

# Regenerating Industrial Flagship Buildings

MULTIPLE CASE STUDY RESEARCH ON THE CONFLICT-OUTCOME RELATIONSHIP WITHIN INTER-ORGANIZATIONAL DECISION MAKING TEAMS

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## Preface

This thesis is the final research project for the Master in Research in Public Administration and Organizational Science. The Research Master is organized by the Utrecht University School of Governance (Utrechtse School voor Bestuurs- en Organisationswetenschappen), Erasmus University Rotterdam and Tilburg University. This combined study gives students the opportunity to get to know the best Public Administration and Organizational Science lecturers and practitioners in The Netherlands (and beyond) by offering small class size education and visits to organizations. This is also a two-year program that gives students the time and freedom to do their own research in the last half year of their studies. Even though I finished my Bachelor in Public Administration at the Erasmus University, this thesis feels like the end result of both studies. I experienced the Research Master as a very challenging program which made me excited about doing research. I loved the international character and would therefore start by thanking my fellow students and friends from all over the world for always supporting me. Especially Michelle Stiphout, thank you for editing my thesis.

The topic of this master thesis is a result from my fascination for complex decision making processes and governance networks, plus the time that I lived in the Southern part of Rotterdam (Studentenkwartier Dordtselaan). I would advise every student – at any time in their studies – to move out of their comfort zones and experience the parts of their cities that never sleep, as I did in the biggest part of my studies. This particular city district is often perceived to be underdeveloped and which has to deal with major problems such as criminality, poverty, vacancy and decay. However, this city area has a lot of hidden treasures that more and more people seem to find: *Regenerated Industrial Flagship Buildings*. During the time that I lived in this city area, and especially during this research project, I experienced that a lot of interviewees and other people brighten up when we spoke about transformed industrial buildings. I would like to thank the interviewees for their time, insights and trust.

Most importantly, I would like to thank my supervisor Jasper Eshuis and second reader Sandra Groeneveld for their time, feedback and commitment. Jasper, thank you for your guidance and for keeping my both feet on the ground. And ultimately I would like to thank my girlfriend Naomi, best friend Rick, my parents and brother Marnix. I promise you I will not be writing in the middle of the night for the next six months.

This research produces two documents: one for academic purposes only (which includes highly sensitive information and confidential data), and one public version, with the main reason to not disturb the currently ongoing decision making processes. The blue boxes contained confidential data. The document in front of you is the public version.

The grade of this master thesis is based on the academic version.

## Summary

This research answers the question how conflicts between actors influence the outcomes of decision making processes regarding the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings in Enschede and Rotterdam. The research goal is to explore this relationship and to identify moderating factors that influence the conflict-outcome relationship. Although the terminology ‘moderating factors’ might seem to refer to qualitative research, in this research it solely concerns a qualitative conception of moderation. The conflict-outcome moderated model is an existing model that gives important insights in this relationship and provided the major framework for this research. The model is translated here from an intra-organizational setting to an inter-organizational network setting. Two cases are selected: the Bale Factory in Enschede and the Grain Silo in Rotterdam. The decision making processes within these cases reveal a relatively high level of conflict. In total the data of both cases indicate 19 conflicts that influence either the performance outcomes or the bargaining outcomes. Relationship conflicts and process conflicts negatively influenced the outcomes and certain task conflicts had a positive influence on specific decision making outcomes. The most negatively influential conflict-outcome relationship is seen in the effect of relationship conflicts on bargaining outcomes, and the most positively influential conflict-outcome relationship is seen in the effect of task conflicts on performance outcomes. This thesis ends with recommendations to successfully deal with conflicts in the processes of regenerating industrial flagship buildings. Gaining knowledge about the influence of conflicts on outcomes in decision making will indirectly contribute to solving the governance problem of how decision makers can successfully collaborate to create network-effectiveness, and more specifically how city administrators can successfully deal with the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings in a complex network setting.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Problem description

Cities are continuously in development. Several European cities have transformed from an industrial city to a postindustrial city in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. These cities had to deal with several crises, which challenged them to evolve to a healthier economy and quality of life. The postindustrial city eventually brought us to the society which we live in now, with a focus on service economy and facilities. A negative aspect of the transition from the industrial city to the postindustrial city is that mono-industrial regions fell into severe poverty. The closures of industrial factories led to immense economic loss and extreme unemployment rates in the areas surrounding these factories. Many European cities were required to face the challenge of developing comeback strategies to overcome the total shut down of an industry.

An intriguing example of this downfall, according to Boom & Mommaas (2009), may be found in the wool industry. Decreasing demand for woolen fabrics in the 1950's, together with the opening of the European market and the emerging service economy, led to problems for most European textile factories. Several European cities were highly dependent on textiles, which was often the only industry deployed at that time. Most of these factories did not manage to make adequate changes of modernization and became bankrupt during the 1960's and 1970's, or moved to low-wage countries. Due to their high dependency on the textile industry, cities such as Manchester, Gent, Roubaix, Prato and Enschede fell into major financial problems. A shared challenge of these cities is what they had to do with the industrial heritage that was left behind. Since demolition is expensive and some factories received a protected heritage status, cities have been looking for alternative solutions to regenerate the vacant industrial buildings.

This research focuses on the decision making processes regarding the regeneration of vacant industrial buildings. These buildings appear to be surrounded by a complex network of actors with many different interests. Both public and private parties work together in a team to find a suitable solution. The actors involved in the decision making processes are mutually dependent, since resources are limited and actors have to reach an agreement about the intended solution. The cases explored in this research reveal high political sensitivity and high conflict potential. Vacant industrial buildings possess two distinguishing characteristics which raises the public and private interest.

First, vacant industrial buildings partly determine the character of a city. Large concrete buildings provide a city with a certain industrial look that is perceived to be raw and untouched. This is appealing for artistic and creative entrepreneurs, both to live and to establish their business or studio. Industrial buildings can be physical flagships when they are the largest building in the skyline or when the buildings serves as a landmark for the city. Besides this physical aspect, industrial buildings can also be flagships in the branding and city marketing, especially when the character of the industrial flagship building is linked to the raw and untouched industrial look of the city. Many cities are proud of their industrial heritage and try to attract tourists to take tours around their industrial heritage buildings (Industrieel Erfgoed Twente, 2014; Open Monumentendag Rotterdam, 2014).

Second, industrial flagship buildings also fulfill an important public function for cities and the immediate surroundings of the buildings. While formerly industrial buildings served a major function for employment and economic stimulus, now regenerated buildings serve the public mainly by providing new homes, social facilities, and arts- and cultural organizations. These buildings have great attractive power; which has not only been noticed by public parties, but commercial parties have also found their way in and around regenerated industrial buildings, providing new opportunities for investments and ownership.

Besides this societal issue, there is also a particular governance problem that is related to industrial flagship buildings. Many actors are involved with many different interests. This creates a playing field in which decisions are made by decision making teams that function a lot like governance networks. O'Toole (1997, p. 45) defines governance networks as *"structures of interdependence involving multiple organizations or parts thereof, where one unit is not merely the formal subordinate of the others in some larger hierarchical arrangement."* Collaboration is thus highly important in the process of problem solving, which can create network-effectiveness: the attainment of positive network-level outcomes that individual organizational participants cannot achieve by acting independently (Provan & Kenis, 2007). Despite the similarities between decision making teams that decide about the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings and general governance networks, there is also something special about these decision making teams.

The policies surrounding most of the cultural clusters (that are often found in regenerated industrial buildings) are characterized as flexible, and due to their adhocacy, the projects seem to be able to respond to very different and constantly changing local conditions and circumstances. *"Because of a lack of a coherent and consistent development model, the projects are able to circumvent conventional ways of doing things, move into different directions, and build multiple alliances with former oppositional networks and organizations (...) This makes them more flexible and adaptable (...) Hence, they embody a less universal and less standardized approach in not only the field of cultural policy-making, but also in policy-making in general, moving from a conventional welfare-state model towards 'post-modern' models of cultural/urban governance* (Mommaas, 2004, p. 528).

Although these decision making teams appear to be more flexible and adaptable, decision making processes about the regeneration of industrial buildings is often cumbersome, and regularly runs less successful than desired by the actors involved. Koppenjan & Klijn (2004, p. 222-223) argue that *"network games frequently involve conflicts. This is not surprising given the various interests of the actors and the range and complexity of possible solutions and problem formulations."* A prior analysis of media coverage about the regeneration of industrial buildings shows that the decision making processes often go hand in hand with heated discussions and conflict potential (see media publications). One of the reasons for conflict potential is that industrial buildings are major cost items for municipalities, especially when maintenance and renovation is highly urgent. Nuisance due to heavy decay, falling wreckage, plagues of rats, visual deterioration, non-decision and ongoing economic loss increases this urgency and asks for problem solving decisions. Nevertheless, high urgency does not necessarily mean that solutions are easily found.

The question this research aims to answer is how conflicts between actors in the decision making processes regarding the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings eventually influences the outcomes of the decision making process. A concrete model that focuses on this relationship between conflicts and outcomes within decision making processes is the conflict-outcome moderated model from Jehn & Bendersky (2003). This model discusses factors that influence the aforementioned relationship. A moderating effect concerns factors that (positively or negatively) influence the direct relationship between the main effect: conflict and outcome. The authors took a highly structured approach, by reviewing recent academic work on decision making teams within organizations.

This model is used within this research, with a qualitative approach, to explore the conflict-outcome relationship in a multiple actor-network setting. Thus, this research helps to establish whether the existing intra-group model of Jehn & Bendersky (2003) can be applied in an inter-organizational network setting. A setting, in which conflict can occur between at least two people within or between organizations, and between groups or organizations where it might not be publicly acknowledged.

## 1.2 Research goal

The point of departure for this research is the societal problem of vacancy and decay, followed by the exploration of the governance problem and ultimately the academic research problem (conflict-outcome relationship). The literature on comeback strategies of former industrial cities in Europe (Boom & Mommaas, 2009) makes an important contribution to the contemporary international discussion about transformations of so called Comeback Cities and the strategies that are implemented to reach successful transformations of abandoned factory complexes and other free urban spaces (see also: Ruimtelijk Planbureau Den Haag, 2004; Hamers, 2006). Although the existing literature succeeds in describing these strategic choices, this body of literature lacks a sufficient explanation of the underlying decision making processes – and possible emerging conflicts and deadlocks – that led to these strategic choices. Gaining knowledge about the influence of conflicts on outcomes of decision making will indirectly contribute to solving the governance problem of how decision makers can collaborate to create network-effectiveness, and more specifically, how city administrations can successfully deal with the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings. Therefore, the academic research goal is to explore the relationship between conflicts among actors and outcomes of the decision making processes regarding the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings, and to identify the factors that influence this relationship. The cases that are selected in this research show conflictual decision making processes of which we can learn about the conflict-outcome relationship in urban governance.

## 1.3 Research questions

The central question that will be answered within this research is:

How do conflicts between actors influence the outcomes of decision making processes regarding the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings in Enschede and Rotterdam?

To answer the central research question, five research questions have been defined. The answers to these questions add up to the answer of the central research question. The first three research questions will be answered within the case description chapters (chapter four and five), the fourth research question will be answered in the empirical analysis (chapter six), and the final research question concerns recommendations and will be answered within the concluding chapter of this thesis (chapter seven). Research question 1 concerns an actor analysis, which is according to Koppenjan & Klijn (2004) the first step that moves towards a game and network analysis. In order to understand the decision making processes, it is necessary to know which actors played a part in these processes. Research question 2 is inspired by the literature on conflict emergence; Mandel (1979) argues that conflicts emerge due to differences in objectives. Research question 3 is inspired by the classical conflict theory of decision making, in which it is argued that actors chose the policy option that optimized their own outcome. This ultimately leads to suboptimal decisions (Heckathorn, 1980; Mandel, 1979). Research question 4 symbolizes the transition from the classical conflict theory towards the constructive debate perspective (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003), which argues that conflict is not always negative and introduces a framework with qualitative moderating factors. Research question 5 focuses on recommendations.

1. Which actors can be identified in the governance networks of the regeneration of the Bale Factory in Enschede, and the Grain Silo in Rotterdam?
2. How did differences in objectives among actors lead to tensions and conflict?
3. Did actors choose the policy option that optimized their own outcome?
4. What moderating factors influence the conflict-outcome relationship within an inter-organizational network setting?
5. How can inter-organizational networks successfully deal with conflicts in the processes of regenerating industrial flagship buildings?

## 1.4 Societal relevance

The problem description (paragraph 1.1) gave examples of European cities in which the textile industry disappeared entirely. Most of these cases concern abandoned factories that have had problems related to external developments such as the process of automation and Western industrialism. Recent unavoidable developments such as the worldwide economic crisis and the current economic rise of Asian countries have created new (financial) challenges for European countries that have to deal with abandoned factories on the municipal level. Boom and Mommaas (2009) analyzed the recent transformation of these European former textile cities and identified several factors of importance in finding new capacity for urban development. One of the important factors for urban development refers to the entire set of distinguishing city characteristics (from the specific urban shape up to the appealing icons, urban ambiance, urban story, and distinguishing urban infrastructures in terms of services). Urban stories can be seen as sentiments that relate to urban attractions, city icons and city branding (Eshuis & Klijn, 2013; Boom & Mommaas, 2009, p. 47-55).

This factor for urban development also gives important insights to describe the main concept of this research: industrial flagship buildings. These specific type of buildings are distinguishing urban-industrial infrastructures that serve as: urban attractions, looks and feels like an appealing icon, creates a certain urban ambiance, and relates to an urban story. Industrial flagship buildings come from different sectors and different cities. Visual aspects are highly important in the emergence of urban ambiance and urban stories. The next page shows a visual representation of urban attractors that are considered to be examples of industrial flagship buildings in the Netherlands (figure 1-8).

One of the main reasons that the societal relevance for redevelopment and regeneration recently increased in the Netherlands is the formation of a new heritage law that is currently in development and scheduled to be introduced January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016. Regulations concerning conservation and maintenance of heritage are currently arranged in six different laws and regulations (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2014)<sup>1</sup>.

Furthermore, vacancy and decay of industrial buildings provide a major challenge for municipalities. When nothing happens over the years, in terms of maintenance or regeneration, nature eventually takes over and the buildings crumble down. This produces extra costs and increases the urgency for development. The Dutch documentary *Nederland van Boven* (broadcasted November 21<sup>st</sup> 2013), raised the question, “how we as a society deal with this decay?” It is here, where the assumption is raised that “*whenever such a construction remains standing, something is going on in decision making and we can speak about a deadlock or conflict between people about the solution.*” This question concerns an interesting assumption and point of departure for this research, which has not yet been scientifically explored.

Ultimately, “*an important national task for the coming years is the regeneration of areas and buildings. This will prevent vacancy from old but characteristic buildings and give new life to underdeveloped areas. This also makes regeneration a booster for the local economy*” (MMNieuws, 2012, p. 23). The Dutch government department for cultural heritage therefore developed a National Regeneration Program in 2010. This program experienced difficulties in getting knowledge and information about regeneration. There was a great need for good examples of regeneration. Researchers analyzed 200 projects so far, mainly focused on finance, economic loss and sustainability (Architectuur NL, 2013).

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<sup>1</sup>Regeling materieel beheer museale voorwerpen 2013 (1), Wet verzelfstandiging rijks museale diensten (2), Monumentenwet 1988 (3), Wet tot behoud van cultuurbezit (4), Uitvoeringswet UNESCO-verdrag 1970 inzake onrechtmatige invoer, uitvoer of eigendomsoverdracht van cultuurgoederen (5), Wet tot teruggave cultuurgoederen afkomstig uit bezet gebied (6). The cases have no official heritage status.



Figure 1 - Former Grain Silo Rotterdam, now a cluster of young creative entrepreneurs Creative Factory and club Maassilo and Factory 010.



Figure 2 - Former Bale Factory Enschede, recent attempts to accommodate cultural organizations did not reach a final solution.



Figure 3 - Klokgebouw Eindhoven, former factory for synthetic plastic, now multi-functional building.



Figure 4 - Former Energy House Dordrecht, now multi-functional building for three cultural organizations.



Figure 5 - Former Gas Holder Amsterdam, now event location.



Figure 6 - Schieblock Rotterdam, former office building, now cultural cluster/multi-functional building.



Figure 7 - Van Nelle Design Factory Rotterdam, former tea- coffee and tobacco factory, now multi-functional business cluster.



Figure 8 - Volkskrant Building Amsterdam, former press and office building, now multi-functional building.

## 1.5 Scientific relevance

Flyvberg (2001, p. 108) argues that in the social sciences “*generally, conflicts have been viewed as dangerous, corrosive, and potentially destructive of social order and therefore in need of being contained and resolved.*” An opposing view is that conflicts should not only be seen as negative energy that keeps us stuck in original structures, but also as an opportunity for rethinking and innovation. In that sense, conflicts also produce (possible positive) outcomes that we really want (Cloke, 2006). The emergence of conflict within decision making processes emphasizes the importance of collaboration between organizations. “*In recent decades the environment in which organizations must operate has become more and more complex. (...) A high intensity and variety of organizational networks characterize society. In doing their work and in solving problems, organizations of various different natures meet. (...) They can no longer fulfill their task alone, whether they like it or not. Problems cannot be solved by organizations on their own*” (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004, p. 2-3).

There are three different frameworks that look at the conflict-outcome relationship in decision making. First, Barling & Cooper (2008) challenge the idea that all members within a group perceive the same level of conflict, which is what they call asymmetric conflict. These authors argue that asymmetric conflict decreases the effectiveness of a decision making group. Second, Bazerman (2002), Heckathorn (1980) and Mandel (1979) argue that all conflict is negative because decision makers have multiple objectives and choose the one that optimizes their own outcome. This is referred to as the classical conflict theory of decision making. And third, Jehn & Bendersky (2003) show that there is theorizing and empirical evidence that conflict can be destructive as well as beneficial to certain groups and organizations. These authors argue that “*despite the overwhelming amount of evidence and logical theoretical reasoning about the negative effects of conflict, there is still a groundswell of support that challenges this absolutist view of conflict as negative.*” Therefore these authors introduced the conflict-outcome moderated model, which is also referred to as the constructive debate perspective on the classical conflict theory of decision making. This research contributes to the existing literature by exploring whether the conflict-outcome moderated model can also be applied to an inter-organizational network setting.

The conflict-outcome moderated model shows that certain types of conflict can be effective under certain group conditions. Jehn & Bendersky (2003) argue that four characteristics of the decision making process are of critical importance: (1) the type of conflicts that exists, (2) the organizational outcome that is predicted or desired, (3) the temporal aspect of group life and conflict, and (4) the circumstances under which conflict occurs and the processes used to manage it that moderate the conflict-outcome relationship (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003, p. 214).

The literature on conflict in decision making shows contradictory views on the conflict-outcome relationship, which tempers the explanatory capability of research (Ibid, 2003). Furthermore, according to Mommaas (2004), cultural clustering strategies represent a next stage in the ongoing use of culture and the arts as urban regeneration resources. The author points at the relevance to study the complexity of the described research problem: “*Regeneration-through-culture agenda has moved to a higher level. Here, we see a shift from a policy aimed at organizing occasions for spectacular consumption, to a more fine-tuned policy, also aimed at creating spaces, quarters and milieus for cultural production and creativity. For some time now, this broadening of the developmental perspective has raised a lot of uncertainties, conflicts and ambiguities (...) In order to get out of this potentially self-defeating situation, and to enable a more sensitive but also strategic involvement of the cultural sector in the governance of cultural cluster projects, it is necessary to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the complex dynamics involved*” (Mommaas, 2004, p. 507-508).

## Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

### 2.1 Theoretical perspective

Representatives from organizations in the decision making teams regarding the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings behave much like decision makers in governance networks. Therefore, the main theoretical approach in this research is the network governance approach. The concept of governance networks can be described in a variety of ways. Nevertheless, literature on governance networks is agreeing on at least four characteristics: (1) governance networks are found in complex policy problems (wicked problems), which cannot be solved by one actor alone and thus asks for collective action by multiple actors (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). (2) Within governance networks there is a relatively high mutual dependency between actors (Scharpf, 1978). (3) Governance networks relate to complex interactions and uncertainty. Actors act autonomously, have their own interests, and their own perception on the problem and solution (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). And (4) the interactions show that they exist over a considerable long period of time (Agranoff & McGuire, 2003).

The concepts and assumptions regarding governance networks offer important insights in the inter-organizational network settings that occur in the cases of this research, but do not contribute directly to the answer of the research question, namely how conflicts between actors in such network settings influence the outcomes of the decision making processes. Literature on governance networks does not offer models for explaining the conflict-outcome relationship, as does the conflict theory of decision making and the conflict-outcome moderated model. Therefore, the theory used to answer the central research question is reflected in the constructive debate perspective on the conflict theory of decision making and more specific within the conflict-outcome moderated model (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003; see table 1). This model serves as a counterpart to the classical conflict theory of decision making.

Table 1 - Overview of the theoretical perspective: theories, approaches and models

Theory/approach	Serves as:
The constructive debate perspective on the classical conflict theory of decision making	Theory on the conflict-outcome relationship in intra-organizational settings that provides one comprehensive model: - The conflict-outcome moderated model (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003)
The classical conflict theory of decision making	Theory on the conflict-outcome relationship in intra-organizational settings that provides two basic models: - The perceptual decision making conflict model (Mandel, 1979) - The unified model of decision making, bargaining and conflict (Heckathorn, 1980)
Network governance (approach)	Approach that provides a perspective to approach the research problem

The mutual dependency of actors in dealing with wicked societal problems is a central notion in the network governance approach (Kickert et al., 1997). Although the debate on concepts and the nature of network theory among network researchers is ongoing and will continue (some scholars doubt whether the network theory is an actual scientific theory or rather a perspective or scientific philosophy), a body of common concepts and assumptions can be identified. Literature on governance networks highlights the importance of collaboration and interdependence, which provides the background to which conflicts among actors can occur. This body of literature herewith also underscores the importance of solving conflicts among actors, since it is argued that collaborating actors achieve goals which cannot be achieved by one actor alone (network-effectiveness). Governance networks, according to Koppenjan & Klijn (2004, p. 69-70), can be defined as “*more or less stable patterns of social relations between mutually dependent actors, which form around policy problems and/or clusters of means and which are formed, maintained and changed through a series of games.*” The concept of governance networks is mainly used to describe public decision making processes. These processes take place in a web of relationships and mutual dependencies between

government parties, private business parties and parties in the civil society (Weber & Khademian, 2008).

Thus, mutual dependencies are crucial for the emergence and the existence of governance networks (Scharpf, 1978). Due to the lack of sufficient financial- and production resources, parties are dependent and required to interact and work together. The consequence of these interactions, which are by definition complex in the concept of governance networks, is that it is hard to find mutually acceptable solutions. These interactions can lead to sharp conflicts about the division of costs and benefits of a certain desired solution. Besides, differences in problem definition, perceptions about the desired solution, hidden agendas, interests and strategies to reach objectives can create conflict and stagnations within governance networks (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004; McGuire & Agranoff, 2011).

## 2.2 The conflict theory of decision making

The conflict theory of decision making starts from the idea that participants of a decision making process have multiple objectives and choose an option that optimizes their own outcome. When actors optimize their own outcome, this can be viewed by other parties as strategic behavior, which could lead to conflict potential. There are two main models in the conflict theory of decision making that explain how conflict in decision making negatively influences the outcomes of the decision making process. The first model is *the perceptual decision making conflict model* (Mandel, 1979). This model is very basic in explaining the conflict-outcome relationship, since the only relationship that is examined is between tensions (that exist within groups that have to reach a certain decision) and outcomes. The author concludes that tensions within decision making groups result in suboptimal decisions. The main focus is thus on factors that cause conflict, and not so much on the effects of conflict on the outcomes of decision making. Different types of conflict and different types of decision making outcomes are excluded from this model.

In this sense, *the unified model of decision making, bargaining and conflict* (Heckathorn, 1980) does provide insights in the effects that conflicts have on decision making outcomes. The central idea in this model is that incomplete information is the cause of conflict, so for reaching a mutual decision, bargaining and tactical information exchange is necessary. These processes of bargaining and tactical information exchange may occur in combination with manipulative tactics carried out by the negotiators. Heckathorn (1980, p. 261-264) is inspired by several bargaining models; *“In general these bargaining models have developed out of economics. (...) Each model consists of a concession mechanism by which the bargaining process can be conceived as a sequence of concessions. Concession may either converge upon a mutually acceptable outcome (agreement), or fail to converge, resulting in disagreement or conflict. (...) The difficulty is this: each bargainer has an interest in making the fewest possible concessions while simultaneously avoiding conflict.”* Decision making in the eyes of Heckathorn (1980) becomes a tactical game in which the least favorable alternative for each party is conflict. The author explicates the tactical aspects of bargaining, including for example the tactic of bluffing, and illustrates this with several series of formulas and curves where bargaining parties reach agreement. Despite the fact that this model shows an interesting mechanism in the relation between conflicts and outcomes, it is consistent with the classical view where conflict is always seen as a negative force on decision making outcomes, in which there is no room for exceptions. A possible exception could have been – as Jehn & Bendersky (2003) argue – that certain types of conflict can be effective under certain group conditions, e.g., task conflicts on performance outcomes.

