The influence of accessibility on the policy of municipalities and housing corporations in shrinking regions

- A case study within the Achterhoek

A look in the future of the Achterhoek. Source: Toekomstkrant Achterhoek, 2018

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Summary

Accessibility is something that concerns everybody. Everybody has places they need to go or want to be. Accessibility is present in our everyday life. But what is accessibility? And what influences accessibility? This thesis tries to answer some of the questions surrounding accessibility and accessibility policy.

Accessibility has many different definitions. The definition by Hansen (1959) is often used: *The potential for interaction.* This potential for interaction is often different for different people and different locations. Some people do not have the possibility for much interaction. Vulnerable groups such as the elderly, people with disabilities or immigrants often have difficulty reaching certain locations or services such as doctors, shops or jobs. These groups are also more reliant on social housing for their housing need. Their choice for a living location, and therefore, their accessibility is sometimes limited by this.

This lack of accessibility can lead to Transport Poverty: The poorest people in society are most limited in their accessibility while they are also not in a position to move to more accessible places. Therefore housing corporations and municipalities could play an important role in improving accessibility for the poor. This problem of transport poverty is often worse in peripheral shrinkage regions. It is therefore interesting to research the Achterhoek. It is a region in the periphery of the country and is by the central government considered a shrinkage region. The main question of this research that follows from this is:

''*What is the influence that housing corporations and municipalities have on the transport accessibility in the Achterhoek?*''

How do we know if municipalities and housing corporations take accessibility into consideration? To answer the main research question a qualitative research has been conducted. The research was based on a theoretical framework of network theory and transport justice. The research consisted of desk research and interviews. The desk research consisted of researching policy documents of housing corporations and municipalities in the Achterhoek. Additionally six interviews with organizations in the Achterhoek were conducted. The goal of this research was to find out what policy municipalities and housing corporations in the Achterhoek have and if this policy includes policy on accessibility.

The results of the research are that the housing policy of the municipalities and housing corporations mainly focuses on three points: Affordability and availability, quality of living and sustainability. There is also strong cooperation within the region both on the local and regional level. There is however, not much policy on transport accessibility. It is only named in the margin of policy documents or something to be considered with building projects. Some of the interviewees do see accessibility as a possible solution to demographic shrinkage.

The conclusion from this research is that accessibility is not really considered in housing policy in the Achterhoek. It is more of an afterthought. The recommendations are therefore to think about accessibility when forming housing policy. This can lead to a fairer and more just housing policy

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

This thesis consist of five chapters. It will start with a framework for this thesis. Based on findings and gaps found in the existing research literature a research goal and question will arise. The research question will be the central question that will be answered. After this, societal and scientific relevance will be discussed. After this follows the theory chapter and the chapter for the methodology. The final two chapters are the analysis and conclusion chapter. The literature list and appendix are added at the end.

1.1   Framework

1.1.1 What is accessibility?

Accessibility is a term that is used frequently in the literature regarding planning One of the first and often used definitions of accessibility is "*the potential for interaction"* (Hansen, 1959, p.73 ;). This implies that an individual has the opportunity and means to visit places and people and interact with them. More accessibility implies more ability for action. Other perspectives and components of accessibility have been explored, expanding on this initial definition.

Handy and Niemeier (1997) define accessibility as *''the potential for interaction, both social and economic, the possibility of getting from home to a multitude of destinations offering a spectrum of opportunities for work and play. ''* (Hardy & Niemeier, 1997, p.1175). They divide the definition into three parts. Firstly, they name travel costs. If it costs less time or money to get to a certain location accessibility will increase. The second part is the destination choice. When there are more destinations to go to accessibility will be higher. The last part of accessibility is Travel choice. When you have multiple modes of transport to choose from your accessibility also increases. In their paper, they note that even though two persons are in an identical location, they may experience accessibility differently based on different needs and wants (Handy & Niemeier, 1997).

Another definition of accessibility is put forward in the paper of Geurs and Van Wee (2004).

They define accessibility as: *''the extent to which land-use and transport systems enable (groups of) individuals to reach activities or destinations by means of a (combination of) transport mode(s). ''* Geurs and Van Wee (2004, p.128). They break this definition down into four different components. The first component is land-use, which can be described as the demand for opportunities in places and the supply of these opportunities in places. Differences in supply and demand in certain locations may result in a clash for activities with a limited capacity, such as jobs and schools. The second component is transportation, the amount of effort needed to cover the distance of a journey. Aspects of this are the amount of time needed, travel costs and the infrastructure. It also includes the modes of transport that are available. The third component is the temporal component. This component is about the availability of opportunities at various times during the day and the time available to individuals. The fourth and last component of accessibility is that of the individual. Individual characteristics, such as age, income, and level of education, can influence a person's access to transport. The definition of Geurs and Van Wee and Handy and Niemeier show some similarities in thinking about the concept of accessibility. Firstly, both are about opportunities and not about actual behavior. These definitions are

about potential accessibility. Secondly, they both include a cost or effort component. They also both talk about the ability to reach a destination and the different ways available to an individual to reach these destinations. Lastly, there is an individual component in both definitions. A difference in the definitions is the inclusion of a temporal and a land-use factor in Geurs and Van Wee's definition. But overall, the definitions both use components that seem to be key factors in understanding accessibility.

1.1.2 Transport poverty

From the definition of accessibility, there is a difference in accessibility between people. This has an impact on these people. There have been studies on the impact of accessibility on the individual and society. These studies show that there is a link between accessibility and social exclusion (Lucas, 2012). This has led to the term Transport poverty (Van der Kloof, Bastiaanssen & Martens, 2014). Transport poverty is a state wherein an individual does not have access to key opportunities such as jobs, schools, medical care and social support networks (Martens and Golub, 2012). This lack of access can have a major impact on individuals (Van der Kloof, Bastiaanssen & Martens, 2014).

In the Netherlands households with higher incomes have, on average, more cars (CBS, 2017). Access to a car is related to relatively high accessibility. (Van Beuningen, Molnár-in 't Veld, & Bouhuijs, 2012). Lower-income households could rely on public transport for an increase in accessibility. However, the proximity of a train station or the investment in public transport in an area has shown to increase property values. Which means that poor people will not be able to live close to public transport hubs. (De Graaf, Debrezion, & Rietveld, 2010; Yiu & Wong, 2005). It has also been shown that increasing private car ownership has been leading to a decline in public transport that disproportionately impacts the poor (Gössling, 2016). We can, therefore, expect that in the Netherlands the poor have more limited accessibility. They are also the ones that rely the most on public housing provided by housing corporations because they can't satisfy their own housing needs (Sträub, 2001). Here is where the problem arises. The poorest people in Dutch society are most limited in their accessibility while they are also not in a position to move to more accessible places. Therefore housing corporations and municipalities could play an important role in improving accessibility for the poor.

1.1.3 Housing corporations

The role of housing corporations in the Netherlands is defined in the law as follows: ''Associations with complete legal jurisdiction, who have the aim to only be active at providing social housing.'' (art. 18a, lid 1 Woningwet 2015). Their purpose is thus to provide social housing to people who cannot afford to satisfy their own housing needs (Sträub, 2001).
Housing corporations first emerged in the Netherlands after the Housing Act (Woningwet) of 1901. This act was a response to the poor quality of housing for the working class. (Van der Crammen, De Klerk, Dekker & Witsen, 2012). In the following decades, corporations were more or less independent organizations. This changed after the Second World War. Because of the housing shortage after the Second World War, the government got more involved (Van der Crammen, De Klerk, Dekker & Witsen, 2012). Starting in 1959 and continuing to 1995 housing corporations started to gain more independence (Priemus,

2003). In 1995 the last crucial step was taken towards once again independent housing corporations. This change made housing corporations independent from government subsidies but also susceptible to financial risk (Koolma, 2010). The latest change to housing corporations came after several incidents involving housing corporations. Many housing corporations had invested heavily in derivatives and other ancillary activities. When the financial crisis of 2008 hit a lot of housing corporations experienced financial trouble. The most famous example of this is the Vestia housing corporation (Verbraeken, 2015). Vestia was at the time the biggest housing corporation in the Netherlands. It had many billions in ancillary activities. When the financial crisis hit and the interest on loans and derivatives increased Vestia was not able to pay its obligations. This led to an intervention to save Vestia by the Ministry of the interior, Autoriteit woningcorporaties, Waarborgfonds Sociale Woningbouw (WSW) and the Bank Nederlandse Gemeenten (BNG) in 2012.

This crisis led to an investigation by the Parliament and a change in the Housing Act. This change tried to focus on the activities of the housing corporations back to their core principles (Veenstra, Koolma, Allers, 2017).

Currently, there are 313 housing corporations in the Netherlands (Aw, 2018). The housing corporations in 2018 had a total housing stock of 2,26 million homes. This is 69,2% of all rental housing. And 29,3% of all homes (CBS, 2019).

Housing corporations can be categorized as non-profit enterprises that serve a public purpose. Because the link with the government is weak, they can form their policy. They do have to follow the requirements set for them by law and performance indicators set by the government. This means that despite the agreements they frequently make with municipalities, they may largely steer their course (Veenstra, Koolma, Allers, 2017).

To know how housing corporations, use their policy to influence their course there is the need to know what policy is. The policy encompasses all intentions, choices, and actions of one or more administrative organizations aimed at steering a certain development ('t Hart & van Twist, 2011). Policy is how organizations try to steer development to achieve their aims. Policy is made through a policy-making process in which different actors can influence the policy (Bressers, Hoogerwerf & Herweijer, 2008). This process around policymaking consists of different steps. The first important step is the agenda-setting. This is the process where certain topics are selected to form policy around. The next step is policy preparation. This is the process of collecting information and making policy around the chosen topics. The last important step is policy decisions. Here a choice is made for a policy that has been formulated in the former step. (Bressers, Hoogerwerf & Herweijer, 2008).

There are various ways in which a housing corporation can act on its chosen policy. Firstly, they may renovate the existing stock of housing. They may also increase their existing housing stock by purchasing new houses or building new ones. The opposite is also possible. They can sell houses or demolish them to decrease the total stock (Autoriteit woningcorporaties, 2015).

From this paragraph, it is clear that housing corporations have been and still are an important player in the Dutch housing market. They are an organization with a large degree of freedom when it comes to making their policy while they can have a great influence on the accessibility capabilities of people. But since 2015 they must work together with municipalities and other actors.

