

Where the University meets the City

The Regeneration of Urban Space
for the University-City Interface

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Erasmus Mundus Master Course in Urban Studies [4Cities]
Supervisor: Dr. Daniel Sorando Ortín | Second reader: Dr. Yvonne Franz

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Abstract

University-led urban regeneration (ULUR) is increasingly regarded as an opportunity for the formation of urban spaces for the university-city interface, but its underlying socio-spatial interactions and implications are neither fully understood nor simple. This thesis explores the redevelopment of a military site in Maastricht (NL) into a public park, along with university buildings, which is envisioned as a place “where the University meets the City”. An analytical framework embedded in discourse analysis theory was developed to analyse 13 policy texts and conduct 14 interviews, in order to study how this case of ULUR affects, and how it is affected by, the relationship between the university and other urban actors, i.e. city and regional authorities and civil society. The findings suggest that the diverse interests of project partners are encapsulated in the vision of an “Open Learning Landscape”. Hence, the reciprocal, and to some extent symbiotic, university-city interactions in the case study are found to be mediated through a discourse-coalition of ULUR. A study of the interplay of actors and practices throughout the planning process has exposed the complexity of the vision’s implementation. It is revealed that in the design and development stages, the discourse of ULUR is contested, and increasingly (re-)negotiated. These dynamics affect relations and structures that underpin the urban regime which stimulates Maastricht’s development and governance as university city. This study highlights the role of discourse in ULUR and proposes avenues for future research in an underexplored setting in European urban studies: peripheral, small cities with a ‘young’ university.

Keywords: Universities, Urban Development, Urban Governance, Discourse, Small Cities

Abstract in German

Die universitätsgeleitete Stadterneuerung (University-led Urban Regeneration, "ULUR") wird zunehmend als Chance für die Bildung von Stadträumen für die Schnittstelle Universität-Stadt betrachtet, aber die zugrunde liegenden sozio-räumlichen Interaktionen und Auswirkungen sind weder vollständig verstanden noch einfach. In dieser Masterarbeit wird die Umgestaltung eines Militärgeländes in Maastricht (NL) in einen öffentlichen Park mit Universitätsgebäuden untersucht, der als ein Ort gedacht ist, "wo die Universität die Stadt trifft". Es wurde ein in die Theorie der Diskursanalyse eingebetteter analytischer Rahmen entwickelt. Dreizehn Planungsunterlagen wurden analysiert und vierzehn Interviews durchgeführt, um zu untersuchen, wie dieser Fall von ULUR die Beziehung zwischen der Universität und anderen städtischen Akteuren, das heißt Stadt- und Regionalbehörden und Bürgergruppen, beeinflusst und wie er von diesen beeinflusst wird. Die Ergebnisse legen nahe, dass die unterschiedlichen Interessen der Projektpartner in der Vision einer „Offenen Lernlandschaft“ zusammengefasst sind. Die reziproken und zum Teil symbiotischen Wechselwirkungen zwischen Universität und Stadt in der Fallstudie werden daher durch einen Diskurs von ULUR vermittelt. Eine Untersuchung des Zusammenspiels von Akteuren und Praktiken während des gesamten Planungsprozesses hat die Komplexität der Umsetzung der Vision aufgezeigt. Es zeigt sich, dass der Diskurs von ULUR in der Entwurfs- und Entwicklungsphase umstritten ist und zunehmend (neu) verhandelt wird. Diese Dynamik wirkt sich auf die Beziehungen und Strukturen aus, die der städtischen Verwaltung zugrunde liegen, die Maastrichts Entwicklung und „Governance“ als Universitätsstadt stimuliert. Diese Studie hebt die Rolle der Diskurse im ULUR hervor und schlägt Wege für zukünftige Forschungen in einem in der europäischen Stadtforschung wenig erforschten Umfeld vor: periphere, kleine Städte mit einer "jungen" Universität.

Schlüsselwörter: Universitäten, städtische Entwicklung, Stadtverwaltung, Diskurs, kleine Städte

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Table of contents

About this thesis project	10
How to read 'Where the University meets the City'	10
List of abbreviations	10
INTRODUCTION	11
CHAPTER 1 LITERATURE REVIEW	13
1.1 Cities in the knowledge economy	13
1.1.1 Inter-urban competitiveness	13
1.1.2 Governance of the knowledge city	14
1.2 Cities and universities co-producing the knowledge city	15
1.2.1 The civic university	15
1.2.2 A competitive dance	16
1.3 The role of universities in urban development	16
1.3.1 The university's urban orientation	16
1.3.2 The city-oriented campus	17
1.4 University-led urban regeneration	17
1.4.1 Dimensions of the role of universities in urban regeneration	18
1.4.2 Tensions and barriers for university-led urban regeneration	19
1.5 The role of discourse in university-led development	20
1.5.1 Urban coalitions	21
1.5.2 A symbiotic relationship	21
1.5.3 Facilitating university-city interface in space	22
1.6 Problem statement	23
CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY	25
2.1 Discourse Analysis in Urban Studies	25

2.2 Towards an analytical framework	25
2.2.1 Defining discourse-coalitions	26
2.2.2 Storylines, actors and practices	27
2.2.3 A framework to study university-led urban regeneration	28
2.3 Research questions	29
2.4 Research design	30
2.5 Collection, analysis & interpretation of empirical data	32
2.5.1 Helicopter interviews	32
2.5.2 Document analysis	34
2.5.3 Semi-structured interviews	36
2.6 Methodological limitations	38
2.6.1 Validity and reliability	38
CHAPTER 3 CASE STUDY SELECTION	39
3.1 University-led urban regeneration in European cities	39
3.2 Rationale for selecting the case study	42
CHAPTER 4 INTRODUCING MAASTRICHT & TAPIJN	43
4.1 From a regional to a globally linked institution	43
4.1.1 A brief history of a young university	43
4.1.2 Maastricht University at present	44
4.2 A new university in a historic city	45
4.3 Tapijn as a meeting place for the university & the city	46
4.3.1 Towards an Open Learning Landscape	47
CHAPTER 5 RESULTS	51
5.1 Policy discourse of university-led urban regeneration	52
5.1.1 Introduction	52
5.1.2 The four dimensions of university-led urban regeneration	52
5.1.3 Reflection: A synergy underpinned by a hierarchical structure	58

5.2 Storylines as discursive cement	59
5.2.1 Introduction	59
5.2.2 Tapijn as Open Learning Landscape	59
5.2.3 Reflection: The creation of interaction milieus	63
5.3 Actors & Practices: Tapijn as Open Learning Landscape	65
5.3.1 Introduction	65
5.3.2 Practices of performance, contestation and negotiation	65
5.3.3 Reflection: Discursive affinity	77
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION	79
6.1 Discussion of findings	80
6.1.1 Situating Tapijn in policy discourse	80
6.1.2 An 'Open Learning Landscape' as interaction milieu	82
6.1.3 Performing, contesting and negotiating	83
6.1.4 Towards a new vision for Tapijn?	85
6.2 Implications & insights for planning and policy	87
6.3 Limitations & recommendations for future research	88
WORKS CITED BIBLIOGRAPHY	89
Source list of figures	95
APPENDIX I POSTSCRIPT ON A PANDEMIC	97
APPENDIX II OVERVIEW INTERVIEWS	98
Helicopter interview	98
Semi-structured interviews	99
APPENDIX III OVERVIEW POLICY DOCUMENTS	100
APPENDIX IV OVERVIEW MEDIA COVERAGE	101
Publications on Tapijn	101

Archival research on Maastricht as a university city	103
APPENDIX V CODING GUIDE	109
APPENDIX VI INTERVIEW GUIDELINES	111

List of figures

- p. 28: Figure 1 - Analytical framework developed by author, based on concepts by Hajer (2006)
- p. 40: Figure 2 – Map of case studies considered, created by author
- p. 41: Figure 3 – Overview of potential case studies, created by author
- p. 44: Figure 4 – Annual student enrolment UM between 2010 and 2019 (Source: VSNU, 2020)
- p. 45: Figure 5 – A brief history of Maastricht University, created by author based on Klijn (2016)
- p. 46: Figure 6 – UM's locations in the city centre, map by author
- p. 50: Figure 7 – Tapijn's transformation, LIAG architects (2020), labels added by author
- p. 63: Figure 8 - SWOT-analysis as published in the Tapijn vision document (2013)
- p. 64: Figure 9 – Visualisation of underlying hierarchical structure and the vision as discursive cement

List of tables

- p. 19: Table 1 - The role of universities in urban regeneration: dimensions and effects
- p. 30: Table 2 - Hajer's steps of doing discourse analysis
- p. 31: Table 3 - Research design guiding this thesis
- p. 33: Table 4 - Overview of helicopter interviews
- p. 35: Table 5 - Overview of texts included in document analysis
- p. 37: Table 6 – Overview of semi-structured interviews

List of pictures

- p. 47: Picture 1 - Soldiers marching at the Tapijn site, year unknown. Source: exhibition 100 years Tapijn
- p. 48: Picture 2 - Tapijn 1, also referred to as the 'square buildings', in May 2020. Picture by author
- p. 48: Picture 3 – The Tapijn site as seen from the city wall. Picture by author
- p. 49: Picture 4 – Temporary eatery located in the former canteen of the military base. Picture by author
- p. 49: Picture 5 – Temporary workshops for local creative entrepreneurs. Picture by author
- p. 70: Picture 6 – Make Love Not War at Tapijn. Picture by Harry Heuts
- p. 76: Pictures 7 & 8 – Visualisations new-built infrastructure Tapijn; earlier plan and later proposal

About this thesis project

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How to read ‘Where the University meets the City’

This thesis starts with an introduction and is then followed by six chapters. The first chapter provides a literature review which guides the empirical work of the master thesis and proposes a problem statement. The second chapter presents the analytical framework grounded in discourse analysis, including an elaboration on the research questions and methods. The third chapter explains the rationale of selecting the case study. The fourth chapter introduces the case study of Maastricht and Tapijn. The fifth chapter presents the main findings of this research. The sixth, and concluding, chapter discusses the main findings, answers the research questions and reflects on this thesis’ implications for existing studies, limitations and suggests recommendations for policy and research.

List of abbreviations

ADA	Argumentative Discourse Analysis as developed by Maarten Hajer
EU	European Union
GAWC	Globalization and World Cities Research Network, institute at Loughborough University (UK)
HEI(s)	Higher education institution(s)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
R&D	Research and development
UK	United Kingdom
ULUR	University-led Urban Regeneration
UM	Universiteit Maastricht [Maastricht University]
US	United States

Introduction

“Just as castles provided the source of strength for medieval towns, and factories provided prosperity in the industrial age, universities are the source of strength in the knowledge-based economy of the 21st century.”

Lord Ronald Dearing, university chancellor and higher education reformer in the United Kingdom, in a speech at Newcastle University, quoted in a *The Guardian* article written by Donald MacLeod (2002)

There is growing recognition of the mutually beneficial relationships universities and cities can forge around urban development. Universities are increasingly acknowledged as anchor institutions, attractors of talent and economic activity, as well as contributors to the attractiveness of a place. Hence, any city which has aspirations in the knowledge economy depends to an increasing extent on a fruitful and sustainable relationship with its knowledge institutions.

This thesis is inspired by a desire to explore this relationship in an underexplored setting in the realm of European urban studies: the small-sized, peripheral city which saw the creation of its university in the 1970s as part of a national strategy to support the economic restructuring from an industrial towards a knowledge-based economy. Nowadays, these universities have emerged as prominent urban actors which have a profound impact on their host cities by assembling and reassembling their cultural-political economy, demographics, quality of life and physical infrastructure. However, in spite of the widely acknowledged notion that city–university cooperation can be mutually beneficial, their spatial relations and interests are often very diverse and complex, causing challenges and tensions between different urban actors.

This project is stimulated by an interest in the way the spatial development of universities is increasingly regarded as an opportunity to address and enhance the relationship between the university and its city neighbours. In doing so, it explores how partnerships between universities, city and provincial authorities are instigated to develop urban spaces which, on the one hand, accommodate the expansion of the university, and on the other, aim to strengthen university–community ties and improve the overall attractiveness of the city. The case study chosen is *Tapijn* in Maastricht, The Netherlands, a collaborative effort of public authorities, led by the local university, to regenerate a former military base into an ‘Open Learning Landscape’: a public park along with university buildings.

This research specifically explores the ways in which this central case study affects, and how it is affected by, the relationship between the university and other urban actors. Drawing on the work of Claire Melhuish (2015), who identified the vital role of discourses in the university-led transformation of urban space, it is analysed how these reciprocal, and to some extent symbiotic, interactions are mediated through a discourse of university-led urban regeneration. Based on an analytical framework embedded in Hajer's theories on analysing discourses (1995; 2006), the case study is understood as a spatial manifestation of this discourse promoted by a so-called "discourse-coalition" (2006, p.71), in which the university and other actors have formed alliances around the shared storylines of an 'Open Learning Landscape'.

The purpose of this thesis is threefold: firstly, to examine the policy discourse which underlies the role of the university in urban regeneration through a document analysis; secondly, to understand how the storylines that underpin the notion an 'Open Learning Landscape' function as a discursive cement to conceal conflictive and synergistic relations among the dimensions of this discourse and the actors that utter them; and thirdly, to scrutinize the interplay of these actors through practices that have facilitated the urban regeneration project. In short, the central question is: **How does the Tapijn university-led urban regeneration project affect, and how is it affected by, the relationship between Maastricht University and other urban actors?**

While numerous studies have highlighted how universities have come to shape the social geography of their host cities, the particular geographical scope and the role of discourses as explored in this thesis have been rarely studied. Through studying Tapijn as an "emblematic issue" (Hajer, 2006, p.65), it is hoped that the results of the research will help form (a small part of) the basis of future theoretical work on the role of discourse in shaping university-city relationships and related urban development. Another contribution lies in identifying other cases of university-led urban regeneration in (small) university cities across Europe. In addition, this thesis may yield various insights for urban planners, university staff, policymakers, citizens, and anyone else who is eager to explore places *where the university meets the city*.

Chapter 1 Literature review

Why does university-led urban regeneration matter? In seeking to discuss this and other questions relevant for this thesis, this chapter sets out by discussing scholarship on how the rise of the knowledge economy has not only intensified the competitiveness *between* cities, but that it has affected the governance structures *within* cities as well. Consequently, the relationship between cities and higher education institutions (hereinafter referred to as “HEIs”) and their localized interactions are discussed. Then university-led urban regeneration (“ULUR”) is identified as a way to create urban spaces for the university-city interface. The chapter concludes with a problem statement.

1.1 Cities in the knowledge economy

This thesis embarks from the notion that the knowledge economy has come to determine, at least in part, the development and governance of cities. Although there is no single definition of what the concept of a knowledge economy entails, the notion of knowledge as a “tacit” product has remained largely unchallenged (Venkitachalam & Busch, 2012). Popularised by Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995), it implies that knowledge resides, and is disseminated by, individuals or communities of practice, and thus suggests the importance of “place” in the knowledge economy (Madanipour, 2013).

1.1.1 Inter-urban competitiveness

Hence, as tacit knowledge is not easily transmitted, the knowledge economy is subject to strong centripetal geographical tendencies (Camagni & Capello, 2005). As argued in seminal work by Friedmann (1968) and Sassen (2000), a select number of world cities have come to flourish as primary agglomerations where knowledge-intensive industries produce systems of competitive advantage.

The performance of cities as knowledge hubs is not, however, purely a function of size and their nodality in the increasingly globalized and neo-liberalized formation of capitalism (Peck, Theodore & Brenner, 2009). The success of urban regions is believed to be increasingly dependent on their capacity to capture and develop significant levels of knowledge-intensive activities, as well as, support policies attractive to members of those who belong to what Florida (2003) has famously termed the ‘creative class’. As a consequence of this inter-urban competitiveness, Yigitcanlar and Velibeyoglu (2008) have observed that cities have become “pumped by neo-liberal policies with the motto of compete or perish” (p.195).

1.1.2 Governance of the knowledge city

While the knowledge economy has intensified the competition *between* cities, it has affected the structures and hierarchies *within* cities as well. According to Da Cruz, Rode and McQuarrie (2019), the concept of urban governance is particularly appealing to discuss how city governments have come to negotiate their way through policy processes while being subject to the influence of other levels of government, the need to collaborate with other urban institutions and lobbying pressures.

In order to characterise the governance of cities in the knowledge economy, our understanding and theories are still strongly influenced by three seminal works published in the late 1980s. It was in this period that Harvey (1989), Logan and Molotch (1987) and Stone (1989) observed how urban politics in North America and Western Europe started to shift in response to, and as a result of, an increasingly globalized, neo-liberalized and knowledge-driven formation of capitalism. Harvey (1989) argued that the dominant mode of urban governance was shifting from managerialism to “entrepreneurialism” (p.7). He argued that this new mode had three defining characteristics. Firstly, that governance was centred on partnerships between public and non-governmental, often private, sectors, secondly, that the activities of these partnerships were risky and speculative, and thirdly, that the “flagship projects” pursued are centred on the construction of places that served entrepreneurial interests instead of those of citizens (Harvey, 1989, p.7).

While Harvey (1989) noted that the shift towards entrepreneurialism implied that urban development was governed “within a broader coalition of forces within which urban government and administration have only a facilitative and coordinating role to play” (p.6), Logan and Molotch (1989) developed the concept of “urban growth coalitions” to explain how a select group of urban actors cooperate to organize themselves, manipulate, structure and lobby collectively with the ultimate goal of ensuring economic growth for the city.

As this thesis aims to address the facilitative role of city government, and partnerships forged between city governments and other urban actors (Harvey, 1989; Logan & Molotch, 1989), urban regime theory as developed in Stone’s book (1989) on post-war urban politics in Atlanta, US, is particularly useful. He identified key actors and institutions through which urban policy and politics are negotiated: “Governance occurs, not as an act of will or domination, but as a coordination of efforts by those who have complementary aims” (1989, p.230).

Regarding the themes discussed in this thesis, the relevance of the concepts of urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989), growth coalitions (Logan & Molotch, 1989) and urban regimes (Stone, 1989), and the concept of urban governance in general, is threefold. Firstly, it describes how dominant coalitions, over periods of time, shape and decide upon policy, governance and visions of the city. Secondly, it addresses how institutions, including but also beyond government, partake in regimes composed by diverse actors who have complementary aims. Thirdly, urban governance and related concepts are useful as an analytical lens because they do not require “a priori assumptions about the roles of the various actors regarding goal setting, steering, and implementation” (Da Cruz, Rode & McQuarrie, 2019, p.2). Rather, they emphasize the relationships and interactions between actors, as well as the conditions and rules that frame these.

1.2 Cities and universities co-producing the knowledge city

When considering the demands of the knowledge economy and possibilities provided by shifting modes of governance, a significant and growing body of literature has identified how HEIs are increasingly positioned as co-producers of the knowledge economy alongside local authorities (e.g. Addie, 2019; Brennan & Cochrane, 2019; Goddard & Vallance, 2011). This has resulted in intensified expectations and interest from policymakers who consider HEIs as anchor institutions in their strategic urban agendas.

Simultaneously, HEIs are increasingly receptive to these expectations as they are subject to a similar neoliberal and competitive logic as noted by Kandiko (2010). In the midst of funding cuts and inter-university competition for students and staff, HEIs are increasingly required to justify the expenditure of public funds and to demonstrate “value for money” (Deem, 1998, p.48).

1.2.1 The civic university

Alongside the adaptation of entrepreneurial practices, a growing number of HEIs has increasingly adopted civic, city-oriented strategies (Hambleton, 2014). HEIs have started to look beyond their traditional missions of teaching and research and adopted a “third mission” of civic engagement as coined by Zomer and Benneworth (2011, p.83). This meant that the city was (re)centred within the core experience and mission of many HEIs (Addie, Keil & Olds, 2014). In order to grasp this reconceptualization of the traditional understanding of HEIs, Goddard (2009) proposed the notion of a “civic university” which (2009, p.5): “... engages as a whole with its surroundings ... and is managed in a way that ensures it participates fully in the region of which it forms part. Its location helps to

form its identity and provide opportunities for it to grow and help others, including individual learners, business and public institutions, to do so too.”

1.2.2 A competitive dance

Considering the simultaneous trends of a knowledge economy and the urban orientation of HEIs, Addie, Keil and Olds (2014) noted, based on a study of university-city relations in Canada, that: “a public policy and institutional consensus is now crystallizing around the idea that urban regions and higher-education institutions are partners in a competitive dance that they both need to involve themselves in in order to survive” (p.29). Addie (2017) further examined this dance in a later study, describing what resembles an urban regime as described by Stone (1989), underpinned by “emergent policy synergies” (p.1093). Accordingly, Cochrane (2015) emphasized a “surprising alignment” of cities’ and HEIs”, and the circulation of a shared language and imagery in the promotion of these shared interests (cited in Melhuish, 2015, p.9). Although this synergy has been questioned, as discussed later in this chapter, Addie (2019) noted that urban policy has subsequently tended to treat HEIs as place-based entities compelled to, and capable of, forging “coherent strategic alignments with their city hosts as homogeneous, monolithic, and rational actors” (p.1614).

1.3 The role of universities in urban development

While many policy concepts have emerged over recent years to refer to the centrality of tacit knowledge in the city (e.g. Castells, 2014), including technopoles, science cities, knowledge quarters, and innovation districts, Yigitcanlar (2010) conceptualised a more holistic understanding of what he terms knowledge-based urban development. In practice, this implies public funding, often in combination with private investment, in support of urban development that sustains and improves the position in the knowledge economy; including infrastructure for HEIs.

1.3.1 The university’s urban orientation

The role of HEIs, however, is not necessarily limited to benefiting from urban policies in support of their presence. Instead, HEIs have increasingly assumed a proactive role as developers and investors in public infrastructure as noted by Benneworth and Hospers (2007). In this respect, the spatial form of the university affects the role that it plays in the wider urban environment and governance. Charles (2011) argued that a HEIs’ urban orientation can be studied through its changing morphology to allow access and interaction with its surroundings.

Whilst historically HEIs were situated within the urban core, many shifted their built form, or were newly established in the post-war period according to the notion of an extra- or sub-urban campus (Charles, 2011). As these distinct extra-urban spaces were located within the suburbs or on the fringes of the city, they isolated the academic community from the chaos of city life, provided the specialized needs of new research institutes and a more flexible environment for accommodating the growing student community. As a result of HEIs turning away from their cities, a physical buffer zone between the university and the community emerged (Wiewel & Perry, 2008).

1.3.2 The city-oriented campus

Nevertheless, the location of the university within the city is in recent years increasingly recognized as an implicit asset for urban development. As noted by Den Heijer and Curvelo Magdaniel (2012), HEIs have turned towards the terminology of “city campus” or “university quarter” to promote their spatial projects. This is, however, not merely motivated by financial reasons. According to Melhuish (2015), HEIs are also keen to integrate academics and students with local communities, resulting in their participation in the wider practice of the knowledge city. Goddard and Vallance (2011) elaborated on this by arguing that it reflects changes in models of pedagogy within universities, and especially an increased emphasis on multidisciplinary and collaborative teaching and research.

The growing role of the university in the development of their host cities, however, is not only expressed in their pedagogy or civic engagement. The shape and form of university facilities is increasingly being determined by the demands of the public interface and the knowledge economy (Charles, 2011; Van Heur, 2010). This has led to the creation of dynamic city-oriented campuses that are integrated into their urban surroundings. As HEIs are expanding rapidly and are becoming more anonymous, students have articulated the need for greater connectivity with the city, and the social contact and amenities it provides. Meanwhile, the growing student populations result in the need to increase the limited teaching and study spaces (Goddard & Vallance, 2013).