A relevant addition to the conflict theory of decision making is made by introducing *the conflict-outcome moderated model* (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003). This model is also referred to as *the constructive debate perspective*, since it shows that certain types of conflict can be effective for the decision making outcomes and thus criticizes the classical view that conflict is always negative. The model suggests that

task characteristics, group diversity, group conflict norms, emotions, and conflict management processes all moderate the relationship between conflict types and outcomes (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003, p. 214). The entire model including all moderating factors is shown in appendix 1.

The main difference between decision making in the intra-organizational perspective and decision making in the inter-organizational perspective can be seen in the different rationalities between the actors involved and their organizational culture, which is the pattern of shared meaning within an organization (Rainey, 2009, p. 335). Different groups within one organization (intra-organizational perspective) can have different views on a particular decision. However, because they belong to the same organization and serve the same organizational goals they still have the same rational. On the other hand, the inter-organizational perspective is characterized by multiple organizations that are led by their own organization's interests and different rationalities, which makes the collaboration more complex (and often on a higher strategic level). In the inter-organizational perspective, organizations therefore balance between their own interest and the common interest of the entire network of actors (Suijs, 1999). Intra- and inter-organizational decision making are considered here as two different sports, both existing of games and arenas in which actors present their strategies. These strategies can be presented in both intra- and inter-organizational settings, while it is assumed that they play a bigger role in the inter-organizational network settings, because of the differing rationalities between the actors involved (different organizations instead of different groups within one organization). Koppenjan & Klijn (2004, p. 49-50) distinguish five different types of strategies: (1) go-alone strategies in which one involved actor formulates a substantive solution and attempts to realize this; (2) conflictual strategies aimed at preventing or blocking solutions; (3) avoidance strategies in which actors adopt a passive attitude or avoid conflict; (4) cooperative strategies in which actors acknowledge their external dependencies, do everything to interest other parties in their plans and then try to achieve a favorable result in the negotiation process, and; (5) facilitating strategies aimed at bringing parties together and mediating in conflicts.

Due to the inter-organizational focus of this research, a selection is made to include four out of the five general factors (some exist of sub-concepts) of the conflict-outcome moderated model, and to add one other possible influential moderating factor, namely cognitive processing (Bazerman, 2002). Cognitive processing refers to distractions from the decision making process. Due to the aspect of conflict it is possible that decision makers were distracted from the original problem solution, which makes cognitive processing an interesting concept to explore and integrate into the existing model. Task characteristics, nevertheless, is not expected to be an important factor in the cases, because of its full intra-organizational focus. It relates to the way in which people perform the specific tasks of their individual job descriptions. When representatives of inter-organizational decision making teams do not perform in their individual jobs within their own organization, this does not mean that the entire inter-organizational decision making process is delayed. Daily activities within organizations are often very different than tasks in the decision making process, and therefore task characteristics are excluded from the model. The translation of the model from the intra-organizational setting to the inter-organizational network setting also means that the concepts are interpreted in a different way. Instead of distinguishing different groups within organizations, different organizations are distinguished as a whole and identified as actors. Practically, this implies that concepts are interpreted with a focus on the different rationalities that exist between the organizations, instead of the differences between groups within the same organization.

### 2.3 Conflicts

Conflicts, according to Jehn & Bendersky (2003, p. 188-189), can be broadly defined as *“perceived incompatibilities or discrepant views among the parties involved.”* This is a highly broad definition that needs focus in order to translate it into an inter-organizational network setting. The word conflict is

used in day to day language in which it can mean different things. There can also be confusion between the micro-level of conflict (which is more psychological) and the macro-level of conflict (which is more sociological; Menon et al., 1996). A more suitable word that is easier to measure in practice (instead of perceived incompatibilities and discrepant views) is disagreements among actors. The cases that are explored in this research show that disagreements (about the content of the task, about non-task issues and about strategies to approach the task) can potentially evolve into conflict situations. Therefore, the concept of conflict is defined here as *“disagreements among individuals or parties that are involved in the decision making process (actors), that lead to conflict potential situations.”* Conflict potential is a different state of conflict than actual conflict situations. Whether parties perceive potential conflict situations as fully developed conflict depends on their group conflict norms.

Jehn & Bendersky (2003, p. 200-201) distinguish three types of conflict within their model, of which the first type is task conflict. *“Task conflict is consistently defined as disagreements among group members about the task being performed. Task conflict exists when there are disagreements among actors about the content of the task that is to be performed. This includes differences in viewpoints, ideas and opinions. People often describe this type of conflict as work conflict or work disagreement. (...) The key concept is that task conflicts are focused on the work or task at hand, in contrast to relationship conflicts which focus on non-task issues.”*

The second type of conflict is relationship conflict. *“Relationship conflicts exist when there are interpersonal incompatibilities among group members. This type of conflict often includes personality differences as well as differences of opinion and preferences regarding non-task issues (e.g., religion, politics, fashion)”* (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003, p. 200). Relationship conflicts thus often include personality differences, but it is not the same as personal conflict (two persons in conflict). Especially in the inter-organizational network setting, relationship conflicts often include personal conflict, but is not defined by personal conflict. Differences of opinion related to cultural- and educational backgrounds, personal character, and attitude are considered to be important underlying reasons for relationship conflicts.

The third type of conflict is process conflict. *“Process conflicts are about the means to accomplish the specific tasks, not about the content or substance of the task itself, but about strategies for approaching the task”* (Ibid, 2003, p. 201). Process conflicts are considered to relate to actions regarding strategic behavior and strategic decisions of actors.

The level of conflict can vary on the intensity-state (low-medium-high) of primary emotions, which are conceptualized by Turner & Stets (2005, p. 13-16) as four clusters of emotions: satisfaction-happiness, aversion-fear, assertion-anger, and disappointment-sadness. Appendix 2 shows the entire table with variants of primary emotions.

## 2.4 Outcomes

Jehn & Bendersky (2003) argue that research has demonstrated that the effect of conflict is different depending on the outcome of interest. The authors distinguish two types of outcomes in their model: performance/creativity outcomes and satisfaction/consensus outcomes. Outcomes in the decision making processes of the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings relate either to the performance outcomes: the solutions that are found by decision makers for the physical and functional regeneration, or to the bargaining outcomes: the procedural output of the decision making teams in terms of breakthroughs and deadlocks.

Performance outcomes are defined as *“the output of an individual or team that is depicted in their job description and for which they are rewarded based on performance appraisals”* (Ibid, 2003, p. 204).

And “creative outcomes are often the result of work that is not directly rewarded or indicated in the job description. Creativity is the production of ideas, products, or procedures that are: (a) novel or original and (b) potentially relevant for or useful to the organization (Ibid, 2003, p. 204-205). These definitions of performance and creativity outcomes relate highly to the intra-organizational setting, and thus need to be translated into the inter-organizational network setting of regenerating industrial flagship buildings. The cases that are explored in this research show that performance outcomes vary on the physical regeneration outcomes and the functional regeneration outcomes. Physical regeneration outcomes are defined here as ‘the practical solutions that are found by decision makers to transform or renovate the industrial flagship buildings’. These outcomes concern only physical aspects, both outside and inside the buildings, to make the building safe and available for daily use. Functional regeneration outcomes are defined here as ‘the solutions that are found by decision makers to accommodate new organizational functions in the industrial flagship buildings’. These outcomes include e.g., (clusters of) organizations, business incubators, artistic workplaces, museums, and housing (for example apartments).

Satisfaction and consensus are concepts that relate to the bargaining outcomes in the cases of decision making about industrial flagship buildings. Bargaining outcomes are defined here as “the procedural output of the decision making teams in terms of breakthroughs and deadlocks.” The cases explored in this research show four concepts that are important bargaining outcomes: first, commitment to the original idea. This refers to “decision makers that commit to the first solution that was suggested to solve the problem of the regeneration.” This appears to be an important concept within the cases that causes conflict potential situations due to disappointment among the initiators. Second, the perception of success is “whether decision makers perceive the physical and/or functional regeneration as a successful outcome, as a valuable exploitation and as a contribution to the surrounding of the building.” Third, a decision making team reaches consensus when “its members have a thorough knowledge of and are committed to a particular decision” (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003; Amason & Schweiger, 1994, p. 241). Fourth, concessions are “steps taken by actors, moving away from their original desired solution, which may be to avoid conflict.”

## 2.5 Moderating factors

The five moderating factors that are described in this paragraph will be explored in the cases. It is more a goal to inquire whether these moderating factors can be identified in the cases and whether these moderating factors can be applied to an inter-organizational setting at all, than to measure an exact level of moderation between the conflicts and outcomes. Thus, the use of moderating factors in this research can be seen as a test case to inquire whether these moderating factors are also applicable to an inter-organizational network setting.

### Group diversity

The first moderating factor is group diversity. “Group diversity in an organizational setting relates to employees with diverse national, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and experiential backgrounds” (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003, p. 215). This can be the same for decision making groups in an inter-organizational network setting, while it is expected that diverse sectorial and regional backgrounds are more important than cultural and ethnic backgrounds. According to the conflict-outcome moderated model, high group diversity strengthens both the positive and the negative effects of conflict on outcomes.

### Group conflict norms

The second moderating factor is group norms related to conflicts. Group conflict norms, as defined by Bettenhausen and Murnighan (1985), are “standards that regulate behavior among group members that are often developed by the members and the leadership of the group.” Jehn & Bendersky (2003,

p. 216-217) argue that *“the norms of the group control how group members perceive conflict and can affect the degree to which conflict influences performance and members’ attitudes.”* Therefore, according to the conflict-outcome moderated model, high acceptability norms within decision making groups strengthens both the positive and the negative effects of conflict on decision making outcomes. Group conflict norms can also be seen in the concept of asymmetric conflict, in which people perceive different levels of conflict (Ibid, 2003).

#### Collaborative conflict management processes

The third moderating factor relates to processes within the decision making group regarding the management of conflicts. *“Collaborative conflict management processes are processes and efforts that are made to maximize the interest of both parties”* (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003, p. 218). In the case of decision making about the regeneration of flagship buildings, this can be seen in the fact whether there is a central party that manages relations and conflicts, or as collaborative agreements between actors about how to deal with conflicts or concrete conflict regulation mechanisms (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). According to the conflict-outcome moderated model, collaborative conflict management processes strengthens both the positive and the negative effects of conflict on outcomes.

#### Emotions

The fourth moderating factor is emotion, with a distinction between positive and negative emotions. Emotions in general are defined by (Plutchik, 2001) as *“a complex chain of loosely connected events, beginning with a stimulus and including feelings, psychological changes, impulses to action, and specific goal-directed behavior.”* Emotions thus function as reactions to the environment (Turner & Stets, 2005). The cluster of negative emotions is also called emotionality, which refers here to the amount of negative affect exhibited and felt during a conflict. Emotions as a moderating effect in the conflict-outcome moderated model separates positive emotions – e.g., pride, joy, commitment, enthusiasm – which strengthens positive effects and weakens negative effects, and negative emotions – e.g., disappointment, feelings of missed opportunities, sadness, disgust, hate – which strengthens negative effects and weakens positive effects (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003, p. 223).

#### Cognitive processing

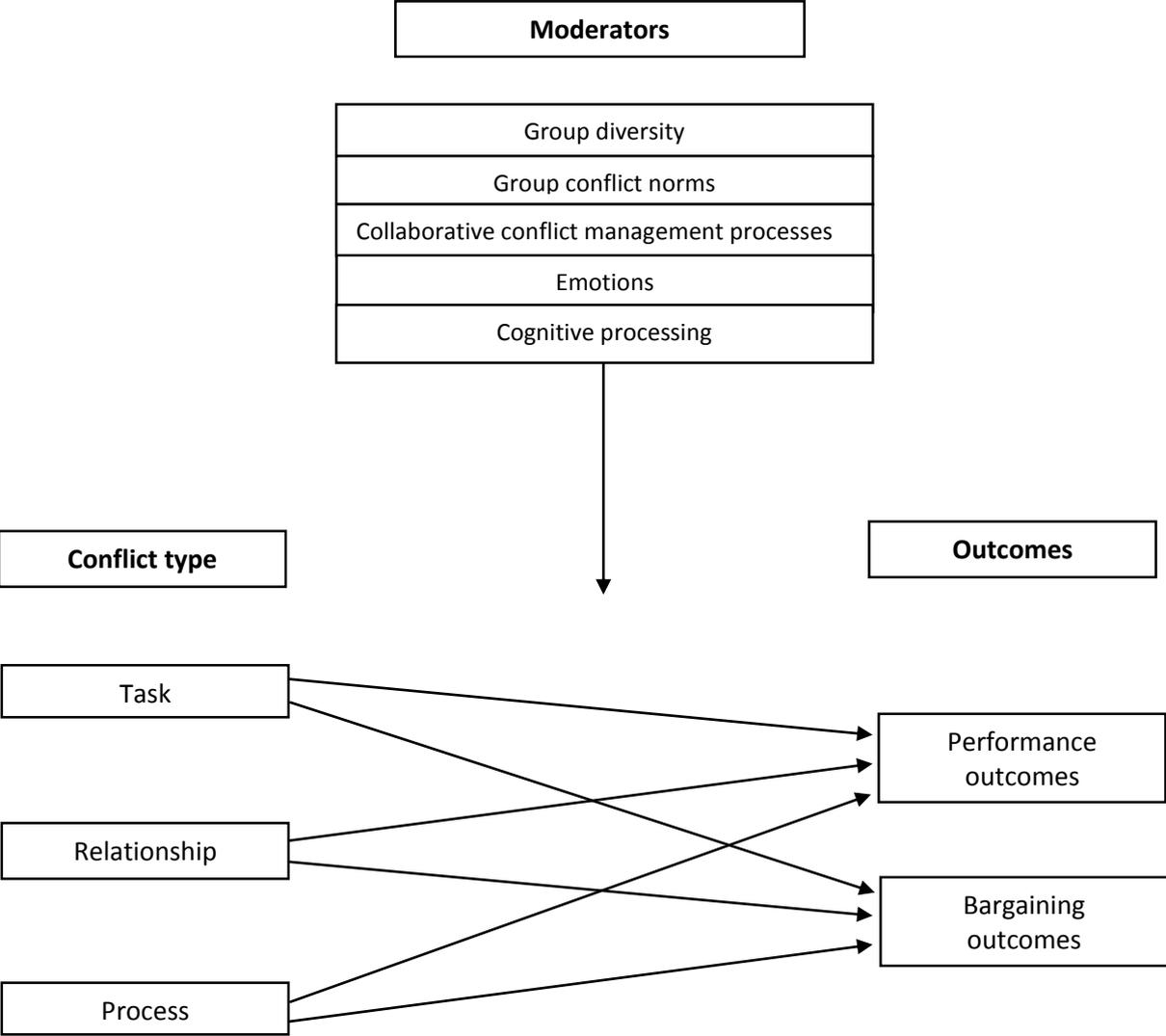
The fifth moderating factor is cognitive processing. This factor is an addition to the conflict-outcome moderated model and is expected to be of importance on the conflict-outcome relationship within the case of inter-organizational decision making processes. The concept of cognitive processing shows that *“the amount of processing that is needed by a person to deal with conflict distracts from the cognitive capacity available for other aspects, such as performing a task and solving problems”* (Barling & Cooper, 2008). Conversely, this could mean that other tasks (for example higher priority tasks, elections or core business) distracts decision makers from the decision making process that they are involved in.

## 2.6 Conceptual model

The conceptual model (see figure 9) is a visual representation of the concepts that are measured within this research. This research focuses on the relationship between conflicts within inter-organizational decision making teams (independent variable) and performance- and bargaining outcomes (dependent variable), and aims to identify factors that influence this relationship by using five sensitizing concepts in analyzing the interview data (group diversity, group conflict norms, collaborative conflict management processes, emotions and cognitive processing). It is expected, based on the model of Jehn & Bendersky (2003), that certain task conflicts are positive for the performance outcomes and that relationship conflicts are always negative for the performance

outcomes and bargaining outcomes. Process conflicts are negative for the outcomes, but could also have a positive effect on the performance outcomes depending on the time that the conflict occurs.

Figure 9 – Conceptual model



Source: Jehn & Bendersky (2003)

## Chapter 3: Research design

### 3.1 Methodology

The terms research strategy, research method and research techniques are often mixed up and confusing. These terms will be used within this research to distinguish specific activities set out by the researcher (Van Thiel, 2007, p. 66). The nature of this research is explorative/qualitative research, in which two cases are explored on the conflict-outcome relationship that occurred within the decision making processes. The research strategy is therefore a multiple case study. This strategy lies close to comparative case study: “*a set of multiple case studies of multiple research entities for the purpose of cross-unit comparison*” (Berg, 2009), but in this research, the main emphasis is not strictly on comparing, and rather on improving the ability to theorize about a broader context (most similar systems design). The cases are homogeneous and vary on the context (organizational environment and city), and on the dependent variable (different outcomes).

The main reason to use qualitative research to answer the central research question is that it concerns sensitive subject-matters, conflicts, which makes interviews a suitable method. Besides, the central research question is aimed at gaining knowledge about decision making, which is in this research seen as an ongoing process of social interactions, which fits qualitative research. The research method used to gather data about the two cases are in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews can be characterized as conversations based on an interview guide or topic list that covers several topics or formulated questions (Van Thiel, 2007, p. 107). The basic interview guide that was continuously adjusted to the interviewee is shown in appendix 4. Thus, the interview questions were not standardized, but it is assumed that the interviews in both cases proceeded practically the same in terms of duration (both eight and a half hour in total: see appendix 5 in academic version), personal connection and the order of the questions. Initially the word ‘discussion point’ was used instead of the word ‘conflict’. In the introduction of the interview, the interviewer regularly had to make assurances about the way in which the data would be used (confidential and for the analysis only). Overall, the interviewees were very open towards the interviewer. This research produces two documents: one for academic purposes only (which includes confidential data), and one public version, with the main reason to not disturb the currently ongoing processes.

Interviewees were selected on the basis of a representative selection of the decision makers that were involved in the decision making processes. Interviews were conducted with representatives of organizations that provided possible outcomes that could have led to accommodation in the industrial flagship buildings, next to initiators/pioneers, sponsors, housing corporations, urban planners, managers of the buildings, and municipal managers. Based on their (previous) position within organizations, these persons have extensive experience and knowledge about the current situation and the decision making processes. Interviewees were contacted by phone and email, either on recommendation of previous respondents, or on the basis of media coverage (and sometimes public internet sources) that described their role in the decision making process. The selection of interview respondents on the basis of their presence in the decision making process is a type of elite-interview. In conducting the interviews, a certain order to speak with representatives is determined partly on the availability of the representative and partly on the central/key role within the decision making process. According to Van Thiel (2007, p. 110), key figures can help the researcher to select suitable respondents, because they have a certain position in the decision making process, allowing them to know which respondents are suitable or available for participating the research. Due to the order of speaking with the representatives, a process was applied to check statements in the case of factual-differences and contradictions (*audi alteram partem*).

The research technique for data analysis is the process of open coding and axial coding of the transcribed interviews by using the qualitative data analysis computer software NVivo 10 (see paragraph 3.4 – data analysis). The interviews were transcribed literally in order to capture emotions. All interviewees received their personal transcript by email and had the opportunity to react on the content or the confidentiality of the data. The five moderating factors that are explored in the open coding serve as sensitizing concepts. Sensitizing concepts, according to Boeije (2010, p. 23), start out with a broad and general description and as such they can function as the researcher's lens through which to view the field of research. These type of concepts give the researcher ideas of directions to pursue and sensitize the researcher to ask particular kinds of questions about the topic (Charmaz, 2006; Boeije, 2010, p. 109).

### 3.2 Case selection

Two cases are selected within the Dutch cities Enschede and Rotterdam, which currently have to deal with the problem of the regeneration of vacant industrial flagship buildings. A major challenge in finding suitable cases of vacant industrial flagship buildings is that they have to comply with the aspect of conflict within the decision making process (independent variable). Since the negotiations and discussions that have evolved within the decision making process are not always visible for outsiders, cases had to be identified on the basis of a prior media analysis. In Enschede the case of the Bale Factory was selected, because media publications show evidence for major conflicts among actors about failed attempts to reach solutions, hesitations, non-decision making, deep emotions, commitments and denial of these commitments, and contradictory visions (De Volkskrant, 2014; De Twentse Courant Tubantia, 2012-2014; AD/Algemeen Dagblad, 2013; De Gelderlander, 2012; Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau, 2012; NRC Handelsblad, 2012; De Telegraaf, 2013; Trouw, 2005). In Rotterdam the case of the Grain Silo was selected, because media publications show evidence for conflicts among actors, expressions of discontent, delay, lack of cooperation, negative emotions and critique, wrangling about the value and necessity of certain solutions, financial risks, uncertainties, proposals that meet resistance and claims related to unfair competition (AD/Rotterdams Dagblad, 2008; Metro NL, 2008-2009; NRC Handelsblad, 2008; De Volkskrant, 2009).

Thus, the cases of the Bale Factory in Enschede and the Grain Silo in Rotterdam represent cases in which indications of conflict within the decision making process were found within the media analysis. These decision making processes also concern decision making teams in an inter-organizational setting that decide about the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings, and therefore provide the circumstances that are suitable to inquire the central research question.

### 3.3 Data collection

In total 15 interviews were conducted with representatives of organizations (seven interviews in the Enschede case and eight interviews in the Rotterdam case), supplemented by one written response<sup>2</sup>. Most of these interviews lasted about one and a half hours. Due to sensitivity and confidentiality reasons, the interviews were conducted on the basis of complete anonymity. A single copy of the fully transcribed interview transcripts (17 hours, 177 pages, over 100.000 words: see appendix 5) was printed and will not be published. The same counts for the interview guides with formulated questions, which varies for each respondent due to their different perspectives on the decision making process (public administrators, housing corporations, urban planners, businesses, social- and creative entrepreneurs, project managers, managers of cultural organizations, and architects). The basic interview guide is shown in appendix 4. Appendix 5 (only a part of in the academic version) shows an

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<sup>2</sup> The written response came from the Rotterdamse Raad voor Kunst & Cultuur. 14 interviews have been coded intensively, seven from each case, in order to compare the total number of coding references made in the coding of the two cases.

oversight of the data and interviewees. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with actors involved on the municipal level. The purpose of these interviews is to get insights in the actor behavior, to answer the sub questions, and to get insights in the conflict-outcome relationship and moderating factors. Policy documents and media publications fill in the gaps of the unanswered parts of the sub questions and serve as a data triangulation to look at the decision making processes. Most written documents are easily accessible and commonly available on local government websites. The previously mentioned arguments related to the media publications are the result of a media analysis on the basis of the online databank for media coverage: LexisNexis.

### 3.4 Data analysis

In order to analyze the data, the interviews were recorded and literally transcribed, so that the emotions of the respondents were still explicit. During the interviews, written memos were made to follow the pattern of the interview, which were also useful during the analysis.

The first step in the data analysis process consists of open coding of the interview transcript, which refers to *“the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data. This means that all data that have been collected up to that point (in this research the first ten interviews) are read very carefully and divided into fragments. The fragments are compared among each other, grouped into categories dealing with the same subject, and labelled with a code”* (Boeije, 2010, p. 96; Strauss & Corbin, 2007, p. 61). According to Boeije (2010, p. 96) *“a code is a summarizing phrase for a piece of text which expresses the meaning of the fragment. (...) Codes provide an analytic handle on the data. Open coding encourages a thematic approach since it forces the analyst to break up the text into pieces, to compare them and assign them to groups that address the same theme.”* During the open coding process there was no selection of the relevance of the data. The interview transcripts were carefully read and coded by the following five categories of conflicts and outcomes: ‘task conflict’, ‘relationship conflict’, ‘process conflict’, ‘performance outcomes’, and ‘bargaining outcomes’. It was not always easy to distinguish between these conflict types. In that case the statements made by the interviewees were divided into smaller parts, which made more sense to categorize. Overall, this was an iterative process, moving back and forth between the data and the operationalization of these central concepts. In the distinction between the conflict types the operationalization had the utmost important role, because this distinction is likely to have minor differences which are not always explicit; for example when a person is angry at another person this refers to relationship conflict or when a person is angry at the project itself this refers to task conflict.

For the results of this first step of analysis, one could use the metaphor of a ‘puzzle’. Regarding the three types of conflict, this step gave an overview of all the pieces of evidence in NVivo that relate to the different conflict types. These pieces of evidence gave an indication of how much the interviewees spoke in terms of these conflict types, and potentially also gave an indication of the amount of conflict that is related to the specific conflict types in the cases. Therefore, the number of codes in the NVivo data analysis refer to the number of pieces of evidence. These pieces do not yet form a bigger puzzle, so for finding fully developed conflicts, these pieces had to be put together and compared among the interviewees within the same case (see the third step). The NVivo computer software groups these pieces of evidence on the case, the interviewee, and the conflict type. It also allows the researcher to retrieve e.g., the number of references to a specific conflict type, percentages of coverage, and a variety of visual and graphical tools that show possible connections within the data. However, it is the researcher who has to know what it is the computer needs to do (Boeije, 2010, p. 142): *“software for qualitative data analysis gives you appropriate responses when you search for words, codes and frequencies and willingly shows portraits, matrices, tables and colorful charts. But software cannot help you judge the worth of a document, it does not break up the text into meaningful fragments, it does not decide what codes to assign, it cannot interpret any relationships between categories. (...) The*

*artificial intelligence part is still not that well developed.*” It is important to keep in mind that the number of coding references can be misleading and the researcher always has to make sense of the data.

