Cohousing in Nijmegen

EXPLORING THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS TO GET AN INSIGHT IN POLICIES ABOUT COHOUSING INITIATIVES

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Abstract

In this research. The role of planning on the realisation of cohousing will be researched. A planning perspective on cohousing initiatives is still missing, while this is interesting to get to know the role of governmental organisations towards cohousing initiatives. To examine the role of those governmental organisations more closely the framework of collaborative governance regimes will be used. *This will explain the dynamics within a governmental organisation*. In combination with the different planning policy arrangements, insights will be given in how the municipality of Nijmegen in particular can facilitate or stimulate those cohousing initiatives.

Cohousing – planning perspective – housing policy – governmental organisations – collaboration

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

1.1.1 High and changing housing demand

When speaking about housing, it is interesting to know how a house can be defined. A house can be placed on the demarcation line between an individual and the living environment. A house divides the life in the built-up world: the private and public space. The public space is the domain of the society and the government. The private space is the place where you experience 'privacy' and safety. A house is also a base for organising external activities in the interaction network of people. For this you do not leave the house physically, a mix of functions has become more common. Housing constitutes more than just a roof over your head (VROM-Raad, 2009).

According to the Primos prognoses (Kleinepier, Gopal, Omtzigt, van Leeuwen, & Stuart-Fox, 2019) the Netherlands needs one million extra houses until 2030 to meet the housing demand. The quantitative demand is more or less the same as the Vinex-operation in the 90's. However, the housing challenge is not comparable with the challenge of 25 years back. During this Vinex-operation one third was built in inner city locations and also the repetitiveness of Vinex doesn't fit in the mind of diversity which is asked for now. The demand for housing is driven by a large set of factors. First of all, economic and demographic developments in society. Some economic trends have direct influence on the short and long term. When incomes rise, more money can be outsourced to housing. Another economic factor that plays a role is the mortgage interest, a major share of the owner-occupied households is dependent on the mortgage market. The demographic developments are also of major influence of the housing demand: the yearly growth of households reflects an indication for the need of expansion in the housing stock (van Duin, te Riele, & Stoeldraijer, 2018). In the past years, the households have grown faster in relation to the growth of the population. This distorted distribution is due to the fact that the average seize of a household has been decreased from 2.22 to 2.15 persons per household between 2010 and 2018. And according to the Primos prognoses the average seize of a household will further decline to 2.09 (Groenemeijer & Van der Lelij, 2019). Another cause of this distorted distribution is the increase of one-person households, now there are 3 million one-persons households and this will increase to 3.8 million in 2060. This means that from the year 2040 more than 50% of the households are one-persons. The growth is logically connected to the growth of the population, but also the ageing society plays a significant role (van Duin et al., 2018). The number of people older than 65 years old will grow from 18% in 2018 to 26% in 2030 and the number of people older than 75 will even be three times higher than at present (Boelhouwer, 2018).

Not only those quantitative increases and changes in the housing demand ask for new housing concepts. The way how we live is very dynamic, especially on the social-cultural aspect. Dutch society is constantly moving and the social- cultural changes have also consequences for living and the meaning of housing. Those dynamics are more active in the background, but nevertheless as important as the noticeable changes. This social-cultural aspect is causing a lot of diversity in the current society what also affects the housing market (VROM-Raad, 2009). The VROM-Raad wrote an advice in 2009, which was a result of a research to those new social and cultural developments

regarding housing. They mentioned two developments that are connected to the attendance of new housing forms:

- Increasing demand to live with like-minded people. This trend can partly be explained through social detachment as a consequence of a globalising world and the disappearance of social networks like the church and the neighbourhood. Every person is part of a social network, those networks operate on different scales. Because of the globalising world, those networks have spread out over a further distance. Sometimes this is at the expense of the local networks like their own neighbourhood. Nowadays, a trend is visible where people want to go back to their 'safe environment'.
- An increasing demand for comfort and convenience. As said before, a house is not only a place for sleeping and eating. It has become a place where working, leisure activities and healthcare can be combined. This comfort is not only determined by the quality of the building itself, but also by the services. This change in preferences have a couple of causes. One of the causes is the growing welfare in general. Another cause is the lack of time of people and the need for more quality time instead of time to do domestic chores. Boelhouwer (2018) add to this phenomenon the introduction of services within housing, service providers are getting more interlinked. Here the idea of a sharing economy is relevant, because there is a change visible from possession to use which can also be linked to aspects of shared housing.

A trend that the (VROM-Raad, 2009) did not mention, but is also relevant as a reason to look at new forms of housing, is the growing attention for sustainability. However, there are different forms of sustainability. So here the focus will be on ecological sustainability. The growing attention is being seen in different policy fields, as well as in housing. There is a growing awareness that sustainability has a positive effect on the living environment. Ecological sustainability is seen as a standard to be fulfilled for the benefit of the community, and this will shapes the understanding of social sustainability (Scheller & Thörn, 2018).