1.4 University-led urban regeneration

These circumstances have led to the development of larger and flexible facilities. The spatial expression, however, of HEIs city-orientation does not necessarily require new-built infrastructure. In a study conducted in small university cities, Lazzeroni and Piccaluga (2015) highlight how the regeneration of historical buildings and spaces by universities is increasingly used to integrate “both

tangible and intangible ‘traces’ of the urban landscape which reinforce the university-community relations and produce distinctive identities of knowledge cities” (p.12).

1.4.1 Dimensions of the role of universities in urban regeneration

Despite the growing number of HEIs that have taken up an active role in urban revitalisation, there have been relatively few studies that explored these processes (Bromley, 2006; De Medici, Riganti & Viola, 2018). A study by Robinson and Adams (2008) revealed, as one of the few studies on the subject, that governments are ever more likely to use university expansion as a tool to implement urban renewal projects in critical locations in order to help change the social and demographic dynamics of urban areas.

These studies, however, did not propose ways to study this phenomenon. Fernández-Esquinas and Pinto (2014) were the first to develop a framework to study the role and potential of HEIs in urban regeneration. They propose that this role contains of four dimensions, in which they distinguish between explicit and implicit effects (**table 1**). The framework has not been applied thus far, yet it is considered useful for this thesis and is therefore adopted in its methodology (discussed in 2.3).

While traditionally the concept of urban regeneration is used for areas in decline, the conceptualisation of ULUR by Fernández-Esquinas and Pinto (2014) adopted Roberts and Sykes’ understanding of the concept (2000) being “comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems, which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change” (p. 17). In doing so, this definition allows for the consideration of several key dimensions of the implications of universities’ growing presence in urban areas, in spatial and economic terms, as well as in political and social ones. The dimensions as proposed by Fernández-Esquinas and Pinto (2014), and outlined in **table 1**, are related to: (1) physical infrastructures, such as university infrastructure and housing; (2) dynamics in population and human resources; (3) economic development and innovation; and (4) social and civic components.

Table 1 - The role of universities in urban regeneration: dimensions and effects

Dimensions	Explicit effects	Implicit effects
Physical infrastructure	<p>The university as an agent of urban planning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Property development Reclassification of land for building and urban uses Provision of infrastructure and "knowledge spaces" (services for science and technology parks, ICT access, etc.) Gentrification of declining areas 	<p>The university as an amenity and attraction in urban life</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access infrastructures Provision of cultural and sport facilities Provision of green space
Human resources	<p>Training and specialization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Production of graduates for strategic sectors Specialized training for workers Influx of university-educated population Circulation of knowledge workers 	<p>Population dynamics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demographic change Social mobility Spatial mobility Increase in educated workforce
Economic development	<p>The university as an agent of innovation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Knowledge transfer to businesses Businesses incubation Provision of knowledge intensive services Creation of knowledge clusters: attracting R&D businesses, coalitions of territorial development 	<p>Economic revitalization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generation of sources of income (university as local employer) Revitalization of local suppliers (university as customer of local businesses) Creation of new businesses to meet the university's demand Attracting businesses relating to university specialization
Civic engagement	<p>University's social commitment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Applied research and consulting focused on local policies Involvement in solving social problems: special education, poverty, nutrition, health education Strengthening community capacities 	<p>Social and cultural capital</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhancement of population's capacity for involvement in local issues Increased public participation Higher density of social networks

Source: Adopted from Fernández-Esquinas & Pinto (2014, p. 1470)

1.4.2 Tensions and barriers for university-led urban regeneration

While several studies suggest the potential of ULUR, some authors have also critiqued this type of urban development. Tracing university-city relations from their medieval origins to modern times, Bender's seminal *University and the City* (1988) is considered as one of the first works to state that universities and cities should be approached as "incompletely bounded fields of contestation comprising various traditions, interests, and ideals" (p.290). More recent work by Addie, Keil and Olds (2015) has observed a similar symbiotic relationship noting that: "There is an apparent tension between the spatial roles, relations and imaginaries adopted by cities, regional governance bodies and universities as they pursue (territorialized) economic development strategies" (p.35).

Hence, a growing body of literature has identified a number of tensions and barriers. Firstly, due to governmental reforms and the decentralization of project planning, universities have come under increasing pressure to play the role of the government in urban regeneration initiatives. Moos,

Revington, Wilkin and Andrey (2019) argued that in this novel role HEIs may be better positioned to leverage public support, contrary to traditional for-profit developers, yet they are constrained by the need to meet the requirements of their expanding, globally oriented academic missions. Secondly, ULUR might be constrained by legal limitations on what academic institutions may do with their property, or how they may allocate funds (Austrian & Norton, 2005). Thirdly, the economic regional impact of such projects tends to be overstated (Siegfried, Sanderson & McHenry, 2007), with little long-term evidence on benefits for local, ‘non-elite’ populations (Addie, Keil & Olds, 2015). Fourthly, when a HEI expands in a city, Franz (2011) argued it is a challenge to synchronize university life with city dynamics, especially considering the time required to develop infrastructures.

Other scholars have pointed to concerns over studentification, gentrification or displacement as inequitable outcomes for surrounding communities (Bose, 2015; Ehlenz, 2016; Smith, 2008). Hence, in spite of their collaborative and strategic character, the alignment of the different actors in ULUR cannot be assumed. Addie (2017) elaborated on these tensions by that the primary driver for university-led projects is nearly always “enlightened self-interest” motivated by the need to expand and upgrade their facilities to attract and retain staff and students (p.1094).

1.5 The role of discourse in university-led development

In spite of being underexplored in existing studies, some studies, especially those by Melhuish and Benneworth have highlighted the role of institutional visions in driving ULUR initiatives and the material typologies of these developments. Melhuish’ most eminent research, considering the objectives of this research, is a comparative study of five cases of ULUR in the UK and the US. Her work provides examples of that HEIs are increasingly becoming implicated in the projection of post-industrial urban futures and hybrid models of urban development as “planning animateurs”, a notion proposed by Benneworth and his co-authors Charles and Madanipour (2010, p.1612) based on a study of the regional engagement of universities in peripheral regions. Although their study did not exclusively focus on spatial development, their study reveals how HEIs as urban actors take an active role in the production of “university-influenced urban landscapes” in their cities.

Especially the study by Melhuish (2015) holds several relevant observations which will be further investigated in this thesis. First of all, she observed that the university-city cooperation which drives ULUR often seems to be underpinned by what Addie (2017) later would conceptualise as an “emergent policy synergy” (p.1093) (discussed in 1.2). Secondly, according to Melhuish (2015), ULUR

is enabled through, and mobilized by, the development and communication of discourse, in both verbal and visual form (2015). Her suggestion chimes with an earlier notion by Austrian and Norton (2005), that the discourse of ULUR: "... can also affect the structure of the decision-making process, availability of various financing mechanisms, and the nature of university-community relations" (p.196). Melhuish (2015) backed this statement by noting that the distinctive feature of university development is that it is increasingly embedded in "the wider discourse of local urban place-making in which universities are both positioning themselves and being positioned by external forces" (p. 12).

1.5.1 Urban coalitions

Hence, Melhuish (2015) argued that the development and mobilisation of discourses performs a vital function in ULUR. It does so not simply by representing or projecting a future identity for the university, but also by building social relationships and alliances among the actors involved in its urban surroundings. Her 2015 study and research by Addie (2019) help to identify the main actors involved in ULUR. Both authors identified the city government and the university as key partners who cooperate in the governance and development of the policies and implementation driving ULUR, resembling the urban governance concepts as previously discussed.

As noted by Addie (2017): "The urban is a contradictory and contested process full of heterogeneous voices and interests. So is the university" (p.1097). He further developed this observation in his 2019 paper on university strategic planning in London and New York. He observed that city government encapsulates on the one hand a political dimension, represented in the city council and its executives, and on the other, an administrative dimension. According to Melhuish (2015), the university is a similar, but possibly more complex, heterogeneous entity, consisting of on the one hand, the institutional dimension, supported by academics and administrators who perceive the HEIs as primarily educational institutions, and on the other hand, the physical dimension supported by executive boards and real estate teams who consider HEIs as places to be managed and maintained. Both authors found that students are often not directly involved in ULUR. Civil society or local businesses, often represented through neighbourhood (entrepreneur) associations, were found to be consulted but not directly engaged in the planning process.

1.5.2 A symbiotic relationship

According to Melhuish (2015), the discourse of ULUR is manifested in imagery and language, to be found in policy documents, annual reports and outreach activities. The importance of these

documents of communicating and projecting visions has also been pointed out by Addie (2019) in his recent study of university spatial strategies in London and New York. He noted that these documents also shape and reinforce the constellation of actors considered and included in the planning process of ULUR. An assumption which underlies Melhuish work is that most projects depart from a symbiotic relationship between the actors involved, which are addressed through a collective vision, supported by a discourse, to address the divide between the city and its surroundings. According to Melhuish (2015), this disjunction, however, is not only found between actors, but also within the university as an institution. Therefore, ULUR is also found to address but also complicate the university as a unified entity as it is perceived by external actors.

While her 2015 work only noted the role of discourse as one of several findings of her comparative study, Melhuish further explored the role of discourses in a later study of ULUR which was published in 2019. Based on a comparison between projects in Gothenburg, Sweden, and London, UK, she notes that discourses “have also implicated the universities in new kinds of engagements with the relevant planning authorities, consultants, community organisations, and student and faculty bodies which have brought city-centred discourses of heritage, identity and belonging to the fore” (2019, p.11).

1.5.3 Facilitating the university-city interface in space

In addition to Melhuish’ earlier observations on the role of discourse in ULUR in representing and projecting a university’s identity, as well as building social relationships and alliances among the actors involved, her 2019 study added that these new kinds of engagement have promoted city-centred discourses of heritage and identity. While her earlier work found that a collective vision is communicated within and beyond the university to address the disjunction and the gap between the city and its surroundings, Melhuish (2019) concluded in her study that universities: “are well placed to facilitate that encounter with difference and intermixing capable of promoting a ‘civic culture from the interactions of multiple publics’” (p.16). According to her, an inherent part of ULUR is the central position of public or semi-public areas intended as university-city interface (Melhuish, 2019). Hence, it is in the materialisation of the discourse of ULUR where university-city relations, but also interactions within, and between, the actors involved come to the fore.

1.6 Problem statement

The literature review has revealed that there is a considerable body of research on university-city relations, examining how both universities as well as cities have been going through major transitions in response to, and as a result of, the knowledge economy and shifting modes of urban governance. However, the ways in which ULUR is (re)configuring university-city relations, and in particular the role of discourse in its formation and materialisation, has remained underexplored.

Informed by a review of literature, Van Heur (2010) identified a “surprising lack of documentation or analysis of university spatial development projects” which analyses actual interactions between the university and its surroundings, in and as a result of these projects (p.1713). This literature review identified that existing scholarship on ULUR is limited and either proposed a framework for analysis without applying it in empirical research (Fernández-Esquinas & Pinto, 2012) or exclusively considered the geographical context of the US and the UK (Addie, 2017; Melhuish, 2015).

Therefore, this work adopts a discourse analysis approach to examine the role of discourse in a ULUR project involving a young HEI situated in a small-sized, post-industrial city in a peripheral region. Identifying the need for academic research which explores this particular realm of urban studies, this thesis aims to address the following venues that have not been covered by literature yet.

Firstly, while some renowned scholars (Goddard, 2009; Goddard & Vallance, 2011) suggest that universities and cities have increasingly forged a common agenda, recent work has found that the relationship is rather symbiotic, and sometimes complicated, and more resembles “a competitive dance” (Addie, Keil & Olds, 2015). In addition, Addie (2019) has underlined the importance of studying policy documents as a window to study the interaction between university-city relations and ULUR. Therefore, the question has surfaced of how the different interest and motives of actors to support ULUR are translated into a policy discourse, and eventually, a vision for the project.

Secondly, Melhuish (2015) has observed that particular constellations of actors and practices influence ULUR by inhibiting and supporting its development. However, since there is an absence of an analysis grounded in empirical research addressing these structures, the question of how these coalitions and common understandings drive the planning process of ULUR needs to be addressed.

Thirdly, in her work on ULUR, Melhuish (2015; 2019) has highlighted that ULUR tends to be driven, and mediated, by an underpinning discourse of the university as agent of regeneration. As these discourses have remained underexplored, especially in the geographical context of this thesis, an analysis of the dynamics of negotiation among actors stimulating this discourse and, as well as, the performance and contestation of these dynamics in space, is needed to gain a better understanding of university-city relations, ULUR projects and the way discourse mediates the interaction between these two.

Chapter 2 Methodology

The preceding chapter revealed that the existing scholarship on the way spatial development of universities is increasingly regarded as an opportunity for the creation of university-city interfaces, its underlying socio-spatial interactions and implications, however, are neither fully understood nor simple.

This thesis particularly focuses on the role of discourses in the university-led transformation of urban spaces, building on earlier studies by Melhuish (2015; 2019). Since Melhuish has not proposed concepts nor methods to study the discourse of ULUR, an analytical framework was developed based on Hajer's theoretical work (1995) on Argumentative Discourse Analysis (hereinafter referred to as "ADA"). This chapter starts with a brief discussion of discourse analysis in the field of urban studies. Then the concepts and framework that underpin this analysis are presented, followed by outlining the question(s) and research design. It then explains the collection, analysis and interpretation of empirical data. Ultimately, it discusses the limitations of the methodology.

2.1 Discourse Analysis in Urban Studies

Discourse analysis has come relatively late to urban studies (Lees, 2004). Since the late 1990s, the field has seen a proliferation of scholars that recognize the role of discourse "as a component of urban processes and change" (Hastings, 1999, p.7). Jacobs (2006) identified three reasons why discourse analysis provides researchers with a set of tools to study urban processes in a theoretically informed way. Firstly, it acknowledges the power and conflicts that influence the deliberation of policy implementation (as described by e.g. Van Dijk, 1997). Secondly, it recognizes how actors "represent their ways of acting and organizing, and produce imaginary projections of new or alternative ways, in particular discourses" (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak, 2004, p.2). Thirdly, a discourse-based approach can be useful to gain a better understanding of partnership arrangements and cooperation with multiple actors as it reveals ways in which actors deploy specific terminology to establish particular alliances as a means to pursue political objectives (Jacobs, 2006).

2.2 Towards an analytical framework

This thesis further explores what Melhuish (2015; 2019) has identified as "the distinctive feature of university development" (2015, p.12). While her studies highlight the role of discourses and how they

enable universities to build relationships and alliances among actors involved, Melhuish has not proposed a framework nor methods to study their formation or spatial manifestation.

Therefore, an analytical framework was developed, drawing primarily on the writings of Maarten Hajer, a Dutch political scientist and planner. In the early 1990s, Hajer developed a conceptual apparatus to study the role of discourse-coalitions in the emergence of ecological modernisation in Great Britain (1995). In *Doing Discourse Analysis: Coalitions, Practices, Meaning* (2006) he explained how to conduct an ADA. The relevance of ADA for this thesis lies mainly in his recognition that the relationship between discourses and actors is not a one-way street and that actors, and the practices they promote, can in turn shape discourses.

In addition, Hajer's ADA (1995; 2005; 2006) has benefited the objectives of this thesis in three more ways. Firstly, it benefited from its capacity to answer 'how' questions; it did not merely illuminate why certain definitions did (not) catch on at a particular place and time, but also explained the mechanisms by which a policy did (not) come about. Secondly, it enabled an analysis of how interests are played out in the context of specific discourses and organizational practices, allowing to go beyond mere reference to interests. Thirdly, it allowed to illuminate how different actors and organizational practices reinforce a certain discourse in alliances which resemble the concepts of Stone's "urban regime" (1989) and Logan and Molotch's "growth coalition" (1987).

Essentially, this thesis employed concepts as developed by Hajer (2006) in its analytical framework as it provided the vocabulary and tools to analyze how discourse mediates the interaction between Tapijn and wider university-city relations. The key concepts for this analysis are defined below.

2.2.1 Defining discourse-coalitions

The understanding of how discourses should be analysed, varies across time, institutional setting, scientific discipline, application, and, not least, the analyst. This thesis employed the concept of 'discourse-coalition', as it supported the analysis of why and how "different actors from various backgrounds form coalitions around specific storylines over a particular period" (Hajer, 2005, p.304). More specifically, a discourse-coalition can be defined as:

"the ensemble of (1) a set of storylines; (2) the actors that utter these storylines; and (3) the practices through which these storylines get expressed (Hajer, 2006, p.71)."

Following this approach, a discourse can be said to dominate a particular realm only if it “solidifies in particular institutional arrangements” (i.e. the actual policy and planning process of the development) for a particular discursive space. This institutionalisation of a discourse-coalition implies that once a new discourse is institutionalized, it will continue to produce storylines on specific problems, employing the conceptual machinery of the new discourse (e.g., ULUR as a way to achieve university-city interface).

2.2.2 Storylines, actors and practices

While a discourse-coalition often provides as a structure of binding moments and elements to which coherence is made, this “is not an essential feature of discourse” (Hajer, 1995, p.44). Despite their diverse interests, various actors within a certain setting can form alliances agree on the meaning of certain phenomena and support the same cause. Hajer referred to this phenomenon as the ‘communicative miracle’ and explains it with the concepts of storylines and practices.

Storylines

According to Hajer (1995), a storyline conceals discursive complexity and “helps to achieve discursive closure of otherwise fragmented and incoherent discourses” (pp.62-63). As such, it is a narrative on social reality that enables this communicative miracle to occur. Storylines can render actors as problem solvers or perpetrators, engaged with the community or primarily self-interested; they can also attribute actors certain assets, regardless how factual it might be, as “the power of storylines is essentially based on the idea that it sounds right” (Hajer, 1995, p.63). Consequently, a storyline can be understood as the “discursive cement” as it combines elements of the various discourses into a more or less coherent whole, thus concealing discursive complexity (Hajer, 2005, p.304).

Actors & practices

Whereas storylines are regarded as the medium through which discourses are articulated, the concept of practice highlights how discourses become manifested as distinct techniques and organizational routines. ADA also emphasizes on actors and their intentionality, acknowledging a mutual constitution among actors and storylines (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). Actors can use storylines explicitly, e.g., when advocating for adaptive reuse of heritage, while, implicitly and unintentionally, drawing on wider discourses, e.g., the university as an economic catalyst.

Despite their connection through a shared set of storylines, actors in a discourse-coalition often have different, if not contradictory, objectives and interests. Despite giving different content and meaning

to these storylines, they do have a mutual conceptualisation of the matter at hand, what Hajer describes as “discursive affinity” (2002, p.47). This affinity, however, does not assume coherent and concerted action. The research question of this thesis addresses the dynamics between different objectives and interests of actors and the concept of discursive affinity.

2.2.3 A framework to study university-led urban regeneration

When the conceptual apparatus as developed by Hajer (2006) is applied to serve the objectives of this thesis, the collaborative effort of public actors to redevelop the Tapijn site can be understood as a “discourse-coalition” (p.71). This conceptualization informed the framework as presented in **figure 1**.

The framework elaborates on previous studies by Claire Melhuish (2015; 2019), who identified the vital role of discourses in the university-led transformation of urban spaces. It ultimately serves to analyse the reciprocal, and to some extent symbiotic, interactions between the strategic urban project and university-city relations are mediated through the discourse of ULUR.

It does so, by examining the elements of the discourse-coalition (adopting the definition by Hajer (2006, p.71), in the context of Tapijn: “the ensemble of a set of storylines (what?), the different actors that utter these storylines (who?); and the practices through which these storylines get expressed (how?). The structure of this analytical framework is also reflected in the three sub-questions that help to answer the central research question.

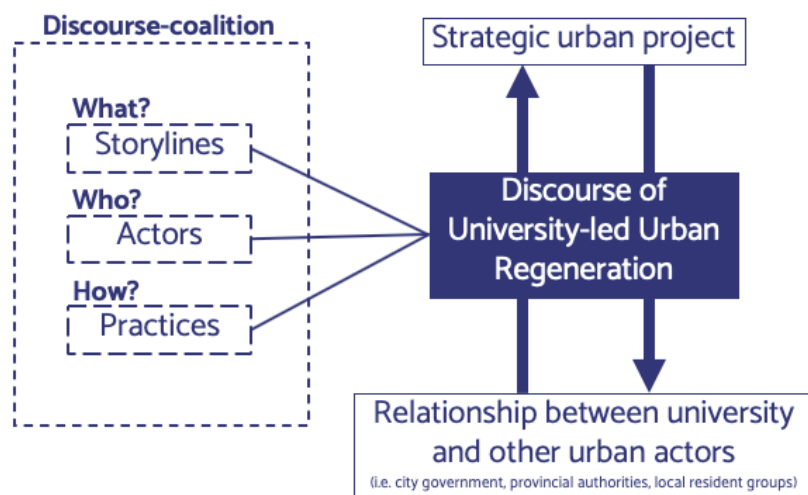


Figure 1 - Analytical framework developed by author, based on concepts by Hajer (2006)

2.3 Research questions

This thesis explores how the reciprocal, and to some extent symbiotic, interactions between the strategic urban project and university-city relations are mediated through the discourse of ULUR. To overcome the false dichotomy of detail versus relevance, this thesis specifically focuses on Tapijn as emblematic for the broader discourse of ULUR in Maastricht, as according to Hajer “emblematic issues” play a primary role in understanding policy issues as they are used as vehicles to discuss more complex sets of problems (Hajer, 2006, p.65). Accordingly, the following central research question was formulated:

How does the Tapijn university-led urban regeneration project affect, and how is it affected by, the relationship between Maastricht University and other urban actors?

In order to answer this question, an understanding of what constitutes this discourse-coalition is needed. Therefore, three sub-questions were formulated. Informed by the concepts adopted from Hajer (2006, p.71) and the analytical framework as presented in 2.2.3, the first sub-research question focuses primarily on (1) examining the hierarchical, i.e. conflictive or synergistic, relations among core actors which underpin the discourse of ULUR; (2) to understand how the storylines that underpin the notion an ‘Open Learning Landscape’ function as a discursive cement to conceal conflictive and synergistic relations among the dimensions of this discourse and the actors that utter them; and (3), to scrutinize the interplay of these actors and the practices through which the storylines are expressed. The following sub-research questions were developed:

Sub-question 1:

In light of the four dimensions of university-led urban regeneration (Fernández-Esquinas & Pinto, 2014), in what ways do the interests and objectives of different urban actors align and collide in policy papers and strategic planning documents?

Sub-question 2:

How are these hierarchical, i.e. conflictive or synergistic, relations among these actors incorporated in the storylines of ‘Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape’?

Sub-question 3:

Considering the three phases of drafting the vision, the design process and the site development, what are the actors and practices that have shaped the transformation of Tapijn into an ‘Open Learning Landscape’?

2.4 Research design

In order to answer these questions, a qualitative methodology was adopted, in which each method builds off the results found in the previous method. This iterative approach in order to guide this thesis was developed by the author, informed by Hajer's ten steps of doing discourse analysis (2006, pp.73-74, **table 2**). For the purpose of this study, these steps were integrated in a research design (**table 3**) which features five phases. The iterative rationale and steps were reconsidered in order to develop a methodology to answer the research questions as presented in 2.2.

While Hajer's conceptual apparatus and research steps provide valuable tools to conduct this discourse analysis, the definitions of concepts such as storylines remain fairly abstract. Therefore, the operationalization of these concepts, as well as the collection and analysis of empirical data is elaborated on in the remainder of this chapter; following the structure of the three sub-questions, their central concept(s) and accompanying method(s).