The second step in the process of data analysis also regards the open coding. Besides the previous categories, the following categories (moderating factors) were also added during the process of open coding: ‘group diversity’, ‘group conflict norms’, ‘collaborative conflict management processes’, ‘positive emotions’, ‘negative emotions’, and ‘cognitive processing’. These categories were more open to interpretation of the researcher, because of their function as sensitizing concepts and due to the translation of the intra-organizational conflict-outcome moderated model into an inter-organizational model. Jehn & Bendersky (2003) have not stated clearly, in their original model, how to measure the strength of the moderating factors, which makes the interpretations of the interviewees and the researcher the most important tool to judge the importance of the moderating factors. Therefore, the judgment of the strength of the moderating factors in this research can be seen as the first exploration that aims to determine this strength. This research is not quantitative and can therefore not conclude about statistical relationships between the central concepts.

The third step in the process of data analysis is axial coding, in which categories are related to subcategories and more focus is put on the properties and dimensions of a category (Boeije, 2010, p. 108). *“The primary purpose of axial coding is to determine which elements in the research are the dominant ones and which are the less prominent ones. As insights into field increase and ideas about the observed social phenomena develop, confidence grows in making choices among the codes and the connection between them”* (Ibid, 2010, p. 109). This is the process in which the minor discussions were separated from the fully developed conflicts in the decision making process on the basis of (1) the number of actors that are involved in the conflict, (2) the emotional intensity-state of the conflict, varying from a low intensity to a high intensity, and (3) the direct answer of the interviewees to the question whether (and how) the conflicts within the decision making process influences the outcomes.

The result of these three steps is an overview of the different types of conflicts, outcomes and other themes that were important in the interviews. As mentioned before, the total number of references to a certain theme/code does not give an indication of the strength of a certain relationship, but it does give valuable indications about the importance of certain themes and conflicts. In this way the total number of coding references provides a tool to compare both cases on the occurrence and importance of specific themes and conflicts. For the entire code tree that was used for the coding, see appendix 3. This appendix also includes two code maps, which both give a visual summary of the coding references made in the cases. For researchers that are familiar with Nvivo software, this provides an overview of the most important themes in the data.

### 3.5 Operationalization

The operationalization in this research symbolizes the transition between the literature and empirical research. Tables 2 and 3 give an overview of the concept definitions, variables and the values of these variables (or measurements) of conflicts and outcomes. Table 4, regarding the moderating factors, are less clearly defined with ‘indications’ instead of ‘values’ because of their open character. The literature about the moderating factors (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003) only gives a description of the factors and does not give clear measurements.

Table 2 – Conflicts\*

Concept	Variable	Value
Conflicts: disagreements among individuals or parties that are involved in the decision making process, that lead to conflict potential situations.	Task conflict: disagreements among decision makers about the task being performed.	The intensity-state (low-medium-high) of primary emotions in task conflicts, for example on: (1) Physical aspects: the decision making team disagrees about practical requirements for the renovation. (2) Functional aspects: the decision making team disagrees about the new desired function, for daily use inside the flagship building. (3) Successful regeneration: whether or not the new function reaches a certain development within five years from its start.
	Relationship conflict: disagreements among decision makers about non-task issues (not only personal conflict).	The intensity-state (low-medium-high) of primary emotions in relationship conflict, for example: (1) Caused by personal differences (e.g., sectorial or social engagement). (2) Caused by different types of interest: personal, organizational, business.
	Process conflict: disagreements about the means to accomplish a specific task, not about the content or substance of the task itself, but about strategies for approaching the task.	The intensity-state (low-medium-high) of primary emotions in process conflict, for example: (1) Caused by strategic behavior. (2) Caused by inclusion/exclusion of actors.

Table 3 – Outcomes\*

Concept	Variable	Value
Performance outcomes: the practical solutions that are found by decision makers for the physical and functional regeneration of industrial flagship buildings.	Physical regeneration outcomes: the solutions that are found by decision makers to transform or renovate the industrial flagship buildings.	Physical aspects, both outside and inside the buildings, to make the building safe and available for daily use. (1) Non-decision. (2) Temporary decision, no long term vision. (3) Temporary decision, with a vision for the next ten years. (4) Definite decision to transform or renovate.
	Functional regeneration outcomes: the solutions that are found by decision makers to accommodate new organizational functions in the industrial flagship buildings.	Type of organization: (clusters of) organizations, business incubators, artistic workplaces, museums, and housing (for example apartments). (1) Non-decision. (2) Temporary decision, no long term vision. (3) Temporary decision, with a vision for the next 10 years. (4) Definite decision for a new function.
Bargaining outcomes: the procedural output of the decision making teams in terms of breakthroughs and deadlocks.	Commitment to the original idea: decision makers that commit to the first solution that was suggested to solve the problem of the regeneration.	Statements that indicate the commitment to the original accommodation idea, such as 'we were fully committed/we kept trying to accommodate'.
	Perception of success: whether decision makers perceive the physical and/or functional regeneration as a successful outcome, as a valuable exploitation and as a contribution to the surrounding of the building.	Statements that indicate that decision makers perceive the chosen physical and/or functional regeneration as a successful outcome. (1) Valuable exploitation (financial) (2) Contribution to the surrounding of the building (social).
	Consensus: when members of a decision making team have a thorough knowledge of and are committed to a particular decision.	Statements that indicate that decision makers have found an agreement. This includes tangible bargaining outcomes: collaboration contract, sales contract, rental contract, realization contract, sponsor contract.
	Concessions: steps taken by actors, moving away from their original desired solution, which may be to avoid conflict.	Statements that indicate steps taken by actors, moving away from their original desired solution to avoid conflict.

Table 4 – Moderating factors\*

Concept	Definition	Indications
Group diversity	Group diversity in an organizational setting relates to employees with diverse national, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and experiential backgrounds.	The way in which interviewees described the differences between people in an organization, or differences between organizations. The main indications in the interviews where differences in sectorial background and regional background.
Group conflict norms	Standards that regulate behavior among group members that are often developed by the members and the leadership of the group. The norms of the group control how group members perceive conflict and can affect the degree to which conflict influences performance and members' attitudes.	The way in which the interviewees speak about the conflicts and the way in which them express to feel about the conflicts. This could be to relativize the conflict, that it was 'just a decision based on business or common understanding in the decision making group'. In that case the interviewee shows high acceptability norms.
Collaborative conflict management processes	Collaborative conflict management processes are processes and efforts that are made to maximize the interest of both parties.	Concrete actions undertaken by all the actors in de decision making team to manage conflicts or discussions.
Emotions	A complex chain of loosely connected events, beginning with a stimulus and including feelings, psychological changes, impulses to action, and specific goal-directed behavior.	Emotions are broadly interpreted by the researcher in the coding of the interview reports, and categorized in positive and negative emotions. The level of conflict can vary on the intensity-state (low-medium-high) of primary emotions, which are conceptualized as four clusters of emotions: satisfaction-happiness, aversion-fear, assertion-anger, and disappointment-sadness.
Cognitive processing	The amount of processing that is needed by a person to deal with conflict distracts from the cognitive capacity available for other aspects, such as performing a task and solving problems.	All possible distractions that decision makers had, that could have an influence on the conflict-outcome relationship.

\* The entire code map is shown in appendix 3.

### 3.6 Validity

There are three types of validity. First, construct validity relates to the process of defining specific concepts (and relating them to the original objectives of the study), and to the process of identifying operational measures that match the concepts, preferably citing published studies that make the same matches (Yin, 2014, p. 46). In this research, theoretical definitions from the conflict-outcome moderated model were translated in empirical variables that occur in the cases of decision making processes about the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings. Task conflict, relationship conflict, and process conflicts were previously conceptualized and operationalized by Jehn & Bendersky (2003). The same applies to the sensitizing concepts that are used in the conceptual model. Performance outcomes and bargaining outcomes, nevertheless, were concepts that have been translated from the intra-organizational perspective into the inter-organizational perspective. Thus, these definitions cannot be matched to previously published articles. Efforts to reinforce the construct validity relate to the entire process in which the performance outcomes and bargaining outcomes were coded in the transcribed data. In the process of open coding, both concepts were kept as close as possible to the original conflict-outcome moderated model, while at the same time the concepts were interpreted very broadly within their framework, so that possible important nuances to the concepts could be observed. Later, axial coding downsizes this broadening.

Second, the internal validity relates to the relationships that are measured between the theoretical concepts. In-depth semi-structured interviews have been conducted in which the questions were

formulated as one-sided as possible, relating to the direct relationship between two concepts. When interviewees did not refer to the relationship between disagreements or conflicts and outcomes of the decision making process, the logical follow up question ‘how did this influence the outcomes’ was often used. In formulating the research questions it was highly important that the questions connected to the world of the interviewee. Therefore, the basic interview guide was continuously adjusted to the position and organization of the interviewee. Yet the same structure was used in each interview, in which the interviewer first had to gauge the feelings about whether the interviewee experienced any different points of view and later disagreement and conflict. During the interview the interviewer paid important attention to alternative explanations for the performance- and bargaining outcomes.

The external validity of this research is limited. External validity relates to “*whether a study’s findings are generalizable beyond the immediate study*” (Yin, 2014, p. 48). The field to which the findings of this research may be generalized is cases of regenerated and vacant (industrial) flagship buildings and other complexes in which the decision making process proceeded with different types of conflicts. Future research should determine whether the conflict-outcome moderated model is also applicable to other types of decision making processes regarding urban (re)development issues. A major effort to reinforce the transparency of this research is a strict distinction between the processes of open and axial coding. The interview guides and transcripts are only available upon request at the author of this document and can be consulted during and after the thesis defense.

### 3.7 Reliability

According to Yin (2014, p. 49), “*if a later researcher follows the same procedures as described by an earlier researcher and conducts the same case study over again, the later investigator should arrive at the same findings and conclusions*”, with the emphasis on the same cases, not on ‘replicating’ the results of one case by doing another case study. The chosen research strategy is not an experiment that is highly replicable when external factors are purposely excluded. On the contrary, in the cases of decision making processes regarding industrial flagship buildings local circumstances are highly important and should be a major point of attention for future researchers. One of the efforts that is made to reinforce the reliability is the documentation of the procedures and steps within the open and axial coding. The code map expanded from the three conflict variables, two outcome variables and five moderating factors into a more extensive code map including the local context and other important dilemma’s besides the task-, relationship-, and process conflict.

### 3.8 Limitations

In this research, statements from interviewees are based on sentiments and opinions, which are by definition subjective. It is the task of the researcher to – as objectively as possible – interpret and balance these statements. Related to case study research, “*the researcher is able to capture various nuances, patterns, and more latent elements that other research approaches might overlook*” (Berg, 2009, p. 318). A general challenge within this research was that information about conflicts in the decision making processes involve highly sensitive, personal, and political information. Some interviewees expressed that they would like to have complete anonymity in the publication. Other interviewees also indicated that they do not want to be cited, or that some parts of the interview were (highly) confidential. This means that some conflict situations could only be published in the academic version. The most important reason that some (personal) conflict situations are not published is practical. The decision making processes are ongoing and should not be disturbed by the researcher. One of the respondents said: “*I cannot emphasize enough that there have been great interests in the game. Treat all the information that you get with great care and discretion. The case has not yet been settled and should not be disturbed.*”

One of the limitations of this research lies in the fact that time plays an important role in decision making processes. According to Deutsch (1969), organizational conflict has a tendency to escalate and expand, often leaving the initial cause behind and forgotten. The exact moment of entering or stepping out of the process could influence the perceptions that actors have related to the conflicts, outcomes and the decision making process as a whole. These facts are not documented in the cases of Rotterdam and Enschede, the fact-analysis is an internal non-public document of the housing corporation. Jehn & Bendersky (2003) relate the factor time to the performance of the decision making group. Due to their rich data with a high variety of work groups, the researchers could determine whether these work groups are low, medium or high performance teams. This enabled the researchers to determine a pattern in their data, which could not be determined in the data of this research: *“A general temporal pattern of conflict in high performing groups emerged: low to moderate levels of process conflict in the early stages, moderately high levels of task conflict during the middle and latter stages, and consistently low levels of relationship conflict across all stages. Groups that experienced high task conflict from the beginning, or that started with high levels of task conflict but tapered off over the life of the project were less successful”* (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003, p. 212). Besides, not all interviewees were present from the beginning of the decision making process. This could influence the way in which these interviewees look at the disagreements and conflicts.

Another limitation of this research concerns the moderating factors. Due to the fact that these concepts were only identified and not intensively analyzed by Jehn & Bendersky (2003), there is no fully developed framework to determine the degree of their effect (except for using the terms amplifiers, suppressors, ameliorators and exacerbates). This study contributes meaningfully to the knowledge about the conflict-outcome relationship in inter-organizational network settings, while supplementary statistical research would assist in better insights because this could potentially say something about the strength of the relationships. For recommendations of further research, see paragraph 7.2 (reflection).

## Chapter 4: The Enschede case

From firework disaster to successful redevelopment comeback.



Figure 10 - Overhead view of the Roombeek district in Enschede (before and after firework disaster)

The city of Enschede (159.000 inhabitants) experienced a tremendous firework disaster on May 13<sup>th</sup>, 2000. Plans to redevelop the city center were just formulated when a firework factory exploded in the labor class area Roombeek. Twenty-three people were killed and thousands injured. 650 houses had to be demolished and 42 acres of land were destroyed. Major governance budgets were cleared to rebuild the area. A part of the municipal council resigned from their chair and leading external professionals and advisors were introduced to the area to play an important role as an independent actor within the reconstruction process (Boom & Mommaas, 2009). A high sense of urgency, financial opportunities and development coalitions led to a remarkably fast reconstruction of the affected area and served as a source of inspirations for the urban (re)development of the rest of the city, which accelerated as well. Factory buildings that remained standing were kept as a remembrance to the prior city character and have been regenerated into new purposes. The major debate in Enschede concerned the lack of decision making (non-decision) about the organizations that were meant to be accommodated in the former Bale Factory (Trouw, 2005).

### 4.1 Actor description

#### The municipality of Enschede

In total, the interviewees made 91 references to actors. This number is a lot lower compared to the Rotterdam case (278), which implies that fewer actors were involved and that interviewees mentioned less contact between actors within the interviews. The actors that had the most important roles within the decision making processes will be discussed here. The municipality of Enschede is considered to be a very important actor within the decision making process by several interviewees. The residents of Enschede considered the municipality as the actor that had the final responsibility for the safety of the firework factories in the Roombeek area. One of the interviewees spoke of distrust from the residents towards the municipality after the firework disaster. Therefore, in the first few years of the reconstruction process, the municipality did not take a leading role due to this sensitivity amongst residents. External professionals and advisors were introduced to the area, who took the lead in the reconstruction. This group was commissioned by the College (College van Burgemeester en Wethouders/Mayor and Executive Board). One of the ideas from the supervisor of the reconstruction was that all the historical remaining parts should be preserved. This resulted in the processes of regenerating the industrial buildings that were still standing. The Bale Factory is the only industrial building in the area that does not accommodate any organization at this moment. One of the interviewees argues that the municipality is the most important actor in the decision making process: *“But at the end, the municipality of Enschede held the key to decide whether they really needed the*

*Stichting Cremer Museum* [one of the intended solutions] or whether they did not need them anymore.” The municipal council played an important role because they decided about the future of Concordia.

### Housing Corporation De Woonplaats

Housing Corporation De Woonplaats took the responsibility to invest in several buildings within the Roombeek area. Rozendaal 21 is an example of a successful regeneration into an industrial exhibition area. Prismare is an example of a successful cultural cluster managed by De Woonplaats. Prismare is a multifunctional building that accommodates several cultural and organizational purposes. One of the interviewees argues that *“De Woonplaats is actually the most crucial actor within your research, because they are the owner of the building and they have also been the investor that has been regenerating the building. So actually you have to speak with the manager of De Woonplaats. They are also the ones that stopped the conversations with Stichting Cremer Museum. They are – within the decision making related to what happened around that building – ‘in lead’.* In 2007 the Housing Corporation bought the Bale Factory from the municipality of Enschede, with the requirement to accommodate a cultural function within the new reconstructed building. A manager from De Woonplaats emphasizes that *“When we came into the picture, we [De Woonplaats] were purely a real estate developer and investor. We did not have the role to decide what the new function of the building would be.”*



Figure 11 - Renovation of the Bale Factory (left), A worker with woolen bales in the Bale Factory (middle), and a crater in the building after the firework disaster (right).

### Stichting Cremer Museum

Stichting Cremer Museum is a foundation that was formally established on October 23<sup>rd</sup> 2007. Long before this date, the municipality and Jan Cremer – a famous Dutch multidisciplinary artist – had been discussing the possibilities to develop a museum or atelier in the city of Enschede. One of the actors says: *“After 2000 the municipality spoke with Jan Cremer. We did not know about that. Then they said; is it an option to do this in the Bale Factory? Then they searched for an investor to join this idea.”* Several managers did not succeed to find suitable sponsors in order to realize the establishment. One of the administrators says: *“the question was of course whether we could realize the Cremer Museum within the Bale Factory. That was of course – we knew that from the start; that the entire building would not be available to us, because we did not have the resources and we had to share the building with other purposes that had to be realized within that building.”* This quote is representative for the recognition of the actors that several organizations had to find consensus to solve the vacancy problem.

### Concordia, Film Theater Expositie

Concordia is a center for art, film, theater and exposition in Enschede. One of the buildings from the organization in Enschede is at the center of the city at the Oude Markt. This is a 100 year-old monumental building that is promoted as the most beautiful small theater in The Netherlands (Concordia, 2014). This organization was the first option that was explored to serve as a collaboration to exploit the Bale Factory together with the Stichting Cremer Museum. A manager of Concordia argues that *“we did look for opportunities whether we could do things together, but the ambitions of the Stichting Cremer Museum and the ambitions of Concordia did not match on that point.”* After this exploration did not succeed, De Woonplaats and Concordia discussed the possibility to accommodate Concordia as a single party in the Bale Factory. Concordia’s manager says: *“First we had enough financial resources to move towards the Bale Factory. Along the way we were given cutbacks. And on the other side the question raised whether that was the right place for us or should we focus more on the center of the city. So ultimately, considering all these elements together, we decided to focus on the city center, from ourselves. So we did let go of the building.”* Concordia is now situated on two locations in the center of the city.

### ArtEZ, Hogeschool voor de kunsten

ArtEZ is one of the major academies in The Netherlands for art and design. The academy has locations in Arnhem, Enschede and Zwolle. Recently, the location in Enschede moved from the university campus to the Roombeek area. ArtEZ was first located at the campus of the Technical University Twente in the former building of the polytechnic institute. When the University Twente wanted to use the building again and the rental period expired, ArtEZ searched for an alternative. The municipality of Enschede, and the province Overijssel, have contributed financially in acquiring a building in the Roombeek area: a former blanket factory called Tetem. That former blanket factory from the ‘Twentse Textiel Maatschappij’ has been regenerated into the art academy. This regeneration proceeded without influential conflicts. *“The municipality and the province have cheered for the regeneration of the entire Roombeek area and that the art academy would go there, because one saw this development as an upgrading and a contribution to the reconstruction of the Roombeek area and because they wanted to see Roombeek as the cultural heart of Enschede. Museum Twentse Welle, Rijksmuseum Twente, Kunstruimte Tetem and Rozendaal 21 were already located there, which made ArtEZ fit very well in the area, because it strengthened the art cluster.”* These parties were also called Roombeek Cultuurpark and Roombeek Partners. The connection between ArtEZ and the Bale Factory can be found in the fact that ArtEZ participated in negotiations to realize the exploitation of a restaurant for students and employees within the Bale Factory.

## 4.2 The decision making process

This paragraph describes the decision making process in five rounds. It is not a specific goal to describe exactly what happened in the decision making process in order to create a perfect time line, but rather to create an overview of the most important events so that the decision making process can be divided into different policy rounds. According to March & Olsen (1976) *“a round opens with an initiative or policy intention of one of the parties that serves as ‘trigger’ to the others. What follows is that in an initially unclear or conflictual situation, parties discuss with each other and negotiate about what is to be done. (...) Each round ends with a crucial decision, a decision that offers a solution for the question that is central in the particular policy round”* (as cited in Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004, p. 60). This description includes several conflict potential situations, which will be elaborated on in chapter 6 (empirical analysis). The quotes that are used in this paragraph do not serve to describe the conflicts, but solely to describe the process.

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<sup>3</sup> One of the interviewees mentions the purchase as a symbolic amount of one euro.

## Round 1: Concept development

The decision making process regarding the regeneration of the Bale Factory in Enschede started with a certain sense of urgency to do something with the building after the firework disaster. This development went hand in hand with the thought to give the artist Jan Cremer a place for an atelier in his birth city. Few years later an investor was found: housing corporation De Woonplaats. In 2007, De Woonplaats bought the Bale Factory from the municipality of Enschede<sup>3</sup>. On October 23<sup>rd</sup> 2007, the Stichting Cremer Museum was established. In the sales agreement<sup>4</sup> between the municipality and De Woonplaats, terms and conditions were defined. A manager from De Woonplaats says: *“in the terms and conditions of the sales agreement of the building it was stated that we had to give Cremer a place between 800 and 1.000 square meter gross floor area, with a rent free period of 15 years, on the basis of that amount of square meters.”* Then the Stichting Cremer Museum received 50.000 euros to start up their concept. In 2008, a second amount of 450.000 euros was provided by the municipality. A large part of this amount was spent on personnel, communication and marketing. An overarching goal of the Stichting Cremer Museum, its board of recommendation and general board was to find sponsors to realize their concept. In August 2009, De Woonplaats expressed their concerns related to the financial foundation of the Stichting for the second time. Only a few weeks later, De Woonplaats formally cancelled their collaboration agreement with the Stichting Cremer Museum. How this actually occurred is a source of uncertainty and conflict (see box 1), because there is no shared understanding between the actors about the cancellation of one particular contract.

Box 1



## Round 2: Second attempt to accommodate the Stichting Cremer Museum

In January 2010, De Woonplaats gave Stichting Cremer Museum a new opportunity to come up with a (financial) plan for the accommodation of the new function. According to De Woonplaats this period was extended twice. In May 2010, this period delivered a successful outcome, namely a new rental agreement between De Woonplaats and Stichting Cremer Museum, with the contingent conditions that the Stichting Cremer Museum had to show a financially balanced operation of the building at the end of 2010. In December 2010, the rental agreement was cancelled by De Woonplaats due to a lack of improvement in the financial situation of the Stichting Cremer Museum. A remarkable fact is that the board of the Stichting Cremer Museum agreed upon a new direction in which De Woonplaats developed a new cultural concept for the Bale Factory in which the exploitation was simplified to a network organization, even though this concept moved far away from the original idea. In the meanwhile several managers and chairmen had been in the lead. The interviewees indicated that this led to struggles in the process, due to the changing management approaches.

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<sup>4</sup> A sales agreement is a document that establishes an agreement between a seller and a purchaser for the sale of assets, which specifies purchase price, warranties, default, and terms and conditions of the agreement (Entrepreneur, 2014).

### Round 3: Combination of Concordia and the Stichting Cremer Museum

In January 2011, conversations start between Concordia and De Woonplaats. Soon a successful outcome is reached in the shape of an agreement between Concordia and De Woonplaats upon the content of a rental contract and on a contract which captures the compensations that should be made by Concordia. However, even though these contracts arranged the collaboration between Concordia and the Stichting Cremer Museum in the Bale Factory, the Stichting Cremer Museum still had to sign this rental contract. De Woonplaats says *“the board of the Stichting Cremer Museum did not want to sign both contracts. The reason to not sign the contracts is that Jan Cremer first wanted more clarity on the content of the collaboration with Concordia.”* On April 6<sup>th</sup> 2011, the first conversation between Concordia and the Stichting Cremer Museum takes place. At the end of April, De Woonplaats sets a final deadline to sign both contracts: May 13<sup>th</sup> 2011, with the ultimatum that De Woonplaats would fully stop the negotiations with the Stichting Cremer Museum. The board of the Stichting Cremer Museum still does not sign the contracts and the collaboration with Concordia ends in June 2011.

### Round 4:

#### New attempts to accommodate the Stichting Cremer Museum – versus Concordia standalone

At the end of 2011 and the start of 2012, two movements take place more or less simultaneously. From the side of De Woonplaats conversations with Concordia continue. De Woonplaats says: *“Cremer fit the building to our opinion, but Concordia also fit in the building and – with the reduction of the role of housing corporations due to new rules – maybe even better.”* De Woonplaats saw Concordia as a financially stable partner that could easily be accommodated in the Bale Factory. On October 29<sup>th</sup> 2012, the municipal council decided about a Culture Plan, which was determined at the end of 2011. This includes an amendment to let Concordia stay at their current accommodation (in the city center). This implicates the decision that Concordia may not be accommodated in the Bale Factory (Roombeek area). From the other side, the municipality started new attempts to accommodate the Stichting Cremer Museum in the Bale Factory in August 2011. In December 2011, the municipality attempted to start a new collaboration between Concordia and the Stichting Cremer Museum, which did not succeed. In February 2012, Cremer and the municipality discussed the sale of a part of the art collection of Jan Cremer. This attempt had no successful outcome as well.

### Round 5: The Cliffhanger

The decision making process regarding the regeneration of the Bale Factory ends with a cliffhanger. De Woonplaats as owner of the building has been negotiating with two external parties of which the names may not be disclosed due to the fact that the negotiation process still runs.

## Chapter 5: The Rotterdam case

From number one world port to outflow of the city-harbor area.



Figure 12 – Overhead view of the city-harbor area in Rotterdam (left), and a view from the Grain Silo towards the skyline.

