responsibility and decision making is devolved to as low a level as possible. This is done by municipalities, but also by projects (Honig Complex, Open Lab Ebbinge, Tuin in de Stad), to as low a level as possible; to individual people. Finally, the municipality often has the requirement that a project contributes to something else than just their initiators own interests, so it should have some

sort of social relevance or positively influence the possibility to develop the site in the future. At the project level, this is translated to concept management, where initiatives have to fit in the concept for the project which was established to fulfil this requirement (this is most strongly seen at the Honig Complex).

#### PAY-BACK PERIOD OF INVESTMENTS & LOSS OF INVESTMENT WHEN LEAVING SITE

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For a lot of projects, the pay-back period of investments is a problem, especially for the projects which have an entrepreneurial focus and can only stay for a couple of years (Honig Complex, Open Lab Ebbinge or have had to move (Toentje). When moving, these projects will lose most of their investments in making site or buildings suitable for the temporary use. This is one of the disadvantages of temporary use, which is hard to overcome as long as a project does not have (or is not given) the possibility to stay long-term (or even permanently).

## DISCUSSION

### POLICY FOR TEMPORARY USE AND NEW LEGISLATION

All of the municipalities in this study were open to temporary uses and generally tried to facilitate them. The municipalities in this study are using experiences from previous temporary use projects in dealing with new projects. In Groningen and Nijmegen, an initial temporary use of a large site which was important for the municipality has been an example and a lesson for the municipality in how to deal with future temporary use. In Nijmegen this has also led to concrete policy, which specifies when a project is temporary use and makes legal procedures easier for those projects which are 'approved' temporary uses. The other two municipalities did not have an official policy on temporary use (although the municipality of Groningen does have an online map of vacant land in the municipality), which they attributed to the fact that they did not have so many vacant sites that this was necessary or relevant.

### OBSTACLES TO TEMPORARY USE

Previous research identified a number of obstacles to temporary use, the most important of which are legal rules and regulations and the mind-set within municipalities (Bishop and Williams, 2012, Németh and Langhorst, 2014, Oswalt et al., 2013, SEEDS, 2015). These two issues were mentioned by many of the respondents at the municipalities and temporary use projects in this study as well, so to some extent the results of this research fit with what previous research found. However, I found that most of these obstacles were already (partly) overcome and were not perceived as a big problem (anymore) in the municipalities and temporary use projects in this study. Rules and regulations used to be a problem since temporary use could only be allowed for 5 years, but a change in legislation in 2014 now makes it possible to allow temporary uses for 10 years and to make uses permanent after an initial period of temporary use. Besides this change in legislation, two out of three municipalities in this study (Nijmegen and Arnhem) are also actively 'looking for the space in the rules' in order to facilitate temporary uses. The mind-sets in the municipalities in this study also seem to be changing, partly due to experiences with temporary use projects, but also because of general trends such as letting go of government control and being open to citizen initiatives. Even though municipal rules and regulations and municipal mind-sets are not really a problem for temporary uses in the municipalities and projects in this study, I did identify other issues in the interaction between the municipality and temporary use projects. An important obstacle to temporary uses that was mentioned by the respondents in some cases was the existence of many different views on temporary use (projects) within the municipality, as well as the absence of a clear contact person in some cases. This can be confusing for initiators of temporary uses and can lead to situations where different municipality are saying (or even doing) different things related to the temporary use.