This ecological sustainability in housing is high on the political agenda, because one-third of all energy is used directly in the housing sector. Here it is mostly about energy consumption and resource consumption of a household (Marckmann, Gram-Hanssen, & Christensen, 2012). Reduction in energy and resource consumption can be attained in different ways, including improved energy efficiency of buildings as well as better location of buildings in relation to transport.

1.1.2 New housing concepts: cohousing

All of those demographic and societal changes which are changing household composition and housing preferences make the lack of adequate offer on the housing market for a lot of people more visible. Therefore, when going in depth in the qualitative mismatches on the housing market, they have one thing in common and that is that the changes ask for participation and custom-made solutions. This can be achieved by group-based, citizen-led initiatives in housing development that reflect the demands from citizen collectives themselves (Tummers, 2016).

In this thesis, the focus regarding the need of new housing concepts will be on the housing format of cohousing. The persistent attention of researchers hints that there is an important message in

cohousing as innovators of housing provision (Tummers, 2015). Over the last couple of decades, many European countries have seen the re-emergence of ‘collaborative housing initiatives’. The initiatives are characterised by high levels of user involvement in the conception, planning, design, construction and management of housing for their own residential use. Also in the Netherlands, cohousing initiatives are emerging since recently. Cohousing is a special form of intentional community where each household has its own facilities and where the community shares one or more facilities (Bakker, 2009).

Those aspects of cohousing will be combined to indicate a wider scope to include different initiatives of resident groups collectively creating living arrangements that are not easily available in the traditional housing market (Tummers, 2015). Further frameworks regarding cohousing will be given in the ‘literature review’ (see below).

1.1.3 Situation in Nijmegen

In line with the national quantitative shortage of housing, the municipality of Nijmegen also faces a quantitative shortage of 5.565 houses. Nijmegen is now, according to a research of Companen (2019), the third place in the Netherlands with relatively the biggest quantitative shortage. Figure 1 shows the pressure on the housing market in 2023 and the municipality of Nijmegen is part of the top 10% of municipalities who has the most pressure on their housing market.

Figure 1: pressure on the housing market (BPD, 2023)

The quantitative shortage means that until the year 2030 10,000 houses have to be added to the current housing market (gemeente Nijmegen, 2019). In the housing programme, the focus for new housing is especially on the following subgroups:

- 1-2 persons households
- Starters, low middle income households
- Students

This quantitative demand is complemented by a research done by consultancy firm Companen (2019). Here they asked about the demand for alternative housing. Around 3% of the people who are searching for a house do have some interest in alternative housing forms. In the period of 2019-2030, this means an addition of 30 alternative houses per year. An important remark hereby is that among the other respondents a significant percentage report to be interested in shared spaces if therefore the price of the house remains affordable. More specifically, the people who are interested in alternative housing forms are mostly interested in 'courtyard dwellings' followed by 'tiny houses' and 'self-sufficient housing'. Also, a common outdoor space is important within a form of collective housing. This research of Companen does reflect the national trends regarding alternative forms of housing quite well.

Looking at the policy side, in the city of Nijmegen new housing have been relevant for the last years. As stated in the "Woonvisie" of 2015, the municipality wanted to play an active and facilitating role for innovative housing initiatives and to be a city that is open to experiments (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016) Furthermore, in the coalition agreement of 2018, it is stated that the municipality gives space for innovative housing concepts. Here you can think about self-build housing and collective housing, for example. This also means that space is given for civic initiatives. This fits well in the line with the new 'Omgevingsvisie'. Where it is stated that innovative housing concepts can be opportunities for a more attractive, social, healthy and sustainable environment (municipality of Nijmegen, 2019).

A neighbourhood where those alternative forms of housing can be seen as chance is Dukenburg. The architectural centre of Nijmegen already made a bidbook about this neighbourhood, including some inspirational alternative housing examples which possibly fit within the neighbourhood.

1.2 Research problem statement

Despite the emphasis many researchers put on the autonomy, self-motivation and bottom-up aspects of cohousing, cohousing projects cannot materialise without the collaboration of public authorities and other stakeholders such as landowners or financial institutions. Planning authorities interact and negotiate with other stakeholders to form the project (Boonstra, 2016). As Tummers (2015, p. 72) summarizes: "in order to understand the role of planning in these processes more attention should be given to the role public authorities, planning criteria and planning processes play in cohousing". The term spatial planning is often used for both policy decisions and the governance systems, the criteria of spatial planning can contribute to a closer definition that does justice to local and national circumstances.

Governance oriented cohousing research could lead to a better understanding of opportunities. Now, little research has been done into the consequences for cohousing of land-use policies and urban governance structures. Furthermore, there is already some evidence about the external roles municipalities can play, but there is less evidence on how they promote cohousing in their internal working structures and planning procedures (Droste, 2015). The already existing evidence is mostly pursuit at German municipalities, although the planning policy situation and system context is different in the Dutch context. In this perspective Fedrowitz and Gailing (2003) say planning authorities need to

review the urban development and planning processes, reposition stakeholders and formulate new criteria for land-use.