The city of Rotterdam (610.000 inhabitants) used to have the biggest harbor in the world from 1962 until 2004, but has lost this position to Shanghai and Singapore. In the 1980's, with the construction of the Europoort and the Maasvlakte, newly constructed areas opened for harbor- and industrial means. Therefore, substantial spaces in the center of the city became available for different purposes. Recently, in 2008, the construction the Second Maasvlakte started (new land on water). Since 2013, which is considered to be the final year of the first stage, the possibility arose for companies to establish their factories in the first available terrains of the new land. Most abandoned factories and flagship buildings in the city-harbor area (that followed from this movement to the new land) were regenerated for cultural purposes and housing accommodations. Rotterdam – amongst Boston, Baltimore, Bilbao and Glasgow – belongs to world leading examples of cities that have deployed culture and leisure time to strengthen their social-cultural bases in an early stage of the redevelopment. These cities have carried out spatial developments and successfully renewed their urban economy. Nevertheless, the development of new land puts the regeneration of former industrial buildings back on the top of the development agenda (Boom & Mommaas, 2009). From 2013 to 2030 new land will gradually be available for companies to depart to newly constructed areas outside the city of Rotterdam and other flagship buildings will be left behind in the center of the city. The city-harbor area now has to be redeveloped. This is a challenging task, because of high vacancy rates (1.600 acres: Stadshavens Rotterdam, 2008), which – according to several interviewees – has been the quest for the city administration for years now.

### 5.1 Actor description

#### The Municipality of Rotterdam

The municipality of Rotterdam is the official owner of the Grain Silo. Several departments of the municipality have been involved in the decision making process. The semi-municipality Charlois had the authority when it comes to providing building permits, but also when it comes to a deviation of the original zoning plan. Other departments are the Economic department and the Real Estate Department that were recently combined in the City Development Department. Tenants of the Grain Silo pay rent to the Real Estate Department that exploits the building and makes sure that the building is safe (including) maintenance. The Economic department covers the operational deficit and handles the subsidy procedure. The Real Estate Department hired VasteState Vastgoedmanagement, a real-estate management consulting firm, to manage the daily practices in the Creative Factory. The last municipal department involved in this case is the Rotterdam Council for Art and Culture (Rotterdamse Raad voor Kunst en Cultuur). The role of the Council was to be a discussion partner in the conversations about the requirements for the Urban Culture Podium and to advise the College on this matter. The

Youth Department within the Rotterdam Council for Art and Culture advised about the Urban Culture Podium, the programming and the needs of the young urban public in Rotterdam.

### Urban Culture Podium, De Nieuwe Oogst

The Urban Culture Podium has a relatively short role in the story of the regenerated Grain Silo. De Nieuwe Oogst, which is the name of the Urban Culture Podium, has only been open for programming for a few months. Yet, the process related to the Urban Culture Podium caused commotion and sometimes even division in the field of urban culture. The matter also relates to the European Youth Year in 2009 which involved a lot of subsidies. An administrator of the Council for Art and Culture says: *“The involvement of a lot of money always gives a reason for discussion in this city, in this case certainly because it concerned plans for one specific target group. Therefore there was criticism from the corner of ‘con-colleagues’, the other pop podiums.”* Overall, the regeneration of the building has a much longer history with other events and the establishment of the Creative Factory.

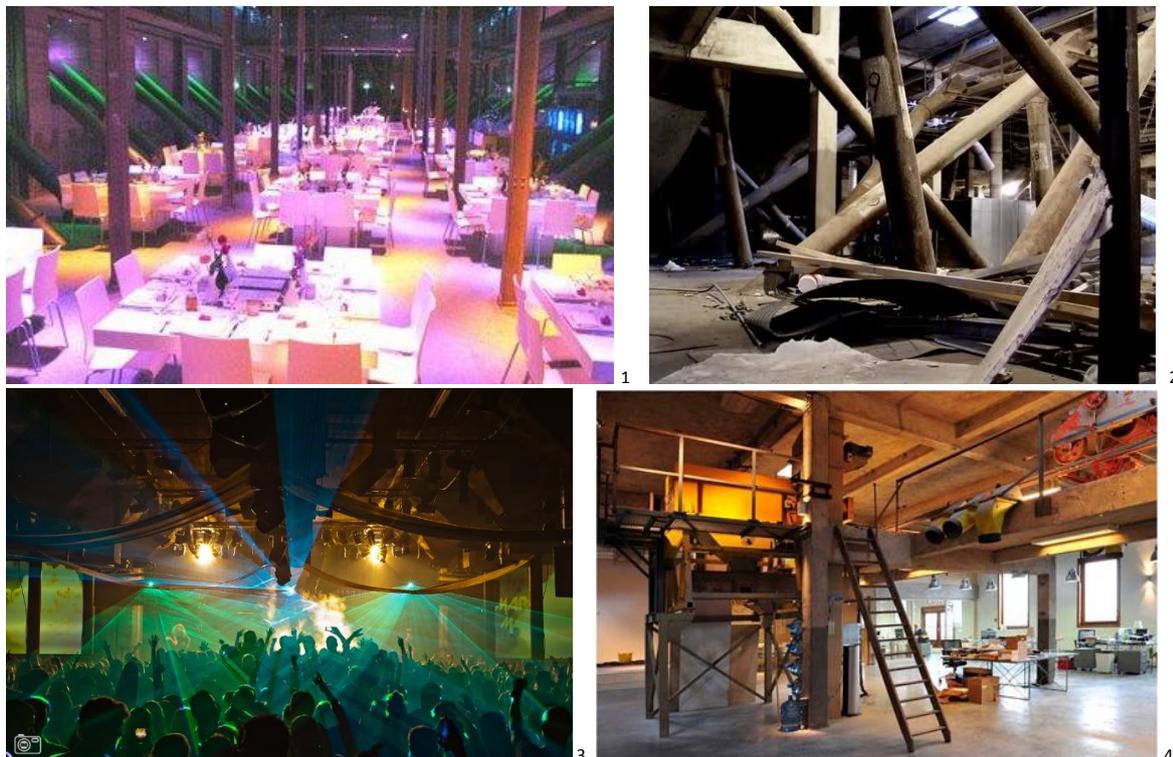


Figure 13 – The regenerated Factory 010 (1), unusable area (2), the regenerated Maassilo (3), and the regenerated Creative Factory (4).

### Creative Factory, The Inspiring Community

In 2003, the College presented the program ‘Kanszones’ that was aimed at solving problems that occurred in areas that needed extra attention for development (Kanszones, 2010). The municipality had a budget of 24 million euros to make targeted real estate investments. According to one of the initiators *“this was an important window through which the development succeeded. The municipality invested 5.5 million euros, we worked with the Economic department, made a business case which was checked with Deloitte. They were enthusiastic too, and then the board of the Economic department made the final decision.”* After some *“bureaucratic delay”* and a renovation that took two years, the Creative Factory opened its doors on May 15th 2008, and now accommodates 64 creative businesses.

## Maassilo Evenementenlocatie & Factory 010

From May 2004, up to this moment (July 2014), two music clubs are accommodated in the former Grain Silo, Maassilo in the basement and Factory 010 on the tenth floor. The management behind these clubs organizes club nights and other commercial events. From May 2004 until December 2006, the dance club Now&Wow were also accommodated in the Maassilo. In order to make the building ready for its new use, tremendous cleaning and demolition work was executed with the thought to preserve as much as possible from the historical characteristics to keep the industrial look. Nevertheless, some of the bearing pillars had to be demolished with the use of dynamite.

## Partners and sponsors of the Creative Factory

The final important actors in the decision making process of the regeneration of the Grain Silo are sponsors that support the Creative Factory. From the opening in 2008, several organizations have been connected to the Creative Factory as sponsors: Pact op Zuid (now Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid), Hogeschool Rotterdam, Rabobank, Vestia, KPMG, ARA, Albeda, HOPE Erasmus Universiteit, MVGM, Popvox, Online Department (previously Aikon), and the Rotterdam Philharmonisch Orkest. Four of these partners also made a financial contribution of 25.000 euros per year: Rabobank, Pact op Zuid, Vestia and Hogeschool Rotterdam (Nijkamp, 2012). Recently all these sponsors dropped out, partly due to the new structure of ownership and management, and partly due to economic reasons and lack of development of the Creative Factory. A Rabobank manager says: *“I agree very much with the decision to quit with the sponsorship of the Creative Factory and that was also my advice. We just had to focus on other business (...) but also, we still do outstanding business with the Creative Factory which I see as business as usual, with or without a sponsor contract. (...) We can continue the collaboration underground.* Other partners delivered non-financial services such as expertise, interns, a broad network, and (financial) advice towards the entrepreneurs.

## 5.2 The decision making process

This paragraph describes the decision making process in four rounds. This description includes several conflict potential situations, on which will be elaborated in chapter 6 (empirical analysis). The quotes that are used in this paragraph do not serve to describe the conflicts, but solely to describe the process.

### Round 1: The regeneration

In 1906 the Rotterdam Graansilo Maatschappij got permission from the municipality to start the construction of a new grain silo. Over the years this silo expanded a few times and kept its original use until July 2003. After almost 90 years in its original use, the Grain Silo was purchased by OBR (Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam), which later became a part of the City Development Department (Stadsontwikkeling). The municipality of Rotterdam purchased the building due to its strategic location as the center between the recently developed Kop van Zuid and the Hart van Zuid area which will be developed in the coming years. Demolition appeared to be too expensive (estimated costs of 12 million euros), so the municipality decided to regenerate the area. Very soon partners were found to collaborate in the regeneration. Directly in July 2003 the first tenant received the key to the complex to start the reconstruction. The sub-municipality Charlois had to change the zoning plan from a factory complex towards a temporary commercial destination/nightlife venue in order to facilitate new uses of the Grain Silo. Despite some struggles with local residents, this process went relatively smoothly. The regeneration round of the Grain Silo is characterized by the emotion of pride for creating an impressive result on a difficult location. One of the sponsors that was involved from the start says: *“I felt happy. It was a victory that we could do this. It was cool. So the process – of which I think went very smooth as well – gave some sense of joy. How awesome that we could do this and that we could actually set up and furnish this place.”* Nevertheless, the aspect of temporality in the zoning plan turned out to be a point of discussion later in the decision making process.

## Round 2: The establishment of the Creative Factory

In 2003 the Creative Factory opened its doors with the boost of the Kansenzones project. The Creative Factory aims at housing creative businesses to create a so called 'Inspiring Community' and to contribute to the development of the surrounding area. There are different opinions on whether the Creative Factory actually succeeded in creating an inspiring community. One of the entrepreneurs says: *"they do strive towards this goal. In the past they more called out this phrase rather than this actually occurred. They did organize activities which made us come into contact with each other. But still that does not always work, because people stay behind their computer or go home early. However, recently there was a successful drink organized. So you do really notice that the efforts from the new landlord does work."* Another interviewee says: *"we started very opportunistic and we said we could do anything. I think no one actually experienced any conflict in the beginning, because we just said we were going to do it. Connecting with the surrounding area, we would do it. Gaining market share for Rabobank, we would do it. And we really achieved a lot, but when you get financial difficulties, these things are getting harder. At a certain moment it just became obvious: connection with the surrounding area was not achieved."* Some of these high expectations caused disappointment later on in the process. Other points of discussion concerned the type of ownership that changed from a private ownership back to municipal ownership.

## Round 3: Political discussion about the Urban Culture Podium

On October 13<sup>th</sup> 2010, the municipal council agreed upon the renovation of the Urban Culture Podium with the estimated costs of 2.4 million euros, with only one vote majority. On September 1<sup>st</sup> 2011, the Urban Culture Podium opened its doors under the new name 'De Nieuwe Oogst'. Only eight months later, in April 2012, the Rotterdam Council for Art and Culture gave the destructive advice to stop the subsidy process due to debts and a disappointing number of visitors. Within a year after the opening, on July 18<sup>th</sup> 2012, De Nieuwe Oogst shut down (RTV Rijnmond, 2012). The Urban Culture Podium had been a major source of discussion within the municipal council and it caused commotion and division within the urban scene. One interviewee calls the project a *"stillborn child"* and another interviewee mentions that the project management made *"mistake after mistake after mistake."*

## Round 4: The cliffhanger

At mid-2012, a discussion took place that may be seen as a minor decision making process within the larger decision making process. Once the municipality got back the ownership of the Creative Factory (it was first a BV/private business), the municipality had to deal with an operational deficit. Within the Real Estate Department, the discussion raised how the department could work more efficiently in order to be cost effective. This discussion never went to the political chambers, because agreement was found in that the Economic department had to guarantee the operational deficit, while the Real Estate Department was responsible for the safety and maintenance of the building. This discussion raised the creativity to look for alternative solutions within the municipal department. One of the interviewees says: *"When you speak about money and who would be the one to cover the deficits, then you are going to look at whether everything is organized smart and whether anything can be organized even smarter. At that moment we appointed a business manager next to the creative manager of the Creative Factory. (...) If you guide these conversations in a good way, actually therefore we reached a successful result in which every party had an understanding of each other's position."* Besides, it stimulated the process to think of new ways to develop the entire building. Some interviewees speak of a *"lack of development"* and *"no real added value to the people in the surrounding of the building."* This is also shown in the fact that the Creative Factory lost all four of its financial sponsors. At the moment (July 2014) the entire Grain Silo moves more or less in the shadow of other important decisions within the municipality. At the moment, the municipality is still looking for suitable solutions for further development.

## Chapter 6: Empirical analysis

This chapter includes an analysis based on the concepts of this research. Paragraph 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 contain descriptions of the task conflicts, relationship conflicts and process conflicts that occurred within the decision making process of both cases. It is important to note that in the first three paragraphs of this chapter, the conflict-outcome relationship is not yet intensively discussed. Paragraph 6.4 and 6.5 contain descriptions of the performance outcomes and the bargaining outcomes and show the conflict-outcome relationship between the three different types of conflict and the two types of outcomes. Paragraph 6.6 provides insight in the moderating factors that influence the conflict-outcome relationship. This chapter ends (paragraph 6.7) with an overview of data and an elaboration on the type of conflict that was the most important, in terms of the influence on the outcomes of the decision making process.

It is important to emphasize here once more that potential conflict situations in the decision making processes is a different state of conflict than actual conflict situations. Whether parties perceive conflict potential situations as fully developed conflict depends on their group conflict norms and emotions related to the conflict. In the interviews, some interviewees spoke of dilemmas and different opinions but not about fully developed conflict. This can be for two reasons: the interviewee really does not perceive the situation as conflictual; the potential conflict situation is successfully dealt with. And second, the interviewee avoids the term conflict; in this sense conflict is a sensitive topic which creates a reserved stance when it comes to conflict. Conflicts are previously defined as *“disagreements among individuals or parties that are involved in the decision making process, that lead to conflict potential situations.”* The Enschede interviewees in total made 109 references to potential conflict situations, while the Rotterdam interviewees made 120 references to potential conflict situation. The two cases vary on the amount of references made related to task conflict (Enschede 18: Rotterdam 54) and relationship conflict (Enschede 37: Rotterdam 21), while the Enschede case only shows a slightly higher number of references made related to process conflict (Enschede 54: Rotterdam 45). For a further elaboration on these numbers, see table 6 (paragraph 6.8 – Case comparison).

### 6.1 Task conflicts

#### Enschede

The references in the data related to task conflicts in the Enschede case concern five themes that cause potential conflict situations, not all of which lead to fully developed conflicts. First, there are several views, preferences and expectations about the concept of the Stichting Cremer Museum that was the first intended solution to the vacancy problem of the Bale Factory. The different views and preferences of the intended solutions is quite usual in these types of processes and did not result in major conflict. The expectations about the intended solution however, led to a **high intensity task conflict**: several actors feel displeased or frustrated and some even offended or furious about the fact that certain promises were not kept by other actors. One of the important expectations was that sponsorships would be more easily found. Two interviewees use the metaphor that ‘piles of gold were promised’.

Second, actors disagree about the means to use art as a resource to realize the concept of the Stichting Cremer Museum. This is a clear disagreement about the content of the task division, which did not evolve into actual conflict, even though interviewees tend to speak about this relatively often.

Third, financing the concept of the Stichting Cremer Museum is an important topic of debate. This theme concerns several issues: financial issues about the rental prices per square meter and the issue how to realize the exploitation. In this case, financial issues relate to task conflict because it mainly concerns task related issues, such as finding suitable partners to exploit the new function. Not all

financial decisions led to fully evolved conflict. One of the interviewees says: *“in the decision making process in which we decided about the 50.000 euros and the 450.000 euros thereafter, there was not so much conflict. It was just seen as an opportunity with the strict condition that the project would not outreach this number. That’s it. (...) And other parties were also not against these plans, because they got the opportunity to start building.”* One **low intensity task conflict** is described in box 2.

Box 2



A fourth theme concerns political interests and European regulations about the freedom for housing corporations to find certain solutions that matched these limiting regulations. This was mainly an internal issue for the housing corporation and did not lead to any conflict among different actors within the decision making process.

The fifth theme relates to the collaboration contracts and the rental contracts which were first signed and then cancelled between De Woonplaats on the one side and Concordia and the Stichting Cremer Museum on the other side (as tenants). De Woonplaats explains: *“before we got the ownership of the building, we wanted a collaboration contract, because normally we go from collaboration contract to realization contract. And that collaboration contract could not be achieved, because we kept having discussions about what that collaboration contract should look like.”* These discussions led to **low intensity task conflict** in the round of the second attempt to accommodate the Stichting Cremer Museum: some actors were annoyed or irritated. Box 3 describes one **high intensity task conflict**.

Box 3



## Rotterdam

The references related to task conflicts in the Rotterdam case concern six themes that cause potential conflict situations, of which the most did not lead to fully developed conflicts, and one task conflict even appears to be positive for the outcomes. First, as in the Enschede case, finance creates a point of discussion, together with the municipal and national subsidies. Financing the projects of the Maassilo and the Creative Factory is not coded as a process conflict, because it is not about the strategy to approach the task, but rather as a theme that is content related. Financing the establishment of the new functions did not lead to major conflict. In the first round, the positive emotions of satisfaction and joy are predominate among the actors.

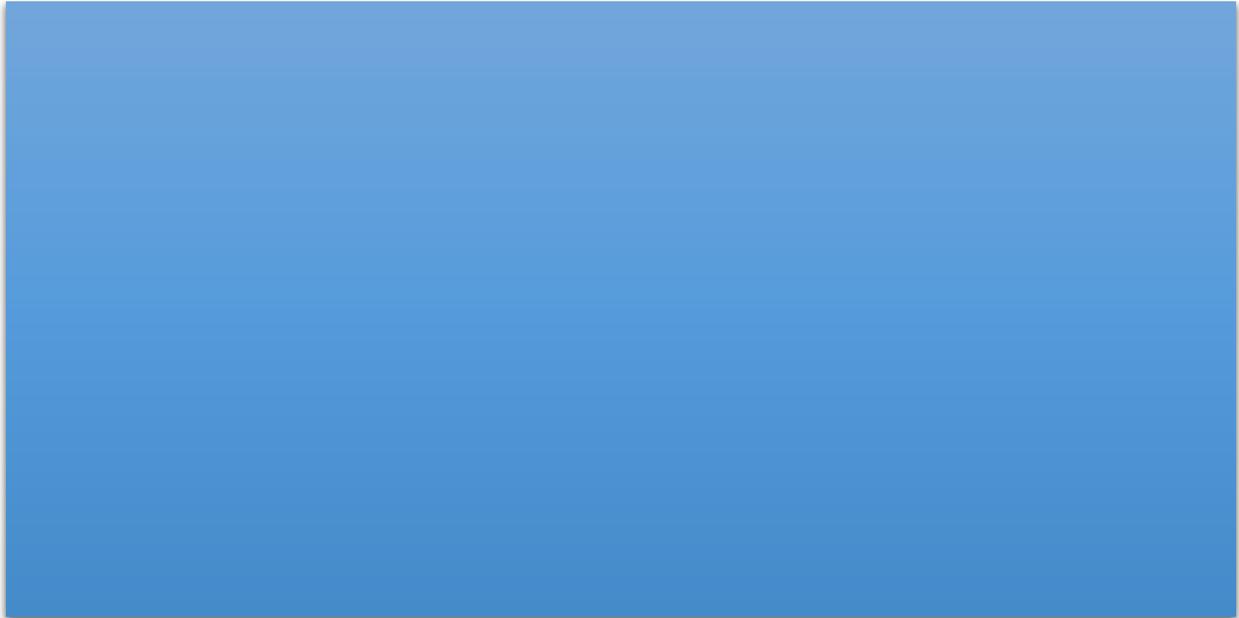
Second, the financial theme does eventually evolve into a **low intensity task conflict**: there are some concerns among the actors, but the conflict is mainly perceived as a dilemma instead of a fully developed conflict. The operational deficit created a dilemma for the municipality where two municipal departments had two different goals. One of the interviewees says: *“Maybe it started with the Real Estate Department that said ‘we have to work cost effective’ and the Economic department said ‘we do not have money’, of course that’s how it started. Then I started figuring out within the Real Estate Department how much money actually went into the building, how the exploitation actually worked, where did we overlook certain things, because that is also possible. And on the other side; how much of the operational deficit is explained by the special characteristic of the building. We paid a lot of attention on splitting these two things. (...) So actually I started to get the facts on the table. That was quit hard, because employees did not really see the urgency to work harder for this case. But eventually we managed to do this and on the basis of these facts we started these conversations, first with employees and later on the board level. (...) This dilemma really contributed to the cost effective approach. Otherwise, we would have kept muddling through.”* It is important to note that this interviewee started to describe this situation by using the word conflict, and during the interview changed this to the word dilemma. With the last two sentences of the previous quotation, the interviewee indicates that this conflict had a positive influence on the performance outcomes (see paragraph 6.4).

Third, the Urban Culture Podium caused political discussion, and one of the interviewees argued that the project was overly ambitious and caused unfair competition in the urban scene of the city. The interviewees that were involved in the initial decision making process regarding the establishment of the Creative Factory and the Maassilo, were not involved in the decision making process about the establishment of the Urban Culture Podium. These are two different decision making teams. This situation regarding the Urban Culture Podium only led to a **low intensity task conflict** (more an emotion of substitute shame than actually being discouraged, because the actors do not have any responsibility for the failure of this project). While on the other side, there is clear evidence (Rijnmond, 2012) that this issue caused **high intensity process conflict** within politics: emotions such as dislike, disgust and outrage about the intent and the management of the project among political parties.

Fourth, some disappointment was caused due to the fact that entrepreneurs within the Creative Factory did not connected as much as expected (the so called Inspiring Community). This is seen as a lack of development, which made some actors feel slightly disappointed, but it did lead to conflict in terms of emotions of being annoyed or agitated amongst the interviewees.

The fifth theme relates to a lack of vision for the future for the Grain Silo. This lack of vision concerns the discussion about whether the temporal change in the zoning plan was the best solution for this complex and about the physical future of the Grain Silo. For several actors, this is a major source of concern. Nevertheless, this cause of concern did not lead to any conflict between actors (no differences of opinion were analyzed), rather it stayed an overarching dilemma that actors have been dealing with up to this moment (July 2014). The same applies for the lack of development of the Creative Factory, which is perceived by several actors. One of the interviewees says: *“I think this project bled out because of a lack of development. So when we started five years ago, the project was very exciting; in the Grain Silo a cluster of creative entrepreneurs. Now you can go to the Schieblock, the Creatieve Fabriek and the Van Nelle Fabriek. In every corner of the city we have a place like this.”*

The final theme related to task conflicts in the Rotterdam case concerns a lack of internal focus in the Creative Factory which caused dissatisfaction among the entrepreneurs about the facilities. The solved problems in response of complaints have a positive influence on the performance outcomes (see also: paragraph 6.4). Box 4 describes a **low intensity task conflict**.