It seems that the issues that were identified in literature used to be present to some extent in these municipalities, but have already been (partly) resolved. So the difference between my results and literature might simply be present because these obstacles *used* to be an issue, but are not anymore. However, it might also be related to the change that Dutch environmental and spatial legislation is currently undergoing

### TEMPORARY USE POLICY AND THE NEW ENVIRONMENT AND PLANNING ACT

In 2018, the new Dutch Environment and Planning Act (omgevingswet) will be implemented. This new legislation will combine a large number of existing legislation and regulations on environmental and spatial issues (from air quality to land use to water management) into one Act. The aim of this new Environment and Planning Act is to 1) improve the understandability, predictability and user friendliness of environmental law, 2) stimulate an integrated approach to all environmental domains, 3) increase the room for manoeuvring that local governments have by enabling flexible and active approaches, and 4) speed up and improve decision-making about projects with an environmental impact (Roels, 2013). Local governments such as municipalities are currently being encouraged to already experiment with the instruments from this new Environment and Planning Act, e.g. by using the room that the Crisis and Recovery Act (Crisis- en Herstelwet) gives for this. It is interesting to note that many of the goals of the new Environment and Planning Act

match with the approach that the municipalities in this study (especially Nijmegen) are already applying for temporary use. Platform 31 – a Dutch knowledge and network organization for urban and regional development – mentions on their website that the focus of the Environment and Planning Act is on simplifying and accelerating procedures and providing room for local flexibility and innovation. Under the new act, the municipal attitude should change to allowing a use, unless there are specific reasons not to ('Yes, unless..'), and the reasons not to should be more related to whether the municipality wants a certain use, instead of whether it is allowed (like is being done now) (Platform31, 2016). These are all points that were also mentioned by the municipal officers in this study with regards to how they deal with temporary use. So it seems that the approach that municipalities have to temporary use is already in anticipation (consciously or not) of this change in legislation. This also means that the way in which the municipalities in this study deal with temporary uses fits with larger developments in Dutch planning. The implementation of the new Environment and Planning Act will probably also contribute to resolving these obstacles as far as they have not been resolved yet.

## TRANSITION IN PLANNING AND THE EFFECTS ON TEMPORARY USE

Even though municipal rules, regulations and mind-sets do not seem to be such big obstacles to temporary use projects (anymore), there are still other ways in which municipal policy has a very big impact on temporary uses. Especially the continuity of temporary use projects and the long-term impact that these projects can have on site development are impacted by municipal policy.

## 'ORGANIC' TEMPORARY USE WITHIN 'BLUEPRINT' DEVELOPMENTS

The shift from blueprint planning to organic planning described in theory (Buitelaar et al., 2012, Marshall, 2009, Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016), was also found in the municipalities in this study. Even though these municipalities are open to an organic approach to planning (at least in terms of policy), many of the vacant sites (and so also the temporary use projects) are still located in areas which were planned with blueprint planning approaches before the economic crisis. Most of these developments have only been delayed, not cancelled. Temporary use is used here as placemaking to boost (speed-up or ameliorate) the development, and as soon as the development is feasible again, the temporary uses have to make way for the development. The main arguments for municipalities to go through with the original development, instead of adopting (successful) temporary uses in to the new development, are the income from these sites which the municipalities have already counted on and calculated with and already existing contracts and agreements with developers. So these temporary uses, which have potential to contribute to organic area development in theory (which is also recognized by the municipalities) are located on sites which are still part of the 'old' blueprint view on planning.

## CONTINUITY AND LONG-TERM IMPACT

The municipalities in this study appreciate that many of the temporary use in their municipality have showed through experimentation with the use that their use is a valuable contribution to site and surroundings. But at the same time they also have to keep the financial consequences in mind. This dilemma that municipalities face also shows in the continuity of many of these projects. The studied temporary uses can generally not stay (in their current form) at their (first) location because in time they have to make way for the already planned blueprint development. But even though most municipalities emphasize at the start of temporary use projects that 'temporary is temporary' (to avoid problems when projects have to leave again), a remarkable amount of the case studies seem to have a chance of either moving to another (permanent) location after the first temporary use and/or influencing the future development. They can influence the future development of a site by changing the future programme of the area (to include the results of the temporary use's experiment with future uses for the site), or by even incorporating (a part of) the temporary use in the future development. So it seems that the municipalities in this study are indeed willing to incorporate the results of these 'experiments' in the permanent fabric of the city, even though they are not willing (or able) to let the temporary uses projects stay at their original location because these locations are still planned to be developed.