There are also some spatial planning challenges the municipality of Nijmegen is facing with dealing with those kinds of new housing concepts. The main challenge is the dependency of involved parties, where the Dutch planning culture is mainly based upon collaboration between professional parties without structural involvement of end-users. The so called 'bouwclaimmodel' what we usually call 'traditional development' can be characterized as commercial where project developers obtained building plots to build a high quantity of uniform housing. This common knowledge is different from the process of cohousing initiatives, because those initiatives ask for a more modern development where small scale and organic phases are key points (Sparreboom, Baas, & Valk, 2015).

It raises the question if a city wants to carry on with traditional housing or that the municipality has to focus more on the current demand. The literature proves that there is a significant demand for cohousing initiatives (Beck, 2020; Czischke, 2018; Tummers, 2015), although the policy debate could be an obstacle for implementing those housing concepts in the housing market. For example, in the affordable housing market whereas the traditional form of affordable housing and the unique characteristics of cohousing, such as the community-focused operations and the participatory planning process with residents, may not always fit well in the current world of affordable housing and its funders (Garciano, 2011). The role of planners is very important when speaking about a demand driven 'product' like cohousing. The role is not limited to create contextual features such as planning frameworks. Instead, planning becomes an act of navigating which means that they are heading for a certain end goal, but in a complex and changing environment, and without known paths and destinations adapting. All are proactively engaged in the emerging networks of public, private and civic actors (Boonstra, 2016).

Moreover, studies on cohousing often refer to cases from other countries, without references to the different planning and housing systems in which an initiative is operating. These are important influences in the shaping of projects (Tummers, 2015). So to understand cohousing as a new housing model, such contexts have to be taken into account. Do cohousing projects require new environments and market structures, or just a change in attitude and communication of the municipality?

1.3 Research aim

The main goal of this research is to get insight into the policy context and its relevance for the implementation of cohousing. In Nijmegen cohousing initiatives are not new, there are already some projects that are collective in Nijmegen (see appendix B), although an integral vision and policy is missing. In this research, policy instruments and planning perspectives are going to be examined in relation to project development and specially cohousing projects. Additionally, and more generally, the collaborative governance will be examined because municipalities have to make important decisions within their discourse what creates the conditions for everyday life in such a community. This can be a response to the demand of politicians, cohousing actors and other interested public.

Because the principle of cohousing include different range and types, it is important for this research to

set clear which concepts of defining cohousing are going to be used. Furthermore, it sets a foundation to critically look at the governmental collaboration and policy processes where cohousing projects operate in. The collaborative governance approaches may differ between the municipalities, to understand the role per municipality this approach is compared and integrated in the context.

1.4 Research questions

The main research question that will lead this study is formulated as follows:

How can the municipality of Nijmegen stimulate realization of cohousing concepts?

The main research question will be answered through a set of sub questions.

Sub question 1:

What is the meaning of cohousing initiatives in the literature and in practice, and how is this already present in Nijmegen?

First of all, it is important to find out what we mean by cohousing concepts in Nijmegen. This is a very broad term with some different frameworks available so this need some explanation first. The municipality needs to have an overview of existing innovative cohousing concepts in Nijmegen, so an overview will be given of what already is present within the municipality. Answering this sub question provides information of the definition so that it is clear what be meant by cohousing and how this manifests in Nijmegen.

Sub question 2:

How does the system context look like for municipalities regarding cohousing?

The second sub question is important to give an overview per municipality (per case study) of the 'background' of cohousing initiatives. Each municipality will have their own discourses, rules, involved actors and resources what determine the collaborative governance of cohousing. Which eventually effect the acting of the realisation of cohousing initiatives.

Sub question 3:

What are relevant collaboration dynamics for cohousing initiatives, and how do they differ per municipality?

The third sub question is going in depth in the theory of collaborative governance regimes. This is a framework that is going to be used to analyse the policy field of cohousing initiatives. The collaborative dynamics is a part of the integrative framework for collaborative governance that is most relevant for examining planning criteria. Different municipalities will use different approaches to this alternative housing concept. Eventually, by finding out the differences and similarities of collaborative governance approaches in relation to the spatial context of Nijmegen, it can be searched if those approaches also work in the context of Nijmegen.

1.5 Societal and scientific relevance

1.5.1 Societal relevance

Housing in general is a continuous theme of societal attention. This research about cohousing in particular contributes to this societal discussions because of different reasons.
The first reason is that cohousing, since the turn of the millennium, already has attracted increased interest and support from municipalities who have identified it as an avenue to realizing social-sustainable cities (Scheller & Thörn, 2018). Also in the municipality of Nijmegen, cohousing initiatives can be used to create a more social-sustainable city. As mentioned before, in different policy documents it is stated that the municipality is willing to give space to those alternative housing forms. The municipality has already some experience with cohousing initiatives, there are for instance already a sustainable cohousing project in the rental sector named 'IEWAN' and a Collective Private Commissioning project named 'De Getijden'.

Furthermore, in the context of the already stated housing problems, forming a self-build group represents an opportunity for an increasing number of cohousing projects. In foreign countries this is more common, but also in the Netherlands cohousing can be a -partial- solution for the housing problem. Also on the qualitative side, cohousing initiatives do reflect on the lack of the current housing market to respond to the demand side of housing. This demand side include the changing needs of particular groups of people, who wish to organise their housing situation in a manner that emphasises more self-regulation of the built environment.