1.1.4 Municipalities

Besides housing corporations municipalities also play an important role in the Dutch (social) housing market. Municipality involvement in the housing market also started with the Woningwet of 1901 and the Spatial Planning act. With this act, municipalities started to establish and enforce laws and building codes surrounding housing plans (Kang, Groetelaers, 2018). After this, an era of strict hierarchical relations surrounding social housing arose. This was called the golden triangle era (Kang, Groetelaers, 2018). In this era, the central government made plans that were followed by the municipalities. The municipalities then made plans based on the central government plans and these were followed by the housing corporations. This era ended with the earlier mentioned housing act of 1995. This meant that municipalities had less influence on decisions surrounding social housing. This privatization is one cause of the housing corporation crisis that started in 2008. After this, the Housing act was changed in 2015 and municipalities once again gained more control over social housing policy.

1.1.5 Demographic shrinkage

The Netherlands has different regions with different demographic phenomena. One demographic trend that has popularized in recent years is demographic shrinkage. Some regions are aging fast, while also seeing a lot of young people move. This is sometimes noted as a new phenomenon, but it isn't new (Hospers, Reverda, 2012). Why then did this phenomenon gain so much attention? And why is it important to this research? To understand this there first needs to be a clear understanding of the phenomena. Hospers and Reverda (2012) define demographic shrinkage as *'population decline as a transition in the way people live together in a certain space'*. Shrinkage therefore not only a demographic change but also a change in the way people live.

Recent demographic shrinkage in the Netherlands is special because it seems to be structural: fewer people are born, people are on average getting older, the number of households is declining and the working force is getting smaller. This change in demographics is important because it can have enormous impacts on the lives of people living in these shrinkage regions (Cörvers, 2014).

In the Netherlands, there are twenty anticipation and shrinkage regions (Figure 1., Rijksoverheid, 2018). The difference between these two is that the former is anticipated to be shrinkage regions in the future, whereas the others are currently shrinking.

Figure 1: Anticipation and Shrinkage regions in the Netherlands. Anticipation regions are Purple. Shrinkage regions are Yellow. Source: Rijksoverheid, 2019.

In shrinkage regions, people need to travel more kilometers to reach certain amenities such as schools and supermarkets. People in these regions are more dependent on cars. (Tillema, Jorritsma & Harms, 2019). The aging of the population also means that there are relatively more old people living in these regions. The mobility of the elderly is lower, and they are more dependent on public transport (Tacken, 1998). This means that accessibility in these regions is important. These regions

are also becoming less interesting to private investors in the housing market (Tillema, Jorritsma & Harms, 2019).

According to Hospers and Reverda (2012) guiding demographic shrinkage is the best way to deal with the phenomena. The recommendation is not to combat shrinkage, or do nothing, but to acknowledge it and work with shrinkage to create new opportunities.

The conclusion from the literature review is that it is important to research housing corporations and municipalities' policy on accessibility in shrinkage regions. This is because of several reasons. First of all, accessibility is something that impacts everyone and is not equally distributed among the population. Because of this unequal distribution, there is a need to support those who have less accessibility. Secondly, because of the large influence housing corporations and municipalities have on the housing market, and especially the living opportunities of the poorer classes, they can influence the accessibility of these groups. Housing corporations and municipalities together can form a social housing policy. Lastly, it is important because housing corporations and municipalities are important actors in regions where there are and in the future will be fewer commercial actors in the housing market. It is important to work with shrinkage, and housing corporations and municipalities can do this through policymaking.

All in all, control housing corporations and municipalities are an important part of the housing market, can make policy and are active in shrinkage regions.

1.2 Research goal and research question

From the literature review, it has become clear what the research goal of this thesis will be and why this research goal is important. The research goal is as follows:

''*What is the influence that the housing policy of housing corporations and municipalities have on the transport accessibility in the Achterhoek?''*

From this research goal the following research question is formulated:

''*What is the influence that housing corporations and municipalities have on the transport accessibility in the Achterhoek?''*

This research question can be divided into several sub questions:

Firstly, there is the need to look at the policy of housing corporations.

''*What influence does the policy of housing corporations have on the transport accessibility in the Achterhoek?''*

The second sub-question is about municipalities and their influence.

''*What is the influence that municipalities have on the transport accessibility in shrinkage regions?''*

Thirdly the transport accessibility in the region needs to be researched.

''*Is there a difference in transport accessibility within the region?''*

1.3 Scientific relevance

In the literature, there has been a lot of research on accessibility. Transport poverty has been one of these areas that have seen significant research. There has also been research into the policy of housing corporations and municipalities in the Netherlands. The phenomena of demographic shrinkage have also been studied. But not a lot of research has been done on the crossroad of these fields. This research, therefore, can fill a knowledge gap. This research can also be used as a foundation for further research into housing corporations or municipalities operating in shrinkage regions or research into shrinkage regions as a whole.

1.4 Societal relevance

The societal relevance of this research is twofold. Firstly, this research is important because it contributes to the knowledge of the amount of accessibility that people living in social housing have. This is important because the people living there are a vulnerable group that typically have less accessibility. This research may show how their accessibility can be improved. Secondly, this thesis can also help housing corporations and municipalities with their policy. They might be able to learn and adapt their policy in the future.

2. Theory

The theory chapter will consist of three parts. Firstly, the theory of policy networks will be discussed. After this policymaking in the context of housing corporations and municipalities in the Netherlands will be discussed. Lastly, the transport justice aspect of this research will be talked about. These three parts will form the conceptual model. This theory chapter will help ground the research and it will help and aim the research.

2.1 Network theory

As told in the literature review, housing corporations and municipalities form policy together. But how do they form this policy? This is where network theory comes in. In the past different forms of organizing policymaking have been used. Currently, the policy is often formed in a network. This is also called network theory (Provan, Sydow & Podsakoff, 2017).
One of the earlier definitions of network theory was given by Rhodes (1996). He defined a network as a *''self-organizing, inter-organizational networks''.* This definition shows that a network is composed of more than one organization. It also shows that the organization in the network is not imposed upon it from above but forms from within the network. This definition has later been refined and expanded upon. De Bruijn and Ten Heuvelhoff (2008) define a network as follows: ''*A network is set of actors with different goals and resources that are interdependent to reach their goals''.* They touch on different aspects that are important when looking at networks. The different aspects of network theory will be discussed and after that applied to this research.

2.1.1 Motives

The first aspect that is important in network theory is motives. Provan and Kenis (2008) note that the network approach has become a dominant strategy in policymaking. But why work in a network? Hoogerwerf and Herweijer (2014) note that cooperation is not a given. Therefore, there must be a reason or reasons to work together. One of the reasons is interdependence which will be discussed later in this chapter. Other than interdependence there are different motives for different actors. Hoogerwerf & Herweijer (2014) name several reasons for forming a network and working within said network. They note that networks often form around a policy issue. Different aspects come into play when forming a network around a policy issue. Firstly, there is the financial aspect. If a project is expensive involving more actors who can contribute financially to the project helps the actors achieve their goals. Secondly, there might be a lack of knowledge with one or more of the actors. Working in a network where knowledge can be easily exchanged benefits the different actors. A network can also provide access to a specific target group. Minority voices that are for example not heard when working alone can be heard when working in a network. The target groups may also provide the answer to the problem that is being tackled. The policy that is being made is also more easily accepted when different groups and organizations are involved. Lastly working in a network can break a stalemate.

2.1.2 Interdependence

The second aspect of network theory is interdependence. Klijn and Koppenjan (2000) states that actors within the network are depending on each other and cannot satisfyingly reach their goals without each other's cooperation. Teisman (2000) argues that actors within the network are dependent on each other because reality is becoming more complex and harder to predict. Actors need each other's expertise, jurisdiction or resources to complete their goals. This interdependence has a benefit to the actors that are involved. Henttonen and Lahikainen (2016) say that the sharing of the resources may be able to increase the effectiveness of the problem-solving capacity of the organizations. This benefit is different for different networks. This is partly because the interdependence of actors is different in different networks (Hoogerwerf & Herweijer, 2014). Hoogerwerf and Herweijer define four forms of interdependence. With one-sided interdependence, one actor is dependent on the other actor but not the other way around. This means that only one party profits from cooperation. The second form is competing for interdependence. This is interdependence where the actors have the same goals and resources and compete. The third form is symbiotic interdependence where the actors both profit from the cooperation. The actors have different goals but need each other to reach these goals. The last form of interdependence is sequential interdependence. This is where one actor is dependent on the other actor to achieve its goals before it can proceed with trying to reach its own goals.

2.1.3 Actors

The third aspect of networks is its actors and their interactions. In a network, different actors work together to achieve goals. It is important to note that the actors don't necessarily have the same goals but can have varying goals. Klijn and Koppenjan (2000) say that networks often have a governmental actor but that the position of this actor is often discussed. The government is sometimes seen as just one of the actors. Others see

the government as having a special position because they have special resources. They can, for example, make laws.

2.1.4 Network management

A network of different actors all with different motives, roles, goals, and dependence must be managed. De Bruijn (2014) defines network management as ''*The way actors purposefully influence the structure, functioning or the outcome of the network''*. What is clear is that the different actors can all influence the network and its outcome but that the way they can do this is dependent on their resources. De Bruijn (2014) also splits network management into two different structures. Firstly, he names network structuring. This is the formal and structural setting between actors. This is in contrast with the second type: game management. This is the game that is played between the actors. With certain actions, the actors can change the game and with it the outcome of the network.

2.1.5 Research questions and network theory

How does network theory help answer the questions posed in this research? Since policy is often formed in networks it can be assumed that housing corporations and municipalities also form their policy in networks. There are several reasons to assume this. Firstly, since the housing act of 2015 housing corporations have to focus back on their core business: providing affordable housing. This is called the ''Diensten van Algemeen Economisch Belang'' (DAEB) policy.
The housing act also called for representation of the tenants in tenants associations. This means that the housing corporations must work together with these associations to form their policy (van Dreven, 2016). Besides the representation of tenants, the housing and focusing of activities for housing corporations the act also gave municipalities a bigger role in the process (Aedes, 2015). If the municipality has a policy on social housing the housing corporation is required to reasonably contribute to this policy. This all means that there is a certain dependence of the different actors on each other. This might be managed in a network.
The second reason a network might form are the motives of the actors. The actors can all benefit from working in a network. The tenants have their interests heard. The municipality has a way of furthering their housing policy by cooperating and the housing corporations can use the resources (financial, knowledge or legal) of the municipality to achieve their goals.
The third and final reason why one can expect a policy network to form is the fact that policy networks often form around policy issues (De Bruijn, 2014). Demographic shrinkage can be seen as a policy issue. Hospers and Reverda (2012) said that guiding demographic shrinkage is the best way to deal with the issue.
All in all, to answer the question that was posed the policy networks and the outcome of these policy networks will be studied.

2.2 Housing corporations and policy

2.2.1 Housing stock management

In the previous paragraphs, it is explained why housing corporations' likely form their policy in a network. The question that remains is what is the outcome of this network? What is the policy that is formed in the network?