## EXPERIMENTAL AND SHOWCASE ROLE OF TEMPORARY USE

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Next to the effects that the municipal policy has on the temporary use projects, the projects in their turn also influence the policy. The temporary uses in this study are often showcases of innovative types (or combinations) of land uses and often have (or take) more room for experimentation than more permanent uses (by 'just doing things' without asking for municipal permission first). This role of showcase and experimentation with potential future uses (for their specific location or in general) is not always planned up front. However, whether planned or not, the municipalities in this study are generally quite open to the experiment and do use the projects as showcases as well. This also influences the policy for temporary use and view on planning within these municipalities. Temporary use fits with multiple trends in planning, amongst which the change from blueprint to organic planning. This is recognized by most of the municipal officers whom I interviewed, and some even saw a role for temporary use in facilitating this transition.

## TRANSITION FROM BLUEPRINT TO ORGANIC PLANNING

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The shift from blueprint planning to organic planning that I have observed in the municipalities is also described by Buitelaar and Bregman (2016) for the Netherlands in general. They describe how the traditional Dutch planning culture of 'Integrated urban development' (blueprint planning) is a tightly coupled system, which is currently under pressure due to the (consequences) of the economic crisis. This has created a momentum for change, which has led to organic planning becoming the dominant discourse in Dutch planning in the last couple of years. Buitelaar and Bregman (2016) state that Dutch planning is now on a crossroads, where the question is if Dutch planning will go back to the 'business as usual' of blueprint planning or transform into a more organic planning culture. Whether this change will happen depends on the vitality of current power structures, since a fundamental change in these structures is required to make the transition to organic planning. The parties which were dominant in land development before the crisis benefited from blueprint planning and want to resume this. These power structures will probably not be broken if economic growth increases again (Buitelaar and Bregman, 2016).

## THE FUTURE OF TEMPORARY USE

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This current transition from blueprint to organic planning, and whether and how this will continue will have a big impact on the role that temporary uses can and will play in urban planning. The position of temporary uses as is found in this study is almost certainly temporary in itself, since this is caused by the fact that planning is a phase of transition. 'Temporary use' as observed in this research is what happens when initiatives with the potential for and characteristics of organic planning are located in 'unfinished' blueprint planning projects. So even though temporary use has moved from 'niche' to 'mainstream' in the current circumstances, these circumstances will probably not last long due to the current changes going on in urban planning and development. Currently, temporary uses fit with both 'blueprint planning' through getting site development going again (through placemaking) and with 'organic planning', showing the potential of more experimental, 'unplanned' uses. This can go multiple ways in the future, with the two extremes being:

- 1) Blueprint planning recovers when the economic circumstances improve and temporary use once again becomes marginal, since 'blueprint' developments which are not delayed or cancelled rarely have a need or room for temporary uses. Temporary use as a part of 'mainstream planning' will have been a temporary phenomenon.
- 2) Organic planning becomes institutionalized, in which case 'temporary use' will truly become part of mainstream planning. This will most likely also change temporary use – by allowing it to have a real function in organic planning, which it does not have now. It is possible that what is now called 'temporary use' will then for example become known as 'experimental use' (perhaps with a matching 'experimental use' category in zoning plans), where a certain use can be tried out at a certain location for a time, and, depending on whether this use proves valuable for and fitting with the site and surroundings, become 'permanent' or not.