This still changing need to live together and to determine your personal future housing with other people do ask something from actors like the municipality. When giving an insight of planning actions and instruments, municipalities can share information and compare other planning tools used in other municipalities to see if this is convenient to use as well. In this research in particular, eventually an advice for the municipality of Nijmegen is given. Although different other municipalities are going to be examined, what means that the data can be useful for other municipalities as well.
More specifically for Nijmegen, the municipality is working on the neighbourhood Dukenburg. In this neighbourhood they want to create more housing differentiation and a better use of the public space. There is a specific question to research if innovative housing concepts could be an impulse for the liveability in the neighbourhood and to upgrade the image of the neighbourhood. This research can obtain relevant insights to especially optimise the process of the initiative in the neighbourhood.

1.5.2 Scientific relevance

This research can add the knowledge on how municipalities can promote cohousing in their internal working structures and planning procedures. Now, there has been little research into the consequences for cohousing of land-use policies and urban governance structures. Also, a study about legal frameworks for land use and urban planning and how they could support or block and implement cohousing initiatives is still missing (Droste, 2015).
In this research, the integrative framework of collaborative governance will be used to reflect on cohousing policies what will give an added value to the existing scientific literature. Until now, the

perspective of collaborative governance is not used to analyse cohousing from a planning perspective. The other way around, it will be an addition to the framework because it examines how certain pieces of the framework apply in different settings, such as cohousing. Especially the part of collaboration dynamics (which is a component of the integrative framework), can be envisioned to generate empirical analyses of the framework overall or of the interactions among different components and elements (Emerson, Nabatchi, & Balogh, 2012).
Networks for cohousing have constructed a body of knowledge that provides useful aspects for up-scaling. Taking into consideration the experiences of those initiatives will contribute to make planning systems more accessible. Their contribution to urban quality and experimentation with built forms remains unrecorded. The full scope of cohousing in its spatial-social characteristics is still missing (Tummers, 2011). With spatial characteristics location, land use, housing layout and additional services can be meant. The social characteristics are focussing more on the origin, social & cultural background of the dwellers.
This research might help to other challenges the housing market is currently dealing with, such as sustainable and affordable housing. The way the public sector is promoting cohousing can be a relevant element in those challenges (Droste, 2015). Especially this aspect of ecological sustainability is looked at, while cohousing may be a more sustainable alternative to traditional housing. Already, some quantitative case studies had been done that looked at if cohousing is really more sustainable than other forms of housing. Although a descriptive case study analyses on collaborative governance in cohousing in the Netherlands is still missing in the current literature.

1.6 Reading guide

In the second chapter of this research, the phenomenon of cohousing is further elaborated. This starts with concepts of cohousing which are already existing in the literature. Those concepts will be translated into physical existing cohousing projects in the Netherlands and more specifically in Nijmegen. Afterwards, the concepts of cohousing will be contextualised towards a planning perspective as already mentioned in the first chapter.
In the third chapter, the theoretical framework is explained. In this research, cohousing from a planning perspective, will be examined through two elements of the integrative framework for collaborative governance: the system context and collaboration dynamics. The system context is examined through the theory of the policy arrangement approach, as this gives a clear overview of the system context in which collaboration interacts. This chapter will end with an operationalisation of those concepts shown in a conceptual framework.
In chapter four, the methodology is discussed. This methodology includes the research strategy, the research methods and eventually the case selection.
Chapter five then presents the case studies that are used in this research.
In chapter six the findings of the data collections are presented. It is structured through the sub questions to eventually give an answer to the main question. Here the different municipalities are compared through the elements of the operationalisation.

In chapter seven a conclusions is given with in chapter eight en nine recommendations of further research and a reflection of the research.

2. Literature review

2.1 The concept of cohousing

Since the early 2000s, a new wave of collective self-organized forms of housing provision has unfolded in many European countries. This included a big variety of forms and models. Alongside the growth of the cohousing appearances, the amount of research and publications was also growing. Nevertheless, as Lang, Carriou, and Czischke (2018) stated, the field remains thematically fragmented with literature on different forms and models spread across disciplines and conceptual classifications. Here, some of those definitions and conceptualisations are going to be compared to eventually give a relatively wide but understandable concept of cohousing.

Firstly, in this research the term cohousing was and is going to be constantly used. This is because this term consists more definitions than the one used by Vestbro and Horelli (2012). They mentioned all kind of cohousing terms and so the term cohousing is capturing cohousing, collaborative housing, communal housing, collective housing and commune housing.