Table 2 - Hajer's steps of doing discourse analysis (2006, p. 73)

Steps	Objective
1 Desk research	first chronology and first reading of events
2 Helicopter interviews	to gain an overview from different perspectives
3 Document analysis	to identify story lines and metaphors, and sites of discursive struggle
4 Interviews with key players	to construct the interviewee discourses and the shifts in recognition of alternative perspectives
5 Sites of argumentation	search the data to account for the argumentative exchange
6 Analyse for positioning effects	to show how people or institutions get caught up in an interplay
7 Identify key incidents	to understand the discursive dynamics and the outcomes
8 Analysis of practices	going back to the data to see if the meaning of what is said can be related to the practices in which it was said
9 Interpretation	an account of the discursive structures, practices, and sites of production
10 Second visit to key actors	respondents should recognise some of the hidden structures of language

Table 3 - Research design guiding this thesis, developed by author

Phase	Objective	Hajer's steps of doing discourse analysis* and author's application for this thesis
1	To identify research gap & select cases to study	1) Desk Research; 2) Helicopter Interviews <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collection and review of academic literature Identification of research gap and possible approaches 9 helicopter interviews to explore potential case studies Site visits in several cities (Maastricht, Siegen, Antwerp, Madrid, Copenhagen and Vilnius) Review of documentation of city council Selection of case study based on research gap, criteria and access to required information Selection of documents to be analysed in <u>phase 2</u>; Drafting coding guide based on insights from literature
2	To document the dimensions of ULUR and how these are expressed in the storylines of the project	2) Document Analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collection of information on context through media coverage analysis, demographic research and observations in situ Collection of policy documents drafted by universities, local and provincial authorities and civil actors Analysis of 13 policy documents applying the framework Fernández-Esquinas and Pinto (2014) as a coding guide Based on findings in content analysis, selection of actors to be approached for <u>phase 3</u>; Drafting interview guide based on insights from <u>phase 1 and 2</u> and recruitment of interviewees
3	To map actors, and practices that utter and express storylines	4) Interviews with key players; 5) Sites of argumentation; 6) Analyse how people and institutions get caught up in an interplay <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 14 interviews with key stakeholders in Maastricht based on input gathered during phases 1 and 2 Continuation of collection of information on context through media coverage analysis, demographic research and observations in situ
4	To scrutinize the discourse coalition that underpins the project	7) Identify key incidents; 8) Analysis of practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Synthesis of results phases 1, 2 and 3 for an interpretation employing a CDA Outline of major findings and observations; Focus on a selected number of themes
5	To discuss results and answer central research question	9) Interpretation; 10) Second visit to key actors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reflection on phases 1 to 4, as well as the implications of research and contribution to literature and public policy; suggestions for future research Scheduled for September/October 2020 to discuss findings with key actors

*As adapted from Hajer, 2006, pp. 73-74

2.5 Collection, analysis & interpretation of empirical data

Following the research design (**table 3**), the collection, analysis and interpretation of data occurred in five distinct phases. The methods that were employed to address the research questions are further elaborated on.

Firstly, the nine helicopter interviews which were conducted to familiarise with the policies and actors and refine the scope and objectives of this thesis (2.5.1). Secondly, the policy texts which were collected and analysed (2.5.2). Thirdly, the recruitment and analysis of interviews with 14 key urban actors (2.5.3). Finally, the limitations of the research are addressed (2.5.4).

2.5.1 Helicopter interviews

According to Hajer (2006), helicopter interviews are crucial when conducting an ADA as they provide an opportunity to collect information on possible interviewees, the context of what is studied and narrow down the study's scope. Nine interviewees were selected to include different perspectives and sourcing input and inspiration for the thesis design (**table 4**).

Between May and July 2019, three interviews were conducted with actors who have a thorough understanding and overview of the field. In addition, four key actors at Maastricht University were interviewed. Two interviews were conducted with key stakeholders in Siegen and Hasselt to acquire access to data and contacts for the initial comparative research design. All participants received an invitation by e-mail to share their input and ideas. The interviews took place in person or through video calling and lasted at least 45 minutes. During these conversations detailed notes were taken, without taping the interviewee, in order to allow him or her to speak freely and build rapport.

Table 4 - Overview helicopter interviews

Description of position and relation to research topic		Date of interview
General		
Dr. Michael Mießner	Research Fellow at the Technical University of Dresden, expert in the field of urban governance and studentification	17/05/2019 (video-call)
Rinske Brand	Founding Partner at Rotterdam-based urban agency BRAND, expert and practitioner in the field of placemaking, with experience in advising universities and local governments	19/07/2019 20/11/2019 (call)
Dr. Ron Cörvers	Scientific director at Maastricht Sustainability Institute and Associate Professor at Maastricht University, expert in sustainable development with a network relevant for this thesis	23/07/2019 (in-person)
Maastricht		
Robin Vossen	Policy Officer Academic Affairs at Maastricht University, an expert-policymaker well-informed and -connected on the topic of engagement and valorisation	11/02/2019 (in-person)
Maurice Evers	Department Head, Housing at Maastricht University and manager of the 'Student and City' programme, who has an extensive network and understanding of, the organisation	11/02/2019 (in-person)
Dr. Michelle van Mulken	Project Coordinator 'City Deal' at Maastricht University, a civic engagement project by higher education institutions and the city	12/02/2019 (in-person)
Thomas Schäfer	Project Coordinator 'Student and City' at Maastricht University, who manages projects focused on improving student life and civic engagement in the city	20/03/2019 (video-call)
Other considered case studies		
Prof. Dr.-Ing. Thorsten Erl	Professor of Urbanism at University of Siegen, jury member of the architectural competition for campus development	12/10/2019 (in-person)
Dany Polus	Former Manager real estate development at Hasselt University, acted as project coordinator of the City Campus development (2008-2014)	14/03/2020 (call)

2.5.2 Document analysis

In order to answer the first and second sub-question, “In what ways do the interests and objectives of different urban actors align and collide in policy papers and strategic planning documents?” and “How are these hierarchical relations among these actors incorporated in the storylines encapsulated in ‘Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape?’”, four dimensions as proposed by Fernández-Esquinas and Pinto (2014) are considered. Their framework was designed to analyse the role of HEIs in urban regeneration but has not been applied in empirical studies thus far (see p.20).

Sampling of documents

Based on suggestions received during the helicopter interviews, thirteen publications and authored by a diverse set of urban actors between 2013 and 2019 were selected for analysis. Totalling 425 A4 pages of text (see p.21), these documents are considered a suitable unit of analysis to study the policy discourse of ULUR. Addie (2019), who comparatively assessed strategic plans of universities in London and New York, notes that policy papers “provide a window onto organizational priorities” (p.1618). The selected documents have been issued by planning departments and the *College van Burgemeester en Wethouders* [Dutch equivalent of mayor and executive board] of the Maastricht government, the management and communications teams of Maastricht University, the planning teams of the Province of Limburg and local representatives of neighbourhood associations. See **table 5** for a full overview of the documents, publications in English are marked with a *-symbol. The documents feature references to the case study, which is relevant for answering the sub-question.

Operationalisation and Analysis

In order to perform a valid and reliable document analysis, the main concepts of the sub-research questions were operationalised. Storylines are understood as narratives that enable different spheres to form coalitions and common understandings regarding particular matters (Hajer, 1995, p. 62). The project vision of ‘Tapijn as Open Learning Landscape’ is understood as the collection of storylines that conceals discursive complexity. The analysis of the documents helped to examine how a discursive closure of otherwise fragmented and incoherent discourses was achieved.

In order to research alignment and collision, three distinct analysis stages as proposed by Saldaña (2015) were adopted: protocol (1), axial (2) and (3) reflexive coding. For the first stage, documents were coded using the analytical framework as developed by Fernández-Esquinas and Pinto (2014). Their framework proposes four dimensions and eight effects of ULUR, which were consequently adopted as codes to analyse the suite of documents. This procedural analysis allowed to identify the interest and motives of the institutions which issued the publication. For the second stage, the 115 codes were then revised and contrasted – resulting in a list of colliding and aligning interests and motives between the various actors. The third and last stage served the reflexive process of linking the assigned codes back to the research question and how these dimensions come forward in the project's vision, i.e. storyline. During all above-mentioned steps, *ATLAS.ti* software was used to code and analyze the data.

Table 5 - Overview of texts included in document analysis

Type of document	Title of document	Number of pages
City of Maastricht		
Coalition agreement (2018)	Bestuursakkoord 2018-2022	23 pages
Policy programme on student city (2019)	Studentenstad 2019-2022	20 pages
Spatial development strategy, long-term (2019)	Ontwerp Omgevingsvisie Maastricht 2040	62 pages
Maastricht University		
Annual report (2018)	Maastricht University Jaarverslag 2018	58 pages
Strategic plan (2017)	Community at the core: strategic programme 2017-2021*	21 pages
Advocacy paper on civic engagement (2018)	Our Impact on Maastricht, Europe & the World*	76 pages
Province of Limburg		
Regional knowledge economy strategy (2018)	Regionale kennisagenda Limburg	22 pages
Regional spatial development strategy (2016)	Kader stedelijke ontwikkeling	39 pages
Civil society, i.e. neighbourhood associations		
Alternative vision on urban development (2019)	Het Jekerkwartier: een omgevingsvisie vanuit bewonersperspectief	5 pages
Appeal against spatial development strategy (2019)	Zienswijze naar aanleiding van de ter visielegging Ontwerp Omgevingsvisie 2040	4 pages
Appeal of residents against vision Tapijn (2014)	Reactie op Visiedocument Tapijn	4 pages
Specific for Tapijn project		
Vision issued by city, province and university (2013)	Visie Transformatie Tapijnkazerne 2014-2023	68 pages
Land-use plan issued by city authorities (2016)	Bestemmingsplan Tapijnkazerne	23 pages

*documents in English

2.5.3 Semi-structured interviews

In order to answer the third sub-question, “What are the actors and practices that have shaped the transformation of Tapijn into an ‘Open Learning Landscape?’”, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key actors employed at the university, city and provincial authorities concerned, or representatives of student and neighbourhood communities. Interviews are particularly well-suited to “understanding the actor’s experience, knowledge and worldviews” (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p.173).

Recruitment of interviewees

The interviewees were recruited based on recommendations gathered during the helicopter interviews as well as suggestions that emerged from the document analysis. Hence, an expertise-driven snowball sampling technique was applied (Boeije, 2010). The interviewees were recruited with the aim to replicate the diversity of actors engaged in, and affected by, the project. Interviews were conducted with 14 key actors with an average length of 45 minutes (see **table 6**). With three key actors, the (former) Tapijn project coordinators of the university as well as the city government, two interviews were conducted. Seven interviews took place in person and seven through (video-)call. The interviews were structured around questions specified in an interview guide (see **Appendix VI**), drafted based on insights gathered throughout previous research phases. All interviews were discursively organised around open topics concerning the actors’ role in ULUR.

Enriching the data through informal conversations, visits and observations

The author has also considered informal conversations with local residents, university staff and students when conducting this thesis project. In addition, the case study site has been visited ten times between the start of the thesis project in January 2019 and the realisation of the first phase of the development and the final phase of the thesis project in August 2020. These observations as well as insights gained during a tour by the project coordinator have been included in the research as well.

Operationalisation & Analysis

For the analysis of the interviews, the concepts of actors and practices were operationalised. In her 2015 study, Melhuish observed that particular actors and practices exert influence by inhibiting and supporting ULUR projects. The helicopter interviews helped to identify the city authority, the provincial authority and the university as coalition actors with direct influence on the formation and materialisation of an ‘Open Learning Landscape’. Residents, and in particular their representative associations, and students were found to be directly affected yet indirectly engaged in the project.

Practices are here understood as the ways in which these storylines have become manifested and are studied throughout three phases of the planning process: *Drafting the design*, *Designing the site* and *Developing the project*. The distinction between the phases was proposed in helicopter interviews and is a valuable contribution to this analysis, as it enabled to consider the project's evolution over time.

The interview recordings were transcribed verbatim, to then be analyzed following the three stages as proposed by Boeije (2010): open (1), axial (2), and selective (3) coding. Firstly, the transcripts were decomposed and coded. This allowed to identify relevant remarks on e.g. actors and practices in place. Secondly, the large number of codes were revised, merged and linked as much as possible, allowing for a preliminary comparison between actors. The third and last step was used for the reflexive process of linking the assigned codes back to the question and theory.

Table 6 – Overview of semi-structured interviews

Affiliation	Ref.	Role/Position	Date & Duration
City of Maastricht	City01	Project coordinator Tapijn (2013-2017) & Manager spatial planning department	09/06/2020 - 43m20s 20/08/2019 - 30m00s*
	City02	Process manager spatial planning & Coordinator Spatial Development Strategy	14/05/2020 - 41m30s
	City03	Senior advisor economic development & Coordinator knowledge economy	28/01/2019 - 25m00s*
Maastricht University	Uni01	Project coordinator Tapijn (2016-present)	09/06/2020 - 60m00s 05/09/2019 - 25m30s*
	Uni02	Project coordinator Tapijn (2013-2016)	12/06/2020 - 65m00s
	Uni03	Project manager Match, civic engagement & Project manager 'Student and City' (2014-2016)	02/06/2020 - 57m30s 12/02/2019 - 30m00s*
	Uni04	Manager university library, future user Tapijn	10/06/2020 - 17m00s
	Uni05	Assistant professor & Co- initiator 'Universiteit met de Buurt', civic engagement project	12/06/2020 - 33m00s
Student Representation	Stud01	Chair 'M:OED', local political movement & PhD candidate at Maastricht University	01/07/2020 - 40m00s (duo interview)
	Stud02	Ideology officer 'M:OED' & recent graduate from Maastricht University	
Province	Prov01	Senior policy advisor built environment Representative for Tapijn (2013-2019)	12/06/2020 - 35m00s
Civil Society	Civil01	Founding chair 'Vrienden van de Binnenstad', promoting interests of citizens living in the inner city	08/06/2020 - 41m30s
	Civil02	Chair 'Bewonersvereniging Jekerkwartier', representing 250 households living in neighbourhood	08/06/2020 - 63m30s
	Civil03	Treasurer 'Bewonersvereniging Jekerkwartier'	04/06/2020 - 37m30s

Interviews marked with * were neither transcribed nor used as excerpts in this thesis. These conversations primarily served the purpose of obtaining access to data, fact-checking and contextualising findings, briefing people about the research and sourcing for input

2.6 Methodological limitations

There are several shortcomings associated with discourse analysis. The first pitfall is that there is a risk of neglecting important material, or of overemphasizing specific words or texts whilst the context is overlooked (Hastings, 2000). Furthermore, the approach of discourse analysis involves a selection of what are considered the most important texts for analysis, and it is therefore important that a justification for the selection of these texts is provided (Jacobs, 2006).

For this thesis, a threefold strategy was deployed to address these pitfalls. Firstly, an iterative multi-method research design was developed considering many different sources for empirical data. Secondly, in order to address the possible shortcomings of discourse analysis, nine helicopter interviews were conducted (discussed in 2.5.1) to collect input on relevant actors and policy documents. Thirdly, through archival and media research on Tapijn, attention is paid to the source and the audience of documents to situate how the policy was constituted and framed.

2.6.1 Validity and reliability

In addition, this thesis aims to address the issues of validity and reliability. Concerning internal validity, an interview guide was carefully crafted and discussed with the thesis supervisor and revised based on mock-interviews. To pursue external validity, i.e. the generalizability across populations, settings and time, the participants and documents were selected with the aim of having a representative sample (explained in 2.5.3)

In order to make replicability of this study possible, a rationale of the case study selection and a justification of selection criteria and various avenues for future studies are provided. In addition, this study heavily relies on the interpretation of a single researcher, in both collecting and analyzing the data, which threatens the study's reliability. The coding, however, was guided by methodological literature, contributing to the reliability. Furthermore, it is important to emphasize that the value of this study does not primarily lie in its replicability, but rather in its exploratory aim to explore future topics of research.

This chapter discussed the rationale behind the methodology of this thesis, detailing and explaining its multiple research methods and phased approach, the next chapter addresses why and how the central case study of this thesis has been selected.

Chapter 3 Case study selection

As the preceding chapter outlined the methodology, this chapter discusses how the case study selection contributes to addressing gaps in existing literature. It starts with a discussion of ULUR in small European cities, and then looks at the rationale behind the case study selection, which reflects considerations made concerning the validity and replicability of this study. It concludes with briefly presenting the central case study, which is discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

3.1 University-led urban regeneration in European cities

This thesis focuses on a particular setting in the realm of European urban studies: the small-sized, post-industrial, peripheral city. The cities which were considered for this research, saw the creation of their 'young universities' in the 1970s as part of a national strategy to support the economic restructuring from an industrial towards a knowledge-based economy. At present, these universities have a profound and growing impact on their cities.

Their impact is studied through examining the adaptive reuse of sites which have lost their function and importance due to economic restructuring and the changing functions of cities. These industrial and military infrastructures are transformed into university campuses with the aim to tailor urban ambitions geared towards knowledge-based urban and economic development. These city-oriented projects carry a symbolic meaning too, as the structures no longer serve their defensive and closed character but are converted into open and permeable institutions. This thesis highlights how the discourse of ULUR, and the actors and practices that materialise it, promote the imagery of the university incorporating its city, and *vice versa*.

Six criteria, presented in **table 7**, were formulated to select potential cases. As part of the orientation phase of this research (phase 1 in the Methodology chapter), a large number of ULUR projects in Northwest Europe were considered based on the criteria as outlined above. This eventually resulted in a shortlist of four cases, of which a brief overview is presented in **figure 2 and 3**: Maastricht (The Netherlands), Hasselt (Belgium), Siegen (Germany) and Limerick (Ireland).

Table 7 – Criteria for case study selection:

1. An adaptive re-use project in which a closed site is converted into an university campus, completed or ongoing between 2015 and 2020 and situated in the city centre;
2. This project is undertaken by a public university which was founded in the 1970s as part of a national strategy to support economic restructuring of its respective region;
3. This university is ranked in the global top 150 of the 'Young University Rankings' in its 2020 edition (Times Higher Education, 2020);
4. Its growing student presence in the city which is measured by comparing enrollment figures published by the respective university between 2013 and 2018;
5. Its small-medium population size of 75,000-125,000 inhabitants, following the definition as proposed by the OECD and the European Commission (Dijkstra & Poelman, 2012);
6. Its peripheral location within the national geography, as well as its location at least 75 kilometres from an Alpha level city as classified by the 'Globalization and World Cities Research Network' in 2018 (GaWC, 2018).

Figure 2 – Map of case studies considered, created by author

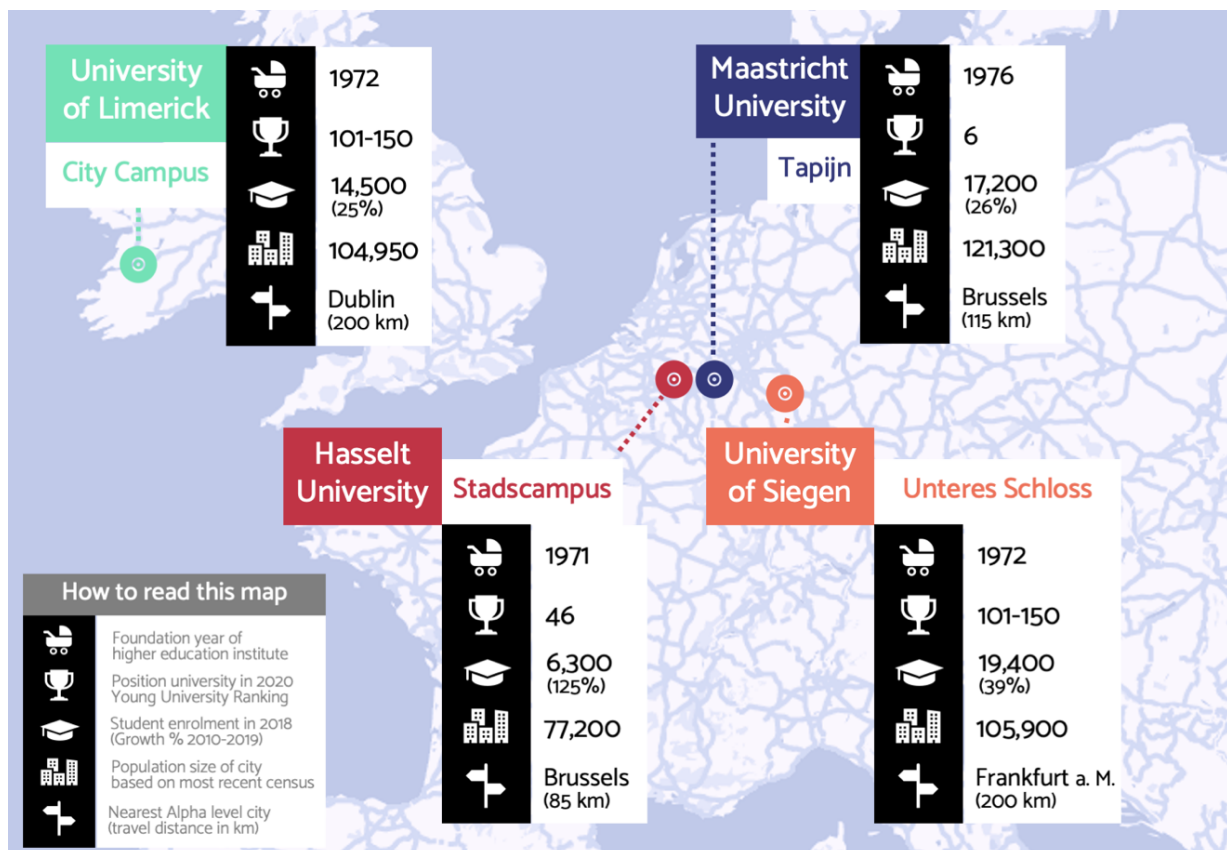


Figure 3 – Overview of potential case studies, created by author

Maastricht University

Transformation of former military barracks into a university campus with public park.

The site is located at the edge of the city, close to other university buildings.

Tapijn (2014–2023)



City Campus (2019–2022)



University of Limerick

Transformation of former department store into city campus.

The site is located in the city centre, 5 km from its main campus outside the city.

University of Siegen

Transformation of castle, former bank and shops to create a large-scale city campus.

The site is located in the city centre, 5 km from its main campus outside the city.

Unteres Schloss (2016–2025)



Stadscampus (2008–2016)



Hasselt University

Completed transformation of old prison into city campus.

The site is located at the edge of the city centre, 5 km from its main campus outside the city.

3.2 Rationale for selecting the case study

In addition to these selection criteria, a number of considerations were made in order to select the case study. First of all, the language proficiency of the researcher was taken into account as employing discourse analysis as a research method requires a good understanding of the materials being studied. Secondly, the access to key actors and required documentation was evaluated through nine helicopter interviews conducted in the early stages of the thesis project (see 2.4.1). Thirdly, the current stage of the project's planning process was assessed, whether it is completed, ongoing or preparatory, as this could have consequences for the feasibility of the research.

Based on an evaluation of these considerations and selection criteria, the case studies of Maastricht, Siegen and Hasselt were selected as cases that appeared as best suited to execute the research plan. Staff employed at the respective universities as well as local authorities were contacted to further assess their eligibility. In addition, all three projects were visited, a preliminary document analysis was conducted, and helicopter interviews were held with relevant stakeholders.