## 6.2 Relationship conflicts

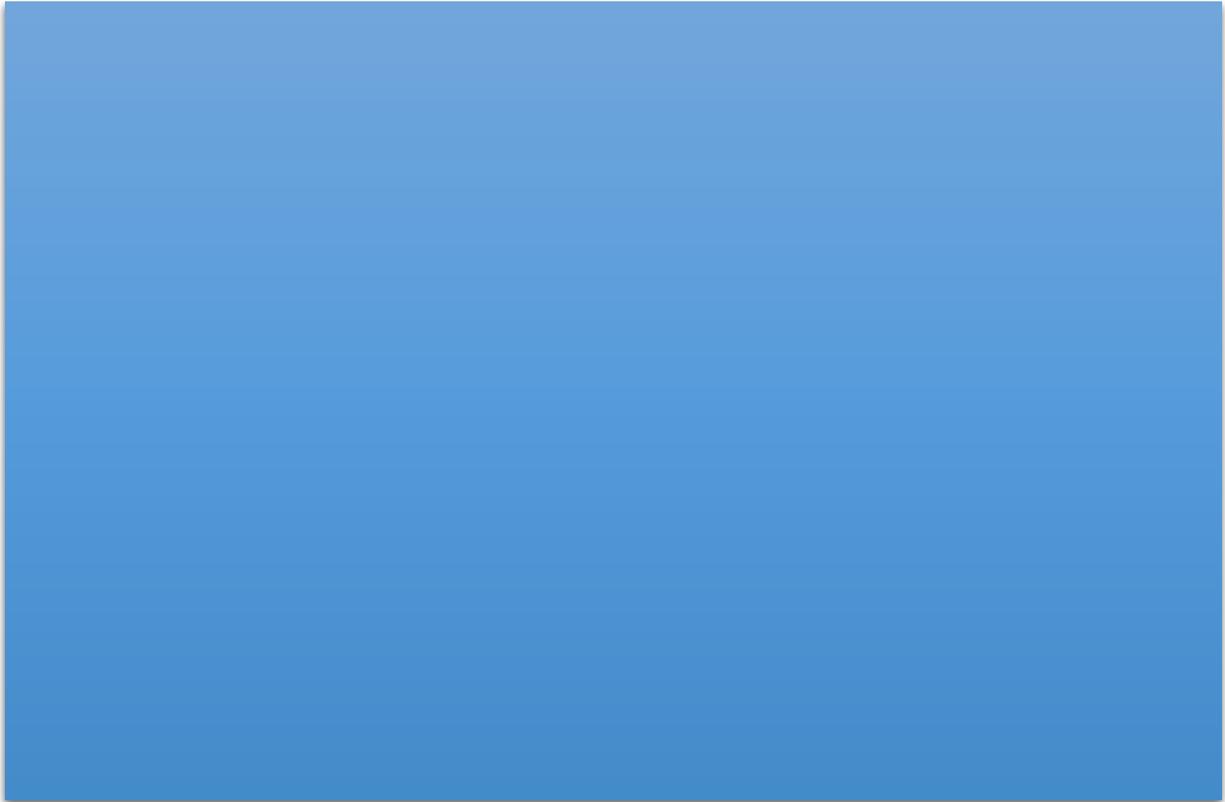
### Enschede

Relationship conflicts often concern personality differences, but the conflicts do not necessarily have to be personal conflicts among two persons. It can be among groups of decision makers or entire organizations, thus including political discussions. The relationship conflicts in the Enschede case are related to four themes that cause potential conflict situations. Not all of these themes evolve into fully developed conflict. Nevertheless, it is important to mention them here, because the interviewees tend to speak about these issues relatively often.

First, collaboration is a major theme within the decision making process. Interviewees raised questions such as 'who is in the lead' and 'who is the boss', which relates mainly to the collaboration between Concordia and the Stichting Cremer Museum, but it also relates to the role of De Woonplaats as the official owner and the municipality that often took the lead in the negotiations between the actors. The interviewees argue that *"the more parties were involved in the process, the harder it was to reach consensus"* and *"the more parties involved, the more complicated the decision making process."* The interviewees spoke relatively often about the contact between actors and the collaboration between the actors. Even though the actors recognize that collaboration is highly important to reach success within this process, fully developed conflicts seem to relate more to trust among actors and personal character. One possible explanation for this phenomenon could be that the actors involved in the process are all highly professional organizations that are used to organizational collaborations and negotiations.

The second conflict potential theme is the aspect of personal character. Mainly, artist Jan Cremer, one of the leading persons within the decision making process, is publicly known for his outspoken opinion. Several interviewees indicate that at some points in the process, this was not favorable for reaching consensus among the actors. The data reflect three **relationship conflicts (low, medium and high intensity)**. These conflicts are confidential and therefore only discussed in the academic versions of this research (see box 5).

Box 5

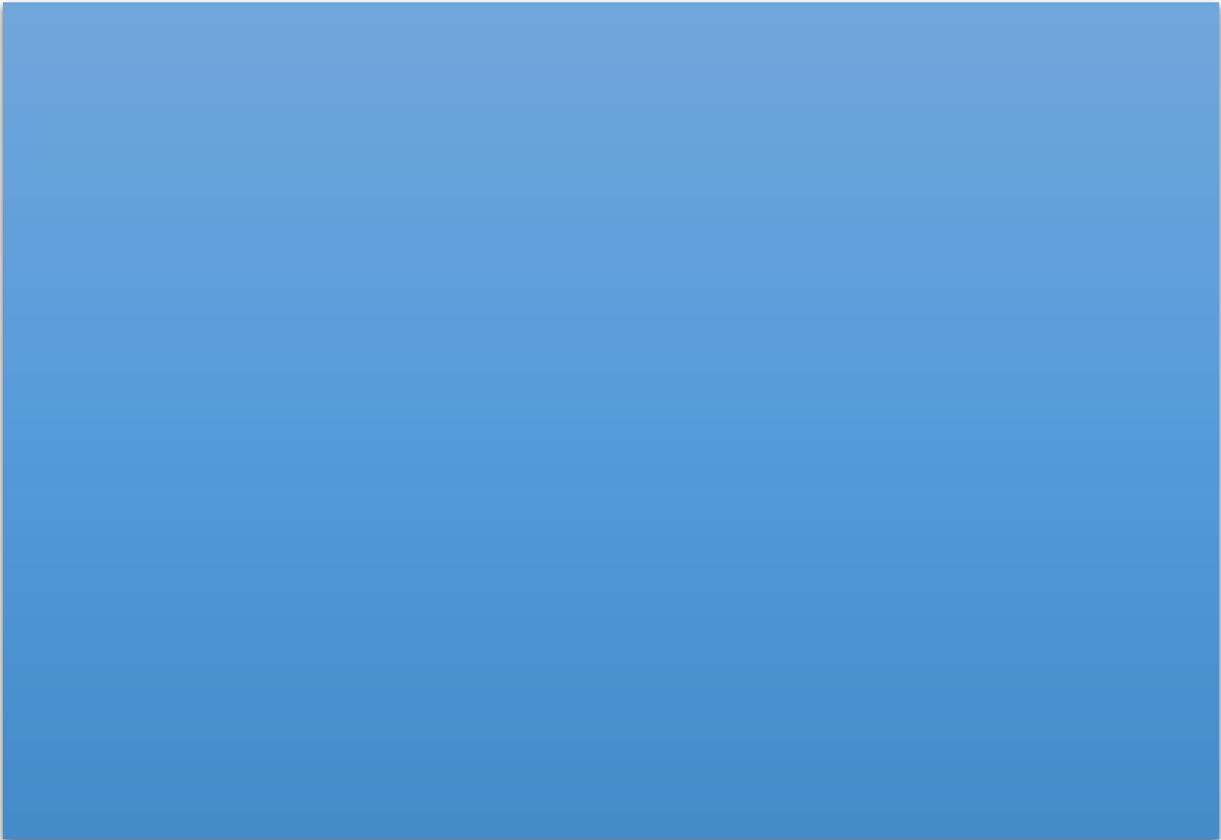


The third conflict potential theme is the lack of trust in in the process, which led to high uncertainty among the actors. The lack of trust among the actors is a sign of anxiety and the concern about strategic behavior. The quotation in box 6 is representative for the lack of trust among actors and indicates a **medium intensity relationship conflict**.

Box 6



Fourth, interviewees speak about an internal struggle between the municipal council and the College, about political power play and about political games. Political conflicts relate to relationship conflicts because it concerned disagreements among different actors about issues that were not directly related to the Bale Factory (the Culture Plan). The discussion about political involvement – whether politics should decide about the future of Concordia and the Bale Factory – evolves into a **medium intensity relationship conflict** (see box 7).



### Rotterdam

The relationship conflicts in the Rotterdam case are limited compared to the Enschede case. Yet five minor themes can be distinguished that caused potential relationship conflict situations. First, the most important source of discussion is the development of the Urban Culture Podium within the Maassilo, which had a very small majority in votes in the municipal council. Even though this theme is a major issue within the process for conflict potential, the data does not show any fully developed relationship conflicts related to the Urban Culture Podium. This can be explained due to the fact that the interviewees were not directly involved in the establishment of the Urban Culture Podium.

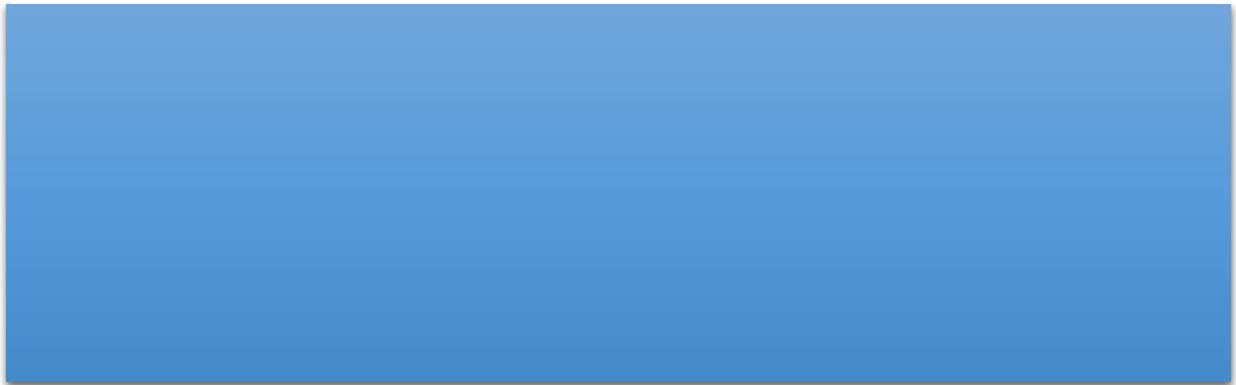
Second, interviewees describe a certain 'game behind the scenes' in the development of the Creative Factory which creates conflict potential. This includes discussions that are mainly about which initiator can take credits for the original idea. This is reflected in a personal discussion about which actor came up with the concept of the Creative Factory. This discussion evolved into a **low intensity relationship conflict**, and is explained in more detail in box 8.



Third, a considerable number of potential relationship conflict references were related to local residents who were dissatisfied that the Grain Silo would house a nightclub. Although this could also be coded as task conflict (about the task being performed), two interviewees speak about relational issues between residents and the club due to incidents and other inconvenience (non-task issues). The manager of the Maassilo says: *“the disturbance is often related to the nightclub, but that doesn’t mean it is always caused by the nightclub. (...) When I was closed for one month, according to them, we had the most disturbances in the area. So that’s nonsense.”* This issue has not led to a fully developed conflict.

Fourth, just as in the Enschede case – but to a lesser extent – the aspect of personal character is an important issue in this case, which causes potential conflict situations. Interviewees describe several situations of **low intensity relationship conflict**. These conflicts did not evolve further than low intensity emotions such as annoyance or suspicion. The conflicts are explained in more detail in box 9.

*Box 9*



The fifth theme that causes potential relationship conflict situations is the execution and the management of the reconstruction of the Grain Silo. These situations evolved into a **low intensity relationship conflict** and is explained in more detail in box 10. These conflicts also do not show to have evolved further than low intensity emotions such as being annoyed.

*Box 10*



## 6.3 Process conflicts

Relatively soon within the open coding process it appeared that process conflicts are very broad. Therefore, during this coding process, four subcategories of process conflicts could be distinguished: one, strategic behavior (number of references, Enschede 14: Rotterdam 7). Two, interests (Enschede 11: Rotterdam 8), including personal interests (Enschede 6: Rotterdam 4). Three, conflicting goals (Enschede 6: Rotterdam 3). Four, other categories of process conflict (Enschede 10: Rotterdam 19). The total number of references give an indication to compare the cases on the different subcategories of process conflicts. In the following paragraphs, these concepts will be discussed for both cases. The references related to potential process conflict situation can be described by several representative statements made by the interviewees.

### 6.3.1 Strategic behavior

#### *Enschede*

Five statements related to strategic behavior are representative for the potential process conflict situations that occurred in the case. None of the following statements were made by the same interviewee: (1) *“of course we took care of the fact that we continuously had to conquer our place within the Bale Factory. We wanted the maximum space within the Bale Factory.”* (2) *“Concordia was more or less pushed into the process, but not with full devotion, so this party was also more protective than they actually should have been.”* (3) *“That they still started the reconstruction, that’s where they were being framed. Ultimately it comes down to that.”* (4) *“And they have resources to stop this process, namely cancel the subsidies. And that’s what they did.”* (5) *“So there was no movement within the market of Enschede, there was a political game between the municipality and De Woonplaats, an unfair – to my opinion – change of the destination of the building without informing the board adequately to make them understand what the difference would be. In fact, the Stichting Cremer Museum was set offside there. There’s also a certain degree of unfairness.”* In the first four statements, different actors give indications that strategic behavior occurred in the case. The fifth statements reflects a situation that evolved towards a **low intensity process conflict**, because this actor (among others) assigns the change in the destination as unfair, which makes them feel annoyed or dispirited. Several actors did not know how the change of destination formally occurred, which made them interpret this action as strategic behavior by De Woonplaats. The actual conflict is reflected in the fact that actors feel that they were strategically set offside within the process.

#### *Rotterdam*

There are only limited references made to strategic behavior in the Rotterdam case compared to the Enschede case. Three interviewees refer to strategic behavior of actors within the decision making process: (1) *“they said ‘if this doesn’t happen then I quit’. (...) Everyone [sponsors that were about to drop out of the process] set an ultimatum. That’s how I saw it. Absolutely.”* (2) *“From the side of the landlord I think they tried to maximize their own outcome.”* (3) *“He had a central role. He played me, he played him, and he played the municipality, everyone. He is an absolute master.”* Even though these statements reflect some strategic behavior among the actors in this case (potential conflict situations), there are no clear fully developed process conflicts that can be appointed related to strategic behavior in the Rotterdam case.

### 6.3.2 Interests

#### Enschede

The subcategory interests can be highlighted by two illustrative quotes in the Enschede case, which appear to not reflect any fully developed conflicts: *“It was a very transparent process in term of information. So the conflicts were more on the interests, not on the information. (...) I feel like De Woonplaats gave the maximum space for the establishment of the Stichting Cremer Museum, which is not her own interest. They have fully cooperated in a goal – let’s say – against their own financial goals. (...) Secondly, in the way of cooperation you can see that Concordia fully cooperated, but not in such a way that they were extremely generous to give up space to the Stichting Cremer Museum. That didn’t go by itself and that was also because from the other side Cremer and his representatives also wanted to have a lot.”* The reason that the coding references related to interests do not reflect fully developed process conflicts is presumably because different interests are seen more by the actors as an overarching difficulty that complicated the process, instead of an actual conflict.

#### Rotterdam

The same counts in the Rotterdam case. The coding references regarding interests do not reflect fully developed conflicts. The actors show that they are aware of the fact that different actors have different interests, but they also seem to indicate that different actors accept each other’s stance and interests, based on their organizational goals. A representative statement made by one of the interviewees reflects that it is possible that different interest will play a role later in the process, when important decisions are about to be made: *“the interests are there. And at this moment you don’t notice it that much, because there are no significant decisions to be made at this moment. But you always have to guard for those different interests.”* The interviewee indicates that different interests play a more important role in times of decision making, because that is the period that actors stand up for their prior interest.

### 6.3.3 Conflicting goals

#### Enschede

The subcategory conflicting goals within process conflicts can be highlighted by two representative quotes. In the Enschede case: *“what you see is that competing goals are in conflict and that one had a different agenda next to the establishment of the Stichting Cremer Museum. And then you see that the original goal starts fading, which is not beneficial for the fight that you have to deliver. And that’s something where you see that people start dropping out, that every time another person sat at the table with a different agenda.”* This quote reflects **two low intensity process conflicts**. First, different or double agendas are a source of uncertainty about the commitment of other actors. This uncertainty causes concerns among actors and sometimes makes them hesitant about the question why other actors are committed to the process. Second, several actors got discouraged and sometimes even annoyed or irritated about the fact that decision makers were moving away from the original intended goal. The word *“watered down”* is used by interviewees, which basically means that the strong aspects of the original idea slowly faded away. This low intensity process conflict includes that actors felt bad about the fact that other actors dropped out. This made the actors feel bad, because they invested time and effort to build up a relationship with the other actor and they tried to make them committed to the intended solution, and then the invested time and effort seems useless.

#### Rotterdam

In the Rotterdam case one quote is representative for the role of conflicting goals within the process: *“But I think that if people are dissatisfied, everyone starts emphasizing on the point that they are dissatisfied about. And if you then sit down at a table with a lot of important people and everyone has*

its own dissatisfaction, then it starts to be clear that something is not right. Then you saw that everyone had its own interests. At that point you did.” Even though this is a potential conflict situation, the data further did not indicate that the Rotterdam case concerns any fully developed conflicts related to conflicting goals within the process. This is remarkable in a complex decision making process which is by definition characterized by a high variety of goals and interdependencies. It seems like the decision makers successfully dealt with matching a lot of different goals and interdependencies that occurred in the process. Table 5 shows an oversight of the conflicts and their intensity that were analyzed in the data. The other paragraphs within this chapter (paragraph 6.4 up till 6.7) elaborate more on the influence of the conflicts on the outcomes of the process.

Table 5 - Task conflicts, relationship conflicts, and process conflicts in both cases

	Enschede		Rotterdam	
	Intensity	Issue	Intensity	Issue
Task conflicts	High	Expectations	High	Political conflict: UCP **
	High	Contracts Concordia	Low	Establishment of UCP
	Low	Contracts Cremer	Low *	Operational deficit
	Low	Rental price	Low *	Facilities
Relationship conflicts	High	Personal conflict	Low	Credits for initial idea
	Medium	Political involvement	Low	Personal conflict
	Medium	Lack of trust	Low	Reconstruction
	Medium	Personal conflict	* low-intensity task conflict that has a positive influence on the outcomes	
Low	Personal conflict			
Low	Strategic behavior			
Process conflicts	Low	Double agendas	**UCP = Urban Culture Podium: 'De Nieuwe Oogst'	
	Low	Watering down original idea		
	Low	Watering down original idea		

The table indicates that the Enschede case has an overall higher number of developed (and analyzed) conflicts (Enschede 12: Rotterdam 7), and also a higher intensity-state of primary emotions (Enschede 3 high, 3 medium, 6 low: Rotterdam 1 high, 6 low). Two of the low intensity task conflicts in the Rotterdam case indicate that these task conflicts were successfully dealt with and had a positive influence on the performance outcomes. The data does not reveal any process conflicts in the Rotterdam case (see also table 6, paragraph 6.8).

## 6.4 Performance outcomes

In the following two paragraphs (6.4 and 6.5) the performance outcomes and the bargaining outcomes of both decision making processes will be discussed. These two paragraphs also make the link between conflicts and their effect on the outcomes. Physical regeneration can be seen as the tangible outcomes, such as the renovation of a complex and physical improvements to the building. Functional regeneration refers more to the new practical function that the building will have. This mainly concerns new companies and organizations that are accommodated in the industrial flagship building.

### 6.4.1 Physical regeneration

#### Enschede

The main physical regeneration outcome in the Enschede case is an impressive reconstruction, designed by prestigious architects. The building was literally cut in half and elevated to make the building ready for its new use. In its former function the building was only used for storage. The ceilings were very low, because the building was not designed to accommodate people, only for the loading and unloading of woolen bales. In the concept development (round 1), the actors reached consensus on the decisions to start the reconstruction. One side of the building was designed with a reference to the intended new purpose: this side of the building was decorated with large bricks that display the

cover of Jan Cremer's book *'Ik Jan Cremer'*, which is a self-portrait. The front of the building is thus confusing. It displays Jan Cremer, the name of the building is also *'Het Cremer'*, but the concept of the Stichting Cremer Museum could not be accommodated in the building.

### Rotterdam

There are numerous physical regeneration outcomes in the Rotterdam case. The building is immense and out of necessity continuously in development. The cultural-historical exploration of the Grain Silo, made by the design- and research company Transformers (2008), shows that the roof of the building and the main floor for the event locations have been reconstructed. The front of the building (former machinery) has been reconstructed to 1.600 square meters office space, and the tenth floor (the grain lofts) has been reconstructed to 2.200 square meters party- and presentation halls. It is estimated that two third of the entire building has not been regenerated yet, due to its odd spaces. The silos are as high as the ten stories of the building. The municipality of Rotterdam is still negotiating with market parties to invest and to accommodate them in the unused parts of the Grain Silo. There is one task conflict analyzed in the data that has a positive influence on the physical regeneration outcomes in this case. This relates to the fact that several entrepreneurs were dissatisfied about the facilities that were not well arranged at the start of the Creative Factory. This **low intensity task conflict** had a positive influence on the physical regeneration performance outcomes, because it forced the project management of the Creative Factory to come up with suitable solutions. Entrepreneurs have positive connotations with practical problems that were successfully solved because it contributes to their primary organization processes. One of the entrepreneurs says: *"There have been enough situations which made me think that it's sad how it was arranged. But I have to say that they start to arrange it better. The management informs us about their processes and I find that the most important part, so we don't have to ask about their processes all the time. So overall I am satisfied."* However, later in the process the physical aspect turns out to be a cause of concern for several actors (without evolving in a fully developed conflict), because of the lack of vision and non-decision about the future of the complex, while concrete rot and other aspects of decay continue on the background of the process.

### 6.4.2 Functional regeneration

#### Enschede

The Enschede case shows no clear solution to the accommodation problem. Several attempts to accommodate cultural organizations and commercial catering have not been successful to date. There are four conflicts observed in the data, which negatively influenced the functional regeneration outcomes. Two **low intensity task conflicts** (about the high rental price and about the cancelled contracts between De Woonplaats and the Stichting Cremer Museum) had a negative influence on the functional regeneration outcomes. The high rental prices made it hard to find suitable organizations that could be accommodated in the Bale Factory. Most of the approached organizations declined the opportunity to accommodate the Bale Factory due to these high rental prices. Logically, with the overarching reason that it was almost impossible to make a profit within the Bale Factory. Most negotiations ended relatively soon. The low intensity task conflict related to the cancelled contracts between De Woonplaats and the Stichting Cremer Museum, had a negative effect on the functional regeneration outcomes of the process, namely that the first intended solution to the vacancy problem of the Bale Factory did not succeed. Therefore, other parties had to be involved in the decision making process and this made the situation more complex. Later in the process a **high intensity task conflict** (see box 11) negatively influenced the functional regeneration outcomes, because of cancelled contracts. And a **low intensity process conflict** (see box 11) negatively influenced the functional regeneration outcomes, because of one single strategic action.



### Rotterdam

In the Rotterdam case, there have been five functional regeneration outcomes. These outcomes concern the establishment of three event locations: Now&Wow, Maassilo and Factory 010, and the establishment of the Creative Factory and the Urban Culture Podium (which later has been cancelled). Compared to Bale Factory, the Grain Silo has accommodated significantly more functions. The data indicates one **low intensity task conflict** that positively influenced the functional regeneration outcomes, namely the internal dilemma within the municipality about operational deficit. One of the interviewees indicates that this dilemma resulted in the fact that *“a yearly contribution was transferred from the Economic department towards the Real Estate Department for the operational deficit. And this contribution is also captured on a fixed amount.”* The same interviewee, from the Economic department has a positive emotion about the solution to this dilemma. *“These discussion points occurred between the Real Estate Department and the Economic department. They did not even reach the political arena in the period of 2012. These discussion points have led to agreements about the financial coverage of the operational deficit. So between Economy and Real Estate. (...) If you guide these conversations in a good way, actually therefore we reached a successful result in which every party had an understanding of each other’s position. (...) The Grain Silo lies in the shadow of decisions. And I find that really nice.”*

On the question whether this conflict/dilemma influenced the outcomes of the decision making process, the interviewee answers that it had an influence, because it made the Real Estate Department think better about the functions of the building: *“yes absolutely, because the dilemma of costs and the creative function in the building actually made that one started thinking better about how these functions could actually function well in this building. And from the business side this is just very good.”*

## 6.5 Bargaining outcomes

In the coding process, four general themes could be distinguished that relate to the bargaining outcomes in both of the decision making processes: perception of success, concessions, consensus and commitment to the original idea. Compared to the performance outcomes, bargaining outcomes are less tangible, because the related procedural output is more difficult to measure than for example decisions that determine to reconstruction of the building. Important decision making points nevertheless, can define important moments of procedural output that are more tangible in terms of breakthroughs and deadlocks.

### 6.5.1 Perception of success

#### *Enschede*

The data indicates that actors have different perceptions of the success that is related to particular decisions. The overall perception of success related to the reconstruction in both cases is highly positive. Actors feel a sense of pride that they were a part of the round in which was decided about the physical regeneration. This is in contrast with the later round of deciding about which organizations should be accommodated in the regenerated building. The Enschede case shows one **low intensity process conflict** that negatively influenced the actors' perception of success: several actors argue that due to the watering down of the original idea (the process in which the decision fades away from the original intended solution), the concept of the Stichting Cremer Museum sufficiently changed and could therefore not reach any success anymore. In this conflict, the actors that support the outcome that the Stichting Cremer Museum should be accommodated in the Bale Factory, see this as the prior solution. Anything else would be less of a success. These actors, mostly related to the Stichting Cremer Museum, blame the other actors that they tried to change the original intended idea, which is a perception of failure. A second conflict that influenced the perception of success relates to the high expectations of the Stichting Cremer Museum that were not realized. These expectations play an important role during the entire process, because high expectations caused major disappointments among actors. The expectations are indicated as a **high intensity task conflict** (see paragraph 6.1).

#### *Rotterdam*

In the Rotterdam case, one low intensity task conflict, one high intensity task conflict and one low intensity relationship conflict negatively influence the actors' perception of success. The **two task conflicts (low and high)** relate to the perception of success regarding the establishment and management of the Urban Culture Podium. This project is publicly perceived as a failure, which is also indicated by the interviewees. An important nuance should be made here. The interviewees were not directly involved in the decision making process regarding the establishment and the management of the Urban Culture Podium. The gathered data does not give conclusive results whether the high intensity task conflict causes a negative perception of success, or the other way around: whether the negative perception of success (or perception of failure) generates task conflicts in the data. Therefore, this relationship is not considered to be a direct conflict-outcome relationship, but rather a two-way relation. The **low intensity relationship conflict** relates to the discussion whether the reconstruction proceeded in a fair way and whether the reconstruction led to a high level of the results. It is important to add that the level of the results of a reconstruction depends on a temporal period (permit of five years) or an indefinite period (permit of 20 to 30 years). A temporary location has to comply with less strict requirements than indefinite locations. The permit changed after two years from temporary location to indefinite location. The data indicates that the conflict mainly concerned the requirements of the temporal period. The data shows that the actors in this conflict that perceive the reconstruction and the financial aspects as fair, have a positive perception of success related to the reconstruction. The actors in this conflict that perceive the reconstruction and the financial aspects as unfair, have a negative perception of success related to the reconstruction.