Table 1: Definitions of various cohousing concepts (based on Vestbro & Horelli, 2012, p 1 & 2)

Cohousing	Housing with common spaces and shared facilities
Collaborative housing	Housing that is oriented towards collaboration among residents
Communal housing	Housing designed to create community
Collective housing	Housing with the emphasis on the collective organisation of services
Commune	Housing without individual apartments
Cooperative housing*	Housing where the property is owned cooperatively
Ecovillage*	Housing with the focus on sustainability

The Asterix in above table indicates, that cooperative housing and ecovillages are not taken into account in the literature of (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012), however in this research those two housing concepts will be looked at as well when it fulfils some conditions. The concepts have to have shared facilities and shared spaces and there have to be a collective organisation noticeable. Furthermore, the table is not fixed completely, some cohousing projects can overlap and can have features of various ‘definitions’. Also in older literature (Durrett & McCamant, 2011; Fromm, 2012) the term cohousing was used to refer to different versions of the housing model that originated in Denmark in the 1960s and Durrett and McCamant (2011) translated the Danish term – *bofællesskab* - (what means living community) into cohousing.

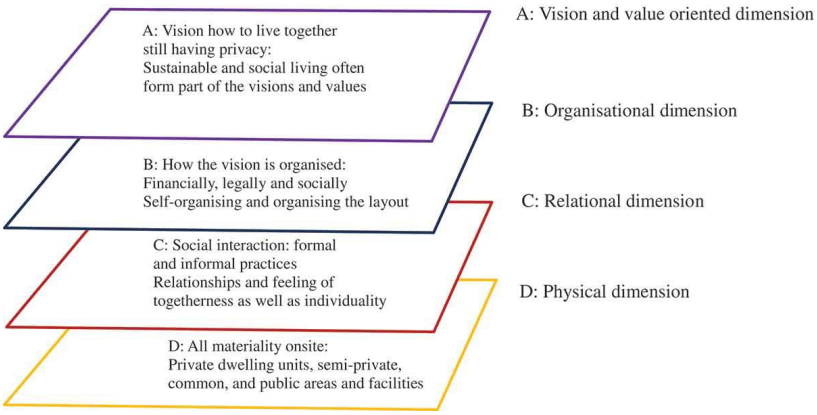
Within this thematic area, different kind of communities have developed into cohousing. To better understand which kind of people are living in cohousing projects, it is important to give a short elaboration about the socio-demographic context of cohousing. Lang et al. (2018) identified studies which are concerned with who lives and engages in cohousing projects. From 1992 onwards, the focus was mainly on social issues and people with lower-incomes. At that time, affordably housing was connected with cohousing. As Garciano (2011) argued: “Cohousing brings many benefits to low-income residents, regular interaction and mutual support are the primary benefits and the hallmarks of cohousing”. Since around 2000 however, literature has defined new realities and tend to forsake these categories of income and class and began to focus more on gender. Here the focus has been on the family structures and gender roles. In comparison with individual housing, the ‘alternative’ interpretation of space and place effect gender identities. Cohousing increase equality between women and men by making the domestic chores visible, which can then be shared by both sexes (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012).

An age group in the demographic theme that has risen attention in the early 2000s, are the elderly. It has emerged in the context of the increasing ageing of the population in Europe and the expansion of the cohousing model. Pedersen (2015) executed a study about senior-cohousing in Denmark. One of the results here was that the majority of the researched residents had experienced a strengthening of their social networks after moving into their facility. In the Netherlands in particular, a gap in the housing market for elderly have been created due to the closures of the nursing homes and as a consequence mandatory living on their own. To fill this gap, cohousing could be a solution. As Rusinovic, van Bochove, and van de Sande (2019) stated in their research, co-houses for elderly can counteract loneliness due to the social contacts. A remark hereby is the right amount of privacy to avoid conflicts as much as possible. Other factors such as the composition of the group, architecture, financial and social considerations have to take well into account when speaking about an innovative option for elderly people. Linked to the senior issue are intergenerational cohousing models, where the elderly live alongside residents of different ages (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012). These housing projects are often located in cities and, besides the common spaces for the residents, they also have spaces open to the public and people from the local community (Ruiu, 2016). Multigenerational housing can be an effective solution not only for the problem of diminished intergenerational activity, but also for a wide range of structural and economic problems. For example the aging population, increase of one-person households as stated in the introduction as well as the unaffordable student housing (Ache & Fedrowitz, 2012).

In this research, the establishing of cohousing projects will be understood as both a social and physical space. Both social content and the physical design of cohousing is relevant to understand the planning perspective properly. Beck (2020) came up with a framework where cohousing is divided into four interconnecting spatial dimensions. Besides the social and the physical space, cohousing comprises shared visions and values as well as financing, organising, and the decision-making processes. It helps to better understand the many-faceted phenomenon of cohousing. Here space can be perceived as relationally constituted through social, economic, and cultural meanings of how to

produce, practice, and structure the world. In this context, space is not only physical but also relational, organisational, and vision- and value oriented (Beck, 2020).

Figure 2: Conceptualising cohousing in four interconnecting spatial dimensions (Beck, 2018, p. 45)



The dimension of visions and values is about creating a vision from which a cohousing project tend to emerge. The vision that the group agrees on influences the set of values that are discussed throughout the process of becoming a cohousing project (Beck, 2020). The most common vision is to connect privacy with communality so that you can share facilities while still having your own place. Other visions can also be to live sustainable. Empirical studies often see these initiatives as part of societal change, and it can be placed in the periphery of society. Those wider visions can help planners to understand the new demand for living environments, including for example urban farming and circular constructions (Tummers, 2015). This can be extended through connecting the visions and values to the intentions of the community and typically providing the basis for a written document for start-up groups (Beck, 2020).