As an integral and vital part of this research, the author has reflected extensively on the size and the scope of this thesis. After a thorough exploration of eligible case studies, though severely constrained by the Covid-19 outbreak (as elaborated on in **Appendix I**), it was eventually decided to conduct a single case study analysis of the Tapijn project in Maastricht. The selection of this case study can be explained by the author's familiarity with the case city, native proficiency in Dutch, the accessibility of data and interviewees.

This chapter has discussed the rationale behind selecting Tapijn as a central case study. The next chapter introduces and further contextualises this case study.

Chapter 4 Introducing Maastricht & Tapijn

This chapter provides a historical and cultural context of the case study: It briefly discusses how Maastricht University (herein after referred to as “UM”, its official abbreviation) was created in the 1970s *ex nihilo*, as part of a national strategy. It concludes with an introduction of the case study.

4.1 From a regional to a globally linked institution

Maastricht's university was originally established as *Rijksuniversiteit Limburg* [State University Limburg] in 1976, after regional politicians successfully lobbied for a new university to be established in the capital city of Limburg province, in the southeast of the Netherlands. Klijn chronicled UM's history in her book *The Maastricht Experiment* (2016) and described how its foundation was part of a national strategy to support restructuring of Limburg. After the closure of the nearby coal mines in the late 1960s and early 70s, it was envisioned to be a new cultural, social and economic stimulus to this challenged region (Klijn, 2016, p.9). Around the same period, many universities were established in Northwest Europe driven by similar strategies: e.g. Stirling (1967) in the UK, Bielefeld (1969) in Germany, Aalborg (1974) in Denmark and Hasselt (1971) in Belgium.

4.1.1 A brief history of a young university

Although the youngest university in the country saw its viability questioned in its early years, it managed to turn the tide from the 1980s onwards (see **figure 5**). It gained further political support and saw its funding increase, enabling an enlargement in a broad range of academic fields such as law (1981), economics (1984), arts and culture (1994), psychology (1995) and humanities and sciences (2005). This expansion was accompanied by a rapid growth in student numbers, especially since the mid-1990s when the first English-speaking programmes were established.

In 1996, the university was renamed “Universiteit Maastricht”. From 2008 onwards, the English translation has been officially adopted. The decisions to adopt a more internationally- and city-oriented name, reflects a strategic effort by UM to increasingly brand itself as “a globally linked European university” (Maastricht University, 2016).

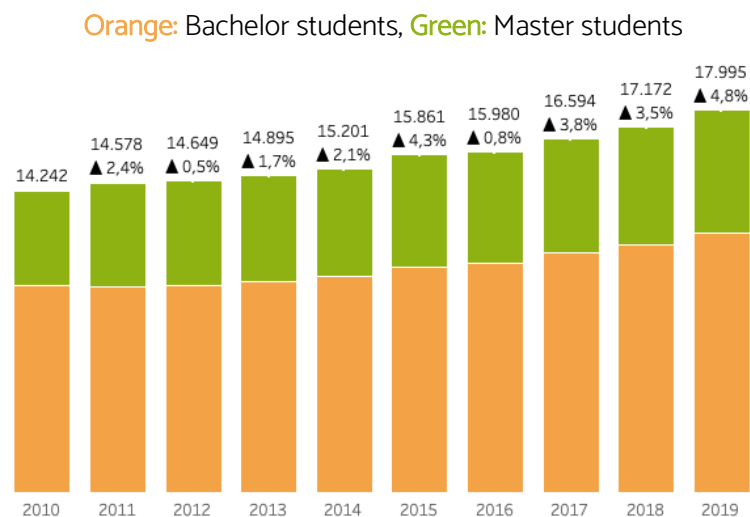
4.1.2 Maastricht University at present

Nowadays, UM is the 9th largest research university in the Netherlands, out of a total 13. UM is a major economic catalyst in the region and the 5th largest employer with nearly 4,000 employees. The UM reportedly has an annual gross added value of €298 million for the city of Maastricht and a total economic value creation of €628 million (research by Panteia, commissioned by UM, 2018).

The university is the most international university in the country, with more than half of its students originating from abroad (53 percent in 2019). Fuelled by its internationalization efforts, its enrolment almost doubled from approximately 10,000 students in 2000 to nearly 20,000 in 2020. In the past decade, the university underwent a growth of 26 percent: from 14,242 in 2010 to 17,995 in 2019 (see **figure 4**). For the years to come, UM aspires an annual growth of 4 percent (“UM groeit gestaag door”, 2018), expecting to reach a total enrolment of 25,000 within the next 10 years.

UM consistently earns top positions in various international rankings for (young) universities: including a 6th position in the global *Young University Rankings* (Times Higher Education, 2020) and 23rd position in a similar ranking by *Quacquarelli Symonds* (QS Top 50 Under 50, 2020).

Figure 4 – Annual student enrolment UM between 2010 and 2019 (Source: VSNU, 2020)



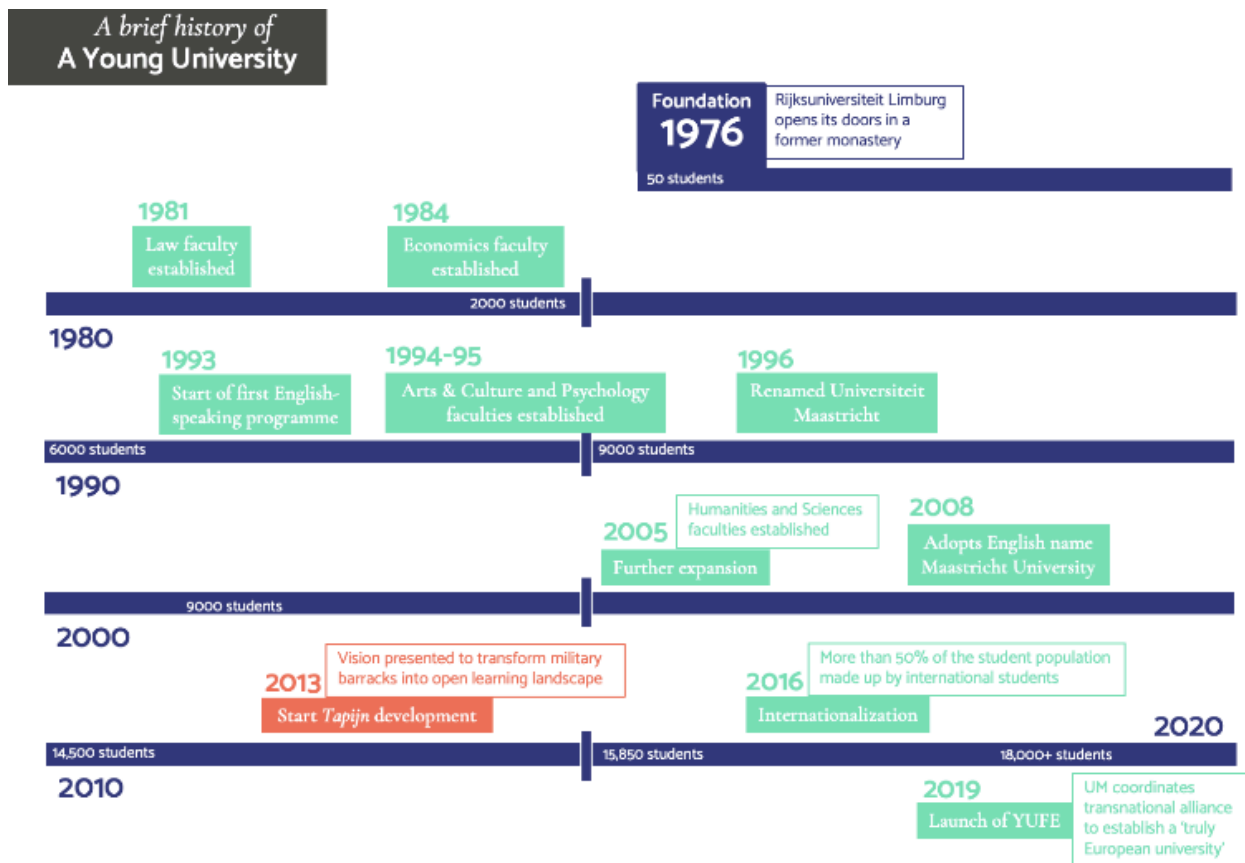


Figure 5 – A brief history of Maastricht University, created by author based on Klijn (2016)

4.2 A new university in a historic city

Maastricht is located in the southeast of the Netherlands and has a population of 121,900 (Statistics Netherlands, 2019). Its historic city centre reflects its eventful history as a Roman settlement, medieval trade centre and 18th century garrison town. During the latter half of the 20th century, its traditional industries such as potteries declined, and attempts were made to restructure the economy to a knowledge-based orientation. This was marked by for instance UM's foundation. In present times, Maastricht qualifies for the label of university city: 27.6 percent of its population is between 15 and 29 years, significantly higher than the national average of 18.9 percent.

UM has been a key player in the preservation of urban heritage since its foundation (figure 6). Its founding faculty (of Medicine) started in a repurposed monastery in the inner city. However, in the 1980s it moved to premises located 3.5 kilometers from the city center. At present, UM occupies 28 repurposed properties that have monumental status, accounting for more than 40 percent of floor space of the university, including the former provincial parliament building, and several convents, mansions and monasteries.



Figure 6 – UM's locations in the city centre, map by author

4.3 Tapijn as a meeting place for the university & the city

This section aims to provide a historical, cultural and geographical context of the central case study. *Tapijn* in Maastricht, The Netherlands, involves the regeneration of a former military base in order to strategically develop an 'Open Learning Landscape'. While historically the location was closed and had a key role in defending against external threats, its future use is envisioned as open to the public and aimed at forging global connections.

After the demolition of the outer fortifications of the city, the Dutch Ministry of War decided to damp an arm of the *Jeker* river in order to build military barracks in 1916. Throughout the 20th century, the Tapijn site was used by soldiers from all over the world. From 1967 it functioned as a base for various NATO divisions. When the last soldiers left in 2012, the site had been closed from the general public for nearly a century. For quite some years, there were speculations that the site would come available for future redevelopment. Due to its central location close to the city centre and considerable area surface of 60,000 m², the site was widely regarded as one of the most attractive development sites in the city. Several functions were discussed extensively in the local city council and media, including apartments, student residences and an underground parking facility. Eventually Maastricht's city council voted in favor of a joint acquisition of Tapijn.



Picture 1 - Soldiers marching at the Tapijn site, year unknown. Source: exhibition 100 years Tapijn

4.3.1 Towards an Open Learning Landscape

Tapijn's future use is envisioned a meeting place for university and city, serving both the public good and the interests of UM. The adaptive reuse project is a joint effort of UM, the city government and the provincial authority and has a total budget of approx. €32 million – of which €25 million is financed by the university, €5 million by the City of Maastricht and €2 million by the province.

The collaborative effort is organized as follows; UM is *de facto* lead developer of Tapijn and has recently acquired full ownership of all buildings through a financial arrangement with the province, further detailed in Chapter 5. The university is in charge of the refurbishment and demolition of the buildings and will also erect some new-built infrastructures. The city authority is the permanent owner and developer of the land surrounding the university property, including an organic vegetable garden, as well as an area where, in collaboration with a nearby zoo, deer are kept. The province provides support in terms of funding but has no direct influence on the development of the site.

In 2018, the first phase was completed when non-monumental buildings were demolished to pave the way for a bike and pedestrian path crossing the site. In early 2020, the renovation of so-called 'Tapijn 1', featuring lecture halls, teaching rooms and study spaces, was completed (**figure 7 and 8**). The completion of the final phase, which features a newly built conference center and food court, is expected to be completed not earlier than 2023, according to the latest reports.

This discussion of the historical, cultural and geographical context aims to contribute to a better understanding of the results of the empirical analysis which are presented in the next chapter.



Picture 2 - Tapijn 1, also referred to as the 'square buildings', in May 2020. Picture by author



Picture 3 - The Tapijn site as seen from the city wall. Picture by author



Picture 4 – Temporary eatery located in the former canteen of the military base. Picture by author



Picture 5 – Temporary workshops for local creative entrepreneurs. Picture by author

Figure 7 – Tapijn's transformation, LIAG architects (2020), labels added by author

How to read the coloured labels: completed (purple); temporary use (orange); future developments (red)

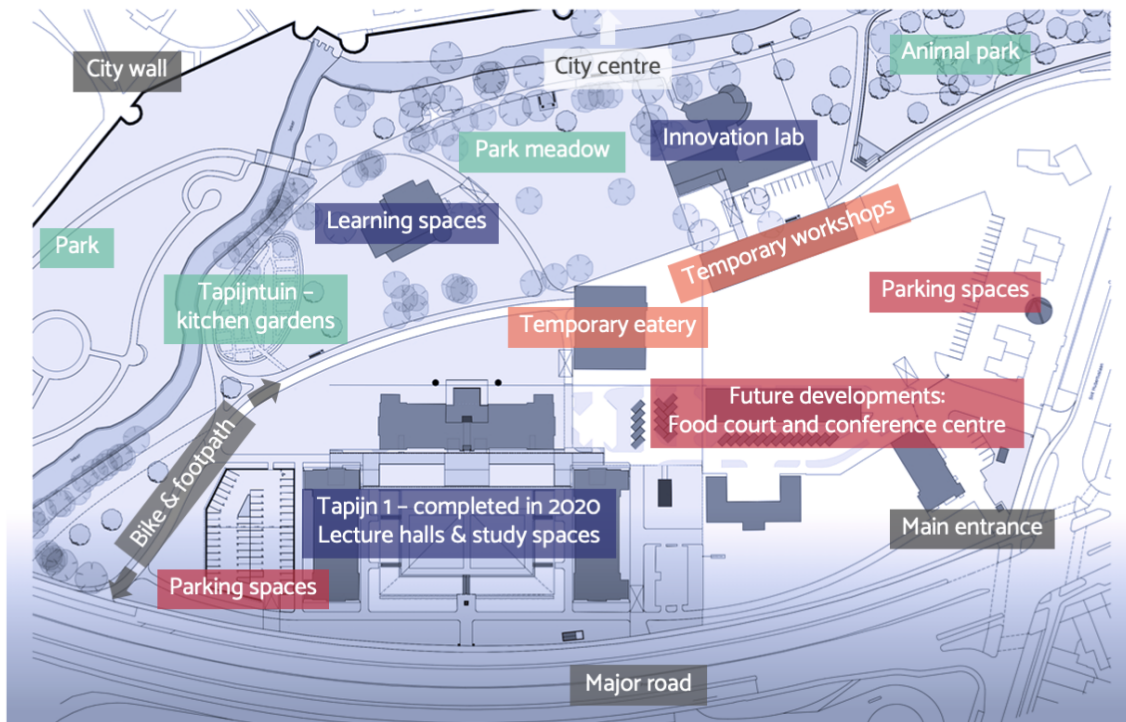


Figure 8 – Tapijn's transformation visualisation, BoschSlabbers (2015), labels added by author

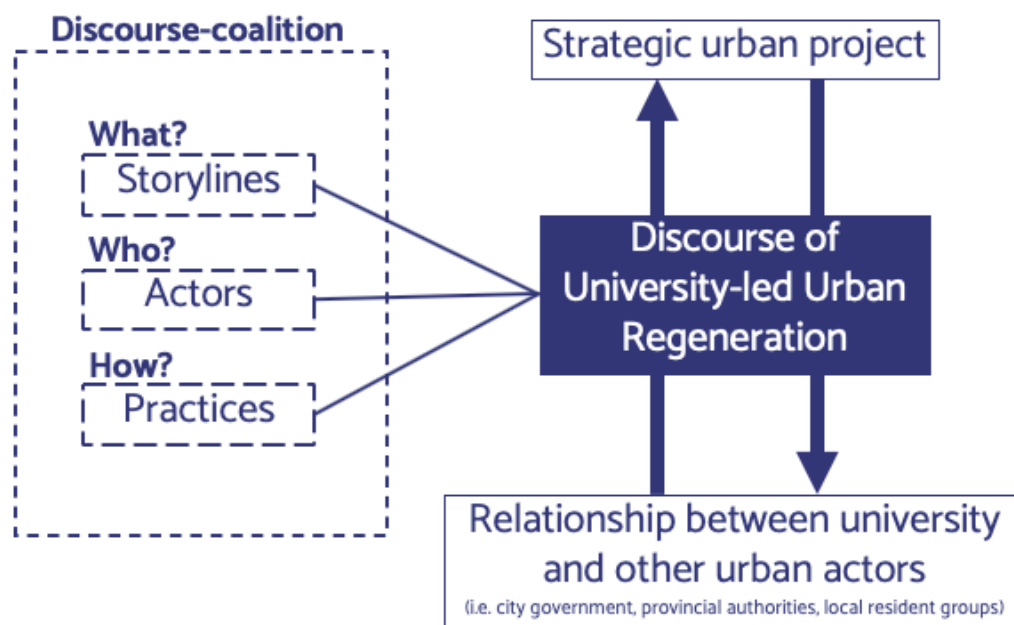


Chapter 5 Results

This chapter examines the ‘what’, ‘who’ and ‘how’ of the role of discourse as mediating (following the framework presented in **figure 1**) this collaborative effort of public actors, led by UM, to strategically develop new urban spaces for the university-city interface. In order to discuss the ‘what’, the ensemble of storylines is discussed; for the ‘who’ there is a focus on the coalition of urban actors which uttered these storylines; and the ‘how’ examines different practices throughout the planning process. The chapter is structured around three sub-questions as were presented in chapter 2.

Each subchapter discusses one of the sub-questions following the same structure. It starts with an introduction in which its objectives are explained. It then presents the findings, supported by interview quotes. It is concluded by a reflection on how the results help to answer the question.

Figure 1 - Analytical framework as developed by author



5.1 Policy discourse of university-led urban regeneration

In light of the four dimensions of university-led urban regeneration (Fernández-Esquinas & Pinto, 2014), in what ways do the interests and objectives of different urban actors align and collide in policy papers and strategic planning documents?

5.1.1 Introduction

The aim of the first sub-question is to analyse the policy discourse of ULUR in which the Tapijn project is situated. A close examination of the policy papers that underpin and stimulate the development, illuminates the discursive complexity of the underlying hierarchical, i.e. conflictive or synergistic, relations among core actors. It also exposes actors' preferences for particular practices which are reflected in the contestation and dominance patterns among the dimensions of ULUR.

Since this thesis primarily focuses on Tapijn, 13 policy papers and planning documents were analysed, issued between 2013 and 2020, which directly relate to the project and/or the role of the university in urban development. Furthermore, the analysis was informed by the four dimensions of the role of universities in urban regeneration, developed by Fernández-Esquinas and Pinto (2014), as their framework was adopted as a coding guide (**Appendix V**). In turn, by analysing the alignment and collision of dimensions, it can be distinguished how they are addressed by the storylines that constitute the notion of an 'Open Learning Landscape', which is further discussed in 5.2. This subchapter features excerpts from the documents analysed; as full overview of this corpus is presented in 2.5.2.

5.1.2 The four dimensions of university-led urban regeneration

The findings of the document analysis suggest that the founding principles of the university, rooted in a holistic understanding of the multifaceted role of the university for Maastricht's economic restructuring, have persisted and intensified nearly half a century after its inauguration. This notion is clearly expressed in policies which are fundamental for the city's urban development, such as the *Omgevingsvisie 2040*, the most important planning document in the Netherlands as it encapsulates the long-term strategy on spatial planning and the environment (hereinafter referred to as "urban planning strategy"). The city government stated in its latest draft version (2019, p. 28): "Maastricht has developed into an economically resilient and vital city ... [which] is increasingly positioning itself towards a knowledge-based economy."

Several policies have been developed to cater these ambitions, most notably the *Student City programme* which was published by the city government in 2019, with the explicit aim to (p. 6): “develop Maastricht – the oldest city of the Netherlands with the youngest university in the country – into a true student city, where students feel at home”. Having outlined these statements as a starting point for exploring the policy context of Tapijn, an examination of urban and regional papers that underpin and stimulate the development illuminates the discursive complexity of the underlying hierarchical relations among the institutions which have produced these texts.

Economic development

In order to examine the prominence of the Economic Development dimension, it is useful to understand which policy challenges it aims to address. The document analysis has revealed that the explicit expectations of the university as a player in knowledge-based economic development stems from the more implicit problematization of historical conditions of the local and regional.

A first concern is that, although the region boasts several innovative multi-national businesses, the regional economy will not remain competitive in the future. The manufacturing industry is facing growing commoditization and there is a need for innovation to reform and create new industries. A second concern is related to the fragmented regional ecosystem: the various HEI campuses in the region have not yet managed to successfully establish a “golden triangle” and “knowledge axis” (p. 7), as the cooperation between government, industry and HEI is referred to in the *Regional Knowledge Agenda* (2018). A third concern is the need for international cooperation and strategic cross-border thinking with regards to its position in a wider economic environment. This is echoed in the coalition agreement reached between political parties in Maastricht in 2018, and sets the city’s priorities: “the smart, learning international university city ... does not stand on its own, but is strongly anchored in the international knowledge region of the Euregio” (p. 19).

In practically every examined document, these three economic challenges are linked to the need for strengthening the cooperation between university and local and provincial government, exemplified by this quote from the 2019 urban development strategy (p. 23):

“Nationally and internationally, Maastricht is still insufficiently known as a city with a strong knowledge economy and career opportunities. The expected growth of the university ..., as well as the planned urban development offer the potential to position Maastricht as such.”

Hence, the presence and growth of UM is considered to be key in addressing challenges for the local and regional economy. In local and regional policy, the concepts of an “economically resilient and vital city” and a “smart, learning international university city” are often posed as synonymic, or at least as mutually supportive. This frame is endorsed by UM as well. Considering the historical context of the foundation of UM, these narratives seem to serve the legitimization of its existence and presence. As stated by UM’s executive board in the 2018 advocacy document (p. 3):

“UM places great value on its strong links with Limburg and the Euregion, nurturing partnerships with many regional companies, knowledge institutes and government agencies. Together, we aim to play a leading role in the sustainable economic development of the region. ... UM is firmly anchored in the midst of society.”

The prevalence of these statements reveals an emphasis on the role of UM as an agent of innovation, a catalyst for the local economy and key player in establishing knowledge clusters. The urban development strategy motivates this by stating that “investing in knowledge and innovation is the crucial fundament for a socially and economically vital city” (2019, p. 19). This quote exemplifies a finding of this document analysis that the dimension of Economic Development is often connected to Human Resources, which is discussed in the next section.

Human Resources

While policy challenges were identified for the preceding dimension, three additional Human Resources challenges emerged from a reading of the urban development strategy (2019, p. 27).

The first challenge is the growing spatial inequalities. Despite a large share of the local population which benefits from restructuring efforts, Maastricht performs poorly in terms of segregation of low-income groups and high numbers on incapacitated groups, school dropouts and unemployment, especially among youth of non-western origin. The second challenge is population dynamics: Maastricht “loses” residents to larger urban regions. More than 6,000 people leave, while 5,000 arrive to the city. Third is the development of the regional job market. The demand for new workforces is projected to be +25,000 in 2025, while the employable population will decrease with 50,000 in the same period. As concluded in the strategy: “the structural migration of talent to the *Randstand* [core urban regions in NLs] is ... worrying. Besides a shortage of workers, there is a mismatch on the job market as the shortage manifests in particular industries” (p. 27).