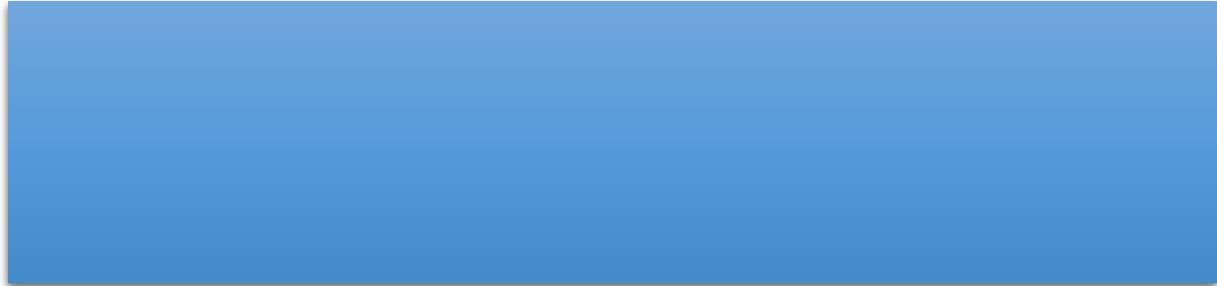
### 6.5.2 Concessions

#### *Enschede*

The concessions that were made in the Enschede case, by De Woonplaats and Concordia, are described in box 12. The data does not indicate any fully developed conflicts related to making concessions. However, the concessions are mentioned here, because the data shows one example of major resemblance between the data and literature, and the actors speak often about a certain obligation to

make concessions in order to reach successful outcomes. This indicates that making concessions is highly important for reaching consensus within the decision making team.

Box 12



### Rotterdam

In the Rotterdam case the data indicates few examples of concessions made by the sub-municipality Charlois related to the provision of building permits, which show resemblance with Heckathorn's argument that *"each bargainer has an interest in making the fewest possible concessions while simultaneously avoiding conflict"*, and thus choose the second best option. The administrator of the sub-municipality Charlois says: *"In that sense we did not have full control to reverse the situation. And there could have been another option, which would have been that we would not cooperate. Then you would have created conflict without having a benefit from it. So we chose for the next best option to do it like this."* The data does not indicate any fully developed conflicts related to making concessions that influences the bargaining outcomes.

### 6.5.3 Consensus

#### Enschede

Relationship conflicts have had major influence on the question whether decision making teams reach consensus in both cases. In the Enschede case **five relationship conflicts** (1 high, 3 medium, 1 low), previously described in paragraph 6.2, negatively influenced the consensus of the decision making team. These relationship conflicts are the most influential conflicts that determined the outcomes, compared to the other task conflicts and process conflicts. In the first round (the concept development) of the decision making process there was consensus about the concept of the Stichting Cremer Museum and the reconstruction of the building, which led to physical regeneration outcomes. In the second round (second attempt to accommodate the Stichting Cremer Museum), there was no consensus between De Woonplaats and the Stichting Cremer, which did not allow them to sign several contracts. In the third round (combination of Concordia and Stichting Cremer Museum) consensus was not reached between De Woonplaats, Concordia and the Stichting Cremer Museum. In the fourth round (new attempts to accommodate Cremer – *versus* Concordia standalone) consensus was not reached in neither of these attempts. Besides, it was not favorable for the outcomes that two processes occurred at the same time. The final round (the cliffhanger) shows realistic possibilities to solve the vacancy problem of the Bale Factory, but consensus has not yet been reached. The data also shows a **low intensity task conflict** and a **high intensity task conflict** related to the failed attempts to sign a contract between De Woonplaats and the Stichting Cremer Museum and later between De Woonplaats and Concordia. Both of these conflicts had an equal effect on the outcomes, namely that the accommodation of both organizations in the Bale Factory did not succeed. Overall, it can be concluded that later in the process (contracts Concordia), conflicts can become higher in their intensity, due to the fact that several attempts already failed. This increases the pressure among the actors to reach a successful outcome.

### *Rotterdam*

In the Rotterdam case, **three low intensity relationship conflicts** negatively influenced the consensus within the decision making team (and partly the perception of success: previously described). These conflicts relate to the disagreements about the credits for the original idea, personal conflict and about the reconstruction (see paragraph 6.2). All of these relationship conflicts were not favorable for reaching consensus, but the negative influence on the bargaining outcomes appear to be relatively low, especially compared to the Enschede case where relationship conflicts had a major influence on the consensus/bargaining outcomes. The data does not show clear indications that the lack of consensus in the Rotterdam case actually block certain decision making points (or outcome), while this did occur in the Enschede case.

#### 6.5.4 Commitment to the original idea

### *Enschede*

In the Enschede case, a **low intensity process conflict** negatively influenced the commitment to the original idea. Several interviewees indicate that, as soon as they noticed that other decision makers had different or double agendas, they started hesitating about the commitment of these other actors towards the original idea. This was, in combination with the decrease of mutual trust, negative for the commitment to the original idea/bargaining outcomes. Despite the fact that several interviewees spoke extensively about their negative stance towards double agendas, this conflict had a less strong negative effect on the bargaining outcomes than the relationship conflicts that negatively influenced the bargaining outcomes.

### *Rotterdam*

In the Rotterdam case, decision makers were highly enthusiastic about the original idea. Some sort of euphoric mood and sense of proud has proven to be of high impact when it comes to success of- and the commitment to the original idea. One of the sponsors of the Creative Factory even indicates that there was some sort of constant positive battle between the sponsors about the question which one of the sponsors was first involved in the process. Overall, the positive mood within the process was highly positive for the bargaining outcomes. This made the level of acceptance high, which caused that some potential conflict situations were easily eliminated or easily overcome.

## 6.6 Moderating factors

The previous paragraphs within this chapter contained a description of the conflicts in the decision making processes (paragraph 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3) and a description of the regeneration outcomes in the decision making processes, along with the exploration of the relationship between the described conflicts and the outcomes of the decision making processes (paragraph 6.4 and 6.5). Figure 14 and 15 show visual representations of the relationships that have been analyzed in the data. Furthermore, this paragraph identifies the factors that influenced the conflict-outcome relationship.

Figure 14 shows that the analyzed conflicts in the Enschede case all negatively influence the outcomes of the decision making process. There were no conflicts that influences the physical regeneration outcomes, which reflects a phase of relatively high consensus and low conflict. Figure 15 shows that certain types of task conflict (low intensity), in the Rotterdam case, are positive for the performance outcomes (both physical and functional regeneration outcomes). This is in line with the conflict-outcome moderated model. There were no conflicts that influenced the actors' commitment to the original idea, which reflects a phase of high consensus, low conflict and a predominant emotion of satisfaction and pride.

Figure 14 – Conflict-outcome relationships: Enschede

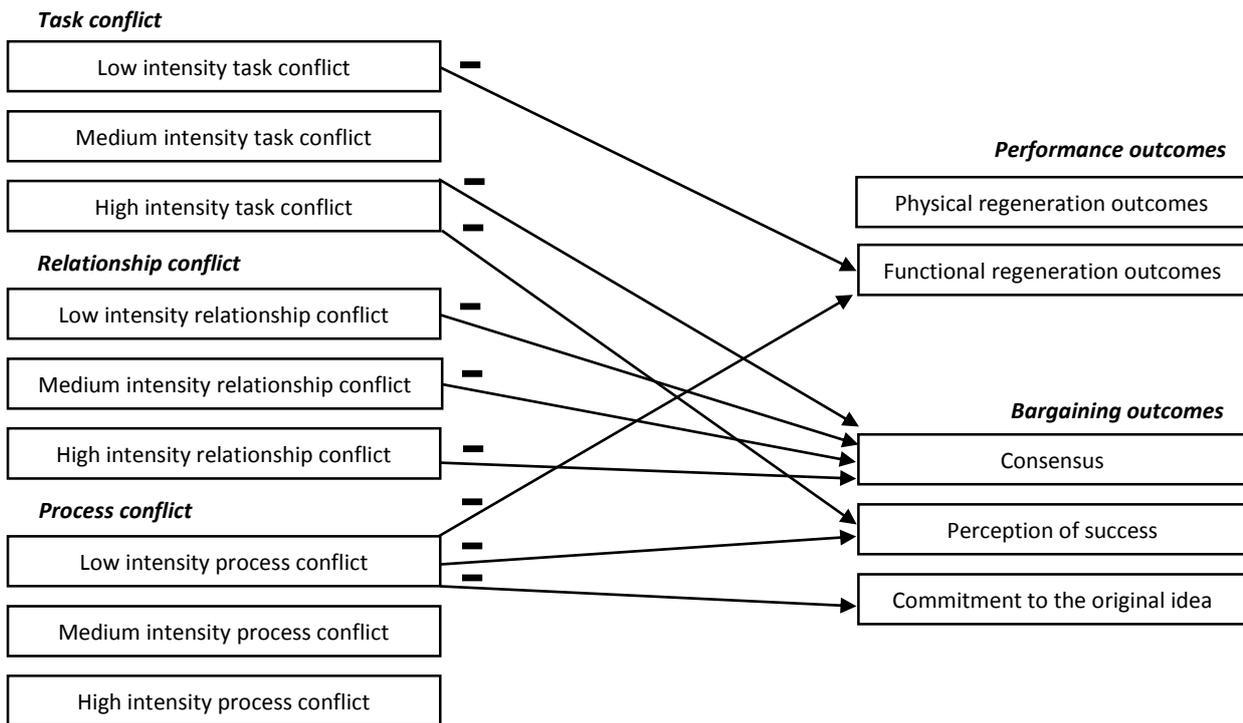
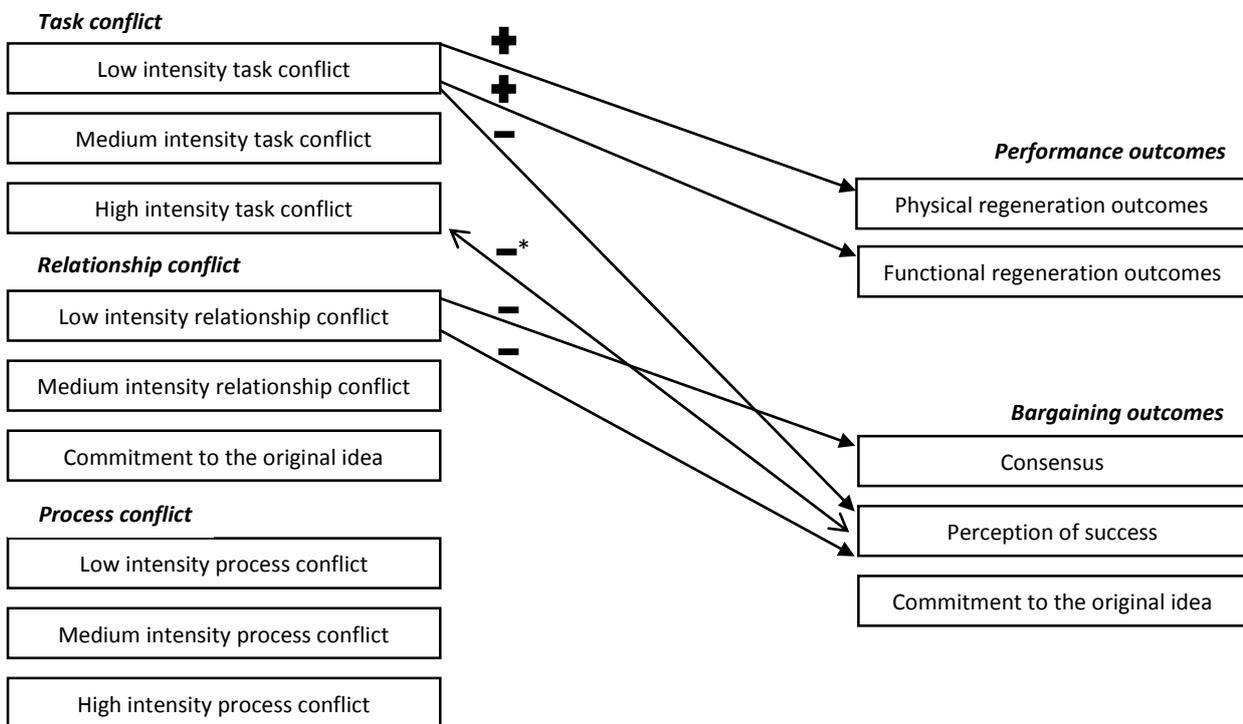


Figure 15 – Conflict-outcome relationships: Rotterdam



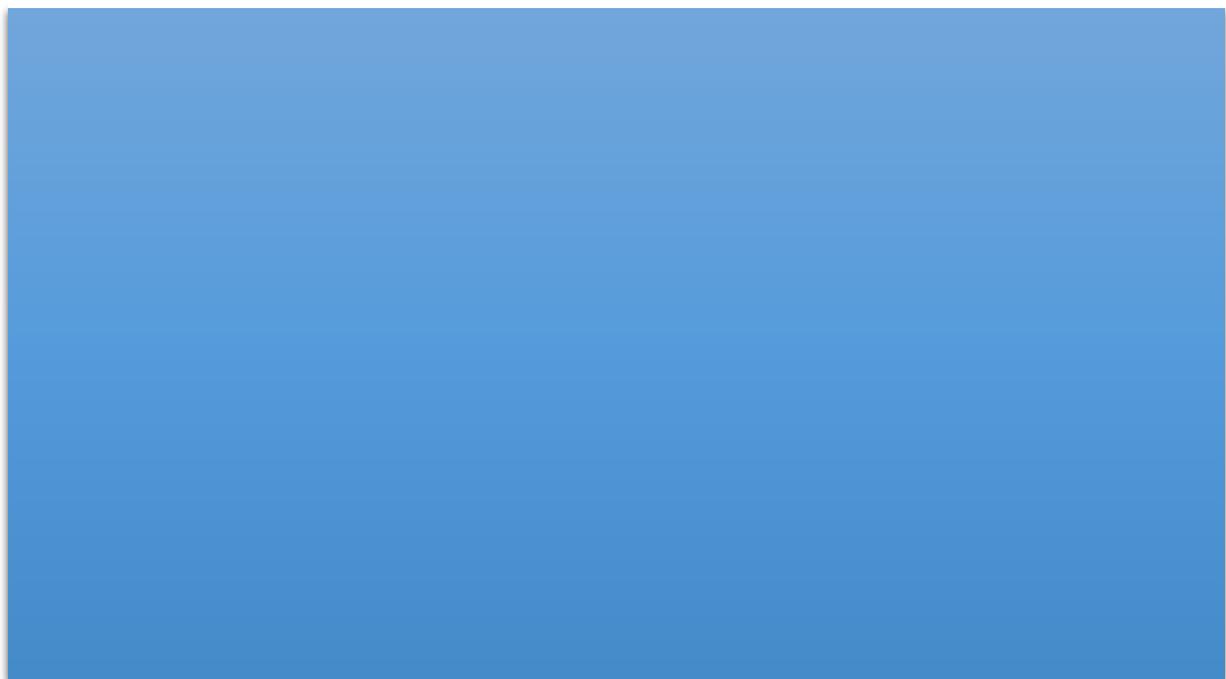
\* The gathered data does not give conclusive results whether these high intensity task conflict causes a negative perception of success, or the other way around: whether the negative perception of success (or perception of failure) generates task conflicts in the data. Therefore, this relationship is not considered to be a direct conflict-outcome relationship, but rather a two-way negative relation.

## 6.6.1 Group diversity

### Enschede

In the conflict-outcome moderated model, group diversity is an amplifying factor, which strengthens the positive and negative effect of the conflict-outcome relationship. The data shows several cases in which group diversity was a topic of discussion, mainly in the Enschede case (number of references to group diversity 44: Rotterdam 17). In the Enschede case, most interviewees indicate that the group diversity of the decision making team did not have a highly influential effect on the conflict-outcome relationship. They also indicate that different interests in the process were more important. Nevertheless, several actors point out that different sentiments (Randstad versus Enschede) did cause some frustration within the process. One of the interviewees says: *“this entire process taught me that you have to look very carefully in the composition of the board; that you have to bring in someone with his roots in de community of Enschede. That did not occur. There were a lot of people from outside. That had an enormous effect on the way in which people felt connected. You should not underestimate that.”* The discussion about group diversity is mainly reflected in the fact that a large part of the project management and the board of recommendation of the Stichting Cremer Museum came from Amsterdam. Even though The Netherlands is a small country, many local differences exist, including language. It could be observed within the interviews that there was some distance between the actors from Amsterdam and the actors from Enschede. Minor differences always exist, according to one interviewee this could even apply to differences between neighborhood areas within one city. However, the discussion started to develop frustrations, due to the expectation that actors from Amsterdam would bring in major sponsor contracts. Box 13 show three representative quotes for this discussion related to group diversity.

#### Box 13



### Rotterdam

In the Rotterdam case, there is no indication that group diversity had a negative influence on the conflict-outcome relationship. In the contrary, one of the interviewees states that the group diversities reinforce each other: *“There is the creative approach, the economic approach – of which I especially mean the entrepreneurs – and there is the real estate approach that wants the real estate to be courrant and that it delivers some income. And those three approaches mutually reinforce incredibly well.”*

Within the previous quotation, the creative approach relates to the creative initiators of the Creative Factory, the economic approach relates to the entrepreneurs that are accommodated in the Creative Factory, and the economic approach Economic department of the municipality of Rotterdam. These three approaches represent groups of actors that belong together due to their stance within the decision making process. Due to the fact that these different groups could collaborate successfully, the different approaches (and thus the group diversities) reinforced each other.

### 6.6.2 Group conflict norms

#### *Enschede*

In the conflict-outcome moderated model, group diversity is an amplifying factor, which strengthens the positive and negative effect of the conflict-outcome relationship. In these cases, it seems that the better the outcomes of a decision making process, the easier actors speak about conflict, because they are proud that they successfully dealt with the conflict situation. On the contrary, when there are a lot of conflicts in the process, actors could avoid speaking in terms of conflict due to two reasons: one, to avoid escalation making the conflicts even worse, and two, actors are not proud about the conflict situations and therefore tend to seek conflict between other actors instead of describing their own (or their organizational) conflicts. The data does not give a conclusive indication that different perceptions of the conflict-intensity influenced the conflict-outcome relationship.

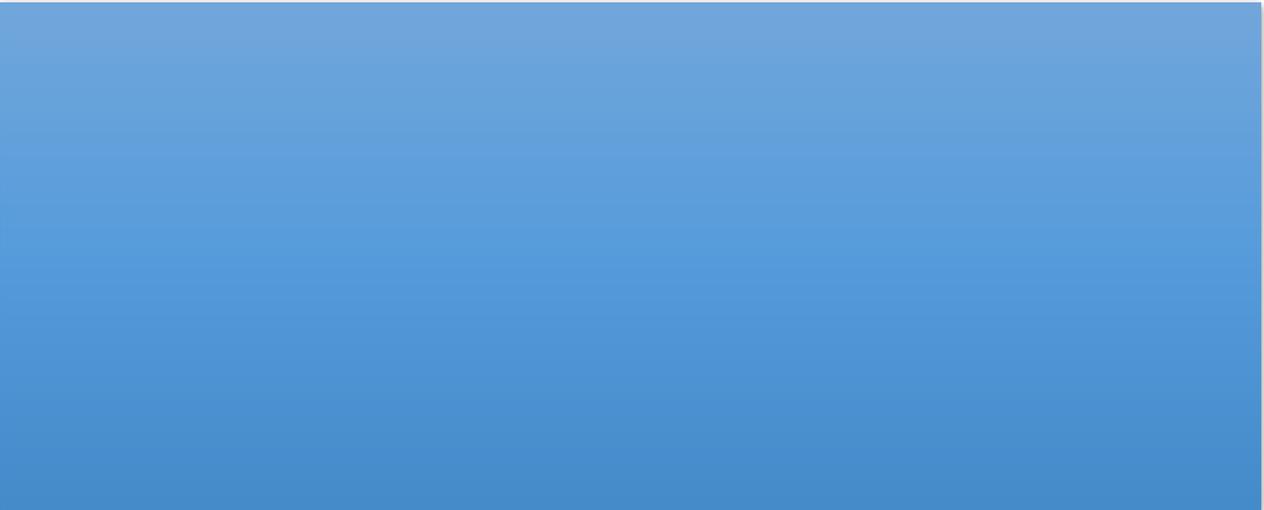
#### *Rotterdam*

The Rotterdam case show a high level of acceptance among the actors, which makes the decision making group easily overcome conflict potential situations. If the actors perceive conflict at all, they mostly also indicate that the potential conflict situations were easily overcome. A representative quote is made by a municipal administrator: *“if you guide these conversations in a good way, actually therefore we reached a successful result in which every party had an understanding of each other’s position.”* The understanding of positions and interests among actors is an important indication for the group conflict norms. The cases show that the higher the understanding of each other’s positions, the higher the acceptability- and group conflict norms.

### 6.6.3 Collaborative conflict management processes

#### *Enschede*

In the conflict-outcome moderated model, collaborative conflict management processes is also an amplifying factor, which strengthens the positive and negative effect of the conflict-outcome relationship. *Collaborative conflict management processes are processes and efforts that are made to maximize the interest of both parties* (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003, p. 218). Both cases show a low number of references related to this moderating factor (Enschede 12: Rotterdam 17). The interviewees indicate in both cases that it in most rounds of the decision making process it was not clear which actor was in the lead and was responsible for the conflict management processes (see box 14). In the Rotterdam case this was only clear in the first two rounds. The data shows no reference to actual collaborative actions (carried out together) concerning the management of relations and conflicts. This means that the conflicts were separately perceived by the different actors and thus in very different ways. Collaborative conflict management processes could have had a part in the way in which actors perceive the conflicts. If actors discuss the conflicts with a third actor that manages the conflicts and relations, this could have a positive influence on the solution of the conflict and on the negative perception of the conflict.



### Rotterdam

In the Rotterdam case it was more clear which party guided the process in the different rounds. Most interviewees appoint the (later) owner of the Creative Factory as the central actor in the first round and the municipality in later rounds. One of the interviewees says: *“Leo was the chairman of those conversations and he was responsible for the partners. So he was the one that had to keep oversight of the partners, who would come in, who would go out, in which way we could still tempt them, all of that was his responsibility. And that’s also logical because it was his BV (company).”* Another interviewee says: *“this went in different phases. In the first phase you had the project management of the establishment of the Creative Factory, then people thought ‘it’s done’ I assume, and then the Real Estate Department faced a certain problem and I mediated. (...) So actually, yeah, it’s me that is the project manager. I don’t really have that badge, but it’s true.”* Thus, in the Rotterdam case it was more clear which actor was the central/leading actor. However, the interviewees of both cases indicate that it would have been beneficial for the process to appoint on central actor (a facilitating process leader) that also had the formal recognition to deal with discussions and conflicts.

### 6.6.4 Emotions

#### Enschede

In the conflict-outcome moderated model positive emotion is an ameliating factor which strengthens the positive effects and weakens the negative effects of the conflict-outcome relationship. Negative emotion is an exacerbating factor which strengthens the negative effects and weakens the positive effects of the conflict-outcome relationship. Emotion (including expectation) is the most important moderating factor in both cases. This is also reflected in the number of references related to emotions: flat emotions, such as being pragmatic or no emotion (Enschede 15: Rotterdam 3), negative emotions (Enschede 40: Rotterdam 8) and positive emotions (Enschede 18: Rotterdam 47). The Enschede case shows a much higher number of references related negative emotions and the Rotterdam case shows a much higher number of references related to positive emotions. Examples of negative emotions in the Enschede case are disappointment, failure, disbelief, anger, fear, unreliability, suspicion, and a waste of money, time and energy. One of the interviewees says: *“the title chapter for the Bale Factory could be ‘Disappointment’, that’s really true. A lot of effort, long periods of time, and eventually no one had the power to establish anything.”* Positive emotions in the Enschede case are: satisfaction about the involvement of Jan Cremer in the start of the process, beautiful location, beautiful building and architecture, clever reconstruction, beautiful area and good overall development of the Roombeek area, and hope for a happy ending. The negative emotions in the process were not favorable for the

conflict-outcome relationship, because it strengthened the effect of relationship conflicts on the bargaining outcomes (consensus). The data does not indicate that the positive emotions had an influence in any of the conflict-outcome relationships. However, the positive emotions mainly relates to the reconstruction/physical regeneration outcomes, which is the only outcome that did not include any fully developed conflict situations (see figure 14).