Secondly, the organisational dimension is how visions and layouts are financially, legally and socially planned. Most of the time, the process of cohousing can be linked to the construction of co-production. Czischke (2018) mentioned that the public management perspective of co-production, which define coproduction as the arrangement where individual citizens produce their own services in full or part with public service professionals. While cohousing initiatives include a wide range of housing tenures and funding sources, the form of organisations structures can differ as well. This organisational dimensions can be split up in intern organisational aspects and external organisational aspects. While the internal organisation is about the self-organisation of cohousing, the external organisation is a collaboration with the decision makers. Especially the external organisation forms are an important, though sometimes underestimated, part of the spatial concept of cohousing (Beck, 2020).

Thirdly, through the process of participation, social interactions will occur before relocating together. The relational dimension include dialogues and collaboration taking place between the occupants in daily life. For residents, living in cohousing provides a local supportive community. Connections with your neighbours allow residents to share time-consuming responsibilities. It also provides a greater

sense of physical security because of those connections. Another advantage of social interaction with your cohousing members, is that it may also reduce living costs through cooperation and sharing of community resources, skills, and work effort (Garciano, 2011). Maintaining this relational dimension is done through formalised practices who take responsibility for certain tasks in cohousing (Beck, 2020). The relational dimension branches out to the municipality as well, during the different periods of establishing a cohousing project.

This social interaction can be encouraged by the physical dimension, what leads us automatically to the fourth dimension. Cohousing is materialized in this dimension, where private dwelling units are combined with shared facilities and areas. Those areas can be differentiated into private, semi-private and common areas (Beck, 2020). Williams (2005) did already a study on how design influence the social interaction in cohousing. The division of space and circulatory systems in communities appeared to be the key design factors influencing social interaction. Accessibility was the key design feature influencing the strength of support networks, and a common place was identified as being the key design feature to specifically support participation (Williams, 2005).

2.2 Cohousing in practice

As stated in the introduction, cohousing is not completely new in the Netherlands. There are already different forms of cohousing projects in the country with each different aspects in the four dimensions. To eventually proper understand the planning perspective, an overview of the history of cohousing in the Netherlands will be given. Special attention is given to Centraal Wonen what were the first forms of cohousing in the Netherlands. Additionally, Collective Private Commissioning will be explained because this is a newer housing development instrument that can be used for cohousing. Furthermore, the relevance of the corporative movement is also important to mention because the housing corporations in particular do play a substantial role in the Netherlands. Specifically, housing cooperations will be highlighted. This is cohousing form which gained more interest over the last years.

2.2.1 History of cohousing

While cohousing was pioneered in Denmark, other European countries such as the Netherlands have also established cohousing communities. The Dutch ‘Centraal Wonen’, roughly translated as ‘central living’, incorporate the same primary characteristics as Danish cohousing such as common facilities initiated and planned by the residents, intentional neighbourhood design, and complete resident management (Durrett & McCamant, 2011). The first cohousing project was built in 1977 (“De Wandelmeent” in Hilversum), when it was completed the residents got so many requests for information that they organized a national organisation of ‘central living’ to help new groups. The participants were conscious of the pioneering nature of their enterprise, and they were critical against the ideas of the ‘closed living of the after-war neighbourhoods’ (Kesler, 1991). Nowadays most cohousing projects are a ‘member’ of the national association which is a form of intentional community where people consciously choose to live together and where households have a separate dwelling or

housing unit available but also have common areas and facilities sharing. This ‘Landelijke Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen’ sees communities as a habitat where a number of social goals have more probable success such as opportunities for each individual, emancipation, dealing with environmental awareness, solidarity and social justice (Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen, n.d.)
In 2000, the government published a policy document with the title: ‘Mensen, Wensen, Wonen’. The main purpose of the document is to illustrate the change of a supply driven housing market towards a demand driven housing market, where the individual choice of a person is a central pillar throughout the document. This can be obtained through individual freedom to build, but also through Collective Private Commissioning projects.