However, there are multiple options in-between this as well, where characteristics of both organic planning and blueprint planning are combined in one way or another. In these 'in-between' scenarios, it will be important how organic planning is defined, framed and incorporated in or mixed with blueprint planning. Temporary use might become a part of this mix of blueprint and organic planning, but probably not in the way in which it occurs now. Temporary use as we see it now is a symptom of a system in transition, and whether this transition institutionalizes or not will determine what will become of temporary uses in the future.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Since this research project was a quick scan, my focus was on interviewing only 1 or 2 people at each project and municipality, in order to be able to look at multiple municipalities and case studies. At the municipalities, I chose to interview those municipal officers that had an overview of both temporary use policy and specific temporary use projects. These were usually people who were involved with the policy and had a view on the interaction with the projects, but were not themselves directly involved with the project interaction, or were at least not the main contact person. This quick scan shows that within one municipality, a lot of people from a lot of different departments are interacting with temporary use projects; the projects that were researched (within one city) usually all had different (and multiple) contact persons at the municipality. For some of the projects in this research, this complicated communication with the municipality and led to uncertainty about the status of the project, especially when these projects were just starting. Because my research was about the influence of the interaction on the project's continuity and long term impact on site development, issues like these were not the main focus. However, for future research, it would be interesting to take a closer look at these impacts of the interactions on the temporary use projects themselves, by studying the interaction between municipality and (a) temporary use project(s) more in detail. This includes e.g. the impact that the fact that (most of) these projects have to move has on the projects' initiators and on the projects' character. These issues could especially be relevant in the context of increasing (attention for) citizen initiatives and considering the power relations that exist between the initiators of these projects and the municipality. From this point of view, it would also be interesting to look at temporary use initiatives that did not manage to establish themselves. In some of the projects in this study the initiators indicated that they really had to be persistent to get their project facilitated by municipalities. In order to understand how municipal policy and practice impacts temporary use, it is also important to understand why some projects do not get off the ground.

For many of the cases in this study, it is not clear yet what the continuity and long term impact on site development will be, since most of the studied projects are still in the initially agreed upon period of temporary use. It would be interesting to study these same projects again in a couple of years, when this period will be over for most of these projects and more can be said about continuity and long term impact on site development. The same goes for the current developments that were mentioned earlier in this discussion that influence (and might be influenced by) temporary use. For future research, it would be interesting to study temporary use policy, temporary use and other organic planning 'experiments' in the context of the shift from blueprint to organic planning more in detail. Another interesting and very topical research direction would be to study temporary use in relation to the new Environment and Planning Act. This can be approached from multiple angles, e.g. the influence that this new legislation will have on temporary use and other types of organic planning, but also how municipalities are anticipating on the new Act in temporary use policy.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND MANAGEMENT

This research shows that in the studied municipalities there is indeed a clear influence of the interaction between municipality and temporary use projects on both parties. Of the obstacles to temporary use that were mentioned in literature (rules & regulations and mind-set within municipalities) the municipalities in this study are generally already aware, but it is important that municipalities who want to facilitate temporary uses keep these issues in mind. The implementation of the new Environment and Planning Act can be an opportunity to reduce these obstacles even further.

It has also become clear that – even when municipalities have officially designated a contact person for temporary use – it might still be difficult for project initiators to find the 'right' person within the municipality to facilitate their

temporary use initiative, especially for those project which are 'real' citizen initiatives and are not already closely linked with the municipality. Another issue is the fact that departments within the same municipality are sometimes not aware of or do not agree with agreements that have been made with temporary use projects by other departments. This is confusing and difficult for temporary use projects, but undoubtedly also for other (citizen) initiatives who are dependent on the municipality and have to deal with multiple departments. For both of these issues, improved communication within the municipality about (contact persons for and agreements made with) temporary use initiatives and other similar citizen initiatives is important.