In order to address these projected population dynamics, the city government emphasizes in its development strategy that: “Maastricht needs to continue to invest in an attractive climate for graduates, start-ups, young adults and knowledge workers in order to retain these for the region” (2019, p. 30). The UM is therefore considered crucial in attracting and retaining graduates and high-educated workers. It is perceived to do so by providing direct employment to nearly 4,000 employees. Its contribution is also indirectly, as it trains the local workforce to meet the demands of the knowledge economy, as well as a global player which attracts talent to study and live in Maastricht.

UM has proven to be successful in achieving the latter as the yearly influx of international students has concealed the negative migration trends. While much attention is given to the positive effects of the expansion of UM, the implicit, potentially negative effects remain largely unaddressed. If consequences of changing population dynamics, such as a sharp increase in housing prices or the growing spatial inequalities and segregation, are mentioned, it is not discussed in relation to the university. Studentification is not addressed.

Instead of questioning the desirability and sustainability of a spatial strategy based on the assumption of a growing university, the city government has formulated strategies to position itself as “a strong knowledge region with a high quality of life” and “a smart, learning city” (both on p. 19 of urban development strategy). Following this rhetoric, the city needs to shape the conditions to successfully retain and attract students and other groups which are considered vital in developing a knowledge-based economy. The urban development strategy stated that (2019, p. 34):

“The knowledge economy requires primarily highly educated knowledge workers and individualization is on the rise. ... Maastricht has become an even more international city, where many cultures live together, and alongside each other ... [Hence], it is necessary to remove the physical and mental barriers in the city.”

In sum, UM is expected to provide solutions for many of the challenges that have come with restructuring, both in terms of Economic Development and Human Resources. This also implies a prominent role for the university in the spatial development of Maastricht, as stated in the excerpt presented above. The next section discusses this dimension in more detail.

Physical infrastructure

Regarding Physical Infrastructure, the dimension of UM as agent of urban planning has traditionally been fuelled by its expansion and the need of additional study spaces. Many of the buildings which have been acquired throughout the past decades faced abandonment. Due to secularization, the lack of space and shifting priorities, many of the sites lost their original function. The coalition agreement lists a number of reasons why the city government supports adaptive re-use (2018, pp. 96-101): first, it protects cultural-historical values and “dreamy medieval character”, second, it is considered “the most obvious way of sustainable development”, and third, “it shapes the identity of the city and its residents” and fourth, “shows what belongs to Maastricht, what it used to be, but especially what it wants to be” and fifth, “play[s] an important role in stimulating experiences and encounter, it greatly determines ... the attractiveness of Maastricht”.

Ultimately, the development of an urban campus is considered vital for the preservation and liveliness of the inner city, but also benefiting the city’s overall (economic) attractiveness. Not only through its role as an agent of urban planning; UM’s presence is also understood as an amenity and attraction in urban life. This implicit effect is also in UM’s advocacy document which highlights its local impact (2018, p. 29): “The university plays an important role in passing down culture to the next generation, which includes preserving the city’s cultural heritage.”

Through its key role in adaptive re-use, UM actively engages in shaping the identity of the city, or as phrased in the urban development strategy: “repurposing monumental buildings and iconic architecture makes up the DNA of Maastricht” (p. 59). The city government perceives the use of cultural heritage for modern uses as an opportunity to shape the DNA more comprehensively by serving economic and social interests as well, as stated in the development strategy (2019, p. 59):

“Cultural heritage tells us the story of a place, and by doing so, it can connect people with each other and the city. Utilizing cultural heritage is of economic and social importance.”

While the presence of the university has significantly increased over the years, the interaction between the university community and local population has remained limited. Both the university as well as governmental authorities have come to address the need of a growing civic role of the university. The next section addresses how this dimension is addressed in policy.

Civic Engagement

Although it is not expressed as prominently as other dimensions, the documents do refer to UM's Civic Engagement. This expectation is not pushed by a single actor: rather, it is a strategy voiced by both the university and the city government. This becomes apparent from the following future objective as listed in the coalition agreement (2018, p. 19): “The city as a laboratory for innovation results in a sustainable anchorage of [HEIs] in the city and region. Vital research of regional research institutes is applied in the city. The integration of students in the city is visible in neighborhoods.”

Hence, the social commitment of UM is mainly interpreted as the application of research in solving social challenges in the city, as well as strengthening community bonds between students and the local population. This indicates a clear shift in focus regarding the civic role of UM. In 2015, the policy programme *Student en stad* [Student and city] was established by the city authority, which mainly promoted the provision of information for students to volunteer in local communities. When the programme received a new round of funding for the 2019-2022 period, €150,000 annually, its name was changed to *Studentenstad* [Student city]. According to its revised 2019 policy statement, the minor change meant a significant shift in approach, in line with the objectives of UM (p. 14): “to engage students to reflect upon and develop solutions for societal challenges in the city”. Hence, the social commitment of the university is facilitated and promoted by the city government.

In recent years, UM has pursued an increasingly civic agenda. This has resulted in a number of initiatives, including community-engaged research and an initiative which offers students opportunities to volunteer in the local community. As summarized in UM's strategic plan, “If UM wants to take seriously its ambition to be a socially engaged university, societal engagement must be embedded and facilitated at all levels of the institution” (2017, p. 22). The underlying leitmotif, however, is not exclusively to serve the local community. The prevalence of the idea of “a learning ecosystem” (p. 12) implies a certain degree of enlightened self-interest in promoting a civic agenda. As exemplified in the strategic plan university-city relations are seen as (p. 5): “not only beneficial for society, but also contributes to a meaningful study experience and enhances employability. The emphasis on societal engagement as an inherent part of UM's character additionally serves to enhance the profile and distinctiveness of our institution.”

The discussion of the four dimension which emerged from a document analysis, has allowed for a detailed description of the multifaceted policy discourse.

5.1.3 Reflection: A synergy underpinned by a hierarchical structure

An analysis of the policy papers has illuminated the discursive complexity of the underlying hierarchical relations among the university, the city government and the provincial authority. Whilst it revealed synergetic relations, especially regarding economic interests, it also exposed contestation patterns among the dimensions of the role of universities in urban regeneration as developed by Fernández-Esquinas and Pinto (2014).

The findings suggest that the support for ULUR is based on a shared understanding of the challenges that the city faces. Hence, the discourse of ULUR strategically appeals to the different dimensions that emerge from the interaction between university and other urban actors. An analysis of the underlying hierarchical relations has revealed that in particular for Economic Development and Human Resources a synergetic relation was found. UM is viewed as a catalyst which is particularly fit to connect the appeal of innovation and revitalization to the need for training and specialization. In turn, UM has developed city-oriented strategies to improve its reputation and attract investments.

Regarding Physical Infrastructure and Civic Engagement there were also synergetic relations found regarding UM's social commitment and the university adding to the attractiveness of the city. However, these two spheres, were found to be subordinated to, and legitimizing the prioritisation of, economic and human resources interests. This hierarchical relationship between dimensions suggests a logic in which civic and spatial activities of the university, supported by local and regional policies, serve principally as a means to an end, that is, promoting innovation, revitalization, specialized training and employment. The emphasis on economic interests at the expense of the gradual acceptance and integration of the university in the wider urban fabric, has resulted in policy challenges as identified by the city government, and addressed through the civic strategies of UM. Negative effects that can be explained by the growth of UM, such as studentification remained largely unaddressed. Especially the explicit effects of the increasing role of UM as urban planner and the pressure of the student community on the city, suggest the need for urban spaces for the university-city interface.

The next subchapter explores how the storylines that constitute the notion of an 'Open Learning Landscape' are an attempt to address this need and aim to combine elements of the various objectives and interests as identified in the document analysis, into a more or less coherent whole.

5.2 Storylines as discursive cement

How are these hierarchical, i.e. conflictive or synergistic, relations among these actors incorporated in the storylines of 'Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape'?

5.2.1 Introduction

The aim of the second sub-question is to analyse the storylines of 'Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape'. The concept of storyline is understood by its definition as developed by Hajer (2006), as a narrative on social reality that achieves discursive closure of otherwise fragmented and incoherent discourses. This subchapter focuses on how these storylines function as “discursive cement” to combine elements of the various objectives and interests, as identified in 5.1, into a more or less coherent whole (Hajer, 2005, p. 304). The actors that utter these storylines and the practices through which these get expressed, will be discussed in 5.3.

This subchapter also contributes to understanding the discursive context in which the project has come to fruition. The long-term vision of the Tapijn development, published in July 2014 by the project partners, serves as a key text for the discussion.

5.2.2 Tapijn as Open Learning Landscape

This subchapter builds on the findings of the first subchapter which explored the underlying hierarchical relations among the university, the city government and the provincial authority regarding the discourse of ULUR. Supported by public actor's ambitions to translate relatively vague high-concept strategies into concrete projects, urban and regional policy was found to be supportive of spatial development of places where the university community and their city neighbours meet. This is neatly summarized in the Student City policy paper (p. 5):

“The foundation of UM ... and the subsequent growth of higher education ... have resulted in a growing student presence in the city. ... All these developments have caused a number of practical issues. For this reason, the city, UM ... collaborate and develop projects which aim to transform Maastricht into a true student city.”

This excerpt refers to the need to address the divide between student and city. It indirectly refers, at least in part, to the role of the university in furthering economic development and revitalization through civic and spatial activities. The need to address both the hierarchical structure as well as the university-city divide has resulted in the expressed ambition to turn strategies into concrete projects.

As such, a physical project that facilitates university-city encounters is seen as serving two priorities in Maastricht's urban governance: firstly, it 'polishes' and furthers the synergy driving the innovation- and growth-based aspirations, and the civic and spatial activities of the university that support this, and secondly, it is envisioned to 'fix' the challenges that result from the hierarchical structure of these dimensions and aims to harmonize different urban actors with the aim to strengthen the knowledge-based economy. This is exemplified in Tapijn's vision regarding the site's transformation: "Its strengths should be preserved, while the weaknesses should at least be considered in the development, and if possible, need to be improved" (p. 24).

In turn, the priorities to polish and fix through urban development has promoted the creation of urban spaces where university and city meet. While the conventional adaptive re-use of cultural heritage by the university implied the creation of exclusive spaces, this new notion implies a much higher degree of publicness and comprehensive urban planning. Essentially, these projects are seen as a way to connect and harmonise the dimensions of Civic Engagement and Physical Infrastructure. The spatial development strategy states that especially universities, sports clubs, cultural venues and other public institutions in Maastricht should be endorsed to become "open spaces of encounters, where people from different backgrounds scan come together" (2019, p. 60). In policy, these spaces are directly regarded as benefiting the knowledge economy (2019, p. 59):

"An increase in human contact leads to more transactions and knowledge exchange. Maastricht's economic development is increasingly geared towards the knowledge economy. This benefits from places where people come together, with a diversity in functions: interaction milieus. Attracting and retaining students, young urban professionals, knowledge workers and labour migrants are therefore fundamental to the economic vitality of the city."

The preceding excerpt neatly summarizes the key finding presented in this section: policies which underpin Maastricht's (knowledge-based) urban development is increasingly acknowledging the need for physical "open spaces of encounter" that address the implications of the growing presence of the university. The focus on 'interaction milieus' suggests a shift in urban development practices: from a university which repurposes property for own use to processes of ULUR. This shift should be considered as an outcome of the dynamic interactions between UM and the provincial and city government. As a consequence of the hierarchical structure that underlies the discourse of ULUR, and the perceived need to connect UM's civic role to the public authorities' ambition to create

interaction milieus, the university is expected to take up a significantly more active role in urban development. Tapijn is a prominent example of these processes.

Due to its positionality in the urban fabric as well as at the nexus of different policies, the Tapijn project can be regarded as a discursive space where the four dimensions as discussed in the preceding subchapter interact. The project-specific planning and policy documents can be considered as an elaboration on, as well as an enforcement well the strategies found in city- and region-wide policies.

The long-term vision of the Tapijn development titled *Visie Transformatie Tapijnkazerne*, published in July 2014, four years before the actual redevelopment started, was drafted by the project partners and incorporated input from four citizen dialogues and a number of sessions with students. In many ways, it elaborates on the hierarchical structure of the dimensions of ULUR. It frames the university's the lead role in urban development and explicitly legitimizing its built activities and civic engagement and implicitly supporting economic development and human resources interests. In addition, the transformation of the military site into a meeting place for the university and the city is described as an opportunity to address the need for physical places for university-city the interface.

As the principle strategic document which provided the directions and inspiration for the planning process, the vision statement exerts significant rhetorical power to promote the implementation of the discourse of ULUR in a collaborative, yet university-led, spatial project. The analysis of the vision's, and hence the project's, storylines is crucial in grasping the dynamic planning process and expectations for the planning process of the project. The document introduced the notion of 'Open Learning Landscape' as the guiding vision for the project (p. 2):

“the area will be transformed into a public park, and the buildings will be repurposed for education, research and related uses. Coherence between the buildings and the park, and the other different functions in the area, are of great importance. Learning can be the overarching theme for all these elements, resulting in a connecting concept: **“Tapijn as an open learning landscape”**. This concept provides space for diverse uses by UM, but also invites other actors to co-create the site, among which other education partners, start-ups and cultural institutions” (p. 2).

Following the preceding quote, the concept of Open Learning Landscape is to be understood as “a public park” where “buildings will be repurposed for education, research and related uses”. Broadly,

this vision was based on (1) a list of guiding principles which were included in the city council's decision to resell Tapijn to the university and province, documenting its phased development and the future use by the university; (2) an analysis of opportunities and challenges for the area (see **figure 7**); (3) input and suggestions from the local population, collected at four citizen dialogues and an open day which were organized in 2014. This document was not legally binding but was influential in setting the ambitions and expectations for the planning process, as discussed in 5.3.

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Green appearance ▪ Monumental buildings ▪ Situated between city centre, city park and Jekerdal (nature) ▪ Strong engagement of citizens ▪ Rich history ▪ Residents are social partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Closed area ▪ Closed city wall limits connections with inner city ▪ Small connection with park belt ▪ Located along busy road ▪ Parts are densely built ▪ Much concretion
Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Connecting green belt ▪ Ecological connection between Jeker valley and Maas banks ▪ Making monumental buildings livable ▪ Relieve existing city park ▪ Space for experimentation, programme can grow ▪ Enrichment city park with public-oriented amenities ▪ Connection between university and city ▪ Safe connection for slow traffic ▪ Strengthen university as anchor of the city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ New enclaves due to homogeneity of activities and users ▪ Nuisance and unsafety ▪ Messy, no coherence ▪ Lack of park character ▪ Limited financial means with regards to size of project ▪ Different expectations among stakeholders ▪ Limited physical accessibility due to remaining boundaries

Source: Adopted from Tapijn vision document (2013, p. 24)

Figure 7 - SWOT-analysis as published in the Tapijn vision document (2013)

A number of objectives which the vision aims to incorporate were listed. First of all, the need of the integration of the site within the urban fabric. Secondly, the regeneration of the former barracks as urban heritage. Thirdly, the upgrading of green space and fourthly, the provision of study spaces for the university. The vision document emphasized the openness of the site (p. 25):

“The ambition [for coherence] can be applied to the use of the site, resulting in a space of encounter and exchange between the university and the city, between residents and visitors, and younger and older generations. It could become a space for an exchange between anyone who would like for learning, exploration and self-development.”

The quoted excerpt, and in particular the concept of ‘Open Learning Landscape’, are emblematic for the shift in the role of the university in urban regeneration. Despite its long tradition in repurposing buildings, the Tapijn project requires a radical reconsideration of routines, priorities and roles from the university as well as other urban actors. On the one hand, the envisioned connecting concept inscribes ingrained practices in repurposing heritage for university use, but its promise of coherence and openness requires a reconceptualization of the role of the university as actor involved in ULUR. Tapijn as “a space of encounter and exchange between the university and the city” resonates with the formation of “interaction milieus”, which address the hierarchical structure discussed in 5.1.

5.2.3 Reflection: The creation of interaction milieus

An analysis of the notion of ‘Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape’ has revealed the storylines that conceal the discursive complexity as exposed in the document analysis in 5.1. The findings suggest that the vision’s storylines reflect the strategies of the different project partners as well as negotiations between them over the past decade. The project partners have encapsulated the outcome of these negotiations in the storylines of an ‘Open Learning Landscape’, as a guiding concept for the planning process. The findings reveal that project partners, incorporating input from students and residents, have framed their vision for the redevelopment of Tapijn around the need of the integration of the site with the city fabric, a regeneration of urban heritage, the upgrading of public green space and the accommodation of the expansion of the university.

Essentially, Tapijn is supported by urban and regional policy as an “interaction milieu”, a discursive and material space to address and enhance the relationship between university and other urban actors. The transformation of Tapijn into an Open Learning Landscape is found to serve two priorities in Maastricht’s urban governance: firstly, it ‘polishes’ and furthers the synergy driving knowledge-based development, and the civic and spatial activities of the university that support this, and secondly, it is envisioned to ‘fix’ the disjunction between the increasing role of UM as urban planner and the pressure of its presence on the city (see figure 9).

In sum, the storylines that constitute the notion of ‘Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape’ appear to function as the discursive cement to harmonize objectives and interests of the project partners in order to nurture the transformation of Tapijn as a space of exchange and encounter. The manifestation of these storylines and the interplay of actors and practices is further discussed in subchapter 3.

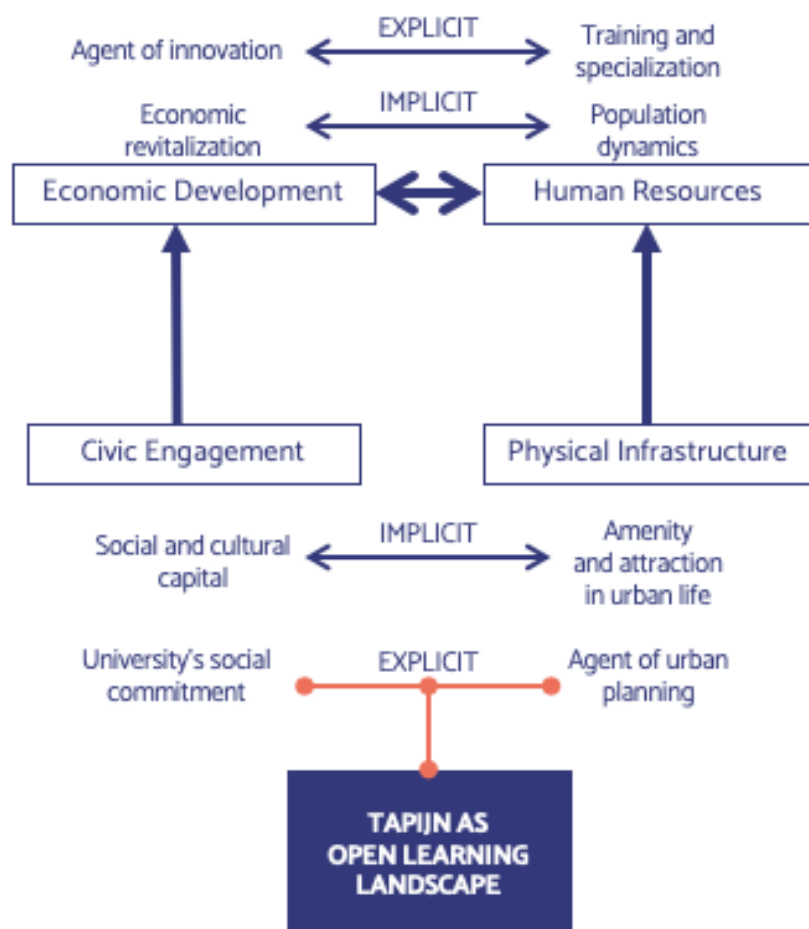


Figure 9 – Visualisation of underlying hierarchical structure and the vision as discursive cement, created by author

5.3 Actors & Practices: Tapijn as Open Learning Landscape

Considering the three phases of drafting the vision, the design process and the site development, what are the actors and practices that have shaped the transformation of Tapijn into an 'Open Learning Landscape'?

5.3.1 Introduction

This third subchapter builds upon the finding that storylines which are encapsulated in the notion of Open Learning Landscape served as discursive cement to conceal the complexity of synergetic and conflictive relations between actors. It explores how these storylines have become manifested, through the interplay of practices and actors at different stages of the planning process.

The analysis of this interplay reveals actors and their intentionality, and how they use storylines, as uttered through practices in explicit and implicit ways. It also contributes to a discussion of how actors achieve what Hajer refers to as “discursive affinity” (2002, p. 47), despite their different, and in some respect contradictory, objectives and interests.

The findings are presented based on the key planning stages of *Drafting the vision*, *Designing the space* and *Developing the site*. Each stage is discussed in terms of how actors and practices influence the conceptualization and implementation of storylines. These stages have been developed by the author and are not to be understood as a chronological overview. Instead, these distinct stages allow for an analysis of the interplay of actors and practices and their discursive affinity. The discussion is supported by excerpts of interviews with 14 key actors (overview of the interviewees in 2.5.3).

5.3.2 Practices of performance, contestation and negotiation

In May 2013, the city council of Maastricht voted in favour of the acquisition of the Tapijn barracks from the Dutch state. With the approval of the council, a unique partnership between the city authority, the province and UM was established. The official start of the redevelopment of the site was preceded by decades of negotiations, and especially, waiting. UM's former project manager explained the appeal of the site to the university: “It is located right in the city center, in close proximity of many of our faculties. Also, the idea of stately buildings in a park, following the American campus model, is a dream for many universities.”

Drafting the vision

Already in 2008, UM and the city authority had agreed, in a legally non-binding arrangement, that the city would consider the university for a future development. When the site finally became available, the arrangements which were necessary to overcome the barriers for the redevelopment by the university would come to determine the rest of the planning process and the relations among the actors. The interviewees mentioned different considerations.

First of all, despite the long tradition of UM in repurposing cultural heritage, the university's executive board was very hesitant to participate in a large-scale property development. Its scale and ambitions were unprecedented. As noted by the former project coordinator at UM:

“The city authority has always been pleased with the way the university refurbishes [monumental heritage] and then takes good care of them. However, when the barracks finally came available, after such a long time of preying it, the timing could not have been worse.”

Despite the urgent need for study spaces to accommodate the growth in student numbers, the impact of the financial crisis of 2008 was still felt. The supervisory board was quite sceptical and would only approve if Tapijn was to be acquired for a reasonable price and when a financially stable partner was found to acquire the site with.

Secondly, the Tapijn site is valued by local residents, especially for its symbolism. After nearly a century of being closed off for the general public, there was a strong desire to “reclaim Tapijn for the city”, as one interviewee noted. In 2011, two years prior to the agreement on the future purpose of the site, a citizen initiative was presented to the city council to promote a future as park, titled “Tapijn barracks from navy green to park green”. Overall, the main concern among the local population was that the military base would be converted into a student enclave, with new walls resurrected to keep outsiders out. In turn, as the former UM project coordinator recalled, the university was very aware of this scepticism: “Above all, the university board wanted to avoid hassle with the city at all costs. Back then, it was already clear that there was a love-hate relationship between university and city.”

Thirdly, the evolving trends in planning practices in the Netherlands implied that citizens implied a higher degree of citizen participation in shaping public policy and policy objectives, compared to the more traditional top-down approach. Parallel to the shift from top-down planning to

participative forms of co-creation, local governments in the Netherlands have increasingly adopted a facilitating role in urban development

The three considerations as described above had to be addressed before the planning process of Tapijn could be commenced. The first concern was addressed through the establishment of a joint ownership arrangement with the province which addressed concerns in terms of financing as well as public support. When the local authorities were offered to acquire the site from the Dutch state, its buildings were immediately resold for the original costs of €3.8 million to a joint partnership of UM and the province. Both parties contributed €1.9 million, implying a joint ownership. The UM was granted a 10-year period (2013-2023) to purchase back the 50 percent owned by the province, to eventually acquire full ownership. The province's involvement is motivated by its interests in strengthening the so-called Regional Knowledge Axis. As noted by the province's project manager:

“Tapijn provided us with the opportunity to support a key player for the regional economic development. In this partnership, the province assumed the role of a big brother of the university: our financial involvement implied fewer financial risks and secured support among politicians and the public.”