#### Rotterdam

In the Rotterdam case, examples of positive emotions are: satisfaction about the outcomes, being unique, pride, working with a good idea, beautiful story, great success, cool, awesome, sexy, fantastic, love, excitement, playful, appreciation, feeling of a victory, opportunistic, beautiful building and complementing other actors. These positive emotions have largely contributed to the positive relationship between the low intensity task conflicts on the physical and functional regeneration outcomes (see figure 15), because the actors indicate that they dealt with the conflict decently. One of the interviewees argued that when a decision making group is able to settle a dilemma or conflict on a high management level, *“this is just wonderful.”* So this actor has a positive connotation with the fact that a specific tasks conflict was successfully dealt with. It seems that within the process, positive emotions have a high impact on the way in which conflicts are perceived (less destructive), have a high impact on the way in which decision makers deal with conflict, and increase the satisfaction among decision makers when they successfully dealt with conflict.

#### 6.6.5 Cognitive processing

The fifth and final moderating factor is cognitive processing. This factor is added to the original model, with the expectation that in the inter-organizational setting of decision making teams, actors could easily be distracted from the decision making processes, because it usually is not the core business for organizations. Besides, several actors are involved in the decision making team as side job next to their full time job, which could complicate the process. The cases of Enschede and Rotterdam show several occasions in which actors are distracted from the decision making process due to external occurrences, which had a minor impact on the conflict-outcome relationship related to the discussion about facilities in the Rotterdam case. However, the number of references made to these distractions are the least compared to the other moderating factors (Enschede 13: Rotterdam 11). This means that the decision makers did not pay much attention in the interviews to the fact that the decision making process could possibly not be the main concentration of another actor, as a side project. This is remarkable, because of the many interests that are involved.

#### Enschede

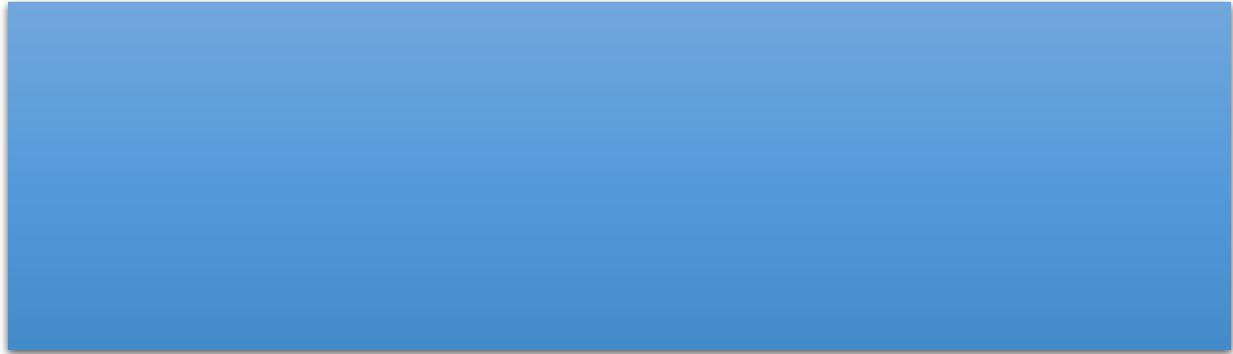
In the Enschede case, the involvement of Concordia is indicated as a distraction from the intended outcome, due to a shift in priorities. Besides, the political game, political interests, political decisions and personal expectations are causes of distraction. Political decisions have had the greatest impact on the conflict-outcome relationship. The decisions made in the Culture Plan about the accommodation of Concordia and the cutbacks in the cultural sector are two critical factors in the failure of the accommodation of Concordia in the Bale Factory. Due to these political decisions, certain expectations were not realized, which created dissatisfaction among several actors. This dissatisfaction had an impact on the conflict-outcome relationship, because it enhanced the negative relationship between the task conflicts about the intended results on the perception of success.

#### Rotterdam

In the Rotterdam case cognitive processing does not appear to have an impact on the conflict-outcome relationship. One of the interviewees says: *“In fact we continuously did not miss the goal that was in front of us. The specific goal in the sense of specific accommodation that was in front of us at that*

*moment.*” Nevertheless there are two themes that were not favorable for the process, but did not actually have an effect on the general outcomes. The first is the economic time and the related financial cutbacks which limited the involvement of sponsors. The second distraction is discussed in box 16. This concerns a lack of focus from the owner of the Creative Factory on the internal processes that is perceived by other actors as a distraction from the primary process.

Box 15



## 6.7 Data overview

In the first part of paragraph 6.6, figure 14 and figure 15 showed an overview of the conflicts that influenced the outcomes within the decision making processes. This paragraph aims to expand this overview by giving an indication about the strength of the conflict-outcome relationship and the moderating factors. So far, this chapter included several statements about the strength of the conflict-outcome relationship. The impact of the conflicts on the outcomes of the process depends on several characteristics of the conflict that can be observed in the interview data: (1) the number of actors that are involved in the conflict, (2) the emotional intensity-state of the conflict, varying from a low intensity to a high intensity, and (3) the direct answer of the interviewees to the question whether (and how) the conflicts within the decision making process influences the outcomes. The strength of the moderating factors is more difficult to observe than the conflict-outcome relationship. This can be observed by the way in which the interviewees paid attention to the moderating factors that were questioned during the interviews, and the way in which they emphasized the importance of the moderating factors. However, both cases can be compared on the total number of references that were made in the interviews to specific situations in which the moderating factors occurred. It is also possible to compare the importance of the moderating factors in the interview data; not only on the total number of references, but also to the emotions that were connected with the influence of the moderating factors.

Overall, in the Enschede case, five out of the seven interviewees argued that the conflicts within the process had a direct influence on the outcomes. One of the interviewees answered with a circular argument that the outcome was the result of the process, and one actor did not perceive conflict at all (or avoided to speak in terms of conflict). Figure 16 shows an overview of the strength of the conflict-outcome relationships, and the most important moderating factors that influenced this relationship. The arrows show three types of relationships: low effect (thin arrow), medium effect, and high effect (thick arrow). Relationship conflicts appears to be the most influential conflict type in this case. Figure 17 shows the same relationships for the Rotterdam case. Overall, in the Rotterdam case, three out of the seven interviewees argued that the conflict within the process were successfully dealt with, and therefore had a positive influence on the outcomes. Two interviewees did not perceive any conflicts, and two interviewees argued that the conflicts within the process had a direct negative influence on the outcomes. Resolved task conflicts appears to be the most influential conflict type in this case.

Figure 16 – Data overview Enschede

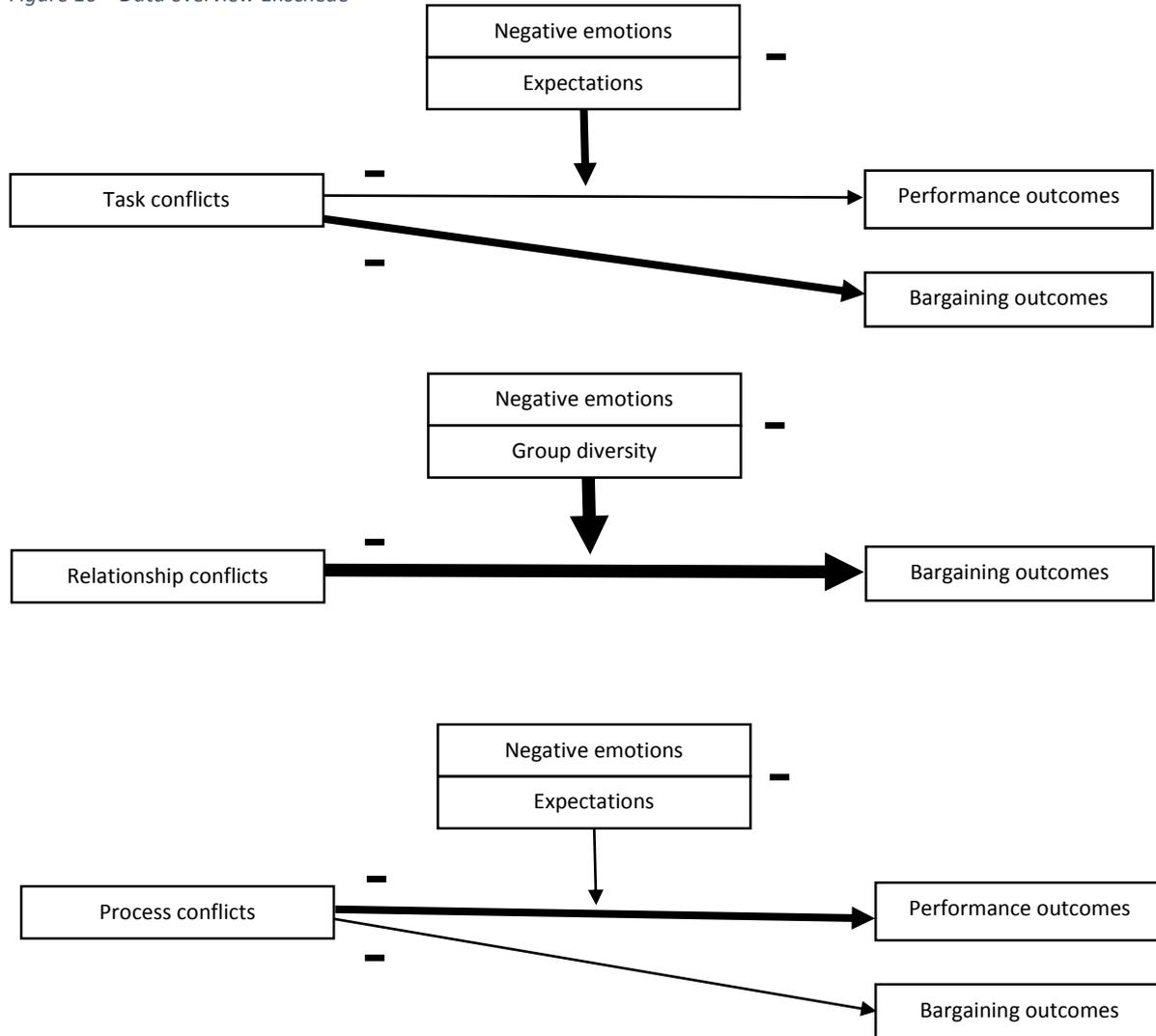
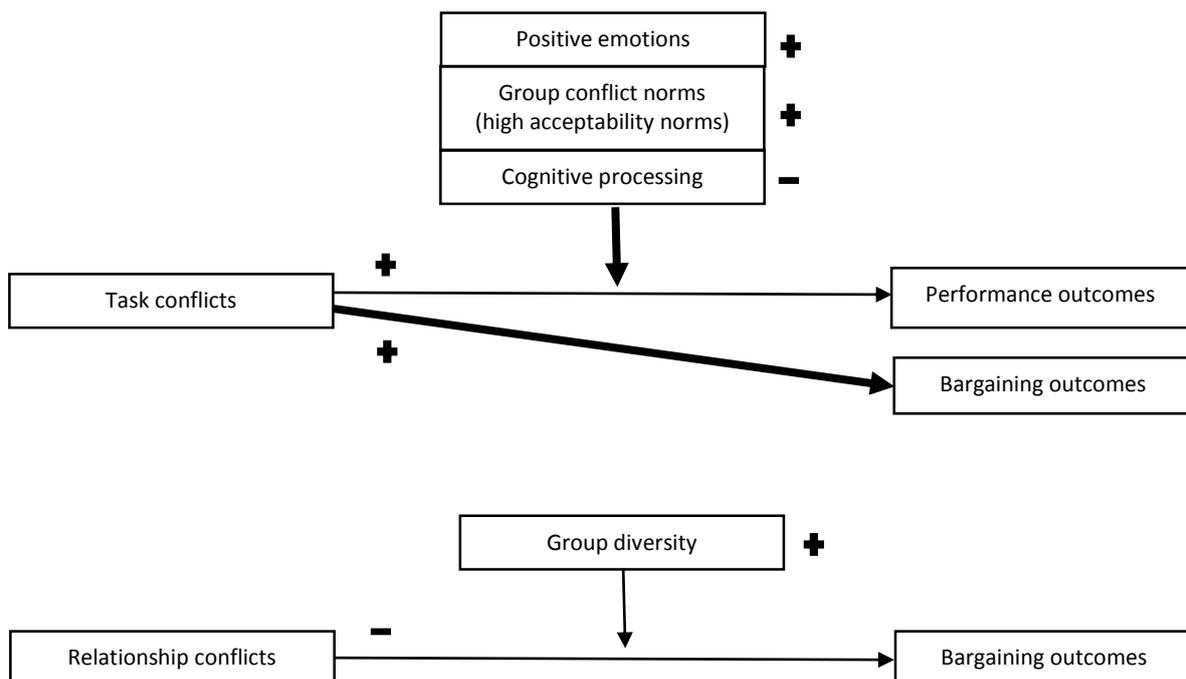


Figure 17 – Data overview Rotterdam



## 6.8 Case comparison

Even though the main emphasis of this research is not on comparing on itself, but rather on improving the ability to theorize about a broader context (most similar systems design; homogeneous cases), there are some interesting themes on which the cases can be compared. First, the amount of conflict. Table 5 has shown the number of conflicts in both cases. It may be clear that the data showed more conflicts in the Enschede case, which are (overall) of a higher emotional intensity. Figure 14 and 15 (paragraph 6.6) have shown the relationships between these conflicts and the outcomes of the decision making process. In both cases, task conflict and relationship conflict have a negative influence on the bargaining outcomes. Besides, in both cases, the data did not show any relations between relationship conflict and performance outcomes. On the other hand, there are three major differences between the cases when it comes to the conflict-outcome relationship. First, in the Enschede case, process conflict has a negative influence on the performance outcomes and the bargaining outcomes, while the data in the Rotterdam case do not show any process conflicts. Second, what seems to be the most remarkable result, is the difference in the relations between task conflicts and performance outcomes. In the Enschede case this is a negative influence, while in the Rotterdam case this is a positive influence. This indicates that the decision making team in the Rotterdam case had the ability to successfully deal with conflict, which positively influenced the outcomes of the decision making process. And third, the data overview in the previous paragraph (6.7: figure 16 and 17) also reveals that there were only negative moderating factors in the Enschede case, while in the Rotterdam case positive emotions, high acceptability norms and a positive connotation towards the group diversity, weakens the negative effect of relationship conflicts on the bargaining outcomes. Although these moderating factors depend strongly on the context in which the decision making process takes place, the results of this research indicate that there are positive moderating factors (on the conflict-outcome relationship) in inter-organizational network settings.

A second theme of comparison is the number of references in Nvivo (see table 6), which has an important risk that should always be taken into consideration: the number can be misleading and the researcher has to make sense of the data. The numbers potentially give indications about the amount of conflict, but it does not say anything about the strength of any relationship. For example, in the Rotterdam case, the most references were made regarding task conflicts (54), while this also includes positive connotations to how the conflict was successfully solved. Another example, in the Enschede case, is that the most references were made regarding process conflicts (54), while this not led to the most identified fully developed conflicts. Thus, these references concern pieces of evidence but they still need to be ordered and carefully analyzed, before any fully developed conflicts could be identified.

Table 6 - Number of references in Nvivo

Number of references	Enschede	Rotterdam
Related to task conflicts	18	54
Related to relationship conflict	37	21
Related to process conflict	54	45
Total	109	120

Number of task conflicts identified in the data	4	4
Number of relationship conflicts identified in the data	5	3
Number of Process conflicts identified in the data	3	0
Total	12	7

Intensity of the conflicts	Enschede	Rotterdam
Low intensity conflicts	6 (all negative)	6 (two positive)
Medium intensity conflicts	3	0
High intensity conflicts	3	1
Total	12	7

A third theme of comparison are practical differences that relate to the organizational and environmental context of the case. These differences occur in many different ways due to the fact that the cases are highly context dependent. The cases in this research show differences on the following themes, which all could be individual topics of further research:

- **Ownership of the industrial flagship building:** *public versus private*. The Enschede case shows semi-public ownership (housing corporation) and the Rotterdam case shows a shift from private ownership towards public ownership, while outsourced to a private property management company.
- **Sponsorships:** *successful versus unsuccessful*. The success in finding sponsors for the projects that serve as new functions in the regenerated industrial flagship buildings seems not to depend that much on the capacity of the fundraisers and project managers. It depends more on the willingness of companies in the surrounding that want to be involved in the project, because it is appealing, both for their image and business. The Rotterdam case had more success in obtaining sponsorships, while this also decreased during the development of the project.
- **Involvement of the local municipality:** *strictly political- or financial involvement versus fully dedicated involvement*. In the Rotterdam case, the municipality showed full dedication to contribute to the problem solving, by investing lots of time, money and management efforts. While on the other hand, the municipality of Enschede felt that they only had a limited potential to steer the process, because of their (odd?) position that they did not have the ownership of the building. Besides, the involvement of the municipalities seems to go hand in hand with the sense of urgency that is felt to solve the vacancy of the industrial flagship building, and whether this concerns a problem in general for the municipality.
- **Management approach:** *bottom-up (including citizen participation) versus top-down*. In the Enschede case, the project management did not align their efforts with the other projects in their surroundings. Most of these projects had proven to be successful with a bottom-up approach in which the management paid major attention to the involvement of citizens. With a national focus, the project management of the Bale Factory appeared to have chosen the starting point aimed at obtaining big sponsor deals, instead of creating something for the local community. The Rotterdam case has an international focus and the case even served as a best practice for the European Commission. In some situations this international focus (creating collaborations and networks) resulted in missed opportunities regarding the quality of the new function.
- **The role of a leading actor:** *no central actor versus a network manager*. In the Rotterdam case it was more clear which actor was the leading actor. In the establishment of the Creative Factory there was one chairman that managed the network. In both cases there is no formal recognition of a leading actor or facilitating process leader.
- **Time:** *window of opportunity versus problem window*. The economic ties and the political stream is an important factor (external to the conflict-outcome moderated model) that enables a potential problem solution to succeed. One of the respondents literally referred to Kingdon's (1984) stream model, which suggests that a problem stream and policy stream should meet each other in order to create a policy window. Besides, several actors referred to the economic ties as an explanation for the failure or success of an intended problem solution.

## Chapter 7 – Conclusions

How do conflicts between actors influence the outcomes of decision making processes regarding the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings in Enschede and Rotterdam?

This research explored the relationship between conflicts among actors and outcomes of decision making processes regarding the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings. Factors that influence this relationship have been identified as well. As a result of the analysis – based on semi-structured interviews, detailed coding of the interview transcripts and public documents – the central actors, the most important conflict potential situations, and the fully developed conflicts have been identified. Thereafter, the relationship between these conflicts and the outcomes of the decision making processes were explored, along with the moderating factors that influenced this relationship.

In total the data of both cases indicate 19 conflicts that influence either the performance outcomes or the bargaining outcomes. Relationship conflicts and process conflicts negatively influenced the outcomes and certain task conflicts positively influenced certain decision making outcomes. The most negatively influential conflict-outcome relationship is seen in the effect of relationship conflicts on bargaining outcomes: personal conflicts, political involvement and lack of trust were highly negative for the bargaining outcomes (consensus) among the actors within the decision making process. Negative emotions and high expectations are moderating factors that strengthened this negative relationship. Besides, the most positively influential conflict-outcome relationship is seen in the effect of task conflicts on performance outcomes: successful collaborations, agreements and a mutual understanding about the actors' interests were highly positive for the performance outcomes (physical and functional regeneration). Positive emotions, high acceptability norms and a positive appreciation of the group diversities are moderating factors that strengthened this positive relationship.

Based on the number of actors that are involved in the conflict, the emotional intensity-state of the conflict (varying from a low intensity to a high intensity), and the direct answer of the interviewees to the question whether (and how) the conflicts within the decision making process influences the outcomes, the relationship conflicts appeared to be the most influential negative conflict type that affects the outcomes of the decision making teams. Therefore, efforts to successfully deal with conflict in inter-organizational network settings (in cases that concern decision making about the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings) should mainly be aimed at managing relationships between actors. And even more importantly, actors within these decision making teams should invest in collaborative action to both prevent relationship conflicts and to solve- or successfully deal with relationship conflicts. In both cases, the decision making teams did not carry out collaborative conflict management processes, but rather one-to-one efforts to solve conflicts and minor actions that were made by a third party to solve these one-to-one conflicts. However, these attempts did not appear to have any effect on the outcomes of the decision making process. And secondly, opportunities to improve the outcomes of decision making process in inter-organizational network settings, is to aim at a successful settlement of the task conflicts. The results of this research supports the empirical evidence in Jehn & Bendersky's (2003) research related to the conflict-outcome moderated model, that certain types conflict can be beneficial to the decision making outcomes. The successfully solved task conflicts in the Rotterdam case had a major contribution to the positive emotions and satisfaction of the actors within the decision making team.

Concerning the moderating factors, emotions appeared to be the most influential moderating factor. The data shows the same function as in the conflict-outcome moderated model: positive emotions strengthened the positive effects and weakened the negative effects of the conflict-outcome relationship. In the Enschede case, negative connotations with group diversities strengthened the negative effects of the conflict-outcome relationship. In the Rotterdam case, positive connotations

with group diversities weakened the negative effects of the conflict-outcome relationship (relationship conflict on bargaining outcomes); high acceptability norms strengthened the positive effects of the conflict-outcome relationship (task conflicts on the performance and bargaining outcomes); and cognitive processing weakened the positive effects of the conflict-outcome relationship (also task conflicts on the performance and bargaining outcomes).

The conflict-outcome moderated model has been valuable to this research by offering specific guidelines to explore these relationships. The data shows great resemblance with the conflict-outcome moderated model. Especially the fact that the results confirm that certain task conflicts are beneficial to certain groups and organizations (in this case inter-organizational decision making teams), provides a major supporting argument in favor of the value of the existing model. This research shows conclusive results that the conflict-outcome moderated model (besides the intra-group organizational perspective) can also be applied to an inter-organizational network setting. Thus, Jehn & Bendersky's (2003) constructive debate perspective is valued here as a valuable contribution to the classical conflict theory of decision making. Besides, even though the evidence is not overwhelming, this research indicates that cognitive processing in some specific situations can have a negative moderating effect on the conflict-outcome relationship. This is an addition to the existing conflict-outcome moderated model.

The conflict-outcome moderated model also suggests that certain process conflicts can positively influence the performance/creativity outcomes, dependent on the time of conflict in the group's life. The data regarding the cases in this research did not indicate this positive relationship, but rather indicated one low intensity process conflict that negatively influenced the functional regeneration outcomes. This is the only relationship in the conflict-outcome moderated model that cannot be identified in the data of the two cases in this research. The discussion (paragraph 7.3) shows the major differences between the intra-organizational setting and the inter-organizational network setting, and how this is reflected in the differences between the data in this research and the original conflict-outcome moderated model in more detail.

## 7.1 Recommendations

One of the main reasons that conflicts exist in the cases is due to the fact that there are different expectations of the end result of the decision making processes. High expectations that are not met caused major disappointments among the actors (mainly in the Enschede case). Also a certain expectation of further development of the physical- and functional regeneration causes disappointment (mainly in the Rotterdam case). The first recommendation is therefore aimed at the management of expectations. The project management of an industrial flagship building should be clear in what they want and why they want to achieve this. This should be stated in their mission and goals. When the project management is able to state this in a convincing way, there is also more power to persuade financial partners and politics to commit to their mission and goals. When a project management group is clear in their mission statement, the higher the chance that the project succeeds. Besides, project managers should focus on successfully dealing with relationship conflicts and specifically at solving task conflicts. The results of this research show that this is beneficial for the outcomes and the project's success.

One of the remarkable results of this research is that the data show several positive moderating factors in an inter-organizational setting. Management practices can be focused on active guidance of these positive factors. For example, the Rotterdam case shows positive emotions about the process and a positive connotations towards group diversity among the actors, while the Enschede case mainly showed negative emotions about the process and negative connotations towards group diversity among the actors. Now, it could be helpful to bring different actors together and discuss both positive

and negative emotions. This recommendation is not intended to make decision making teams start some sort of therapeutic sessions every week (while this could do no harm), but it could be of crucial impact to the process to discuss differences among the actors during meetings, or preferably at the beginning of the decision making process. The cases clearly showed that group diversity can be a positive moderating factor, while at the same time, when actors '*shove these differences under the carpet*' (which seemed to have happened in the Enschede case), it is a negative moderating effect. Management practices aimed at making group diversities explicit can be of great meaning for the success of decision making teams in inter-organizational network settings.

The redevelopment of industrial flagship buildings should pay major attention to their surroundings. This is not only important for the connection between the new function and the local economy, it is also important that during the redevelopment, initiators and managers pay major attention to other projects in the same area. It is beneficial for the project's success that the approach of the redevelopment fits the organizational environment. In the Enschede case, the initiators and managers took a 'top-down' (or at least an opportunistic) approach, while this totally contrasted the entire development of the Roombeek area, which had a bottom-up approach, in which citizens and local organizations were involved, could participate in the decision making processes and even made certain decisions. This mismatch could be one of the reasons that local investors were not willing to financially support the project. The Rotterdam case shows that sponsors mainly commit to a certain project due to enthusiasm, personal affection and profit that could be gained out of the project.

Preferably, actors in the decision making teams need to decide about the functional regeneration before the physical regeneration. The building should be designed based on the needs of the new function. This approach asks for feasibility studies related to the number of visitors and the financial feasibility. Leading actors in the process should not make promises before it is thoroughly examined if the intended solution is practically feasible. These type of studies should preferably be aimed at different types of solutions, instead of one possible organization that could be accommodated to the industrial flagship building. A feasibility study aimed at one organization raises the expectations for this specific solution, and a feasibility study that is aimed at different solutions that are specifically aimed at the building in question, results in several opportunities and tailored solutions.