Municipalities should be aware of who they do and do not include by approving or rejecting certain temporary use initiatives, as well as the tensions that can be caused by facilitating or stimulating one project more actively than another. This relates also to the issue mentioned in the previous section; which initiatives (and by who) are able to actually become temporary use initiatives and which are not? The municipal officers in this study generally indicated that temporary use initiatives were facilitated when they were financially feasible (usually without municipal subsidy, unless they contributed to goals from other municipal policy domains) and when they contributed to more than just the interests of the initiators. Generally, the image arose from the municipalities that the attitude to temporary uses was 'Yes, unless..'. However, as was just mentioned, some of the projects had difficulty in finding the right person within the municipality to facilitate their project, and these projects might not have gotten off the ground without the persistence of the initiators. Other initiators on the other hand, usually those who already had a network within the municipality and had experience with similar projects, thought that approaching and communicating with the municipality was quite easy. There seems to be a discrepancy in how 'open' municipalities in this study think they are to (citizen) initiatives for temporary use, and how 'open' to initiatives some of the project initiators in this study perceive these municipalities to be. Especially the 'citizen-initiated' projects (in which the municipality was not actively involved in initiating the project) often felt that the municipality could (or should) be more facilitative towards their projects, in terms of contributing financially, allowing them to stay at their location or providing a (suitable) location to move to. Overall, it seems that 'municipality-initiated' projects were less bothered by these issues, which on the one hand might be cause by the fact that it is easier for them to communicate with the municipality (and thus also to be actively facilitated), but could on the other hand also be because these projects are strategically more important for municipalities (for the placemaking of a strategic development location) and thus really do get more support. This can be perceived as 'unfair' by other temporary use initiatives, especially when these initiatives also contribute to placemaking of their location and other municipal goals (related to e.g. green and social policy). Next to this field of tension, municipalities should be (or stay) aware of the tension field that arises by the fact that most temporary uses would actually like to stay permanent. Especially if a municipality has a vision of facilitating citizen initiatives and developing areas more organically, it can be hard for temporary uses to accept that they have to leave even though their project is successful and fits with municipal goals.

## CONCLUSION

This study explored the interactions between municipal policy and temporary use projects, researching: 1) existing policies for temporary use of vacant land and the motivations and ideas behind these policies, 2) the continuity and long-term impact on site development of temporary use projects, and 3) the effect that interaction between the municipalities and temporary use projects has on both of these previous points.

I found that all three municipalities in this study try to facilitate temporary uses. The amount of policy on temporary use differs per municipality, and seems to be related to the amount of vacant land and temporary use projects in the municipalities. Planning in all three municipalities is undergoing a shift from 'blueprint' to 'organic' planning. Temporary uses fit well with this shift, but most of the temporary use projects in this study are (or were) located on vacant land within already planned (but delayed) 'blueprint' developments. Most of the temporary uses can probably not stay in their current form at their (first) location because of this. The municipalities in this study generally appreciate temporary uses, but do (or can) not let temporary uses stay at these locations because they count on the income from the value of the building ground which these uses are located on. However, many of the temporary uses in this study are likely to be able to move somewhere else (permanently in some cases), with the help of the municipality, after the initially agreed upon period for temporary use is over. Many projects (will) also have an impact on the future development of their site, by changing the development plans or even by being (partly) incorporated in the development. Municipal policy impacts temporary uses through this, but also through removing obstacles for temporary use. Legal rules and regulations as well as the mind-set within municipalities were identified as obstacles for temporary use in previous research, but seem to have been (largely) overcome in the municipalities in this study. I have identified differing views within the municipality (especially between different departments) as an obstacle for initiators of temporary use. This can be confusing for initiators of temporary uses and can lead to situations where different municipal departments are saying (or even doing) different things related to the temporary use, as well as to situations where temporary use projects have multiple contact persons within the municipality. It is therefore recommended that municipalities improve (internal and external) communication about and towards temporary use initiatives

Even though this research focused mainly on the impact of the interaction on temporary use projects' continuity and impact on site development, other impacts of the interaction were also found. These include the influence of the communication difficulties that were just mentioned, but also the impact on projects (and their initiators) of having to move to another location. Besides that, by approving or rejecting certain temporary use initiatives, but also by facilitating or stimulating one project more actively than another, municipalities influence which projects get off the ground and which do not. Even though the municipalities in this study perceived themselves as open to all initiatives, this was not always perceived the same by the initiators of temporary use projects. Future research that looks at all effects that the interaction between municipality and temporary use projects has on these projects, as well as at the reasons why some projects are not able to get off the ground, could shed more light on these issues. In the meantime, it is important for municipalities to recognize these issues and to be sensitive to the fact that they influence which projects get off the ground and which do not, and thus who can participate in temporary use and who cannot.