The second and third concern were addressed by incorporating these in the vision to create a public space with a mix of uses and users. As a consequence, a wide range of actors was involved in drafting the vision for the site, guided by an institutionalized structure which prescribed roles and duties for the remainder of the planning process. As the future principle user and joint owner, it was evident that the university would take the lead in the regeneration of Tapijn. According to the former project coordinator of the city, this approach was a deliberate strategy by the city and the province:

“We observed a certain sentiment in the city which the university would like to see changed. We have tried continuously to show the university how their role in the transformation of Tapijn could help them to improve their image and create added value for the city. That it could benefit them in the long term.”

City officials indicated that the greater role of the university and the circumstances in which Tapijn took place had a major influence on the planning process and its outlook. The manager of the planning department noted that it is best characterized as “a dance” between the different actors:

“It has been a compromise to see how you could integrate learning into a park landscape. The site was jointly owned, with pieces belong to the city and other pieces to UM. This situation forces you to cooperate. We can provide a framework and guidance, but our influence stops at the doorstep of the buildings. The university was the one to invest, tens of millions. You then depend entirely on UM’s goodwill to meet social objectives.”

In order to protect the different interests and provide a stage to the ‘dance of actors’, a steering group was established soon after the acquisition of the site. Three times a year highly ranked officials of the three partners were to meet to make decisions regarding Tapijn: the vice-president of UM, the city’s alderman responsible for city planning and the provincial deputy. In practice, the project was managed by three project coordinators representing the partners who met several times a month, in discussions chaired by the UM representative, to streamline the process and prepare executive meetings. This institutional triad configuration can be considered as a performance of the coalition of actors as observed and described in the preceding chapters.

After the acquisition of the site, a 14-month orientation phase had to ensure that the ideas and concerns of local residents and students, the two main users of Tapijn, were to be addressed in the vision. Four citizen dialogues, a number of student sessions and an open day were organized in 2014. The former city authority project manager recalled that these meetings as a confrontation of the university with the high stakes of the project:

“Tapijn is the place where the challenges that we face as a city come together. A divide between different urban populations that you would like to connect. The project provided the opportunity to address these challenges. ... “I believe this phase [of citizen engagement] was extra difficult for the university ... Suddenly the whole city had an opinion about Tapijn.”

By July 2014, the explorative planning process had been completed, resulting in the *Visie Transformatie Tapijnkazerne 2014-2023* [referred to as ‘vision document’]. This articulated vision, which was discussed in the second subchapter, was written by the three project partners and incorporated the collected input. Most notably, it proposed the notion of Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape and space for encounter and exchange between the university and the city. As such, the discourse-coalition was provided with its storylines.

Designing the site

The vision for Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape, as discussed in the preceding section on the drafting process, meant that all three partners had to reconsider their traditional roles. The province entered a speculative project with the university without having any guarantees on the outcome; the local authority adopted a rather facilitating role and invited the university to lead the regeneration driven by civic engagement; and the university was to engage in this role, without giving in too much on the objective of creating space to facilitate its growth. As UM had a longstanding tradition of adaptive re-use, it was considered to be particularly proficient for leading the transformation of Tapijn. The coalition of actors, however, would soon find out that Tapijn was different from their previous projects. As noted by UM's project manager:

“I believe there are more complex projects than Tapijn, but few involve the broad range of topics that you encounter here. It's situated right in the city where you find very critical residents, and so am I. But sometimes it goes beyond what is fair, one should try to keep the peace for everyone.”

In joint consultation, the city authority, UM and the province organized an architectural competition in 2015 which not only included the built infrastructure, but also the landscape architecture, renovation and other related engineering. A collectively drafted “programme of demands”, informed by the vision document and the requirements of all partners, formed the base of the competition. 37 architectural firms submitted a proposal, of which three were invited to propose a detailed plan for the transformation. In January 2016, it was announced that *LIAG architects* and the landscape architects of *BoschSlabbers*, both based in The Hague, had won the competition.

The winning design might not directly appear as a flagship development. Potentially because it had to fulfil two seemingly contradictory ambitions: to transform and preserve. The transformation is mainly addressed in the buildings becoming energy-neutral and no longer reliant upon gas. In terms of preservation, features of the buildings such as the layout, window detailing, and stairs were kept. The different spaces are named after the NATO alphabet, and the phrase ‘Make love not war’ is paved in front of its main building. Connections between buildings underground, instead of creating barriers above ground, were proposed to prevent barriers to entering the site; the interaction between university and city is to be centred around a new-built cafeteria and the public green areas.



Pictures 6– Make Love Not War at Tapijn, picture by Harry Heuts

Although the design as presented in 2016 remained still largely intact, the design process was characterized by contestation – when considering the relations among the different urban actors. The intended development was disputed by residents, who had been consulted in the process of drafting a vision but were not included in the design process. Their resistance occurred through three different channels: by starting a petition, publishing an alternative vision or by appealing the land-use plan in court. The first challenge to the design was the controversy caused by the architects' proposal to build a second pedestrian bridge crossing the river, to connect Tapijn to the city and other UM locations. The new bridge, however, would imply that an opening had to be made in the historic city wall. This immediately caused unrest among members of the local population, an internet petition “No hole through the city wall” which was signed nearly 5,000 times. In a matter of two weeks, the rising conflict was settled when UM's vice-rector publicly stated that it would modify the proposal and save the whole.

Another source of dispute between the local population and the project partners was the contents of the land-use plan. The Maastricht city council approved a flexible land-use plan in June 2016 to provide a fitting legal planning framework for the transformation of the site. It was an adaptation of, on the one hand, the privately governed covenant, signed by UM, the province and the city

government, and on the other, the vision document which was drafted in 2014. An action group, headed by a retired city planner of the city government who lives near the Tapijn site, appealed against the proposed plan, arguing the covenant had been leading throughout the drafting process. He stated that the public interests were not properly addressed and that the legal position of citizens was threatened. Especially the limited provision of parking spaces was seen as damaging to the surrounding neighbourhood as residents feared a flood of parked cars of visitors of Tapijn. Other points of criticism were on the way the buildings listed for development were selected. The local neighbourhood association and some neighbours appealed to the plan for the first time in 2017. He would appeal to the plan several times, until he decided to longer proceed in Spring 2020. The arguments of the opposition were eventually ruled by the Council of State, the country's highest court.

While the resistance against the development was certainly not backed by all residents, the absence of citizen participation in the design process did have a significant impact on Tapijn. The current project manager of UM reflected on the inclusion of citizens' interests and the resistance he received from some members of civil society:

“There have been many occasions of citizen participations throughout this project. We invite people to watch over our shoulders, think along, but there were some discussion points that we had to ‘park’ at the Council of State. We were delighted when we found out that he stopped his legal proceedings. It has costed us much popularity and money, money which is intended for education.”

While different degrees of contestation can be discerned, from court cases to petitions, the chair association of the neighbourhood association expressed that their experiences with UM have evolved, and are especially in the construction phase predominantly positive and constructive: “In the beginning, residents were very sceptical, they wanted to be included, and those conversations with the project partners did not always happen that smoothly. My impression of UM staff is that they listen to our concerns and try to consider those – although they cannot always address them.”

The interviewee does recognize that there is a general skepticism regarding the university, which is also expressed in an alternative vision for the neighbourhood “from the perspective of residents” which Tapijn is situated in, published in 2019: “Strategic documents of the city government refer to our neighbourhood as a monofunctional Urban Campus. We are absolutely not. We believe that through an improved integration and cooperation with the university, both UM and residents can

benefit. We do miss synchronisation at the moment, and Tapijn should be a way to achieve that. This project should not to further deepen the divide between UM and residents.”

While this dissent of “Our neighbourhood is not an urban campus” was found in other interviews with residents as well, what is a returning concern is that not necessarily Tapijn or UM’s attitude is harming university-city relations. Rather, residents are concerned that the local government is not able to properly represent their interests and, as one interviewee noted, “tame the university”. A discontent with the facilitating role as adopted by the authorities. As expressed by the chair of ‘Vrienden van de Binnenstad’ [Friends of the inner city]:

“At the municipality there is no shortage of understanding, they do hear what you say. But my experiences are that they rarely act upon it. It is an institution which has to consider many different interests and actors. Their priorities change based on election results, in that sense UM is a much more constant actor. Their interests are clear, and their institutional structure and duties grants more flexibility.”

The chair of the neighborhood association recognized this and believed this also has changed her own way of working with the project partners of Tapijn: “I used to get along with the former project coordinator of the city, we would meet or write frequently. When she changed position two years ago, much changed. I still have not met her successor. As a result, when something needs to be addressed, I immediately contact [UM’s project coordinator] he is much more approachable and on top of things.”

Throughout the interviews, it also became clear that the inclusion of another important stakeholder group was perceived to be challenging: the student population. As the primary users of the future site, it is remarkable how students are not structurally included in the project. Due to its international orientation, the university attracts many foreign students which are considered harder to reach as a result of a language barrier and the lack of a connection and understanding of the place. In addition, planners of both the university and the city indicate that engagement does not seem to be attractive to students as it is time-consuming. Another explanation is that many students only spend a few years in Maastricht and therefore feel less committed to a project with a long-time span.

Nevertheless, UM and the city government indicate various attempts have been made to include students in the planning process. Several consultation sessions were organized, and student organizations have been invited to provide participate in workshops. An UM employee, who works on civic engagement projects, describes that despite good intentions, these sessions often result in: “the student being treated like water in the river, it is supposed to flow where it is channelled to”. Two board members of Maastricht’s political party which represents the interests of young adults and students elaborate on this criticism: “We need to break the narrative that it is hard to include students. We feel it is a structural problem in Maastricht that authorities do not acknowledge students as a key stakeholder group with a relevant opinion.”

Developing the project

The planning process spans a timeline of nearly 10 years. Initially, the project was scheduled for completion in 2023, to then be rescheduled for 2020, and to eventually be rescheduled again to 2023 with possible delay. The university has acquired full ownership now, which implies that the province has no longer a formal role in the planning process. The project is expected to be completed later than originally planned due a number of reasons. First of all, the legal proceedings taken against the legal planning framework held up the project. Secondly, during the construction works several historic structures were excavated, including a military bunker and a medieval water well. Thirdly, UM has started to shift some of its resources and staff to ongoing developments at its health campus outside the city, involving investments totalling tens of millions of euros. Therefore, the university board has decided to readopt the original planning.

Throughout Tapijn’s development large parts of the site remained open to the general public. The city authority stressed the importance of the openness of the site, even before any of the buildings were converted. In turn, the university successfully lobbied for a phased development, in which the site is redeveloped piece by piece. As a result, the development allowed for the temporary use of some of the buildings. Some were used as study spaces or tutorial rooms, to be later refurbished or demolished, while others were given a more public function. The most prominent temporary on-site initiatives are an eatery and workshops for local creatives, who rent the spaces for a reduced rent. Both initiatives have become very successful, especially the eatery has attracted many people to the side and has become a living room for the neighbourhood. The buildings which accommodate these temporary popular initiatives are scheduled for demolishment in late 2020 or early 2021. On the location of the eatery and the workshops, a new-built building will emerge.

Although details will be announced, and the UM project manager has indicated that further development is not necessary for now, the building will likely accommodate a food court and conference centre. As it is one of the few newly built structures on the site, the buildings aesthetics commission has been monitoring the plans closely. The university will propose a new design when there is more clarity on when it will be built. There has been debate about of the outlook of the building on whether it fits its surroundings (see **pictures 7 and 8**). The food court was envisioned in the design as one of the key places for university-city. Several interviewees indicated that the food court, and in particular its publicness has been debated. As UM's project coordinator explained:

“We will develop a food court for the university, that is certainly not the same as a brasserie for the city. It is an example of how the interests of the university and city authority differ; if it was up to the city, the current eatery would have remained.”

University staff explained that a regular university restaurant with budget meals would attract too many people. The university is still looking into ways to ensure its publicness but also keep it manageable and financially manageable. These topics, and ones that will be discussed below, are characterised by negotiation between the different project partners. While the concept of an Open Learning Landscape provided a vision and guidance throughout the early phases of the project, some findings suggest that it may not be fitting as the project plans are increasingly materialised.

Firstly, the transition from the designing phase to the development phase also saw a shift of the central emphasis from ‘meeting’ to ‘learning’. This was also echoed in the interviews with urban actors involved in or affected by the project. Whereas city officials and residents mainly referred to Tapijn as a public park with university buildings, people affiliated with the university emphasized the presence of UM. University officials deliberately avoid the term ‘campus’ as they argue it does not feature any student accommodations. However, they also indicate that the word is avoided because it carries a negative connotation and would put too much emphasize on UM's presence.

Secondly, residents are concerned that the public dimension of the development will fade as the project develops. The past years the site has been well-frequented by the local population, who come to enjoy the green spaces and visit the eatery or workshops. Thus far, students have not been drawn to Tapijn yet, as the first large buildings were only delivered in May 2020. When it was announced in 2019 that the international student hub *Kaleido* will find its new home at Tapijn. For local residents this came as a surprise, as initially the university had stated that it would avoid student activity

outside regular opening hours. Some fear that the establishment of this social hub will increase nuisance for the people living near Tapijn, others believe it could bring life to the site and facilitate an interaction between the local community and students. This raises the question whether the Open Landscape will prove strong enough to outweigh the burden brought by the Learning and student presence component.

Thirdly, several practices suggest that UM is willing to make concessions when this benefits its relationship with the local community. For instance, in the early phase of the project, plans to create student housing at Tapijn were given up after local residents disapproved. Plans to breach a part of the city wall to create a better connection with the city centre were eventually changed. The most notable effort is the appointment of a curator who will be organizing public events to facilitate a dialogue between students and their city neighbors. The practice of negotiation was also observed in the university's project manager efforts in organizing guided tours for local residents:

“Especially older people still regard the university as a stranger in their midst, even though it's 45 years ago that UM was established. People do complain about the university, but they do not realize that Maastricht would be an ageing town without UM. I see it as a challenge to engage these people with the university, and Tapijn and other university projects are a good opportunity to do so. To inform them so they become excited too.”

In pursuit of its civic role, however, university staff share that it remains hard to connect different civic initiatives and orchestrate a collective approach. In addition, they find it challenging to argue in favour of civic engagement and measure its impact in an environment in which activities are increasingly quantified and measured by its economic or ranking impact.

Pictures 7 & 8 – Visualisations new-built infrastructure Tapijn; earlier plan (top) and later proposal

Source: LIAG architects



5.3.3 Reflection: Discursive affinity

The findings show how the envisioned space for the university-city interface manifested in place, underpinned by storylines of 'Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape'. Despite their different objectives, the findings suggest how this notion has provided actors with a mutual conceptualisation of the matter at hand, what Hajer described as “discursive affinity” (2002, p. 47).

A study of the interplay of actors and practices throughout the planning process has exposed the complexity of the vision's implementation. This is exemplified in a number of incidents which occurred throughout the planning process. While the preceding subchapters mainly provided examples of how broader university-city relations shaped Tapijn and were performed in the process of drafting a vision statement and supporting policies, the findings of the third question show that the microcosm of Tapijn in turn shaped city-wide processes by contesting and negotiating these.

In the designing, the relationship between the university and other urban actors was mainly contested. Preliminary architectural visualizations caused unrest among citizens, there was a fear for an increase in parking pressure on the neighborhood, and concerns were expressed about how monumental buildings were selected for demolition and the new-built architecture it would be replaced by. As an expression of their disagreement with the vision's translation into a design, the opposition constructed an argument around “Our neighborhood is not an urban campus”. This dissent did not necessarily oppose the project in itself, but rather aimed to highlight broader concerns about the increasing pressure of UM on their neighborhood as well as the lack of citizen engagement.

The construction stage marks another shift in practices and the coalition of actors towards negotiation. The findings suggest how UM worked to reinforce, and to some extent reestablish, a sense of collective interest around the project. The notion of an Open Learning Landscape no longer functioned only as a discursive cement for the storylines, but also started to support “discursive affinity”. This was achieved by (re)negotiating the ties with the local population, in implicit and explicit ways. This implied either that the university would accept modifications, for example in the case of the bridge proposal, or decided to counter the opposition. The latter practice is exemplified in a number of court cases revolving around the project's legal planning framework which was eventually settled in the Dutch Council of State, the country's highest court of appeal.

The practice of negotiation was also observed in non-physical terms, including the university's efforts in organizing guided tours for local residents and the appointment of a curator who will be organizing public events to facilitate a dialogue between students and their city neighbors. In addition, the UM focused on a careful framing of the development for its potential for the city and as an interface for different activities, and distance from contentious terms such as 'campus' or 'university park'.

Alongside these concessions, however, local residents remain ambiguous about their future representation. As soon as the temporary amenities, such as the creative workshops and the popular eatery, will disappear, citizens fear that their involvement is at stake. In addition, in its relations with the local population, UM seem to be focused on the communication of the project instead of co-creation. These communication efforts, however, still disclose an ambition to create university spaces which are permeable and inclusive. As such, the notion of an Open Learning Landscape provides a certain discursive affinity, enabling further cooperation, however, its expiration date might be near.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This thesis has addressed the “surprising lack of documentation or analysis of university spatial development projects” as noted by Van Heur (2010, p. 1712). In order to do so, it has shifted the methodological approach, unit of analysis and the geographical focus in comparison to existing scholarship. It explored the role of universities in urban development in a particular setting in the realm of European urban studies: the small-sized, peripheral city which saw the creation of its university in the 1970s as part of a national strategy to support the economic restructuring from an industrial towards a knowledge-based economy. This thesis project focused primarily on a university-led urban regeneration project in Maastricht, The Netherlands, which entails the strategic transformation of the former Tapijn military site into a public park, along with university buildings, which is envisioned as an urban space for the university-city interface.

The findings of this thesis address the following central question: **How does the Tapijn university-led urban regeneration project affect, and how is it affected by, the relationship between Maastricht University and other urban actors?**

In order to answer this question, the interactions between the project and broader university-city relations were analysed by focusing on how these are mediated through discourse. An analytical framework embedded in Hajer’s Argumentative Discourse Analysis (2006) was developed to examine the so-called “discourse-coalition” which was formed by the university (hereinafter referred to as “UM”) and other urban actors around the notion of ‘Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape’ (Hajer, 2006, p. 71). Hajer’s concepts of storylines, actors and practices offered a scope to analyse how the reciprocal, and to some extent symbiotic, interactions between this constellation of actors has implications for the development of Tapijn and the governance of Maastricht as a university city.

This conclusion starts by discussing the findings, to then present their implications for planning and policy. It concludes with outlining this thesis’ limitations and suggesting avenues for future research.

6.1 Discussion of findings

The findings of this thesis support the assertion that university-led urban regeneration (“ULUR”) is increasingly regarded as an opportunity for the formation of urban spaces for the university-city interface. An analysis of the discourse of ULUR has illuminated how the formation of these urban spaces affects, and is in turn affected by, the relationship between UM and other urban actors. The following discussion of findings is structured around three sub-questions which were formulated to guide this research, and their related concepts as applied in the analytical framework (**figure 1**).

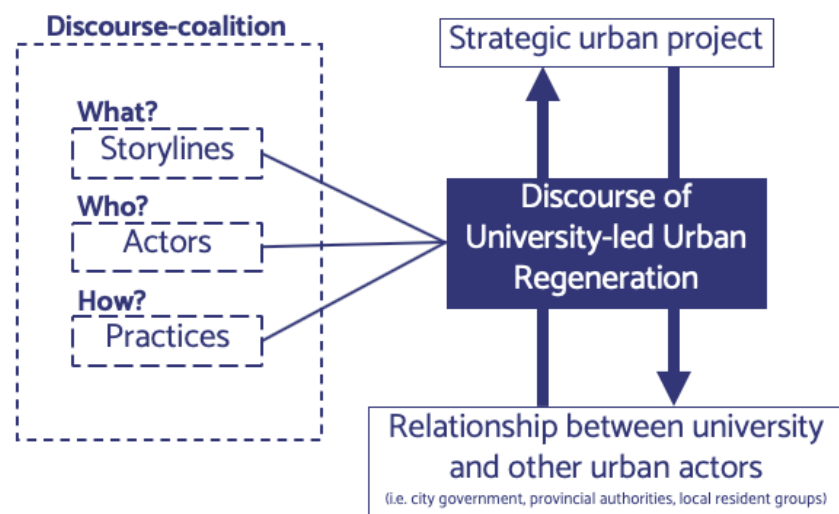


Figure 1 - Analytical framework as developed by author

6.1.1 Situating Tapijn in policy discourse

The first question addressed **the ways in which the interests and objectives of different urban actors align and collide in policy papers and strategic planning documents**. An analysis of the policy discourse of ULUR in which the Tapijn project is situated, revealed that the project partners, *sic* the university, city government and provincial authority, have developed vision statements and strategies over the last ten years in support of the respective project. This also chimes with findings of Addie (2017), who noted the importance of urban policies in forging alliances in university spatial development. It was found that the institutional support for ULUR by this triad of actors is grounded in a shared understanding of the challenges that the city and its surrounding region face and therefore strategically appeal to the university and public authorities.

A closer examination of the four dimensions (i.e. Economic Development, Human Resources, Physical Infrastructure and Civic Engagement) defining the role of universities in urban regeneration, as developed by Fernández-Esquinas and Pinto (2014), has shown that regional and local governance actors have reoriented themselves to exploit UM's capacities and potential. In particular for the domains of Economic Development and Human Resources an “emergent policy synergy” was found, similar to the urban regimes as observed by Addie in the context of New York and London (2017, p. 1093). Especially, the notions of an “economically resilient and vital city” and a “smart, learning international university city” were used as synonymic, or at least mutually supportive of each other. This synergy, underpinned by views of UM as an economic catalyst, is considered as particularly fit to connect the appeal of innovation and revitalization to the need for training and specialization. In turn, UM has developed regionally and city-oriented strategies to improve its reputation, attract investments and increase student enrolment.

Whilst an analysis of the dimensions of Physical Infrastructure and Civic Engagement revealed synergetic relations among the implicit effects of ULUR (i.e. UM's social commitment and as a provider of amenity adding to the attractiveness of the city) among these two spheres, they were found to be subordinated to, and legitimizing the prioritisation of, the synergy of economic and human resources interests. This hierarchical relationship between dimensions suggests a logic in which civic and spatial activities of the university, supported by local and regional policies, serve principally as a means to an end, that is, knowledge-based development promoting innovation, revitalization, specialized training and employment. In other words, the hierarchical structure can be seen as supportive of “enlightened self-interest” on the part of UM (Addie, 2017, p. 1094).

The emphasis on economic interests at the expense of the gradual acceptance and integration of the university in the wider urban fabric, has resulted in policy challenges as identified by the city government, and addressed through the civic strategies of UM. Especially the explicit effects of the increasing role of UM as urban planner and the pressure of the student community on the city, suggest the need for urban spaces that facilitate the university-city interface.