Housing corporations can alter their policy by changing their stock of houses. With the change in housing stock, they can pursue their policy goals. As mentioned, before they may renovate the existing stock of housing. This means that the existing housing stock is changed. They may also increase their existing housing stock by purchasing new houses or building new ones. The opposite is also possible. They can sell houses or demolish them to decrease the total stock (van der Voordt, 2008).

The building or purchasing new houses is interesting because it is the easiest way to change the characteristics of the housing stock. For example, gives the housing corporation the ability to choose a location with good accessibility in mind. But there are several problems with building new houses. Since the Housing act of 2015 housing corporations are not able to build for commercial purposes. This means that they are more limited in their choice of locations or must work together with other actors to complete the building of new houses. According to Hospers (2012) building new houses in shrinkage areas is also not the best solution because it means old buildings will become empty. Renovation of old buildings is seen as a better option.

Renovation has the goal of increasing the quality of the existing housing stock. The quality of houses can be improved in several ways. For example, the energy label or the building quality of the housing stock can be improved. Renovation differs in the amount of change it has on the housing stock (Straub, 2001). Renovation can range from a fresh coat of paint to the complete rebuilding of existing houses. Renovation has several advantages over building or purchasing new houses. Firstly 86% of people are satisfied with their current house and 84% with their current living environment (Sectorbeeld, 2015). This does not mean that building new houses will make people less satisfied, but this means that there is not necessarily the need to build new houses. Secondly, when a housing corporation renovates houses it shows that it is committed to keeping its housing stock and its current location. This means that investments in accessibility in the location are more likely.

The demolition or selling of buildings is the last way in which housing corporations can change their housing stock. Some municipalities in shrinkage regions use demolishing of buildings in their policy strategy (Hospers, 2012). The benefit of demolishing buildings is that there are no empty buildings. It is also a way to get rid of expensive to maintain buildings. But demolishing a building is often met with resistance of the residents. Because with the demolition of a building not only a physical object is destroyed, but also a living environment for people. The selling of houses can free up capital that can be used for the building of new houses or the renovation of others.

What can be concluded is that housing corporations can alter their strategy to pursue their policy goals but that whatever strategy they choose there are certain benefits and drawbacks to every strategy.

2.2.2 Housing act and Omgevingswet

Two laws play or are going to play an important role in forming the policy of housing corporations and municipalities.

Firstly, there is the Housing Act of 2015. The housing act and its implications on the policy have already been mentioned. The housing act changed the way housing corporations must operate. There is now a renewed focus on the core aim of housing corporations. There is also the need to cooperate with municipalities.

The other law which will impact how policy is formed is the Omgevingswet (living environment law). De Omgevingswet is a law that has not yet been implemented but is scheduled to be implemented in 2021 (Rijksoverheid, 2019). The new law replaces existing spatial planning and environmental laws. It promises to be simpler and singular law (Rijksoverheid, 2019). The law should, for example, make it easier to start building new houses and apply special exemptions and rules to certain locations. This new law could have several effects on the policy of housing corporations and municipalities. Firstly, it might make new policies possible for housing corporations and municipalities to deal with shrinkage. This means that there might be new policy strategies emerging. The Omgevingswet can, therefore, be an opportunity. On the other hand, it might also make policy more difficult. Housing corporations might wait with investments until it is clear what the effects of the Omgevingswet are. The new law might also have other unforeseen consequences that only become clear when the law is implemented. The Omgevingswet can therefore also be a roadblock.

It is clear that these laws impact the policy of housing corporations and can, therefore, influence the accessibility of the tenants of the housing corporations.

2.3 Transport justice

The last part of this theory chapter is about transport justice. Besides the question of how policy is formed, how it is implemented and what influences this policy it is also important to answer the question of what is a fair policy? The concept of transport justice might help to answer this question. But to see how transport justice might help answer this question the more fundamental question of what is just must be answered.

A theory that is often used is Rawls (2003) *justice as fairness* theory. Rawls starts his argument with the original position this is a hypothetical position wherein somebody is placed and is assumed to be rational and looking out for its own best interest. The person in this original position is placed behind the veil of ignorance. The veil of ignorance prohibits the person behind the veil to know their age, race, gender and other (dis)advantages. Rawls intention is to create an impartial position from which to judge what is fair and what is not. From this position, he argues that one comes to two principles of justice (Rawls, 2003). The first is *the principle of the greatest equal liberty.* This means that everyone has a right to an adequate and equal scheme of basic liberties. The second principle is *the difference principle.* They mean that inequalities in a society are for positions that are open to all under the conditions of fair equality and opportunity. These inequalities are for the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society.

How does *Justice as fairness* translate into transportation justice? Rawls theory is only for primary goods. Accessibility can partially be fitted into the principles of *justice as fairness.* Accessibility is needed for everyone to have access to the same opportunities, wealth and education. For example, when one does not have access to a school an opportunity to

education is not possible. Accessibility also opens to a lot of life plans (Martens, 2014). But justice as fairness is not a perfect fit for transport justice as Martens (2014) notes. This is because an increase in accessibility must eventually be weighed against an increase in wealth. This means that there is a personal difference in what people want: more wealth or more accessibility. This means that the benefit for the least advantaged group is not clear.

All in all, justice as fairness gives a good, albeit not a perfect paradigm for transport justice.

This imperfectness has also given way to some critique of the justice as fairness paradigm.

One of these critiques is formulated by Iris Marion Young. In her article *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990), she critiques Rawls and the distributive paradigm.

Firstly, she argues that the distributive paradigm focuses too much on the distribution of material goods. When the distributive paradigm is extended to non-material things it presents them as material things. This means that non-material things in the distributive paradigm are represented as not changing and not as the result of social interaction and processes (Young, 1990). The distributive paradigm, therefore, ignores the social and institutional context that surround distributive patterns. But why is it important to focus on non-material goods? Young (1990) argues that many contemporary justice problems are related to non-material goods. Whether it is environmental problems or questions of accessibility rights. Young also focuses on the justice of decision-making power and procedures. The institutional and social context surrounding decision making power and procedures influences the just distribution of non-material things.

Young argues that looking at the world as a static place where goods just appear ignores the processes that create them. Opportunity, for example, is not a good that can be possessed like a material good. Opportunity is the ability to do things that are enabled by social relations and broader structural possibilities.

All in all, Young proposes an enabling conception of justice. Justice is not only distribution but also the institutional context that is needed to express individual capacities.

Young not only defines a concept of justice but also a concept of injustice. In the second chapter of the book, Young formulates injustice as five faces of oppression. Oppression is not enabling but disabling. When a person or a group faces oppression, they are constrained in their ability to exercise their capacities.

The first face of oppression is exploitation. This is the transfer of capacity from one group to another. This transfer of capacity enables unequal distribution. The second face is marginalization. Marginalized groups are groups that are not included in the society. This exclusion results in material deprivation. Even in welfare states marginalization leads to the loss of autonomy and the ability to express capacities. Marginalization can exclude people from useful participation. In this research, marginalization is particularly interesting to pay attention to. If the accessibility of in the Achterhoek region is restricted, they could be marginalized. The third face of oppression is powerlessness. Powerlessness is the lack of authority, status and the sense of self. Powerlessness inhibits and constraints the ability to exercises capabilities. The fourth face of oppression is cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism is the oppression of the dominant culture. Those who do not have access to this dominant culture can be oppressed. The last face of oppression is violence. Violence

is an injustice when it is systematic. This means that a member of a group may experience violence just for being a member of this group.

All in all, we can see that Young gives a more dynamic definition of (in) justice. She says that a just distribution is not just a fair distribution of material goods, but that justice is dependent on the social and institutional context.

To come back to the question posed at the beginning of this paragraph: what is fair accessibility policy? A just policy might be a policy that tries to address faces of oppression and enables groups and individuals to express their capacities.

Transport justice may play different roles in this research. Firstly, it is the paradigm that will be used to assess the fairness and consequences of the housing corporations' policy. Secondly, it might play a role in the forming of the policy. The policy is not formed in a normative vacuum. Normative judgments about what is fair will influence the policy network.

2.4 Conceptual model

This theory chapter leads to a conclusion in the form of a conceptual model. The conceptual model is presented here below.
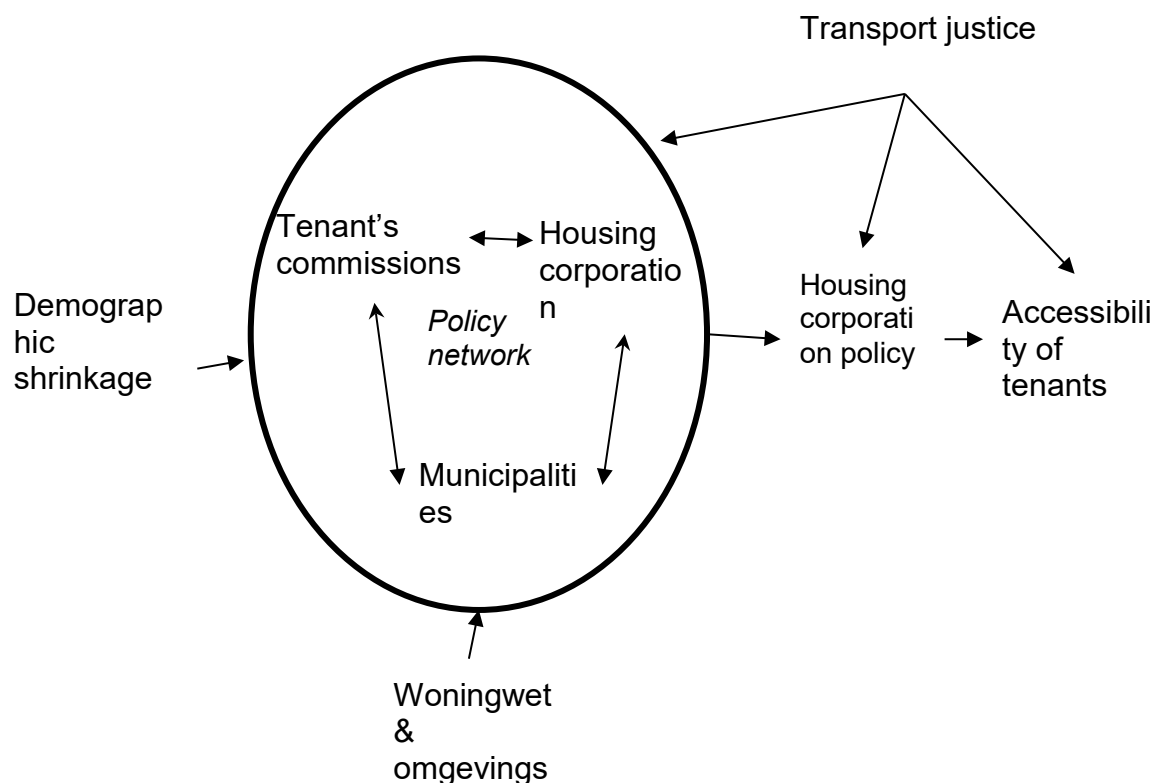
Policy is not formed in isolation. As discussed, policy is formed in a network with different actors. The network theory is the paradigm through which this research topic is looked at. The actors of the together form the policy network. A policy network forms around a policy issue. In this case demographic shrinkage.