2.2.2 Collective Private Commissioning

A form of cohousing which was more or less stimulated by the government in the year of 2000 is the form of Collective Private Commissioning. A CPC is a form on how a cohousing project can be arranged. At the behest of the province of Noord-Brabant, SEV (‘Stuurgroep Experimentele Volkshuisvesting’) published a handbook about CPC for municipalities. They argue that a CPS is a form where individuals organize in a legal entity without a profit motive who buy a plot and act as a developer. This legal entity decides for itself with which parties they got involved. The houses are realised as a group for private use (SEV, 2007).
Those CPC-projects differ from size, there are projects known between 6 and 100 households. The organisation ‘Expertteam Zelfbouw’ argues that the ideal size of a CPC-project is between 20 and 40 households, because it is still easy to achieve consensus, and there are also economies of scale.
According to RVO (2014), CPC-projects have 5 most important aspects. The first aspect is that participants of CPC-projects are able to have more influence on their future living environment, because the participants act as a developer. The second aspect is more about affordability, which is mostly a motivation for starters at the housing market. Research showed that the costs of a CPC-project are 10 to 20 percent below the market value. This advantage benefits the participants directly, while there is no profit motive. Thirdly, it stimulates social cohesion. The participations develop their future living environment together from the start, so they know their future neighbours already quite well before living together. This also include the process of collaboration within the CPC and the management of expectations. The fourth aspect is more about the external facilitation of those projects. Most of the time participants are not able to organize the whole process by themselves, here external consultants and governmental organisations play a role to help the participants. The last aspect is about the management of expectations. It is important that all the participants have a clear idea of the mutual expectations. When a CPC only is used for lowering costs it could not work, because some other important motivations are missing.
The reason why Collective Private Commissioning is import when speaking about the planning perspective of cohousing, is that CPC is an important instrument to realise cohousing projects. To organize successful CPC projects, in various ways it is important for municipalities to think about how CPC-projects fit in their policy (RVO, 2014).

2.2.3 Housing associations and housing cooperatives

In the Netherlands, social housing has a long tradition dating back for more than a century. The role of social housing associations have been combining public and market activities. The housing associations are private bodies, but are financially supported by the state (Qu & Hasselaar, 2011). The status of social housing associations as private providers combining market activities and public tasks can be seen as the basis for an increasing range of choices for social groups, who are not capable of finding proper housing on the regular market. Because of the combination between market activities and public tasks, housing associations can be considered as partners who can support self-developed housing such as cohousing. Qu and Hasselaar (2011) argue that with minor policy change, the housing associations could become co-creators of housing projects based on the 'voice' of the future occupants. In comparison with CPC projects, housing associations are the initiators of the project and they would like to discuss some things according to the quality, and the classification of the housing. How those tasks are divided can differ per project, although it is always good to discuss the responsibilities during the process (SEV, 2007).

Not only housing associations can establish cohousing in the rental housing sector. In the Dutch housing act of 2015 a new concept of housing has been introduced. This concept is called a housing cooperation, and it was introduced as an alternative for traditional housing. A housing cooperation is an 'association' which enables its member to manage and maintain their homes independently, which is actually the same as a CPC but then in the rental sector. For establishing a housing cooperation, few conditions are made. One of the conditions is that the majority of the households in the cooperation have an income which is not higher than the limit for the allocation for social rented housing. In the housing act is written that the initiators have some right for a financial contribution for external advice for their plans (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, n.d.). According to Agentschap NL (2012), a housing cooperation can lead to a more efficient organisation, lower cost of living, and a better supply that aligns with individual demand than housing realised by project developers.

A housing cooperation is definitely not a new phenomenon, it already has started in the 19th century and in addition it is a common way of organizing cohousing in for example Germany and Austria. However, the literature has so far only offered limited typologies which integrate traditional cooperative and new participatory as well as community-oriented models in regional housing contexts (Lang & Stoeger, 2018). In the Netherlands, this phenomenon is relatively new. Therefore, Platform31 (2017) - a Dutch research institute- set up an experiment programme in 2014-2018 which resulted in a couple of exemplary projects. Because housing corporations were allowed to sell their property for half the market value, it was possible for the housing cooperation "Roggeveenstraat" in The Hague to make the business case. Als the case of "De Warren" is a successful example of a self-build housing cooperative.

2.3 Cohousing from a planning perspective

2.3.1 Planning substance

All four spatial dimensions in the concept of Beck (2020) are connected in various ways. However, this concept cannot directly be used to understand the diversity of cohousing projects from a planning

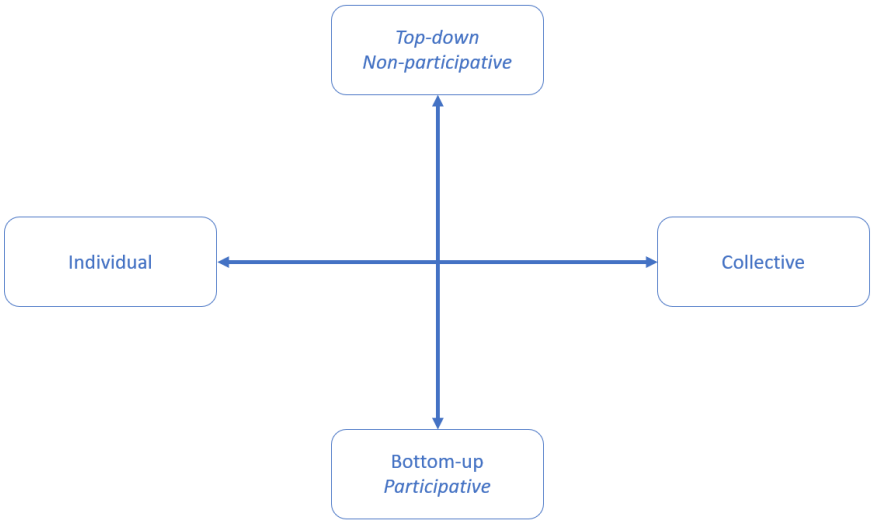
perspective. To map the potential of cohousing from an urban/spatial planning point of view, the impact of norms and regulations needs to be taken into account (Tummers, 2015). The challenge here lays in the fact that the municipalities who want to support cohousing in a way that real 'bottom-up' initiatives can occur but that they must have some sort of framework for allowing this to happen without harming the process of the 'bottom-up' initiatives (Droste, 2015). Municipalities have three ways to support cohousing initiatives: 1) they can promote the concept directly 2) commission external partners to facilitate new projects in a public-private partnership 3) or encourage private investors and owners to include municipal goals and cohousing in projects (Droste, 2015). On how they promote cohousing in their internal working structures and planning procedures remained to be unknown for Dutch municipalities.