6.1.2 An ‘Open Learning Landscape’ as interaction milieu

The second question addressed **how the storylines that constitute the notion of an ‘Open Learning Landscape’ aim to combine elements of the various objectives and interests** as identified in the document analysis. ‘Tapijn as an Open Learning Landscape’, as articulated in the vision statement in 2014, determined the planning process and exerts significant rhetorical power to promote the translation of the discourse of ULUR into a spatial project. Storylines therefore reflect actor’s strategies as well as negotiations between them, which chimes with findings by Melhuish (2015).

The findings suggest that the vision for Tapijn is stimulated by urban and regional policy for the creation of “interaction milieus”, a discursive and physical space to promote encounters between different population groups, and the university community and local residents in particular. Within these processes, the notion of an Open Learning Landscape functions as “discursive cement” to harmonize the different objectives and interests of the project partners in order to facilitate a common understanding, and hence coalition of actors. The guiding vision thus conceals the discursive complexity as exposed in the document analysis.

Besides, it is revealed that the project partners, incorporating input from students and residents, have framed their vision for Tapijn around the need of the integration of the site with the city fabric, a regeneration of urban heritage, the upgrading of public green space and the accommodation of the expansion of the university. This suggests that the primary driver for the actors’ involvement is to promote what resembles an urban regime as proposed by Stone (1989) in support of the knowledge economy and the attractiveness of the university and the city for population groups that qualify for Florida’s notion of the creative class (2003). The hierarchical structure underlying the policy discourse as noted in 6.1.1 is thus found to have persisted in the Tapijn development.

As such, Tapijn is found to serve two priorities in Maastricht’s urban governance: firstly, it ‘polishes’ and furthers the synergy driving a paradigm of knowledge-based (economic) development, and the civic and spatial activities of the university that support this, and secondly, it is envisioned to ‘fix’ the disjunction between the increasing role of UM as urban planner and the pressure of its presence on the city. Hence, it essentially addresses the challenge as identified by Franz (2011) to synchronize university life with external city dynamics. This latter ambition implied that the broader university-city relations came to interact with, and shape, the project and *vice versa*. Through focusing on how this interaction is mediated through discourse, the interplay of actors and practices was studied.

6.1.3 Performing, contesting and negotiating

The third question addressed **the translation of these storylines into the actual development process through a study of the interplay of actors and practices that characterised the development.** A study of the three stages of the planning process (i.e. Drafting the vision, Designing the site and Developing the project) revealed the complexity of the vision's implementation. While the preceding subchapters provided examples of how broader university-city relations shaped Tapijn and were performed as a policy synergy, the findings of the third question show that the microcosm of Tapijn in turn shaped city-wide processes as well. Notably, the discourse-coalition was contested and negotiated during the design and construction phases.

With regard to the design stage, the findings exposed how the translation of the vision into a concrete plan generated contestation as a result of the urban encounters and spatial politics implicated in development on the ground – contributing to the depth of existing scholarship on university-city tensions and studentification (Bose, 2015; Ehlenz, 2016; Smith, 2008). In particular a disconnection between the interpretation of the vision and how it was adopted in the architectural design created tensions with a number of local residents. As an expression of their disagreement with the way the vision of an Open Learning Landscape was translated into a design, the opposition constructed an argument around “Our neighborhood is not an urban campus”. This dissent did not necessarily oppose the project in itself, but rather aimed to highlight broader concerns about the increasing pressure on their neighborhood as well as the lack of citizen engagement in the design process as also previously described in studies by Melhuish (2019).

The developing stage marked a new shift in practices and the coalition of actors, in response to the contestation in the design phase. The findings suggested how UM worked to (re)negotiate, and to some extent reestablish, a sense of collective interest around the project, a tactic previously explored by Benneworth, Charles and Madanipour (2010). Hence, in line with Melhuish (2015), it can be argued that universities in the discourse of ULUR are both positioning themselves and, in this stage specifically, being positioned by external forces.

Influenced by these dynamics, the notion of an Open Learning Landscape no longer functioned only as a discursive cement for the storylines, but also started to frame the “discursive affinity” among the different actors. This was achieved by negotiating and renegotiating the ties with the local population, in explicit and implicit ways. The original vision of an Open Learning Landscape as

articulated at the start of the development served as reference. Explicitly, the university would accept modifications in response to the contestation, for example through changing design proposals, or decided to counter the opposition in court.

The practice of negotiation was also observed, rather implicitly, in the communication practices of UM through organizing tours for residents to show how the symbolic value of the site in the city's history was persevered in the plans. In addition, the UM focused on a careful framing of the development emphasizing its publicness, promoting the idea of a meeting place for the city, while simultaneously distancing from contentious terms such as 'campus' or 'university park'. This chimes with findings of Lazzeroni and Piccaluga (2015) who noted how, through the regeneration of buildings, universities can produce "distinctive identities of knowledge cities" to reinforce the university-community relations (p. 12).

The processes of negotiation primarily take place in the formation of (semi-)public areas for the university-city interface, as suggested by Melhuish (2019) in her study of ULUR in Sweden and the UK. While her findings mainly emphasise spatial interventions, this study of Tapijn has suggested promising attempts to facilitate this interface in non-spatial ways. The most notable, and in this respect promising, effort is the appointment of a curator who will be organizing public events and local collaboration to facilitate the dialogue between Tapijn's users and its neighbors. Some of these efforts suggest that UM is working towards a civic model as proposed by Goddard (2009).

These negotiation efforts, however, have not resulted in a complete alignment of all actors in favor of the current and future course of the project. Representatives of resident groups have expressed their concerns about how Tapijn will continue to appeal to its non-student neighbors as soon as the temporary amenities, such as the creative workshops and the popular eatery, will disappear to pave the way for university-oriented functions. In addition, as the principle group of users, the student community is only incidentally involved in the planning process. Contrary to the design phase, however, no new claim or dissent has surfaced thus far. Instead, as UM positions itself, and is being positioned, to adopt a coordinating role, the city government is increasingly retreating from its traditional role in planning. This has a number of consequences for the project and Maastricht as university city which are discussed using the notion of urban governance.

6.1.4 Towards a new vision for Tapijn?

Alongside the abovementioned findings, the discussion has also provided **a number of insights regarding the notion of urban governance**. Despite the diversity of actors involved in the case study and their often different agendas, the project-based nature of the Tapijn project is accompanied by shifting institutional configurations.

Firstly, the characteristics of the discourse-coalition as observed in the early planning processes of Tapijn, closely resembles characteristics of models of governance coalitions as developed by Logan and Molotch's (1987) on growth coalitions and Stone's (1989) work on urban regimes. In this respect, the different internal project partners managed to collectively shape policies to justify their involvement, and through cooperation pursue complementary objectives.

Secondly, the findings exposed how the constellation of actors as formed during the early stages of the planning process resulted in challenges of the discourse-coalition. Within the broader coalition of forces, the city government primarily adopted a facilitative role in chime with Harvey's (1989, p. 6) work on urban entrepreneurialism. When the spatial manifestation of the discourse-coalition was contested by residents as they feel they did not see themselves represented, this resulted in new interactions between the UM project staff and local residents, who, without mediation of the local authority, were forced to negotiate their relationship in the further development. While initially this was met with contestation, due to recent shifts in the institutional configurations from a rather unchallenged cooperation of UM, the city and province, to a model in which the city is involved less prominently and with a greater influence of the UM, the university has started to pre-empt potential contestation of the project by considering the interests of citizens. This is exemplified by the appointment of a curator for Tapijn, whose task is primarily to facilitate the dialogue between UM and local residents. Some findings even suggest that the local community perceives the university as a more reliable and collaborative partner than the city government, which is seen as rather unwieldy and unapproachable.

Thirdly, although to some extent the findings indeed confirm Addie, Keil and Olds' observation that there is "an apparent tension between the spatial roles, relations and imaginaries" (2015, p.35) among coalition partners, it was found that ULUR might be an appealing alternative to more conventional public-private partnerships – as suggested by Melhuish (2019). As a public institution with an evident societal role as educator and research centre, the university is better at securing political support and

public funding than a private developer (Moos et al., 2019), and its involvement implies that local governments can grant a great degree of agency to the university as lead developer. The findings reveal that citizens have come to appreciate the flexibility and approachability of UM. While it is beyond the scope of this study to assess the desirability of this type of development, it is important to highlight that, in line with Melhuish (2015), this thesis supports the observation that within this new governance mode associated with ULUR, the role of discourse is critical as it frames the conditions and rules for cooperation, in particular with citizens.

Fourthly, regarding the role of UM in shaping the discourse of ULUR, it is apparent that its attempt to enhance the relationship with the local community is primarily based on communication of the project instead of embracing co-creation. While these efforts still disclose a city-based rhetoric and the ambition to create spaces which are permeable and inclusive, the discursive affinity as yielded by the vision of an Open Learning Landscape in earlier planning stages, cannot be assumed to be adequate to pre-empt future contestation of the project and further expansion of UM in the city. Instead, a new concept or a more concrete elaboration and/or update of the existing guiding vision is required to reconfigure the discourse of ULUR, and hence properly address these new conditions, and the symbiotic and “competitive dance” (Addie, Keil and Olds, 2015) of evolving university-city relations and the city-wide debate on Maastricht’s future as university city.

In conclusion, this thesis has shown that the discourse of ULUR can be mobilized to shape new, hybrid urban spaces for the university-city interface. While the notion of an Open Learning Landscape achieved to incorporate the different agendas and interests of a broad constellation of actors in the early stages of the project, the findings suggest that the (re)operationalization of this somewhat “fuzzy” vision statement is crucial for setting objectives for managing and achieving the remaining planning phases and the future use of Tapijn, as well as the pathways in achieving these.

6.2 Implications & insights for planning and policy

Every urban development is to a large extent dependent on specific local circumstances and conditions. Nevertheless, this thesis might yield some implications and valuable insights for urban planning and policy practitioners.

Firstly, Tapijn has shown that the formulation of a common vision can be a powerful way to harmonise different actors and guide a strategic urban project. Secondly, Tapijn has shown the implications of the facilitating role of the city authority. While on the one hand, it granted flexibility and ownership to the university as lead developer, the more passive role has also contributed to (future) resistance, and potentially neglected public interests beyond those of the university. Thirdly, it also exhibited the complexity of facilitating co-creation processes. The findings demonstrated that the project is principally centred around communication and pre-empting contestation, to protect the interests of UM. This also underlines the importance of public authorities such as the city authority in guiding and overseeing university-led projects. Fourthly, UM staff disclosed that they find it challenging to argue in favour of civic engagement as it is difficult to measure its benefits in quantifiable and economic terms. Therefore, a need for measurement models and tools was identified to gather support within, and beyond, the university for its civic role.

As the case study is still a work in progress, the final delivery and the programming stages are crucial in unlocking the potential of Tapijn for university-city interface. Informed by this thesis' findings, the merit of three interventions can be proposed.

Firstly, when the UM's expertise is bundled with the experience of the public authorities, innovative models of citizen-student engagement can be developed, e.g. through hosting storytelling and placemaking concepts at on-site hub *Kaleido* (e.g. Guidelines for Urban Labs, 2017 by UM and City of Maastricht). Secondly, while the landscape architecture and the to-be-built food court are found to consider informal encounters, this thesis identified the need for a strategy on how Tapijn as a non-commercial, co-created and inclusive urban space can be sustained upon completion. Secondly, universities as well as public actors can greatly benefit from inter-university, -urban, and -national collaboration in addressing challenges and harvesting opportunities. This provides an opportunity to share insights and strategies and potentially contributing to the quality of university-city relations and governance in Maastricht and beyond.

6.3 Limitations & recommendations for future research

Despite the various insights this thesis may yield, one should be cautious about drawing too much from the conclusions and implications as presented above. Firstly, improvements can immediately be made in these respects by enlarging the number of case studies and widening the analytical approach. Secondly, this thesis attempted to outline some of the features that constitute the collaborative effort to create spaces for the university-city interface, building on the recent scholarship of scholars like Melhuish (2015; 2019) and Addie (2017; 2019). With some refining, these observations could form the basis of a conceptual and analytical framework to study this particular type of planning. Thirdly, Future scholarship could also benefit from a quantitative approach, in order to enrich the analysis of discourse with that of statistical data. Fourthly, research could consider the remaining planning stages of the Tapijn case study. For example, through focus groups, urban labs and interviews it might be possible to further examine how the ambition to create a space for urban encounters and the university-city interface plays out.

This thesis also identified several other instances of adaptive reuse projects across Europe, led by young universities, across small-sized cities. Avenues into further, comparative research of this particular realm of urban studies may have been opened in this regard.

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Source list of figures

Figure student enrolment university: Data retrieved from VSNU, the Dutch Association of Research Universities (2019): https://www.vsnul.nl/f_c_ingeschreven_students.html#eerste

Figure timeline university: Key dates were derived from Annemieke Klijn's book *The Maastricht Experiment* (2016), the student numbers are based on archival research (*Limburgsch Dagblad*) and information provided on the website of Maastricht University:

<https://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/about-um/organisation/history>

Figure overview university-led projects: Photos retrieved from websites of the respective universities (copyright with institution).

Maastricht: <https://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/nl/over-de-um/herontwikkeling-tapijnkazerne>

Hasselt: <http://noa.wetnet.be/nl/projects/5/041-stadscampus-universiteit-hasselt>

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Limerick: <https://www.ul.ie/news-centre/news/ul-signs-contracts-purchase-dunnes-stores-site-and-enable-development-city-campus>

Map of university property: Base map retrieved from Google; the locations of university property were obtained from Maastricht University's real estate team.

Figure (Map of university cities):

Foundation year: Retrieved from homepage of respective university.

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Appendix I Postscript on a pandemic

The ongoing global Covid-19 pandemic and its accompanying crisis are having an effect on all of us, in various sectors, some more than others, and in vastly different ways. This thesis was originally envisioned to draw a comparison across national borders and reflect on the European dimension of universities, cities and their relationship. These initial plans to conduct a cross-border, comparative study grounded in empirical research, however, became impossible to execute due to the measures taken to stop the spread of the virus.

Research stays which were planned in Belgium and Germany had to be reconsidered when governments enforced a closure of national borders for ‘non-essential’ travels. The Belgian borders remained closed from March 20th until June 15th, 2020. In the same period, universities closed their doors. Despite their expressed willingness to contribute to the project prior to the pandemic, the Belgian and German contacts indicated that they had to reconsider their participation, as they would not be able to grant access to written documentation, the spatial projects and interview partners. In consultation with the coordinator of the 4CITIES master’s programme and the supervisor of this thesis, it was decided to adapt the focus and scope of the research to the new conditions and the limitations that came with it.

In practical terms, this meant that the project in Maastricht was to be considered as the central case study and research site for observations in situ and conducting (online) interviews. The in-depth analysis of the Maastricht case study is complemented by a mainly desk research-based exploration of other instances of ULUR throughout Europe. While the central case study is examined in great detail, the other identified cases contribute to the explorative character of this thesis serving as inspiration and framework for future studies. Key stakeholders in both Siegen and Hasselt have indicated that they are willing to collaborate in future research. Motivated by the ambition to limit the impact of the pandemic on the quality and delivery of this thesis, the author is strongly convinced that this thesis still yields interesting insights and valuable contributions for the academic community, policymakers, practitioners and beyond.

Appendix II Overview interviews

Helicopter interview

	Description of position and relation to research topic	Date of interview
General		
Dr. Michael Mießner	Research Fellow at the Technical University of Dresden, expert in the field of urban governance and studentification	17/05/2019 (video-call)
Rinske Brand	Founding Partner at Rotterdam-based urban agency BRAND, expert and practitioner in the field of placemaking, with experience in advising universities and local governments	19/07/2019 20/11/2019 (call)
Dr. Ron Cörvers	Scientific director at Maastricht Sustainability Institute and Associate Professor at Maastricht University, expert in sustainable development with a network relevant for this thesis	23/07/2019 (in-person)
Maastricht		
Robin Vossen	Policy Officer Academic Affairs at Maastricht University, an expert-policymaker well-informed and -connected on the topic of engagement and valorization	11/02/2019 (in-person)
Maurice Evers	Department Head, Housing at Maastricht University and manager of the 'Student and City' programme, who has an extensive network and understanding of, the organisation	11/02/2019 (in-person)
Dr. Michelle van Mulken	Project Coordinator 'City Deal' at Maastricht University, a civic engagement project by higher education institutions and the city	12/02/2019 (in-person)
Thomas Schäfer	Project Coordinator 'Student and City' at Maastricht University, who manages projects focused on improving student life and civic engagement in the city	20/03/2019 (video-call)
Other considered case studies		
Prof. Dr.-Ing. Thorsten Erl	Professor of Urbanism at University of Siegen, jury member of the architectural competition for campus development	12/10/2019 (in-person)
Dany Polus	Former Manager real estate development at Hasselt University, acted as project coordinator of the City Campus development (2008-2014)	14/03/2020 (call)

Semi-structured interviews

Affiliation	Ref.	Role/Position	Date & Duration
City of Maastricht	City01	Project coordinator Tapijn (2013-2017) & Manager spatial planning department	09/06/2020 - 43m20s 20/08/2019 - 30m00s*
	City02	Process manager spatial planning & Coordinator Spatial Development Strategy	14/05/2020 - 41m30s
	City03	Senior advisor economic development & Coordinator knowledge economy	28/01/2019 - 25m00s*
Maastricht University	Uni01	Project coordinator Tapijn (2016-present)	09/06/2020 - 60m00s 05/09/2019 - 25m30s*
	Uni02	Project coordinator Tapijn (2013-2016)	12/06/2020 - 65m00s
	Uni03	Project manager Match, civic engagement & Project manager 'Student and City' (2014-2016)	02/06/2020 - 57m30s 12/02/2019 - 30m00s*
	Uni04	Manager university library, future user Tapijn	10/06/2020 - 17m00s
	Uni05	Assistant professor & Co-initiator 'Universiteit met de Buurt', civic engagement project	12/06/2020 - 33m00s*
Student Representation	Stud01	Chair 'M:OED', local political movement & PhD candidate at Maastricht University	01/07/2020 - 40m00s (duo interview)
	Stud02	Ideology officer 'M:OED' & recent graduate from Maastricht University	
Province	Prov01	Senior policy advisor built environment Representative for Tapijn (2013-2019)	12/06/2020 - 35m00s
Civil Society	Civil01	Founding chair 'Vrienden van de Binnenstad', promoting interests of citizens living in the inner city	08/06/2020 - 41m30s
	Civil02	Chair 'Bewonersvereniging Jekerkwartier', representing 250 households living in neighborhood	08/06/2020 - 63m30s
	Civil03	Treasurer 'Bewonersvereniging Jekerkwartier'	04/06/2020 - 37m30s*

Interviews marked with * were neither transcribed nor used as excerpts in this thesis. These conversations primarily served the purpose of obtaining access to data, fact-checking and contextualising findings, briefing people about the research and sourcing for input

Appendix III Overview policy documents

Type of document	Title of document	Number of pages
City of Maastricht		
Coalition agreement (2018)	Bestuursakkoord 2018-2022	23 pages
Policy programme on student city (2019)	Studentenstad 2019-2022	20 pages
Spatial development strategy, long-term (2019)	Ontwerp Omgevingsvisie Maastricht 2040	62 pages
Maastricht University		
Annual report (2018)	Maastricht University Jaarverslag 2018	58 pages
Strategic plan (2017)	Community at the core: strategic programme 2017-2021*	21 pages
Advocacy paper on civic engagement (2018)	Our Impact on Maastricht, Europe & the World*	76 pages
Province of Limburg		
Regional knowledge economy strategy (2018)	Regionale kennisagenda Limburg	22 pages
Regional spatial development strategy (2016)	Kader stedelijke ontwikkeling	39 pages
Civil society, i.e. neighbourhood associations		
Alternative vision on urban development (2019)	Het Jekerkwartier: een omgevingsvisie vanuit bewonersperspectief	5 pages
Appeal against spatial development strategy (2019)	Zienswijze naar aanleiding van de ter visielegging Ontwerp Omgevingsvisie 2040	4 pages
Appeal of residents against vision Tapijn (2014)	Reactie op Visiedocument Tapijn	4 pages
Specific for Tapijn project		
Vision issued by city, province and university (2013)	Visie Transformatie Tapijnkazerne 2014-2023	68 pages
Land-use plan issued by city authorities (2016)	Bestemmingsplan Tapijnkazerne	23 pages

Publications on Tapijn

Tapijn waarschijnlijk in 2020 klaar. *Observant* (24/02/2015).

<https://www.observantonline.nl/Home/Artikelen/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/4841/Tapijn-waarschijnlijk-in-2020-klaar>

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Tapijnterrein wordt open en heuvelachtig park. *Observant* (03/02/2016).

<https://www.observantonline.nl/Home/Artikelen/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/10420/Tapijnt-terrein-wordt-open-en-heuvelachtig-park>

Tapijn: “Het hert is het uitgangspunt”. *Observant* (21/04/2016).

<https://www.observantonline.nl/Home/Artikelen/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/10810/Tapijn-Het-hert-is-het-uitgangspunt>

In beroep tegen Tapijnplannen. *Observant* (09/02/2017).

<https://www.observantonline.nl/Home/Artikelen/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/11882/In-beroep-tegen-Tapijnplannen>

Plannen Tapijn aangepast. *Observant* (11/05/2017).

<https://www.observantonline.nl/Home/Artikelen/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/12299/Plannen-Tapijn-aangepast>

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https://www.cobouw.nl/bouwbreed/bouwbericht/2017/07/tapijnkazerne-maastricht-verandert-stadspark-met-leerlandschap-101250893?_ga=2.115082179.53453817.1579505672-1175768188.1579505672

Kazerne in transformatie: slaapzalen worden collegezalen. *De Limburger* (09/06/2018).

https://www.limburger.nl/cnt/dmf20180608_00063668/tapijnkazerne-in-transformatie

Brasserie Tapijn twee jaar langer op kazerneterrein. *De Limburger* (20/09/2019).

https://www.limburger.nl/cnt/dmf20180920_00074082/brasserie-tapijn-twee-jaar-langer-op-kazerneterrein

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<https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=276594079901578>

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Archival research on Maastricht as a university city

Van Kemenade: een eigentijdse universiteit

RUL EEN FEIT

MAASTRICHT — De stichting van een universiteit in Maastricht, hoort tot de belangrijkste beslissingen ooit genomen in de bewogen ontwikkeling van dit deel van ons land", aldus dr. J. H. G. Tans, voorzitter van het college van bestuur van de Rijksuniversiteit Limburg gistermiddag tijdens de opening van de academische zitting in de St. Servaas in Maastricht. Tijdens de zitting verklaarde koningin Juliana door het zetten van haar handtekening de universiteit officieel voor geopend. Een lange rij sprekers stond uitvoerig stil bij dit gebeuren.

Tijdens de plechtigheid kreeg dr. Tans van de gouverneur, mr. C. van Rooy, namens de Stichting Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs Limburg een voorzittershamer aangeboden (die hij snel ergens op een tafeltje deponeerde), gevolgd door de ambassadeur van de rector-magnificus en J. M. E. Stockbroeckx de vervaarlijke staf als fungerend pedel.

Emotioneel

De minister van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen, dr. J. van Kemenade, zei in zijn toespraak onder andere „dat Limburg na de inslijpende achterlating van de sluiting van de mijnen, recht had op nieuwe cultu-rie, sociale en economische impul-sen, waarvan de vestiging van een universiteit er een was zijn." Hij gaf toe dat dit argument emotioneel re-nuod kan worden, maar hij wens-te te benadrukken dat hij ook voor dat element waardering had. „Het is mijn overtuiging dat bestuur en be-lid beter gedijen naarmate oprech-te emoties minder veronachtzaamd worden. De samenleving moet een samenleving kunnen blijven van mensen die niet alleen hoofd en han-den gebruiken, maar ook leven en voelen". Maar, zo zei hij, „Emotie kan alleen duurzaam standhouden, wanneer deze steelt op redelijkheid".