De Woningwet and Omgevingswet are thought to have an impact on the policy network. It influences the way the network works.

Transport justice is the normative paradigm which helps answer the question of whether the influence of the policy is fair. Transport justice might also influence the policy network and the policy.

The policy network leads to housing policy. This policy then influences the accessibility of the tenants.

3. Methodology

The methodology chapter will start with the research strategy in which the chosen strategy for this research will be discussed. After this, the research material will be selected and discussed. There will be a justification for the choice of material and how the information that is needed for the research will be extracted.

3.1 Research strategy

This research will be a qualitative research. To answer the main question "*The goal of this research is to find out if housing corporations and municipalities influence transport accessibility in the Achterhoek" a* qualitative research method is best suited. Qualitative research can be best used when there is a need to have a detailed understanding of an issue (Cresswell, 2007).

There are different forms of qualitative and quantitative research. Each with their own benefits and drawbacks. Verschuren and Doorewaard (2007) defines five types of research: Survey, experiment, case study, grounded theory research, and desk research. The strategy chosen in this research is the singular case study with desk research. Firstly, the case study is chosen because it can provide a comprehensive understanding of a topic (Creswell, 2007). Secondly, the strategy is chosen because a case study can show different perspectives on an issue (Creswell, 2007). Different housing corporations and municipalities can be studied to see the similarities and differences in policy and compare these. A single region is chosen to be able to get to the core of the research topic in the region. Researching the same region means that the variables are more or less the same for the different research subjects. Desk research is chosen in support of the case study. By studying policy documents the interviews for the case study can be well prepared. The policy documents also provide valuable information about the strategy of housing corporations. It is also interesting to compare what the interviewees say and what is said in the policy documents.

The choice for a case study also has drawbacks. The results are not as generalizable as results from a survey (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). But a survey doesn't provide the depth needed to answer the research question. A policymaking process is complex and with a survey, it is hard to grasp this complexity.

Studying a single region also has drawbacks. The comparison between regions cannot be made. Also, some conclusions or policy recommendations may also not be generalizable to other regions.

3.2 Research material

In this research, two types of research material will be studied. Firstly, policy documents will be researched. Policy documents are a result of policymaking. The documents show the result of the process of policymaking. Therefore, they are interesting in this research. They will be able to help and answer the research questions. If the policy network forms policy the results of this should be visible in these documents.

The semi-structured interviews will be conducted at different housing corporations and municipalities in the region to get a varied perspective on the issue. The person that will be interviewed will be asked in a semi-structured way about the policy and policymaking process around. Relevant actors and processes will be asked about. This means that actors at the housing corporations themselves will be interviewed, as well as persons involved working at the municipalities and in the tenants' commissions. These interviews will give a detailed insight into the policymaking process and therefore the influence of this process on the eventual policy.

3.2.1 Region selection

To answer the questions posed in this thesis a region selection needs to be made. Cases need to be selected that can be researched through a qualitative research method. As discussed in the previous paragraph this research will focus on a single region. But this cannot be just any region. The region selected first of all needs to be a shrinkage region. There are several shrinkage and anticipation regions in the Netherlands. In shrinkage regions, demographic shrinkage has already been observed as opposed to anticipation regions. In this research, the choice is made to research a shrinkage region. This is because the problem of shrinkage in these regions is already a reality that needs to be addressed. In anticipation regions, the problem might be downplayed or seen as something to be dealt with in the future. Another criterium for the region is that there also needs to be multiple actors involved in housing policy in this region. This means that different housing corporations and municipalities of sufficient size need to be active in the region. This is necessary to make a comparison between different actors and get a good overview of the region. The minimum size is important because it forces corporations and municipalities to make policy. If a corporation for example only has a single apartment building, there might not be a need for making policy.

Based on these criteria several regions are still an option but eventually, the region that has been selected is the Achterhoek. The choice for the Achterhoek was made for several reasons. Firstly, it fits the criteria. The region is marked as a shrinkage region (Rijksoverheid, 2019). The region also has different actors of sufficient size. The region covers eleven different municipalities and has five different housing corporations with at least 4000 housing units (Wonen in de Achterhoek, 2019). The number of housing units ranges from around 4000 units for the housing corporations Wonion and Plavei to 20.000 units for the housing corporation De Woonplaats.

The second reason the Achterhoek is chosen is because of the cooperation in this region. During the research of different regions, the Achterhoek stood out as a region that had a lot of cooperation. The housing corporations work together in '*Wonen in de Achterhoek*' (Wonen in de Achterhoek, 2019). There is also a cooperation between different governmental layers, social institutions, and entrepreneurs called '*Achterhoek 2030*'. This organization tries to form a vision and promote cooperation within the Achterhoek

(Achterhoek 2030, 2019). This cooperation might indicate that action is being taken to the demographic shrinkage.

The last reason for choosing the Achterhoek is because of its interesting characteristics. It is a region located in the east of the Netherlands. The Achterhoek is located in the east of the Netherlands. It is a border region and part of the EUregion of the Rhein-Waal (EUregio, 2019). This means that there are opportunities for cross border cooperation that might influence accessibility. The demographic characteristics of shrinkage in the region are also diverse. The population is not only shrinking because of a higher mortality rate than the birth rate. Young people are leaving for other regions. This means that there is an aging population as well as a shrinking one (Meijer, van der Krabben, 2018). These facts combined make for an interesting mix of challenges that need to be tackled by the region. All in all, this makes the Achterhoek an interesting region to research. In the next paragraph, the selected cases within the Achterhoek will be described.
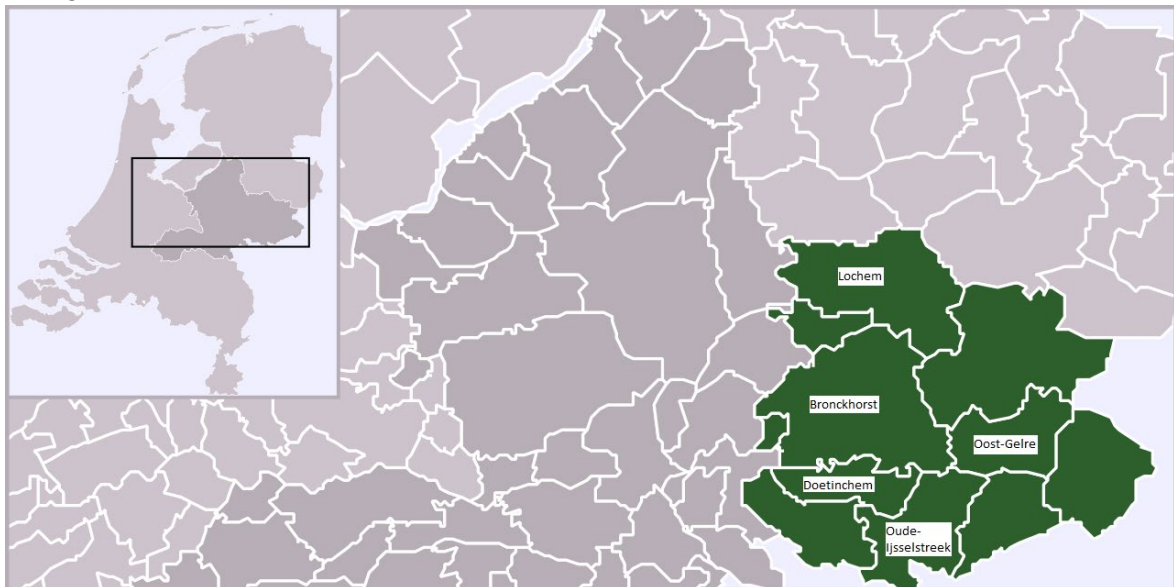

Figure 2: The Achterhoek region and the location within the Netherlands. Source: Achterhoek 2020, 2019.

3.2.2 Case selection

Four different municipalities, one housing corporation and the Program Director of the Mobility and Accessibility table were chosen to be interviewed. The interviewees at the municipalities had different jobs in the municipality. Some focused more on accessibility and some more on housing policy. The municipalities of Doetinchem, Oost-Gelre, and Bronckhorst are also members of the Achterhoek 2030 organization while Lochem is not. These interviewees were chosen to get a varied look at the region.

Municipality of Oost-Gelre

The first municipality that was chosen was the Oost-Gelre municipality. Oost-Gelre is a municipality located on the northeastern side of the Achterhoek with a small border to Germany. It has 29.706 inhabitants and a rural character (CBS, 2019). It consists of nine different towns ranging from 206 to 12.990 inhabitants.

The municipality was chosen because it lays on the eastern edge of the region and has a rural character. It is also a member of the Achterhoek 2030 organization. The interviewee for this region was Maarten Minkjan. He is Policy officer Traffic and Transport at the Environment team for the municipality. Because of the size of the municipality, he is the

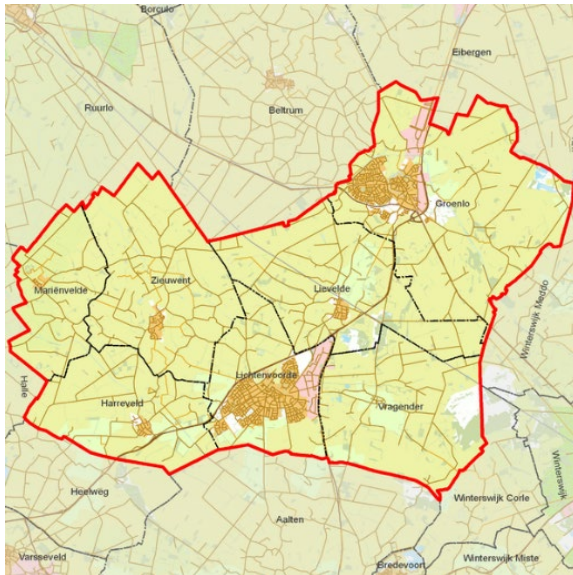only one within the municipality that is part of the Traffic and Transport part of the Environment team.

Figure 3: The municipality of Oost-Gelre. Source: Kadaster, 2019.