Temporary uses influence municipal policy by functioning as an example for future temporary uses (and how the municipality deals with these), as well as by functioning as a catalyst to change municipal mind sets (e.g. related to the transition from blueprint to organic planning). Municipal policy on temporary use will probably also be influenced by the soon to be implemented new Environment and Planning Act. This act and the goals that go with it are likely to help overcome the mentioned obstacles, through reducing and simplifying procedures and by focussing on facilitating initiatives and flexibility in planning. Policy and attitudes on temporary use in the municipalities under study seems to be anticipating this change in legislation already. The influence of the Environment and Planning act on temporary use (policy) as well as this anticipation of the change in legislation would be interesting topics for future research. The role of temporary use in urban planning on the long term will depend on whether the ongoing transition from blueprint planning to organic planning will persevere. It would also be interesting to study the role of temporary use in this shift in more detail. Under blueprint planning, temporary use is likely to revert to the 'margin' again, and under organic planning

it is likely that it will become a real part of mainstream urban development. Temporary use as we see it now is a symptom of a system in transition, and whether this transition institutionalizes or not will determine what will become of temporary uses in the future.

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## APPENDIX A: CLASSIFICATIONS OF VIEWS ON PLANNING

**Table 6: Summary of characteristics of creationist, developmental and evolutionary planning paradigms as described by Marshall (2009)**

	<b>Creationist</b>	<b>Developmental</b>	<b>Evolutionary</b>
<b>Cities are seen as</b>	Designed objects	Developing organisms	Evolutionary entities
<b>End state</b>	Is predefined (by the planner) and put down in masterplans/ blueprints	Is defined and can be known before development starts	Is not known, there are multiple options and there is no optimal target form
<b>Urban change</b>	Results from interventions in a stable state by planner/ creator	Is developing towards a final, known, 'archetypal' end-state	Is slow, incremental and can develop along multiple pathways
<b>The urban planner</b>	Is the 'creator': he is in control and is a trained expert. Omnipotent and omniscient.	Is a professional that 'manages the organism'	Is only partly or temporarily in control, the city is shaped by the unpredictable interactions of individual actors

**Table 7: Description of the principles of evolutionary planning as described by Marshall (2009)**

<b>Principle</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>Make each step viable now</b>	<i>"new interventions should be introduced so they are immediately adapted to the surroundings from day one"</i> (Marshall, 2009, 270)
<b>Proceed by small steps – avoid 'monstrosity'</b>	<i>"avoid urban interventions that are either too novel – too great departures from existing known, tried and tested formats – or that are applied at too large a scale, or too suddenly, in such a way that the urban system around it has no time to adapt ... an evolutionist approach would first of all promote novelty in relatively small-scale increments, while ensuring that any large-scale development used tried and tested formats"</i> (Marshall, 2009, 271).
<b>Avoid suppressing 'unsolicited novelty'</b>	<i>"there is a certain kind of functional novelty or invention born of necessity, not the pursuit of novelty for its own sake ... an evolutionist approach would be sensitive to where novelty is happening spontaneously, and try not to suppress it ... be proactive in looking out for such novel, curious, idiosyncratic things ... [which, MvA] by their very survival must be functional or viable in some way ... They may be marginal to today's norm, but indispensable to tomorrow's"</i> (Marshall, 2009, 271-272).
<b>Discard moribund models</b>	<i>"avoid clinging to old forms and formats for the sake of it ... allow new large-scale or long-term forms to emerge or evolve, rather than trying to fit smaller scale features ... to fit a preconceived outline target plan ... An immediate way of doing this would be to discard visions of future cities, expressed through zoning, or the outline specification of a 'final target' form"</i> (Marshall, 2009, 274)
<b>Devolve decision making</b>	<i>"delegation to as local a level as practicable ... give power back to the local level and re-franchise individual citizens ... devolution is about the fecundity and diversity of solutions ... [and] getting better, more fitting solutions ... out of the countless permutations of what the optimal city of tomorrow should be like, the least we can do is have a city that reflects individual choices ... an evolutionist approach would empower people by allowing more individual freedom of action, with respect to their own properties, and adjacent public areas, and any otherwise unused or uncared for spaces"</i> (Marshall, 2009, 274-275)