Both cases in this research do not have a formally acknowledged central actor, which is according to O'Toole (1997) a characteristic of governance networks (where one unit is not merely the formal subordinate of the others in some larger hierarchical arrangement). However, the interviewees mostly appoint the actor with the ownership of the industrial flagship building, or the actor with the most interests, as central actor. The interviewees indicate that they find it important that one actor is 'in the lead', but at the same time appointed that it was not clear which actor actually was in the lead and that they missed some sort of process leader.

Seldom actors appoint themselves as central actor, but rather as one of the many parties that made up the bigger picture. In these cases this negatively affected the sense of responsibility. Collaborative conflict management processes, preferably initiated by the central actor, can provide valuable input to successfully dealing with conflicts. Which actor should be in the lead is dependent on the time of the conflict in the group's life, the ownership of the building and actors' interests. It is important that decision makers that represent their organization acknowledge that the organizations meet again at later moments to decide about other issues. For these decision making processes it is highly favorable that parties move past the occurred conflicts and start off with a clean slate. This also occurred in the cases: most organizations currently collaborate on other issues with success.

Existing literature provides several recommendations for dealing with conflicts in decision making processes. These recommendations especially relate to agreements about resolving conflicts by making agreements. Koppenjan & Klijn (2004, p. 201) argue that "*such agreements further the*

*transparency of the process and protect parties against opportunistic behavior. (...) Conflict regulation agreements determine how a conflict will be dealt with before the conflict has arisen and escalating emotions make any agreements unlikely.”* Even though the decision making teams that are concerned with the regeneration of industrial flagship buildings often have an ad hoc character, are more flexible and adaptable than other governance networks, have conventional ways of doing things, are able to move into different directions, and build multiple alliances with former oppositional networks and organization (Mommaas, 2004), it is still important that these teams make conflict arrangements ahead of time. Koppenjan & Klijn (2004, p. 255) argue that *“it makes no sense to develop ad hoc conflict arrangements once a conflict has broken out. Such arrangements must be part and parcel of a game design that needs to be agreed upon as much as possible at the start of the interaction process. (...) Conflict management is required in the case of stagnation and conflict.”* However, *“it is often difficult to make agreements within the game itself on how to handle conflicts and disagreements. (...) The conflict regulations themselves then become part of the conflict. In short, development rules will be influenced by the conflict itself. This means that conflict regulation mechanism cannot be designed during the conflict but must be arranged by actors prior to the conflict* (Ibid, 2004, p. 223).

The same authors suggest three sorts of conflict regulation mechanisms of which one is to appoint an arbitrator who can make binding decisions when differences arise. This gives a strong incentive to the actors to try very hard to arrive at an acceptable situation. Second is regulating the procedure in the case of conflict. In this situation the decision making team agrees upon a whole range of procedural steps. Third is the creation of and appointment of official bodies that examine complaints and concerns, e.g., an ombudsman (Ibid, 2004, p. 223).

Rainey (2009, p. 374) argues that a confrontation meeting could bring two or more warring groups together to analyze and resolve the conflicts between them. *“Most of these techniques involve ways of controlling the expressions of hostility and aggression to prevent conflicts from escalating. They usually try to provide a systematic way to uncover the nature of the conflict and discover the base for resolving it, through such procedures as image exchanges, in which members of the groups relate their views of the other group; sharing appreciation procedures, which call on group members to express appreciation of good things about the other group; and having the members list their expectations about the outcomes of the process.”*

## 7.2 Reflection

The outcomes of this study present some new findings that add to the knowledge of urban governance and more specifically to the knowledge of the constructive debate perspective on the classical conflict theory of decision making. Literature related to bargaining was explored, but this body of literature has been reviewed as highly specific and mainly related to personal decision making and economic decision making models. The type of concessions that are made – and the type of consensus that is found – between buyers and sellers in economic decision making (related to purchases), is very different compared to processes related to decision making teams. This research adds several insights to the literature that relates to the conflict-outcome relationship and to the literature related to the classical conflict theory of decision making. The outcomes of this research provide new evidence for the constructive debate perspective on the classical conflict theory of decision making; new evidence that conflict is not necessarily a bad thing in decision making processes. On the contrary, if decision makers successfully deal with specific types of conflict (mainly task conflicts), this has a positive influence on the outcomes of the process. It is important to note, as a nuance, that even though several task conflicts were analyzed as a positive influence on the physical regeneration performance outcomes, generally *“excessive levels of any type of conflict can erode group consensus and member satisfaction. In other words, even if task conflicts can generate more creative decisions, too much task*

*conflict can hurt their implementation by limiting consensus. It can also suppress members' willingness to work together in the future due to low satisfaction with the group"* (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003, p.205). Since the results of this research are in line with the conflict-outcome moderated model, arguments are made for the support of the constructive debate perspective. This implies the suggestion that the general view of the classical conflict theory of decision making is outdated. This general view relates to the fact that conflict is always seen as a negative force. This was the predominant view before and around the 1980's. More and more contemporary literature shows that conflict and intense discussions in decision making eventually highlight the things that we really want to achieve, and is therefore not necessarily a bad thing. Besides, relatively new academic disciplines such as network management and crisis management are specifically aimed at dealing with complexities and conflicts that relate to the setting in which multiple actors operate. Ultimately, the constructive debate perspective and the related conflict-outcome moderated model provides a more comprehensive and systematic approach to the influence of conflicts on outcomes, compared to the classical conflict theory of decision making. The literature in the same line as the constructive debate perspective suggests a severe paradigm shift, in which conflicts in general seem to be more appreciated for the fact that they not only keep decision making processes stuck (deadlocks), but they can also provide severe breakthroughs. It seems, as Kuhn (1996) would argue, that this paradigm shift creates new scientific knowledge (for example the conflict-outcome moderated model) and that the new insights in the positive influence of conflicts is a serious '*candidate for acceptance*', as a new evolved paradigm within the decision making literature. Nevertheless, in practice, today's managers and employees still overwhelmingly view conflict as negative, dangerous and something that should be immediately resolved (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003).

In order to do further research on the strength of moderating factors multiple cases should be analyzed in which conflict occurred, in order to compare them. This does not necessarily have to involve exclusively industrial flagship buildings. Future topics for research could mainly be found in urban decision making, related to the regeneration of major office buildings (such as the Schieblock in Rotterdam), windmills, churches, school complexes (such as Hal 16 in Utrecht), warehouses, former army bases (such as the army base in Soesterberg), container vessels, prisons (closed June 2014 in Utrecht) other ships (such as the Holland-America line in Rotterdam) or even airports that are out of service. As long as there are societal problems related to vacancy and decay, conflicts within regeneration- and decision making processes will stay topics of debate. Another topic for future research is how different types of ownership of industrial flagship buildings (e.g., municipal or private) influence the success of the regeneration.

### 7.3 Discussion

In paragraph 2.2 of the theoretical framework, it is argued that the main difference between decision making in the intra-organizational perspective and decision making in the inter-organizational perspective can be seen in the different rationalities between the actors involved and in their organizational culture. These two arguments will be elaborated on here. The second topic of discussion relates more to the cases in this research and asks the question whether actors avoided their responsibilities.

The emphasis of this research has been more on the similarities between the intra-organizational perspective and the inter-organizational perspective, than on the differences between these two perspectives. Even though the model is translated to an inter-organizational network setting, it was expected that the models work more or less similar in both perspectives. According to Rainey (2009, p. 337) "*there may be multiple cultures and subcultures within an organization* (see also Trice & Beyer, 1993). *Subcultures can form around occupational specializations, subunits or locations, hierarchical levels, labor unions, and countercultural groups such as rebellious units. (...) Strong differences between*

*cultures and subcultures obviously complicate the challenge of forging consensus on cultural changes and priorities.*” These subcultures can exist within the same organization and can be very strong. It is therefore assumed that, in some cases, culture differences can be sufficiently strong, so that it seems like one organization is divided by these subcultures. The example of different locations of one organization is intriguing; even though the subunits on different locations come from the same organization and have the same overall organizational rationality, it is possible that the people feel like they are actually work for another organization, due to their differences. In some cases, it is therefore possible that the cultural differences among organizations can be as strong as cultural differences within one and the same organization.

Thus, as an illustration: organization X and organization Y have to make a decision. Organization X is a public organization and organization Y is a private company, which creates a public-private partnership in the decision making process (inter-organizational). Both organizations have different rationalities (in this example *public versus private*), but they are highly committed to the common goal and effectively work towards their decision. This is an example of successful collaboration between two organizations with different rationalities. On the other hand (intra-organizational): organization Z is a public organization that has to make a decision on her own. There are two departments, the financial department and the human resource department. Both departments share the same overall rationality and organizational goals, but over the past several years these two departments developed different views on the future expansion-strategy of the organization. In this particular decision making process (among many others) they seem to get into conflict over and over again. Besides, the two departments operate on two different floors within the same building which makes the communication and logistics more difficult. On a certain moment the financial department decides to deploy a ‘conflictual strategy’ aimed at blocking all solutions that are considered to be desirable by the human resource department. This is an example of unsuccessful collaboration between two departments within one organization with the same rationality. This illustration serves as an example to show that conflicts can exist and evolve within the same organization, just as this could happen due to differences among actors in inter-organizational network settings.

The existing model of Jehn & Bendersky (2003) is based on a review of recent empirical work on interpersonal conflict within organizations. This enabled the researchers to combine different qualitative conflict studies in which for example 98 work groups are observed (Jehn, Northcraft & Neale, 1999). The data in this research is based on the analysis of two decision making groups. The main difference between the data of the existing model and the translated model in this research is therefore that the data in this research is less generalizable, because there is a higher level of knowledge about the functioning of these decision making teams in intra-organizational settings.

The second topic of discussion relates more to the cases. During the interviews and the analysis, the following question came up repeatedly: which actor is responsible for the regeneration of the industrial flagship building? This question relates highly to the different types of ownership. Since the industrial buildings are expensive in their maintenance, it is in that sense not a very interesting private investment. Municipalities always seem to play an important role within the decision making regarding these buildings, often from the stance that it is important to preserve the buildings. Besides, the cases have proven that the exploitation of the buildings is a challenge itself. The involvement of municipalities can be either from the role of being the owner of the building, or more as a problem solving actor. In the interviews, several actors appeared to step away from the final responsibility of the problem solution. The owner of an industrial flagship building – whether it is a private party, municipality, or housing corporation – is in both cases expected to be the leading actor that carries the responsibility to find a suitable solution. Nevertheless, at the same time, the owners of the buildings perceive the regeneration as a public responsibility which has to be carried by all the actors in the network. Despite the fact that the owner legally seems to control the decision making process, practice shows another image of decision making teams in which it is not clear which actor is in the

lead and which actor carries the final responsibility. Therefore, and due to the unique character of industrial flagship buildings, ultimately, it is the entire decision making team that has the shared responsible for a successful solution.

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De Twentsche Courant Tubantia. *Jan Cremer gelooft nog in zijn museum*. 22 januari 2013 dinsdag.

De Twentsche Courant Tubantia. *Enschede wil uitleg over geld 'Jan Cremer'*. 19 november 2012 maandag.

De Twentsche Courant Tubantia. *Het museum dat er nooit kwam*. 13 november 2012 dinsdag.

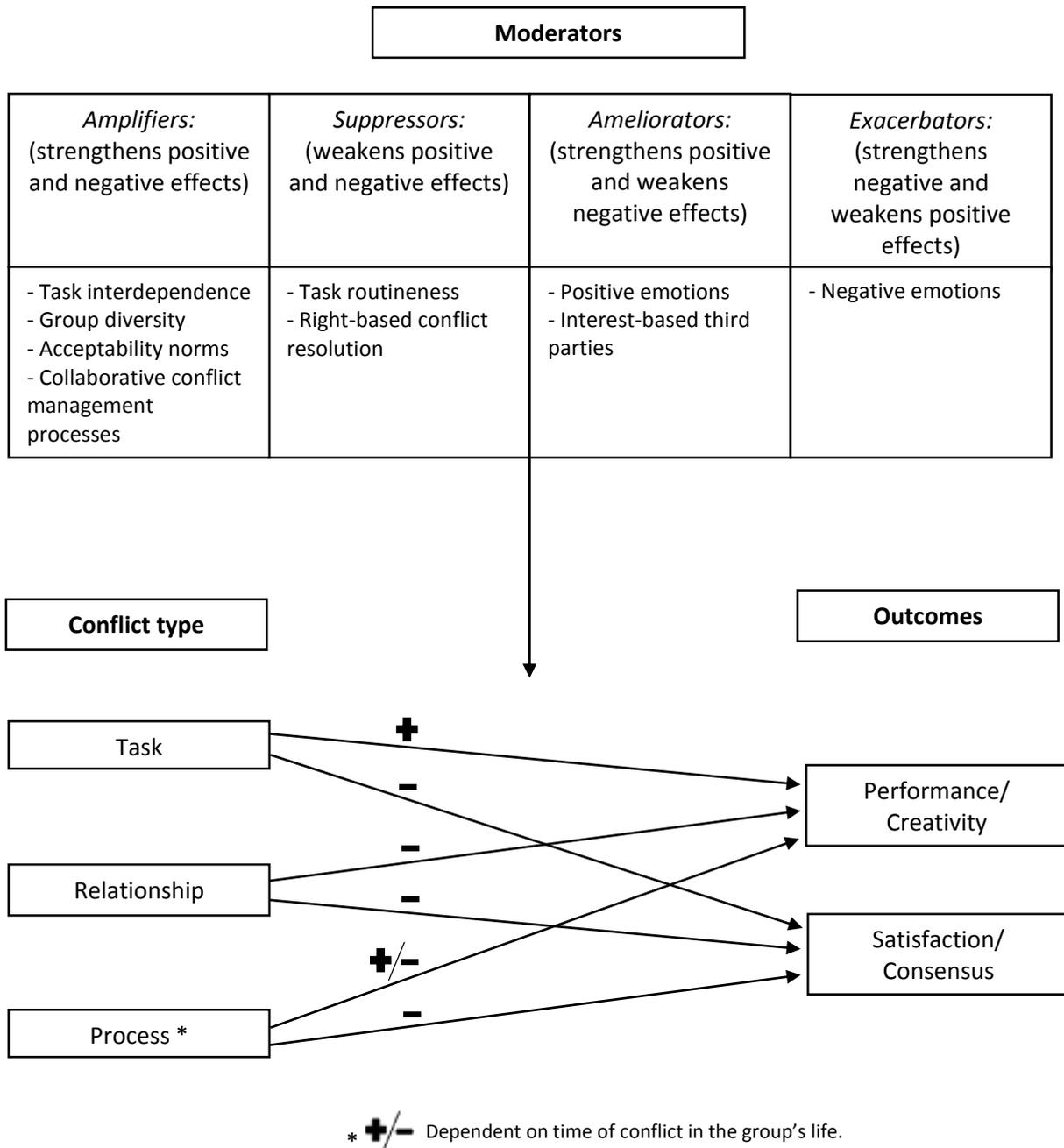
De Twentsche Courant Tubantia. *Concordia blijft in centrum Enschede*. 6 november 2012 dinsdag.

De Telegraaf. *Twente bruist op Biënnale*. 30 mei 2013 donderdag. Pagina 19.

De Volkskrant. *Vorm van vent*. 22 februari 2014 zaterdag.

NRC Handelsblad. *Cremer Museum in Enschede vindt voorlopig geen doorgang*. 7 mei 2012 maandag. Cultuur pagina 17.

## Appendix 1 – The conflict-outcome moderated model



Source: Jehn & Bendersky (2003)

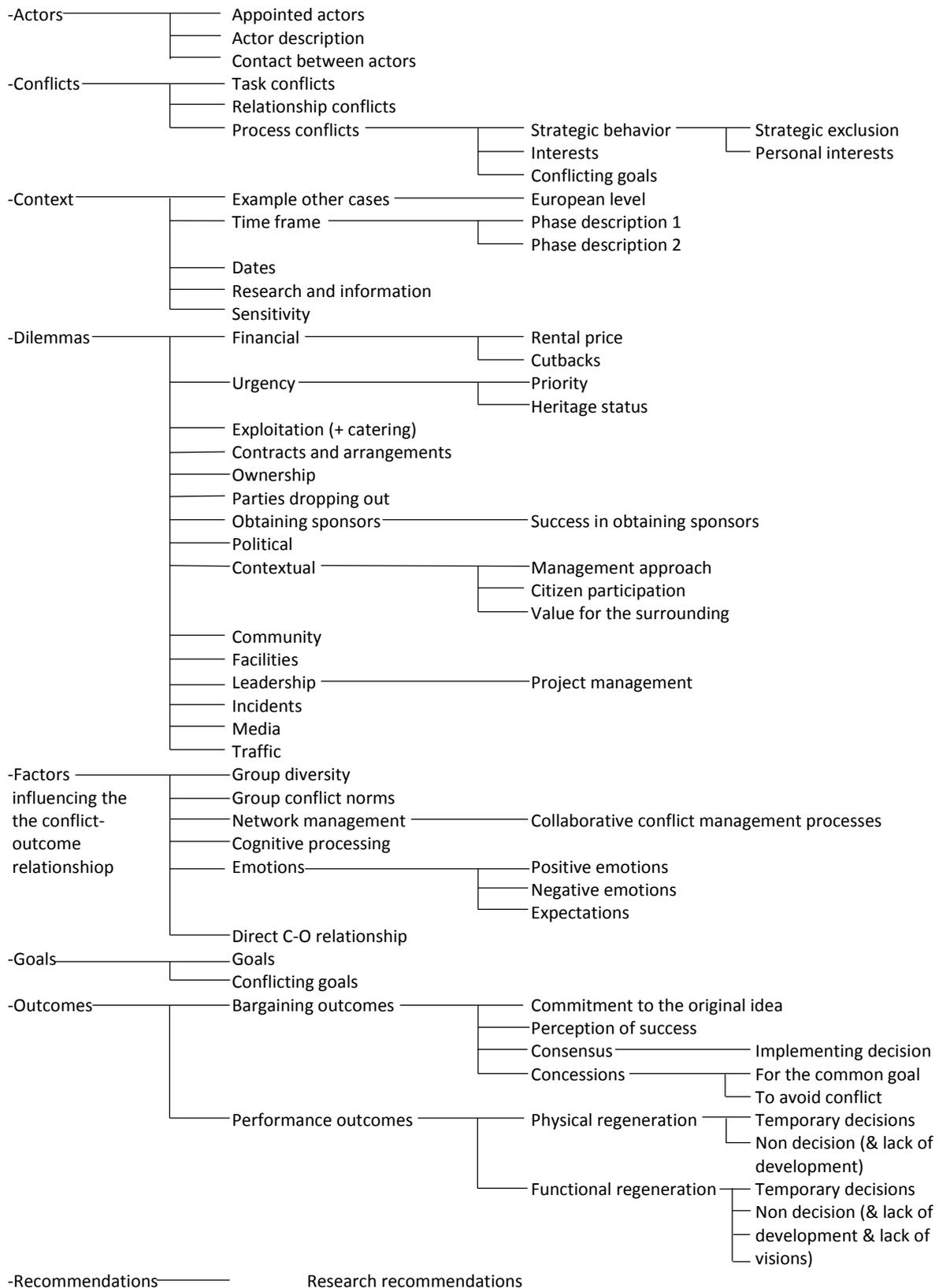
## Appendix 2 – Variants of primary emotions

	Low intensity	Moderate intensity	High intensity
Satisfaction-happiness:	Content, sanguine, serenity, gratified	Cheerful, buoyant, friendly, amiable, enjoyment	Joy, bliss, rapture, jubilant, gaiety, elation, delight, thrilled, exhilarated
Aversion-fear:	Concern, hesitant, reluctance, shyness	Misgivings, trepidation, anxiety, scared, alarmed, unnerved, panic	Terror, horror, high anxiety
Assertion-anger:	Annoyed, irritated, vexed, perturbed, nettled, rankled, piqued	Displeased, frustrated, belligerent, contentious, hostility, ire, animosity, offended, consternation	Dislike, loathing, disgust, detest, hatred, seething, wrath, furious, inflamed, incensed, outrage
Disappointment-sadness:	Discouraged, downcast, dispirited	Dismayed, disheartened, glum, resigned, gloomy	Sorrow, woeful, heartsick, pained, despondent, anguished, dejected, crestfallen

Source: Turner & Stets (2005, p. 16)

## Appendix 3 – Code tree and code maps

### Code tree



### Code map: Enschede

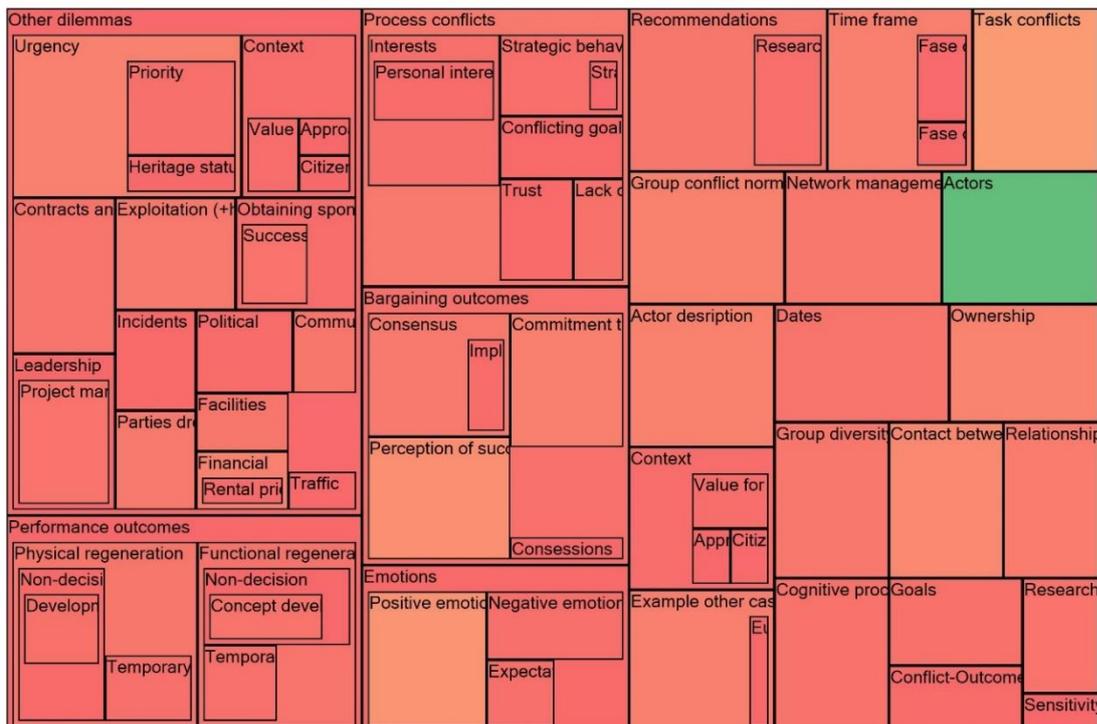
This Nvivo output gives a visual representation of the number of items that were coded in the data concerning specific concepts. It is a summary of the data that can help the researcher to structure ideas about concepts and relationships between concepts.

Nodes compared by number of items coded



### Code map: Rotterdam

Nodes compared by number of items coded



## Appendix 4 – Basic interview guide

Interview #1 – Vragenlijst [*naam*], [*positie*], [*organisatie*].

1. Kunt u vertellen over uw huidige rol als [*positie*] bij [*organisatie*]?
2. Wat is de rol van [*organisatie*] in [*stad*]?
3. Welke actoren bevonden zich in de besluitvorming rondom [*casus*]?
  - Met welke actoren had u veel contact?
  - Met welke minder?
  - Hoe verliep dat contact
4. Kunt u het besluitvormingsproces zo chronologisch mogelijk beschrijven?
  - Welke afspraken zijn gemaakt?
  - Heeft iedere partij zich aan de afspraken gehouden?
  - Welke andere oplossingen zijn besproken?
  - Wat zijn belangrijke doorbraken geweest?
  - Wat zijn belangrijke stagnaties geweest?
5. Wat waren de belangrijkste discussiepunten in het besluitvormingsproces?
  - Waar zijn deze discussiepunten door ontstaan?
  - Hoe hebben ze zich ontwikkeld?
  - Waar hebben ze toe geleid?
6. Heeft u het gevoel dat iedere partij streefde naar het maximaliseren van de eigen uitkomsten?
  - Was er vanuit [*organisatie*] een voorkeur voor een bepaalde keuze/beleid?
7. Was er een partij die discussies en relaties managede?
  - Was er een partij die uiteindelijk de macht had om het definitieve besluit te nemen (veto)?
8. Heeft u het idee dat er bij de verschillende partijen ook verschillende percepties bestaan over de mate van conflict in het besluitvormingsproces?
  - Waarom?
9. Bij het proces waren veel verschillende partijen en personen betrokken met verschillende achtergronden. Heeft u het idee dat de diversiteit van de besluitvormers invloed heeft gehad op de uitkomsten van het proces?
10. Hebben er tijdens het besluitvormingsproces ook andere zaken afgespeeld die de besluitvormers hebben afgeleid van het origineel beoogde doel?
11. Als u terug kijkt op de besluitvorming van [*casus*]; wat is dan uw overwegende emotie?
  - Hoe zouden deze emoties bij andere partijen liggen?
12. Hebben de conflicten in het besluitvormingsproces invloed gehad op de uitkomsten?
  - Met uitkomsten wordt bedoeld: [*outcome afhankelijk van casus*].
13. Tot slot: wat zouden uw aanbevelingen zijn om een dergelijk proces beter te laten verlopen, waar het gaat om discussies en conflicten?