Municipality of Doetinchem

The municipality of Doetinchem is the largest municipality in the Achterhoek. With 57.555 inhabitants it is a medium-sized city in the Netherlands (CBS, 2019). Even though it is just medium-sized the municipality of Doetinchem has an important function within the Achterhoek. Because the municipality contains the biggest city in the Achterhoek it has more services and amenities than other municipalities in the region. It also means it is the most urban municipality of the region. The ''capital of the region'' function makes it interesting for this research. The municipality is also part of the Achterhoek 2030 organization.

The interviewee chosen at the municipality is Caroline van Wendel. She works as a policy officer at the Policy and Environmental team with a focus on housing policy. The organization within the municipality is different from most municipalities. The Policy and Environmental team have been formed last year. It replaced the old structure of different teams for different disciplines (housing policy, traffic policy, environmental policy, etc.) and put them together into one team. This is meant to promote an integrated policy approach. This approach means that accessibility and housing policy are integrated within the same team.
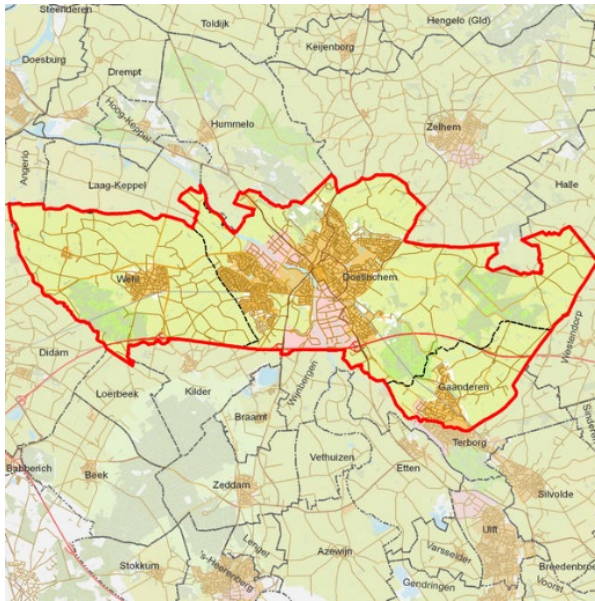
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Figure 4: The municipality of Doetinchem. Source: Kadaster, 2019.

Municipality of Bronckhorst

The Municipality of Bronckhorst has a large surface area with 36.219 inhabitants (CBS, 2019). It is located in the north-east corner of the region. The municipality has a rural character and size similar to that of the municipality of Oost-Gelre. It is also part of the Achterhoek 2030 organization.

The interviewee is Janine Geerse. She is policy officer Housing at the Housing and Work cluster at the municipality. This makes for an interesting contrast with the municipality of Oost-Gelre. It is interesting to see if the different roles they occupy within the municipality makes for a differing view on the research topic.
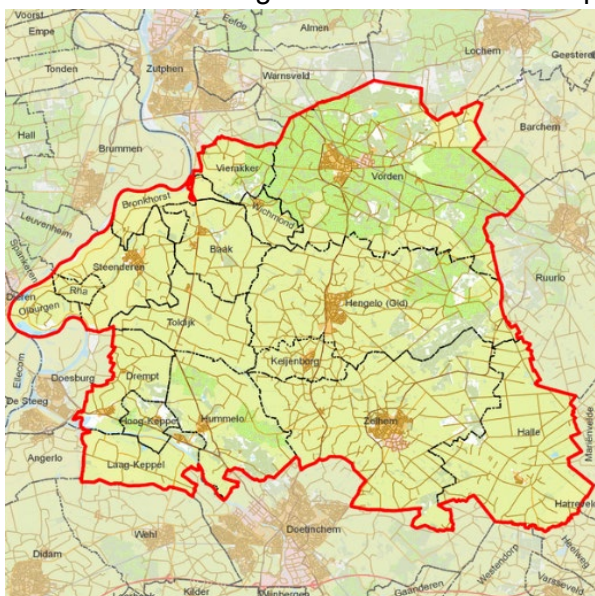

Figure 5: The municipality of Bronckhorst. Source: Kadaster, 2019.

Municipality of Lochem

The last municipality that will be interviewed is the municipality of Lochem. This municipality is located on the northern side of the region. With 33.688 inhabitants it is of similar size as many other municipalities in the region. It has a rural character. While it is

part of the Achterhoek region the municipality is more focused on the Cleantech Region. It is therefore also not part of the Achterhoek 2030 alliance. This means that its housing policy might be different than other municipalities in the region.

The interviewee at this municipality is Jop van der Wee. He is a policy officer in spatial development and housing policy. This means his focus is on housing policy in the municipality.
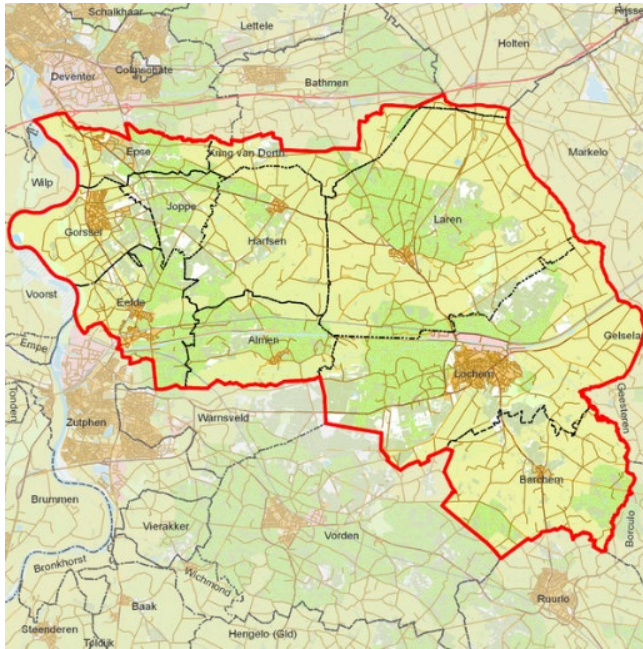

Figure 6: The municipality of Lochem. Source: Kadaster, 2019.

The program director of the Mobility and Accessibility table of the Achterhoek 2030 organization

The Achterhoek 2030 organization consists of six different tables, each with their theme, a council, and a board. Together they aim to form a vision for the Achterhoek in 2030 aptly named Visie2030 (Achterhoek 2030, 2019). The six different tables make the policy of the Visie2030 document. The council voted on the policy formed by the organization. While the board is the representatives of the organization and is the pivot between the council and the six tables.

The program director of the Mobility and Accessibility table of the Achterhoek 2030 organization is Léon van Horen. This table has the following goal: "For everybody who wants to move from, to, through and within the Achterhoek region there are in 2030 energy neutral, affordable and reliable transport options." (Achterhoek 2030, 2019) It is therefore interesting to see if housing policy is considered when forming a vision for the accessibility of the region in 2030. The table consists of persons from different municipalities and government layers, companies and educational institutions.

Housing Corporation Wonion

The last interviewee is Niek Bennink policy advisor of the Wonion housing corporation. This corporation is based in Ulft. It has 3.967 housing units situated predominantly in the Oude-Ijsselstreek municipality in its portfolio (Wonion, 2019). This makes it a small housing corporation on a national level, but a similar size to other housing corporations in the region. The housing corporation is of a sufficient size that policy is needed. Because

the housing corporation is active in a shrinkage region its policy is more focused on the renovation of existing housing stock than the building of new houses.

All in all the six different interviewees have six different insights into the workings of the region regarding housing policy and accessibility. In the next chapter, the analysis of the different interviews will be discussed.
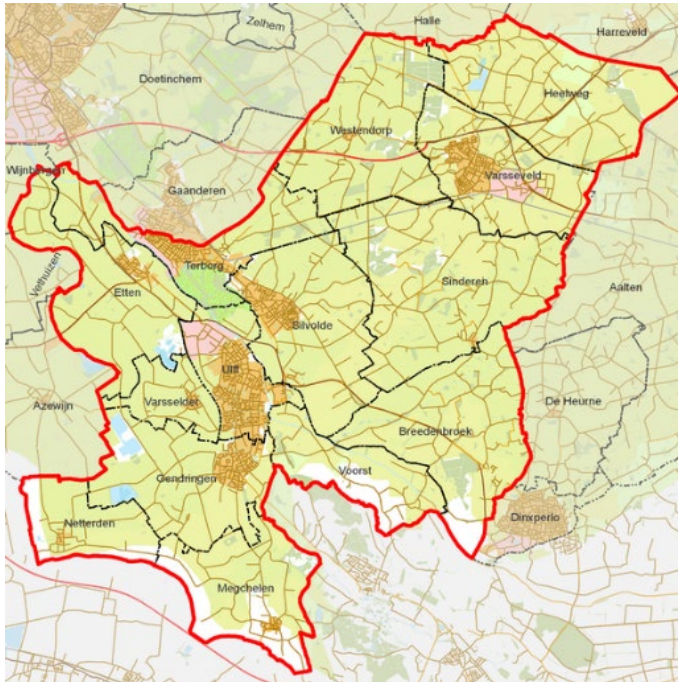

Figure 7: The municipality of Oude-Ijsselstreek. The municipality where Wonion is most active. Source: Kadaster, 2019.

4. Analysis

The analysis chapter consists of the results of the research. The results were gathered with an empirical and qualitative study that was done. In this chapter, the results for the different interviewed organizations will be discussed one by one. This will give an overview of the results per organization. At the end of the chapter, a paragraph about the influence of the Housing act and the Omgevingswet is included. The conclusion and discussion chapter will contain the conclusions for the region as a whole. The analysis will consist of two parts per organization.

Firstly, the relevant policy documents will be discussed. These documents are the result of a policy network between the municipalities, housing corporations, and tenants' commissions and therefore offer an insight into the policy of the organizations. The list policy documents that have been studied is in the literature list. Different policy documents have been studied. In these policy documents, the effects of accessibility on the housing policy have been studied. For the housing corporations, this means that two different policy documents will be studied. Firstly, the Jaarverslag (Year Report) will be studied. In this document, the results of last year are presented. This means that policy goals that were set for that year are presented and evaluated. These results are also the basis for next year's policy and the Prestatieafspraken (performance agreements). The Prestatieafspraken is the second document that will be studied. In this document the agreements between the municipality, Housing Corporation and tenants' commission are

presented. The agreements are the result of the discussion between these three parties. It contains binding agreements on the goals that the housing corporation must achieve (Aedes, 2015). Because these agreements are binding, they are the basis for the policy of the housing corporation.