**Table 8: Evolutionist principles contrasted with creationist and developmental. Adopted from Marshall (2009, 278)**

<b>Evolutionary</b>	<b>Creationist</b>	<b>Developmental</b>
1. Make each step viable now	Part-finished fragments of grand design may be acceptable.	Focus is on the final mature target form.
2. Proceed by small steps – avoid 'monstrosity'	Creationist inclined to promote novelty for its own sake.	Tends to avoid monstrosity.
3. Avoid suppressing 'unsolicited novelty'	Creationist approaches tend not to 'see' unsolicited novelty; anything unsolicited may be averted, weeded out, or in some circumstances, worked in if it can be exploited	Developmental may see unsolicited novelty as an aberration or 'tumour', to be averted, corrected or cut out.
4. Discard moribund models	Tends to avoid too much reliance on past models, although may do so in the case of 'improved' or 'reconstituted' cities	Developmental may be inclined to adhere to existing models, and enforce conformity.
5. Devolve decision making	Creationist approaches are intrinsically likely on act on behalf of the citizen, rather than the citizen being actively involved.	Developmental approaches are intrinsically likely to act on behalf of the citizen, rather than the citizen being actively involved.

**Table 9: Organic development compared to integral development (Buitelaar et al., 2012), English translation adopted from Buitelaar and Bregman (2016) and**

<b>Criterion</b>	<b>Integrated urban development</b>	<b>Organic urban development</b>
<b>Approach</b>	At once	Gradually
<b>Scale of development</b>	Large	Small
<b>Type of management</b>	Project management	Process management
<b>Plan type</b>	Blueprint	Strategic
<b>Type of developer</b>	Large developers	Small developers and individuals
<b>Role local authority</b>	Active and risk prone	Facilitative
<b>Development &amp; management</b>	Sequential	Mixed

## APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The interviews were conducted in Dutch, so these questions have been translated. Since the interviews were semi-open interviews, the actual interview questions were often different from these ones, but these questions do give an idea of the topics that were discussed in the interviews.

### Temporary use projects:

- Could you describe the changes which the project has gone through since the initiative for temporary use was taken?
  - What do you think has caused these changes?
  - Have the ideas, plans or mind-set within the project changed?
- Could you describe to what extent municipal policy has influenced the project?
- Could you describe to what extent the interaction with the municipality has changed since the start of the project?
  - Do you think that the attitude of the municipality towards the project has changed since the start of the project?
- Could you tell me about the influence of the project on this site and the immediate surroundings?
  - Do you think that this influence will have a long-term effect? Why?
- Do you think that the project or parts of it will continue, in the current or a different form, at this location or a different one, after the initial (agreed upon) period for temporary use?

### Municipalities:

- Could you tell me about the policy for temporary use of vacant land in this municipality?
- How is this policy or this implementation of policy related to the vision of this municipality on urban development and planning?
  - What is the vision of this municipality on temporary use?
- Could you describe how this policy/ this implementation of policy has developed?
  - To what extent have (events around) projects for temporary use influenced the development of this policy?
- Could you tell me about the temporary use projects in this municipality?
  - What is according to you the influence of the interaction between temporary use projects and the municipality on the municipal policy (related to temporary use)?
  - Could you describe which influence you think the municipal policy has on initiatives for temporary use projects in this city?
  - Do you think that the projects have (had) a long-term effect on the development of the site on which they are located?