Hij wies er verder op dat deze uni-versiteit niet alleen van en voor Limburg is. „Nationaal en internatio-naal verdient deze universiteit meer dan de aandacht van het moment". Hij noemde de RU Limburg „een eigentijdse universiteit", een poging om de maatschappelijke betrokken-hed van de universiteit te vernieu-ten met het tiende eeuwse vrijheids-ideaal. De kracht van de universiteit is er in gelegen af te wijken van traditionele patronen zonder waar-devolle tradities te verwaarlozen.

De koningin wordt ontvangen door burgemeester Baeten van Maastricht met een fris bloemetje.

„Het toekomstig succes" zo zei hij, „zal afhankelijk zijn van de mate waarin die opstelling gehandhaafd wordt." De minister zei ook nog dat bestaande instituten zich niet kun-nen blijven uitbreiden door een door-trekken van bestaande lijnen. „Ook zal een kritische bestemming passen op de omvang van sommige bestaan-de universiteiten en hogescholen". Tot slot zei minister Van Kemenade, dat „als ooit gebleken is dat de over-heid wel degelijk een taak heeft om door haar onderwijsbeleid maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen te sti-muleren, dan is het wel hier".

Vervolg zie pag. 15

Dienstbaarheid

Namens de Raad van Kerken in Limburg preekt de bisschop van Roermond, mgr. dr. J. M. Gijzen allen die aan de voorbereiding van de universiteit hebben meegewerkt voor hun volhouden. De leden van de Raad van Kerken zijn zich, aldus de bisschop, bewust van het feit dat deze universiteit behalve wetenschappelijk instituut een punt van dienstbaarheid aan het gewest wil zijn. „Wie zich bekwam tot dit ge-west en wie zijn pregnant hoofdstad Maastricht als thuis creëert, ac-cepteert ook het christelijke karakter dat op talrijke stratenhoeken en op talrijke huizen geïmponeerd zit".

ZUID-AFRIKA VERLAAT ANGOLA

LOESAKA — Zuid-Afrika zal zijn troepen definitief uit Angola terug-trekken. Dit is gisteren in diploma-tieke kringen te Loesaka, de hoofd-stad van Zambia, vernomen. Men verwacht dat de terugtrekking snel zal geschieden.

De VS en andere landen, zo ver-lidde in Loesaka hebben Zuid-Af-rika ervan weten te overtuigen, dat de aanwezigheid van zijn troepen in Angola politieke moeilijkheden veroorzaakt en dat deze moeilijke-den veel zwaarder wegen dan even-

“A modern university: RUL is a fact now”

“The foundation of a university in Maastricht belongs to the most important decision ever made in the eventful development of this part of the country”, according to Dr. Sjeng Tans, the university’s founding president at the official inauguration of the Rijksuniversiteit Limburg (RUL) on January 9th, 1976.

Source: Limburgsch Dagblad, January 10th 1976.



● Op de voorlichtingsdag voor middelbare scholieren die vorige week aan de universiteit werd gehouden bleek ook veel belangstelling van buiten Limburg. Het lotingsysteem brengt echter waarschijnlijk toch weer een overmaat aan Limburgers naar de Tongersestraat.



en die elders werken naar de Limburgse universiteit?

Dr. Tans: „Ik heb wel mensen ontmoet die het graag zouden willen, die dat „ding naar Limburg“ mede als argument gebruiken. Ik zeg „ander“, omdat het belangrijkste argument altijd was dat je van meet af aan met iets nieuws kon beginnen, naast een bepaalde filosofie, dat trok, en daar komt als andere prikkel ook elders iets in de markt te laten nog bij de regionale verbondenheid, het heel overigens niet geleid tot een groot aandeel van de Limburgers in de wetenschappelijke staf, eerder het tegendeel is waar.“

— Dat geldt niet voor de studenten.

Dr. Tans: „In het tweede jaar zitten inderdaad veel veel Limburgers. Dat is een gevolg van het toelatingssysteem. Bij de inschrijving hadden 370 studenten als eerste voorkeur Maastricht toegekend. Daarvan zijn er 60 ingetrokken en daar waren natuurlijk veel Limburgers bij. Bij de 50 studenten die wij kregen waren inderdaad veel jongelui uit de provincie. Wij zijn er voor dat het tweede plaatsingscriterium, studenten op dicht mogelijk bij huis, verlaten wordt.“

Merkwaardig is overigens dat deze groep zonder twiifel van beter niveau is dan de rechte van september 1974. Dat kan natuurlijk toeval zijn, maar het is toch opvallend.

Naam

— Inderdaad heeft men hier zijn verandering ingevoerd naar het grote aantal Limburgers. Wat is daar eigenlijk tegen?

Dr. Tans: „Over het algemeen zou ik er geen enkel bezwaar tegen hebben. Maar het is niet uitgesloten dat dat een heel paar jaar doorgaat er een nadrukkelijk invloed van de Limburgse provincie voor de buitenwereld zou kunnen krijgen. Dat moet niet de voorkeur maar het gebeurt, gemakkelijk de nieuwe instelling gaat afbreken als een Limburgse onderzoeper. En hoewel ik er niet onder zou zijn dat het een zaak van meerdere kanten moet worden, zou ik het toch betreuren als we te veel naar achteren alleen Limburgers zouden moeten opnemen. Je moet nu evenwel een naam vinden, je moet je erin vestigen.“

— Hoezo?

Dr. Tans: „Bij velen in het land heerst zo eenmaal nog de opvatting dat „de provincie“ is bepaalde opstellen bij het centrum van het land achter ligt. Dat daar meer kwaliteits- als betere mogelijkheden bestaan. Dat is natuurlijk niet, maar zo denkt men nu eenmaal. In het bijzonder op academisch niveau. En dan moeten we ook niet vergeten dat toch gebieden in dat de speciale instellingen die wij in Limburg gevestigd hebben willen realiseren door velen met achterdocht bekeken worden.“

— Is het inderdaad wel haven opge, die doedingen zijn prima, maar hoe kun je dat nu in Limburg voor elkaar krijgen?

Dr. Tans: „Nou en het antwoord daarop heeft dat kunnen wij in Limburg voor elkaar krijgen omdat wij in Limburg voldoende hebben. En wat wij zelf niet hebben hebben we elders, in Nederland en ik zeg het er met nadruk bij, uit het buitenland. Want dat is juist een groot voordeel van Limburg, omdat het ten opzichte van de rest van Europa veel gunstiger ligt dan welke stad in Nederland ook. En zo zie je maar weer als de wetenschap universiteit is, dan betekent dat dat wij, als Limburgse universiteit, zeker nu goede kansen hebben om goed niveau te bereiken, mede als gevolg van dat onder handbereik liggende buitenland.“

Hoe Limburgs is de Limburgse universiteit?

Hoe Limburgs is de Limburgse universiteit? Dat is een vraag die wel zinnig is, want vanaf de dag dat bekend was dat de achtste medische faculteit in Maastricht gevestigd zou worden is in allerlei samenhang gezegd dat dit land met een eigen, rijke cultuur nu eindelijk zou krijgen wat aan die cultuur nog ontbrak: een eigen Limburgse instelling van academisch onderwijs. Dat het hier gaat om een echte Limburgse zaak wordt schijnbaar nog eens benadrukt door de vasthoudendheid waarmee gesproken wordt van Rijksuniversiteit Limburg, en niet, zoals in de lijn van de traditie lag, van Rijksuniversiteit Maastricht. Dan zou meteen de verwarring rond de afkorting RUL uit de wereld zijn, want daar heeft Leiden recht op.

Dr. J. Tans sinds enkele dagen officieel voorzitter van het college van bestuur van de nieuwe rijksuniversiteit, is geen man die zich met het hoofd op het land heven door nationale sentimenten. Hoewel de Rijksuniversiteit Limburg hetgeen de enige ter wereld is waar als omgast op alre niveau een dialect gebruikt wordt — het Maastrichts — wil hij niet erg ver gaan bij het bevestigen van de vraag.

Universeel

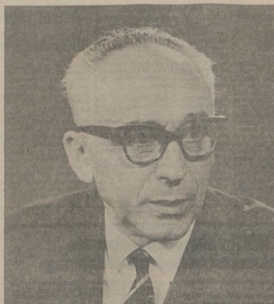
„Het aantal Limburgers dat in de instelling werkt is natuurlijk niet de factor waardoor de instelling een bepaalde regionale kleur zou krijgen“, meent hij. „Wetenschap is universeel, wet niet wegneemt dat je die wetenschap kunt toepassen op een bepaald lokaal of regionaal gegeven. Je kunt wel zeggen dat een instelling als deze een bepaalde verantwoordelijkheid heeft ten aanzien van het milieu waarin die wetenschap beoefend wordt.“

Meer dan elders rijp wij er ons van bewust dat wij erop uit moeten zijn problemen aan te pakken die hier liggen en niet of meer specifiek zijn. Je ziet ook dat we ons met de medische faculteit heel specifiek gericht hebben op de vraag: hoe staat het met het zieken in Limburg. Als we de universiteit verder gaan uitbreiden zal dat idee worden voortgezet, bijvoorbeeld bij de ontwikkeling van vernieuwingsmiddelen voor het hoger onderwijs.

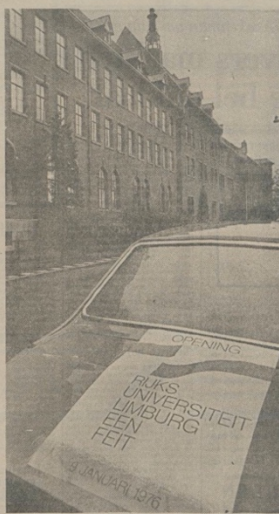
De doelstellingen die we op dat gebied aan ontwikkelen zullen voor een belangrijk deel mede bepaald worden door de toestand zoals die op dit gebied in deze regio is. De wetenschap hier moet ervaar uitgaan dat je niet moet denken om de kwaliteiten van de regio te helpen verbeteren, dat geldt bijvoorbeeld ook voor de werkgelegenheid. Het technisch en economisch personeel is voor het grootste deel Limburgs.“

Trek

— Is er eigenlijk een trek geweest van Limburgse wetenschappers?



● Dr. Sjeng Tans... naam krijgen...



“How Limburgish is the university of Limburg?”

Source: Limburgs Dagblad, January 9th 1976.

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BINGO

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Hoogleraren uitgenodigd voor nog niet bestaande universiteit

(Van onze correspondent)

MAASTRICHT, 21 juni — Ongeveer 25 hoogleraren uit Aken en Leuven, gisteren bijeengekomen in het Maastrichtse stadhuis, zijn door prof. dr. ir. Gellissen, president-directeur van de PLEM en voorzitter onder meer van de Kamer van Koophandel uitgenodigd te fungeren als gastdocenten te fungeren voor de (nog niet bestaande) Maastrichtse universiteit.

„Ik zie“, aldus „profeet“ dr. ir. Gellissen, in de toekomst een kleine maar zeer goede universiteit in Maastricht verrijen voor de belangrijkste faculteiten, waar het onderwijs in verschillende talen gegeven zal worden.

De hoogleraren waren de gasten van de PLEM en hoofdschool van het programma was een voordracht van de stadsarchivaris mr. drs. Wouters, die Maastricht tekende als cultuurcentrum in heden, verleden en toekomst. Die toekomst, dat bleek duidelijk, was de universiteit waarvoor Maastricht ondanks de weinig hoopvolle nota-Cals blijft ijveren.

In het kader van de Europese gedachte is Maastricht door zijn ligging en zijn historie voorbestemd een universiteit te krijgen, betoogde de archivaris. Zolang die er niet is, blijft Maastricht „de schone onvoltooidheid“.

Burgemeester baron Michiels van Kessenich had het even tevoren anders gezegd: „Maastricht is een universiteitsstad zonder universiteit“. Hij noemde dat een misstand. Bedrijfsleven en politiek vragen om academici, die meer te lenen beheersen. Maastricht, meende hij, kan die academici leveren, dankzij zijn ligging in het „land zonder grenzen“. De hoogleraren van Luik, Leuven en Aken zullen, zo hoopte hij, zich bij deze beweging ontwikkeling niet afzijdig houden.

Prof. Gellissen, zei dat zijn eigen ervaring hem had geleerd, dat Nederland in het nieuwe westen leidinggevende figuren nodig heeft, die op conferenties kunnen spreken, denken, schrijven en debatteren in verschillende talen. Zoals bekend heeft prof. Gellissen een half jaar geleden zijn plan openbaar gemaakt om, desnoods zonder Den Haag, in Maastricht een hogeschool op te richten met de hulp van en afgestemd op het bedrijfsleven.

“Professors invited for not yet existing university”.

In 1961, 25 professors from universities in Aachen and Leuven visited the Maastricht city hall to discuss their future participation as guest lecturers at the yet to established university. The newspaper article quotes the city's mayor, baron Michiels van Kessenich, who said at the meeting: “Maastricht is a university city without university”. According to the mayor, the industry and politicians demand academics who are proficient in multiple languages. Maastricht, situated in “the land without borders”, was ideally suited to train these.

Source: *de Volkskrant*, 21/06/1961.

Prof. Lousse uit Leuven:

MAASTRICHT: stad voor Europese universiteit

MAASTRICHT, 25 juli — De Leuvense hoogleraar in geschiedenis, prof. dr. E. Lousse, heeft tijdens een voordracht in Maastricht de gedachte opgevoerd, dat Maastricht eigenlijk in aanmerking zou moeten komen als plaats van vestiging voor een katholieke universiteit van Europese allure. De historie van de stad, haar ligging op een kruispunt van beschavingswegen en haar eeuwenoude cultuur, maken Maastricht hiervoor de aangewezen plaats, aldus prof. Lousse.

In zijn voordracht betoogde de hoogleraar naar aanleiding van een aantal historische ontwikkelingen en gebeurtenissen, dat Maastricht — door veelal onverwachte omstandigheden — in de loop der eeuwen van zijn bestaan nooit haar belang voldoende heeft kunnen tonen. Hij noemde Maastricht de stad van de onvoltooide prestaties, met een balans vol mogelijkheden voor een belangrijke groei en invloed, maar niettegenstaande haar buitengewoon gunstige ligging daarin steeds belemmerd. In deze tijd van de Benelux acht prof. Lousse nieuwe kansen voor Maastricht aanwezig.

“Maastricht: a city for a European university”.

E. Lousse, professor of history at Leuven University, proposed at a public lecture in Maastricht that the city should be considered as a future birthplace of “a catholic university of European stature”. “The history of the city, situated at the crossroads of civilizations and her age-old culture, make Maastricht ideally suited for the establishment of such institution”, according to the Belgian professor.

Source: *de Volkskrant*, 26/07/1957.



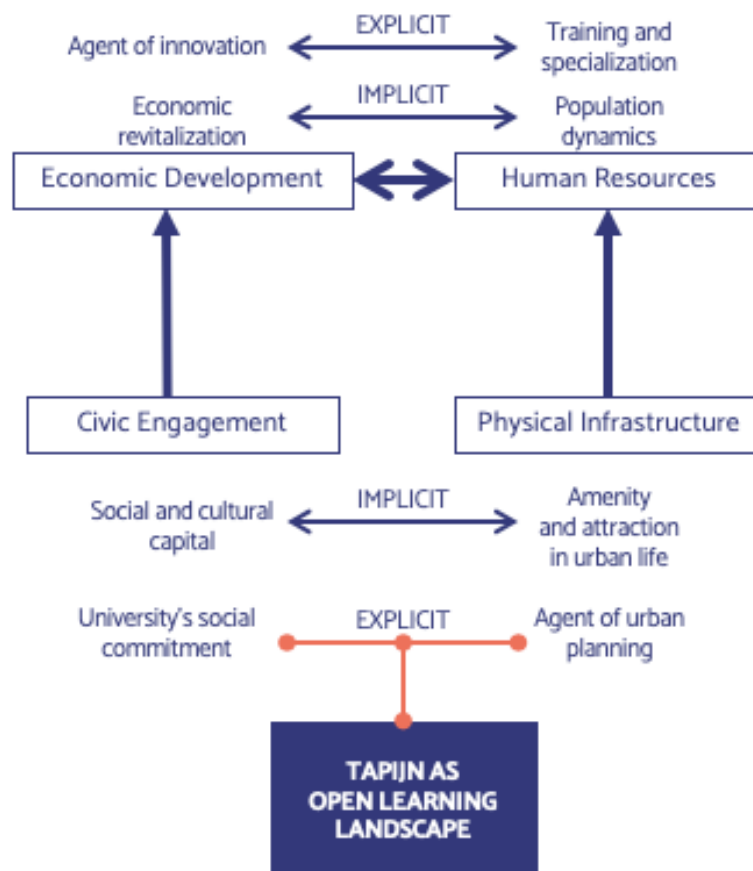
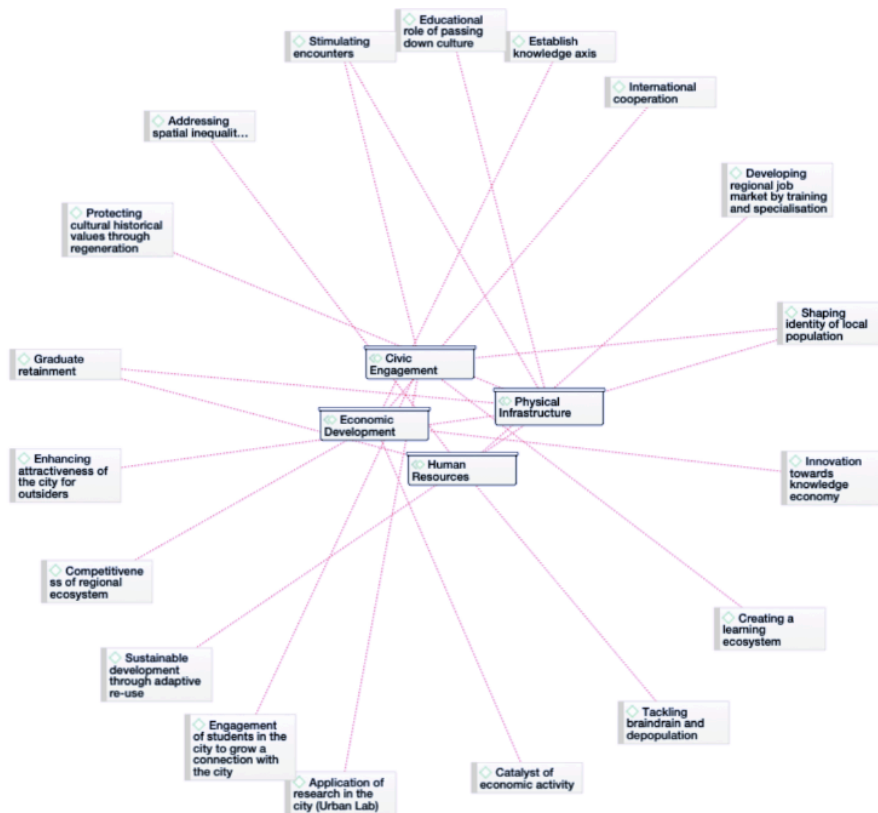
“A review of the cultural policy for Maastricht”, published in *Limburgsch Dagblad* (19/02/1971).

Prior to the foundation of the university, the idea of a university-led development at Tapijnkazerne and the Jekerbuurt neighborhood (in which Tapijn is located) was proposed. Quote from article: “The current ambition to transform the *Jekerbuurt* into a kind of *Quartier Latin* is applauded, as this is the area where many cultural institutes are located. It is also important to ensure that the residential character is not affected. The Quartier is designated for studio residences. Possibilities to combine this with student housing should be considered, especially since the art institutes also add to the area’s attractiveness for university’s A faculties. However, a good urban planning solution is only considered feasible, if the grounds of the Tapijnkazerne can be made available, which are situated like a blind spot in the urban structure and prevent normal organic growth.”

Appendix V Coding guide

The coding guide below was used to analyse the selected policy documents. The dimensions and effects are adopted from the framework developed by Fernández-Esquinas & Pinto (2014, p. 1470). The bullet points refer to the descriptions used for first-degree coding, the explicit and implicit effects as second-degree codes, and the four dimensions as the final and third stage of the interpretation of the codes.

Dimensions	Explicit effects	Implicit effects
Physical infrastructure	<p>The university as an agent of urban planning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Property development Reclassification of land for building and urban uses Provision of infrastructure and “knowledge spaces” (services for science and technology parks, ICT access, etc.) Gentrification of declining areas 	<p>The university as an amenity and attraction in urban life</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access infrastructures Provision of cultural and sport facilities Provision of green space
Human resources	<p>Training and specialization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Production of graduates for strategic sectors Specialized training for workers Influx of university-educated population Circulation of knowledge workers 	<p>Population dynamics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demographic change Social mobility Spatial mobility Increase in educated workforce
Economic development	<p>The university as an agent of innovation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Knowledge transfer to businesses Businesses incubation Provision of knowledge intensive services Creation of knowledge clusters: attracting R&D businesses, coalitions of territorial development 	<p>Economic revitalization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generation of sources of income (university as local employer) Revitalization of local suppliers (university as customer of local businesses) Creation of new businesses to meet the university’s demand Attracting businesses relating to university specialization
Civic engagement	<p>University’s social commitment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Applied research and consulting focused on local policies Involvement in solving social problems: special education, poverty, nutrition, health education Strengthening community capacities 	<p>Social and cultural capital</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhancement of population’s capacity for involvement in local issues Increased public participation Higher density of social networks



Appendix VI Interview guidelines

Thank you for offering your time for this interview today, I'll keep this to about 45 minutes, with six main questions. To facilitate the conversation and note-taking, I would like to record our conversation. For your information, only I will listen to the recording, which I will securely store. Anything I write will be anonymised, and not reference your name. Thank you for your willingness to participate.

My thesis focuses on the role of universities in urban development projects, seeking to explore how these university-led projects affect, and are affected by the relationship between the universities and their urban surroundings. It aims to understand how, and which, discourses, motives and actors drive the profound and growing impact of universities on their host cities.

I will ask you a number of open questions related to my thesis in order to explore some central themes of my study. First, I would like to hear about you.

A Interviewee Background

1. Please could you introduce yourself.

Probes:

- Please describe your role.
- Please describe your connection with Maastricht.

B Relationship university-city

2. Tell me about the position of the university in the city of Maastricht.

Probes:

- Tell me more about the relationship between the local (and regional) government and the university.
- Tell me more about how the civic role of the university has developed throughout the years.
- What implications does the growing role of the university have for Maastricht's urban development and different policy terrains.

C Tapijn

3. Tell me about how you consider Tapijn within the cultural, social and historic context of Maastricht.

Probes:

- Tell me about your role/relationship within the development of Tapijn.
- How is your contribution facilitated and supported?
- Do you feel involved (and included) in this project?
- What are other actors you regularly interact with? In which ways are these interactions facilitated?
- How do you regard the development of Tapijn into a learning landscape?
- What implication does this type of development have according to you?

D Interaction between project and relationship university-city

4. Tell me about how you consider the role of Tapijn in shaping the broader university-city relationship in Maastricht.

Probes:

- What would you say are the main opportunities?
- What would you say are the main challenges?
- How do you regard the development of Tapijn within the broader development of Maastricht as a knowledge city?
- What are the implications of this ambition, and what role does Tapijn play in it?

F Post Interview Comments and/or Questions