The Prestatieafspraken also gives an insight into the policy of municipalities. Any policy that they form on housing policy they will want to be translated into the Prestatieafspraken. This means that if the municipality sees accessibility as an important policy this will be visible in the Prestatieafspraken. The policy that municipalities want to see represented in the Prestatieafspraken can be found in the Woonvisie (Housing vision) or the Omgevingsvisie (Environment and Planning vision) of the municipality. Currently, municipalities have different vision documents for their policy one of them being the Woonvisie. But the Omgevingswet (Environment and Planning act) of 2021 will require all these documents to be consolidated into one document (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2016). Municipalities, therefore, might have anticipated this new legislation.

The second part of the results are the outcomes of the interviews with different interviewees. It will be interesting to see if there are differences between the policy documents and the results of the interviews. Besides, people can offer insights into the organizations that policy documents cannot. They can give up-to-date information that an older policy document might not be able to do.

4.1 Municipality of Oost-Gelre

Policy documents
Three documents are important when looking at the municipality of Oost-Gelre. These are Woonvisie 2016-2025, Prestatieafspraken Prowonen 2019 and the prestatieafspraken de Woonplaats 2019. These three documents give an insight into the policy that the municipality wants to follow.

In the Woonvisie the trends and challenges that are developing within the municipality become clear. These trends are recurring themes within the region.

Firstly, there is a demographic change visible in the municipality: ''*Within Oost-Gelre the population has been shrinking for several years. On average 150 persons per year. This development will continue in the coming years. We expect that in 2025 the population will have decreased with another 1.300 inhabitants''* (Oost-Gelre, 2016). This demographic shrinkage is not as simple as decreasing population numbers. Young people are leaving while the population that remains within the municipality is aging. The aging population is also expected to live in their homes for longer due to extramuralization in the healthcare system. The decrease in population comes with at first sight a paradoxical increase in the number of households. This increase in households can be explained by a national trend of decreasing household size and an increase in the number of single-person households. (Oost-Gelre, 2016). The demographic change of an aging and shrinking population has several consequences. The demand for new houses is limited within the municipality. 97% of houses that are needed within the foreseeable future have already been built (Oost-Gelre, 2016). The second effect is that the aging population requires more aging proof houses while the younger population needs more affordable housing to get them to stay within the municipality (Woonvisie, 2016).

The second trend that is visible within the Achterhoek and the municipality of Oost-Gelre is the need for sustainable and affordable housing. Sustainable housing is needed to try to

achieve the goals set within the Climate Accords (Rijksoverheid, 2019). Sustainable housing is also needed to achieve the goals of the region Achterhoek to become climate neutral by 2030 (Achtehoek2030, 2019). Besides the environmental reasons for a trend towards sustainable housing, there are also economic reasons. Energy-efficient houses are needed to keep future living costs affordable (Woonvisie, 2016). Affordable housing is also needed for young people in the housing market.

The third and final challenge within the municipality is the challenge to maintain the quality of life within the region (Woonvisie, 2016). This trend is coupled with demographic change. The question that arises is how does the municipality maintain an acceptable standard of living while the population is shrinking and aging and simultaneously makes a push for sustainable housing?

Solutions need to be found to tackle multiple problems at once.

These three trends are the trends that the municipality of Oost-Gelre signaled within their Woonvisie. Within these trends, transport accessibility, or the lack thereof, is not named as one of the trends. Accessibility, therefore, does not seem to be an issue that is salient within the municipality. However, that does not mean that municipalities do not try to influence the transport accessibility of its inhabitants. They might try to tackle these challenges with transport accessibility policy. It is therefore important to also research the policy strategies that the municipality formulates within the Woonvisie. These strategies are also translated into the Prestatieafspraken that are made with Prowonen and de Woonplaats.

The Woonvisie of Oost-Gelre contains different policy strategies to deal with the challenges posed. The first policy focus of the municipality is on quality. Because the need for new houses is low the current stock of houses needs to be of sufficient quality (Woonvisie, 2016). An example of a policy to achieve this quality is a subsidy for the renovation of houses to improve their quality: ''we *stimulate individuals to housing improvements (…) through a loan for repairs, renovation or restoration of a building''* (Woonvisie, 2016). Quality is also interpreted as sustainable. By improving the energy efficiency of homes, the quality is also improved.

The second focus of the municipality is available and suitable housing for everyone. This strategy is used to address the issue of a decreasing and aging population and tackle the. The municipality issues low rent loans for first-time buyers on the housing market to curb the outflow of young people. For the elderly, the subsidy for renovation can be used to make houses lifetime proof. For example, by installing stairlifts (Woonvisie, 2016). Availability is explicitly mentioned as a task for the housing corporations and as a goal to be mentioned within the Prestatieafspraken.

The third and final policy set in the Woonvisie is affordability and sustainability. As already mentioned, sustainable housing is also seen as quality housing. Affordability ties in with availability. Housing corporations are expected to play an important role in this: ''*we want a social housing market that is balanced in supply and demand. We want the availability of affordable housing for young people.''* (Woonvisie, 2016).

Influencing transport accessibility through housing policy is only marginally mentioned. Transport accessibility is first mentioned as a part of living quality: *''Living quality is among other things influenced by transport accessibility…''* (Woonvisie, 2016). The second time accessibility plays a role is when considering the (limited) building of new houses. These are planned to be built in central villages to keep access to essential services. The lack of mentioning accessibility in the housing policy permeates through in the Prestatieafspraken.

In two sets of Prestatieafspraken, the municipality of Oost-Gelre made for 2019 with Prowonen, de Woonplaats and the tenants' commissions the policy that is formulated is in line with the Woonvisie. Availability, affordability, quality, sustainability and living quality are the major policy points in both Prestatieafspraken (Prestatieafspraken Oost-Gelre Prowonen, 2018, Prestatieafspraken Oost-Gelre de Woonplaats, 2018). Transport accessibility is not mentioned in these agreements.

What becomes clear from these housing policy documents is that the municipality does not focus on transport accessibility within these documents. The interviewee for this municipality focuses mainly on transport and traffic policy. It will, therefore, be interesting to compare the different policies from the municipality to how transport accessibility is influenced.

Interview
The interview with the Traffic and Transport policy officer of the municipality Oost-Gelre Maarten Minkjan gave an insight into the policy that was being made regarding the transport accessibility of the inhabitants of the municipality. The first result of this interview is that the policy of transport accessibility in this municipality is not made within the policy network of municipalities, housing corporations, and tenants' commissions. As discussed in the previous paragraph transport accessibility is scarcely mentioned within policy documents surrounding this trio of organizations. Transport accessibility policy is instead made by the Traffic and Transport side of the municipality with its policy networks.
The second result of the interview is that the policy made by the transport and traffic side of the municipality is consistent with other policies of the municipality. Living quality, for example, is a theme that is also mentioned in the interview.
The third and final result of the interview is that regional cooperation is important. The challenges faced by the municipality means that cooperation within the Achterhoek is becoming more important. The Achterhoek 2030 organization is mentioned as an important part of this cooperation.

All in all, it seems that transport accessibility policy in the municipality is still mainly lays with the traffic and transport department and is not integrated with the housing policy. This is different from the second municipality that has been interviewed.

4.2 Municipality of Doetinchem

The second municipality that has been interviewed in the municipality of Doetinchem. This municipality is different in several ways. As mentioned, it is the most urban municipality within the region. Secondly because of the integration of civil servant structure. This integration becomes clear within the policy documents and in the interview.
The policy documents that are important within this municipality are important for this municipality are the Structuurvisie 2035 (Structural vision 2035) and the Prestatieafspraken with the five active housing corporations within the municipality. The housing corporations that are active in the municipality are Sité, De Woonplaats, Mooiland, Woonzorg Nederland en Habion. Sité is the most important housing corporation within the municipality within the municipality because they own more than 90% of the social housing stock within the municipality (Doetinchem, 2018). The focus, therefore, will

be on the Prestatieafspraken with Sité as their policy can have a significant influence on the transport accessibility within the municipality.

Within the Structuurvisie the integral approach of the municipality becomes clear. Four central policy themes are chosen. These themes are the development of the city and countryside, quality versus quantity, economic opportunities and Doetinchem and its surroundings. These themes are the framework within all the policies surrounding planning and the environment are made (Structuurvisie, 2013).

These themes, therefore, are the basis for the housing policy. The themes are translated into availability, housing quality, and living quality. Noticeable are the similarities with Oost-Gelre.

The integral approach is also underlined: ''*City planning is an utterly integral matter which gets the best results when goals of different aspects are brought together.''*
*(*Structuurvisie, 2013). One could, therefore, expect that transport accessibility is a policy issue that is addressed within the policy documents. However, when looking at the translation of the housing policy into the Prestatieafspraken the integral approach seems to be somewhat lost. The themes mentioned within the Structuurvisie are present in the Prestatieafspraken, but transport accessibility is not mentioned in the Prestatieafspraken (Prestatieafspraken Doetinchem Siverd, 2018). The reason that Prestatieafspraken are comparable to those of other municipalities and do not follow the integral approach might be because the integral civil servant structure has only been formed one year ago.

Interview
The dynamic that the new integral approach gives also becomes clear in the interview. The interviewee Caroline van Wendel says that the results of this integral approach to the policy are not yet clear because not enough time has elapsed to form a conclusion. What she does say is that: ''only *thinking about for example accessibility is too limited''.* She says that the integrated approach has the future. This means that transport accessibility issues in the future will probably be taken into account when developing policy.

The important policy themes that are mentioned in the interview are availability, housing quality, and living quality. These themes are comparable with the themes mentioned by the municipality of Oost-Gelre. The main difference in policy is the attention to the central function of Doetinchem. This function means that the issue of shrinkage is less salient for Doetinchem. Van Wendel says: ''*Bigger municipalities have different problems compared to other municipalities''.*

Regional cooperation is also an important policy for the municipality. Within the Achterhoek 2030 organization, the municipality tries to accomplish its policy goals.

All in all, Doetinchem seems to be on the way to integrate transport accessibility into an integral plan for spatial planning and the environment. However, there are still some hurdles to be passed.

4.3 Municipality of Bronckhorst

The third municipality in this research is Bronckhorst. Several documents have been researched and an interview has been conducted at this municipality. What is interesting is that the municipality recently presented its final version of the new Woonvisie (Bronckhorst, 2019). This new vision is the policy document that is leading to the policy of the municipality until 2025 (Woonvisie, 2019). The interview was conducted with Janine

Geerse who helped form this Woonvisie. The Woonvisie and the process of developing this policy document was an important talking point in the interview. Besides the Woonvisie the policy that is in the Prestatieafspraken with the housing corporations Sité and Prowonen will also be presented.

From the interview, it became clear that the process around forming Woonvisie was a cooperative process. Both internally within the organization of the municipality and with stakeholders outside the organization. Janine Geerse says that the municipality wants to decide together with the villages about the future of the municipality: ''we *want to decide with the villages themselves''.* Not only are the villages important in cooperation. The regional level is also important. Geerse says there is a lot of deliberation on the regional level. This process eventually led to the Woonvisie. The Woonvisie presents three main themes that are important within the municipality. The first theme is fitting supply (Woonvisie, 2019). This is comparable to the availability policy at other municipalities. In this municipality, there is a mismatch between the available homes and the demand for these homes. There are for example too few affordable houses for first-time buyers (Woonvisie, 2019). Here the policy strategies formulated to tackle these trends are similar to other municipalities. For example by providing financially beneficial first-time buyer loans.

The second theme that is mentioned is Sustainability. There is a task to improve the energy efficiency of the housing stock in the municipality. In the interview it becomes clear that the existing housing stock needs to be renovated: ''*98% of the housing stock already exists (...) this means we must plan an energy transition for these homes.''* To get this transition going there is an experiment with housebound loans for sustainable renovations: ''*the energy office is setting up a pilot for housebound loans.''*

The third and final theme in the Woonvisie is living and care. This policy theme is an answer to the demographic trend of an aging population. Lifetime proof houses need to be made for the elderly population. Because most of the housing stock already exists the municipality makes capital available for renovation. Good cooperation between the municipality, housing corporation and different healthcare organizations is also deemed necessary (Woonvisie, 2019).

In the Prestatieafspraken for 2019 these themes come back (Prestatieafspraken Sité (2018), Prestatieafspraken Prowonen (2018)). Because of the cooperation between the municipality and the housing corporations, this can be expected.

This means is that transport accessibility policy in this municipality does not play an important role in the housing policy. It is briefly mentioned within the Woonvisie without any further explanation: ''*Good accessibility and services are also important''* (Woonvisie, 2019). This also comes forward in the interview when talking about accessibility: ''*Accessibility is something that is considered for projects, but there is no overarching policy.''*

What can be concluded from this municipality is that the themes that are important in the region are becoming ever clearer: Availability, quality, and sustainability are themes that are formulated by every municipality so far. The last municipality that was interviewed in the municipality of Lochem. It is in the same region as the other municipalities but works together in a different regional cooperation system. It is interesting to see if this municipality, therefore, formulates a different policy

4.4 Municipality of Lochem

The municipality of Lochem is more focused on the Cleantech region (formerly known as the City Triangle) than on the Achterhoek (Cleantech Regio, 2019). This region consists of the cities of Apeldoorn, Deventer, and Zutphen and the surrounding municipalities. Van der Wee in the interview says about the cooperation of this region that the reasons are historical and make sense for the housing market because a lot of movement happens within the region:

"We have been working together with the Cleantech region for a long time (...) for the housing market, it is logical"

Even though the municipality of Lochem works together in another region and a lot of movement happens within this region the trends and policy in the Woonvisie and the Prestatieafspraken made with the housing corporations Ijsseldal and Vivéron are similar to that of the other municipalities. There are four main policy points in the Woonvisie (2018) that were also discussed in the interview. The first one is the availability and affordability of housing. Similar problems with a mismatch on the housing market are at play here. Van der Wee states that the availability is still good, but that the affordability of housing is under pressure for some groups. The second policy point is a livable village. This policy point connects to the first policy point. Groups such as first-time buyers and the elderly should be able to find housing within the municipality. The policy should be aimed at making sure that these groups can find suitable housing (Woonvisie, 2018). The third policy point is living with care. This policy point is a reaction to the aging population in the municipality. Here there is also a trend of young people leaving and a general increase in age. With more elderly that live longer in their own homes due to extramuralization of the healthcare system lifetime proof housing is a priority. Van der Wee says that cooperation with other actors is important for this policy. The fourth and final policy point is housing improvement and sustainability. In this municipality, just like the others, a majority of the housing stock needed already exists, therefore, the focus is on upgrading the existing stock of houses (Woonvisie, 2018).

These policy points are also leading within the Prestatieafspraken. The Woonvisie is explicitly named as a framework for the Prestatieafspraken (Prestatieafspraken Lochem, 2018).

Transport accessibility does therefore not seem to play a role in these policy documents. It is only briefly mentioned within the Woonvisie as something that must be thought of when thinking about walking routes to certain services. However, in the interview, van der Wee argues that accessibility may play an important role in curbing the outflow of young people within the municipality. A reason young people often leave is because of educational or working opportunities outside the region. If enough jobs and amenities can be reached within a certain time young people might decide to stay. Good accessibility to other regions can, therefore, be a tool to bind young people to the region and keep them within the municipality.

4.5 Housing corporation Wonion

The housing corporation that was researched for this thesis is Wonion. This housing corporation is mostly active in the municipality Oude-Ijsselstreek (Jaarverslag, 2018). The

results until now were focused on municipalities and their Prestatieafspraken with housing corporations. The results from the interview and the documents give the perspective of a housing corporation.

What then is the policy of Wonion? And does it differ from municipalities?

From the Jaarverslag (2018), the Prestatieafspraken (2018) and the interview with Niek Bennink similarities with the policy of municipalities become clear.

The main policy goals that are formulated are sustainability, affordable housing and housing and care (Jaarverslag, 2018, Prestatieafspraken, 2018). Bennink explains that the focus on sustainability is needed to reach its sustainability goals. However, these sustainability goals are sometimes at odds with its affordable housing goal. Investments are needed to achieve the sustainability goals, but tenants often do not have the financial means to pay for these renovations. Increasing rent to pay for the renovations also means housing becomes less affordable. Bennink sees a role for Wonion here. The housing corporation can make these investments. They make the investment back by charging tenants the amount they save per month on their energy bills through the investments. The last policy goals are housing and care. Wonion sees the trend towards an aging population and the need for lifetime proof housing.

Lastly is regional cooperation seen as an important tool to achieve policy goals. Bennink calls the region a 'Fat' region. A term coined by Gert-Jan Hospers (Hospers, 2018). It is a region with a strong identity and strong internal connections.

Transport accessibility is not a topic that is discussed in the policy documents however it is discussed in the interview. When asked about the accessibility policy of Wonion Bennink offers an insight similar to that of the municipality of Lochem. Accessibility to other regions can be an important tool to curb demographic shrinkage. If the connection to other regions is good young people might want to stay within the region.

What can be concluded is that the policy of the housing corporation is similar to that of the municipalities of the region. Accessibility is seen as something that can be important, it is however not visible in the policy documents.

4.6 The program director of the Mobility and Accessibility of the Achterhoek 2030 organization

The cooperation network within the Achterhoek is named by three municipalities and the housing corporation as an important network in forming their policy. The Achterhoek 2030 organization is the platform for this regional cooperation. The goal of the overarching platform is:

''The Achterhoek *in 2030 has an even stronger, flourishing and innovative economy and a high-quality work, learning and living environment" (*Mobiliteitsagenda Achterhoek, 2019).

This organization tries to have an integrated approach to achieve this goal. Besides formulating a common policy for the region, the platform is also used as a platform to deliberate a region pact with the ministries in The Hague.

The mobility and accessibility table focus specifically on three policy points: Sustainability, reliability and smart mobility. Transport accessibility plays an important role to achieve these points. Van Horen says that accessibility is an integral part of the policy puzzle. There is a mismatch on the housing and job market and accessibility can play a role to

help these problems. He says that for young families it is important that everything from jobs to recreation is accessible. To keep these families within the region it seems therefore that accessibility policy is made. He does, however, say that it is part of an integral and cooperative approach. There cannot be a focus on a single issue.

4.7 Housing act and Omgevingswet

Every interviewee was asked about the influence of the housing act and the Omgevingswet because from the theoretical chapter it is expected to influence the policy that is formed.
Van Horen of the Achterhoek 2030 organization says that he expects that the Omgevingswet will mean that more cross-over between different policymakers. He thinks that this is already happening on the local and regional level, but that the ministries are still more split.
Bennink from Wonion underlines the fact that cooperation that the Housing act and Omgevingswet require was already happening within the region. Good cooperation with the tenants' commissions already existed before the Housing act of 2015. Van der Wee of the municipality of Lochem also said the Housing act formalized existing relationships with tenants' commission.
The effects of the Omgevingswet still seem to be unknown. At the municipality of Doetinchem, they have an integral approach. There is also a group that is working on exploring the impact of the new law. However, there are still some unknowns that the law brings. The municipality of Lochem is also trying to anticipate the Omgevingswet but is unsure how it will affect their policy in the future. Clear is that the organization is not waiting for the Omgevingswet to formulate their policy, they are waiting to see what the influence will be.

5. Conclusion

In the last chapter of this thesis, the conclusions of this research will be presented. Firstly the results from the analysis chapter will be used to make three conclusions. These three conclusions will be used to answer the research questions. After the conclusions are drawn recommendation for the policy of housing corporations and municipalities will be made. After this the implications from this research onto the theory of transport justice will be discussed. Recommendations for further research will also be made. This chapter will conclude with a reflection on the research.

5.1 Conclusions

5.1.1 Similar problems, a similar policy

The first conclusion is that the challenges that the region the Achterhoek is facing are similar for all municipalities and housing corporations. There are some differences but the core of the problems is the same. The same challenges are also recognized by all actors. The policy that has been formed within the policy network to these problems is also similar.

So, what are the challenges faced by the Achterhoek? This first challenge that the Achterhoek is facing is the demographic shrinkage, although not yet in enormous numbers, the shrinkage asks for a different look on housing policy. The shrinkage is worsened by mainly young people leaving the region. Couple this with an aging population that needs more healthcare and lives longer in their own homes. This asks for transformations of the existing housing stock to make homes more lifetime proof. The second problem faced is the need for more sustainable housing stock. To achieve the sustainable goals of the region the housing stock needs to be more energy efficient. Because most of the housing stock is already built this means that renovations need to be the main way to make the housing stock more sustainable. The third and final challenge that is present in this region is the question of quality. How does the region keep the quality of life on an acceptable level?

All in all, it means that there are multiple trends intertwined that make for a complex system of challenges.

From the policy documents and interviews, it becomes clear that the policy that is made as an answer to these challenges is similar. Solutions that are present in the region are firstly loans or subsidies for renovating houses to be more sustainable or better suited for the elderly. Secondly with realizing affordable and available housing young people are persuaded to stay or come to the region. The last policy solution formulated is to invest in regional cooperation. Regional cooperation is strong in this region and is used as a policy network to face the challenges together

5.1.2 Accessibility is not policy

The second conclusion from this research is that accessibility is not seen as an issue facing the region nor is it seen as a solution to the issue that is formulated: Accessibility is not policy. When looking at the policy documents it seems a non-issue. In the policy documents that have been researched accessibility is only marginally mentioned. Sometimes as something that must be considered or as a part of the living quality. The parties that are involved in the policy networks that form these policy documents in the region have not formulated policy around accessibility in their documents. When the interviewees were asked in the interviews about accessibility a slightly different conclusion can be drawn. Accessibility is talked about in two ways. Firstly, accessibility is sometimes seen as part of the solution. When other regions are better accessible it is seen as a factor that can help against young people leaving and therefore curb demographic shrinkage. What is interesting to note is that accessibility is talked about in relation to other regions. Accessibility within the region is not mentioned as a problem. The connection to outside of the region has priority. The second way that accessibility is talked about is as something to be considered at projects. When new housing development has started the location and the accessibility of the location are considered. However, the amount of new housing development is limited within the region and there is no overarching policy on how accessibility should be taken into account in projects. How accessibility is taken into account in projects is therefore not clear from the interviews and documents. Individual projects should be researched to understand this.

5.1.3 Cooperation is key

The last conclusion of this research is that regional and local cooperation is omnipresent in this region: cooperation is key. The Housing act and Omgevingswet are among other things aimed at increasing cooperation and participation between different stakeholders. What is clear from this research that these laws are in this regard more a formality than shock. The policy network at the local level between municipalities, tenants' commissions, and housing corporations was already functioning well.

On the regional level, it seems that the Achterhoek is a fat region. There is an identity and a will to cooperate. This can be seen for example in the Achterhoek 2030 organization. This organization is mentioned as an excellent platform for cooperation. The problems that are faced by the different organizations are discussed here and policy is formed on this level. This can also explain the similarities in policy between the different organizations. Because they cooperate a lot the best solutions are taken from the regional level to the local level.

With these three conclusions drawn the research questions can be answered. First the sub-questions will be answered and finally, the main research question will be addressed.

The first sub-question is: ''what *influence does the policy of housing corporations have on the transport accessibility in the Achterhoek''* The policy of housing corporations does not influence on the transport accessibility. In the policy of housing corporations, different policies are addressed but accessibility is not mentioned. Accessibility is only mentioned in the interview as a possible solution to keep more people within the Achterhoek. Because most of the housing stock of the housing corporation that has been researched already existed the influence of accessibility in new housing projects could not be researched.

The second sub-question is: '' *What is the influence do municipalities have on the transport accessibility in Achterhoek?''.* In their housing policy documents, municipalities do not account for transport accessibility. Accessibility is only briefly mentioned as a part of living quality or something that must be taken into account. No overarching accessibility policy is made. There is accessibility policy on the regional level with the Achterhoek 2030 organization, but this is not translated into the policy documents of the municipalities. The interviews show that accessibility is considered in projects or sometimes seen as a possible solution. However, there seems to be some movement towards an integrated planning approach as can be seen at the municipality of Doetinchem. This integral approach might mean that accessibility is more considered. This is currently not yet seen in the policy documents.

The third and final sub-question is: ''*Is there a difference in transport accessibility policy within the Achterhoek?''* The region does not seem to differ much in the transport accessibility policy. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, there is a lot of cooperation within the region on both local and regional policy networks. This cooperation means that best practices are shared, and policy is more similar. Secondly, because the municipalities and housing corporations face the same problems the solutions tend to be more the same.

The main research question is:'' *What is the influence does the housing policy of housing corporations and municipalities have on the transport accessibility in the Achterhoek?''* It can be concluded that the influence of housing corporations and municipalities on

transport accessibility is limited. Focus is mostly on the quality, affordability, and sustainability of the housing stock. Accessibility is mostly mentioned as something to be considered in projects.

5.2 Theory and practice

The conclusions from this theses have implications for the theories that have been discussed in chapter two. What are the similarities and disparities between the conclusions and the theory? What does this mean for the theories and further research? Firstly network theory will be discussed. After this this theses will be linked with the transport justice theories that have been discussed.

5.2.1 Network theory
In chapter two, three reasons were named why network theory was expected to be a useful framework for this research. These three reason are as follows. Firstly the Housing act of 2015 required more cooperation between stakeholders in the policy network. Secondly are the similar motives of the actors. All actors want better housing policy for the region and cooperation in a network is a way to achieve this. Lastly policy networks often form around policy issues. In this case the policy issue is shrinkage. The empirical conclusions from the research fit reasonably well with the expectations from the theory. There is cooperation within the region between different stakeholders and on different levels. This cooperation was already working well even before the housing act. The housing act did not alter the policy network that much. The motives of the actors also seem to align. They all want the best possible outcome for the region. There also seems to be a network forming around the policy issues in the region on the regional level. This can be seen in the Achterhoek 2030 region. This policy network is set up as answer to the issues facing the region.
All in all it seems that network theory helped frame this research and the conclusions of this research contribute to the existing ideas surrounding network theory.

5.2.2 Transport Justice
While the similarities between network theory and the empirical findings are present, on first hand this does not seem to be the case for transport justice and transport accessibility Theory. From the theory in chapter two it was expected that accessibility would play a role in the policy formed by different stakeholders because it became clear that transport accessibility can be influenced by housing policy. Accessibility was even more important in shrinkage regions than elsewhere because of the demographic trends happening: By 2050 the population in the region will be smaller and older. Combine this with the knowledge that investments in housing and infrastructure made now will have a lasting impact on the future and it became clear that accessibility can be important.
However the empirical conclusions tell a different story. Accessibility does not seem to play a major role in housing policy in the region. The focus of the municipalities when it comes to housing policy lies elsewhere. Where does this disconnect between theory and practice come from? Because this research only focused on the Achterhoek it might be that this region is simply an outlier where accessibility is not (yet) taken into account. However it is too simple to only attribute the apparent disconnect to this fact. Of course more research needs to be done in different (shrinkage) regions to conclude if the findings in this region correspond with other regions. There might also be different explanation

found in the transport justice literature. As discussed in the second chapter Young puts forward five faces of oppression. Two of these faces are important to highlight here again. The first one of these faces is marginalization. Marginalized groups are excluded from society which might result in excluding people from useful participation. The second one is powerlessness. This is the lack of authority, status and the sense of self.

The explanation of why accessibility is not taken into account in housing policy may be the consequence of these two faces of oppression in action. How can these two faces of oppression bridge the gap between the empirical results and the theory of transport justice? To answer this first the marginalized group needs to be identified. The marginalized group in the region might be the future generations living in the Achterhoek. The young people now being born or growing up in the region. This generation does not yet have any power or ability to usefully participate in society. They therefore are not able to influence current policy. This is of course not strange considering they are still young. This also makes it difficult to quantify the accessibility needs of the future generation. However this generation will be living in the region when the decisions surrounding housing policy and accessibility that are made now will still have effect. This means that the future generation might be marginalized and powerless because of the policy being made today. This might explain why there is no housing policy surrounding accessibility now. It therefore might be that the empirical results and the theory surrounding accessibility can be linked. This explanation for the apparent cannot be verified with this thesis, more research should be done on this topic.

5.3 Recommendations

From the conclusions of this research, several recommendations can be made. These recommendations are twofold. The first set of recommendations is for the policy of municipalities and housing corporations. The second set of recommendations is for further research.

Housing Corporation has a lot of responsibilities when it comes to the housing policy they make. However, the recommendation for housing corporations is to implement accessibility into its policy. As discussed in the theory chapter accessibility influences the possibilities people have. If accessibility is taken into account, it might lead to a more just policy. The recommendations for the municipalities are similar. It is advised to integrate accessibility more into the housing policy. Municipalities can also influence policy through the Prestatieafspraken. It is, therefore, recommend for municipalities to consider accessibility when making the Prestatieafspraken. This might become a reality when the Omgevingswet takes effect.

Recommendations for further research are to research the effects of the Omgevingswet. It might be interesting to research if this law affects the current policies. Further research can also be done in different regions. A comparison can then be made to see if different regions have different policies or a different model of cooperation.

5.4 Reflection

The last paragraph of this thesis is the reflection. The reflections on this research are both on the process and the results of the research. Both the process and the results have positives and negatives.

By using network theory and therefore looking at the different actors in the region and doing both desk research and interviews a comprehensive picture of the region could be drawn. The focus on a single region does, however, have a drawback. The comparison between different regions could not be made. The recommendations are therefore mostly for municipalities and housing corporations within the region.

Because only one housing corporation has been researched the results might not be valid for other housing corporations.

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Appendix

Interviewguide

The interview guide is in Dutch because the interviewees were all Dutch.

Interviewguide
Introductie

Ik ben Paul van der Horst, ik studeer Geografie, Planologie en Milieu aan de Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen.

Ik doe onderzoek naar de beleidsvorming van woningcorporaties en gemeentes in Nederland.

Als eerste zal ik vragen naar het beleid van woningcorporaties. Daarna over de samenwerking met andere actoren.

Als u wilt kunnen de resultaten van dit gesprek anoniem worden gemaakt en vertrouwelijk worden verwerkt. Als u tijdens het interview aangeeft niet verder te willen wil kan dat. Het interview kan op ieder moment stoppen worden gestopt. Ik wil u als laatste nog vragen of u het erg vindt dat ik het gesprek tussen ons opneem zodat ik dit later terug kan luisteren en analyseren?

Vragen

1. Wie bent u en wat is uw functie binnen de gemeente of woningcorporatie?

2. Kunt u vertellen hoe de organisatie eruitziet?

3. Kunt u vertellen hoe het huidige woningbeleid eruitziet?
a. Hoe komt dit beleid tot stand?
b. Wat zijn de grootste thema's, uitdagingen en problemen in dit beleid?
c. Hoe probeert u deze op te lossen?
d. Is er verschil in woonbeleid voor de verschillende dorpen of gemeentes?
e. Is er in het woonbeleid rekening gehouden met mobiliteit? Zo ja, wat is dit dan? Zo niet, waarom niet?

4. Met welke collega's werkt u samen?
a. Binnen de gemeente
b. Buiten de gemeente (Rijk, provincie, andere gemeentes, ondernemers, etc.)?
c. Hoe verloopt de samenwerking?

5. Hoe gaat u in het woonbeleid om met de volgende doelgroepen?
a. Jongeren
b. Ouderen
c. Overige

6. Hoe is het woningbeleid veranderd ten opzichte van vroeger? En hoe denkt u dat het beleid in de toekomst gaat veranderen?
a. Met de introductie van de woningwet?
b. Denkt u dat de omgevingswet veel gaat veranderen?
c. Als u verder in de toekomst kijkt wat denkt u dan dat er

7. Wat denkt u dat de verschillen zijn tussen deze regio en andere regio's?

8. Heeft u nog opmerkingen of vragen