Also, the development process of supporting cohousing may appear restrictive as with the current rules and legislations. For example, building regulations could collide with the tenure form and the mix of public and private space. The motivation and everyday practices of cohousing communities need to be connected to spatial features of the project to complete the functioning of the cohousing project. Especially when it is about social subsidized housing where future residents can share similar values around collaboration, but eventually they are chosen according to income levels, not intent (Fromm, 2012).

2.3.2 Citizens involvement

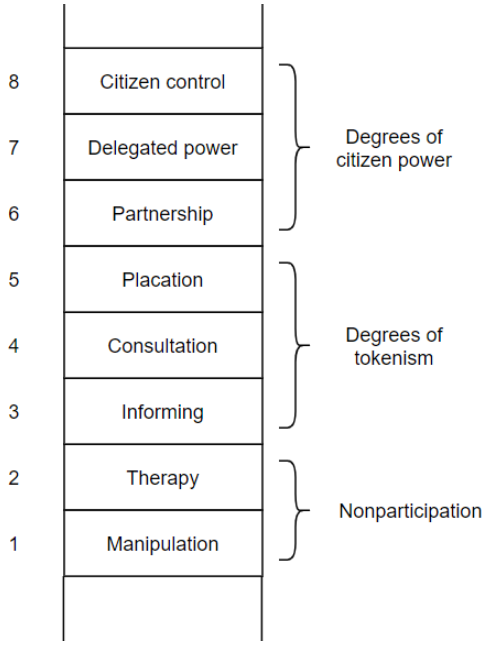
Other than the amount of shared space and the additional adaptations in regulations (planning substance), the degree of self-reliance in the planning process also is a constituent element of cohousing according to Tummers (2016). She also added that cohousing residents wants control over design and development and remain active in use and management of their shared location. In the wider range of initiatives, there are different grades of community involvement; from guided participatory processes to a more co-creation or even full self-control. The figure below shows the realm where cohousing projects can be placed. Where the amount of shared space counterbalance the amount of participation.

Figure 3: Matrix of cohousing (Tummers, 2016, p. 12).



Nonetheless, Tummers (2015) also argued that in practice, autonomy is relative and many cohousing projects are constructed in collaboration with institutional agencies. Still, cohousing projects can have different levels of participation. A main difference lies in the process of community development and capacity building that generally precedes a physical building. People get to know each other, develop a sense of ownership and grow a sense of group cohesion when they form a group from the beginning and develop their cohousing community. Compare this approach with that taken by most developers and housing associations, who build first and then fill their schemes with people who are strangers to each other (Brenton, 2008).

Figure 4: Ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969, p. 26). Edited by author



Qu and Hasselaar (2011) also have analysed different levels of customer influence in new housing developments such as cohousing. Therefore, they used the framework of the ladder of citizen participation. This framework was introduced by Arnstein in 1969, and it was used to select strategies and clarify the different levels of influence. The eight types are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizen's power in determining the end product (Arnstein, 1969). As seen in figure 3, on the bottom the rungs describe levels of 'non-participation' that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. Rungs 3, 4 and 5 progress to levels that allow the havenots to hear and have a voice. Further up the ladder are levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout (Arnstein, 1969). Qu and Hasselaar (2011) argued that the terms manipulation and therapy are a little old-fashioned, especially in today's new developments. Also, the concept of placation can be changed to consideration. Therefore, to make the framework more relevant towards cohousing, Qu and Hasselaar made a more open framework where the ladder is reduced to five steps (see figure 4). This can be seen as traditional housing development without any influence by other stakeholders. Rung 2 gives the stakeholders space to respond but without any influencing possibilities. Rung 3 can be seen as non-levelled co-operation where stakeholders can have a voice. The last to rungs give citizens and other stakeholders significant power within the process of decision-making (Qu & Hasselaar, 2011). Lastly, they extended the framework with different forms of housing development which also include cohousing as well.

Figure 5: Framework voice and choice (Qu & Hasselaar, 2011, p. 94).

Framework voice and choice	**Choice**				**Voice**
	Traditional approach	Participation procedure	Participatory design	Group housing development	Collective development and co-housing
Denial	1. developing for the market				
Information		2. level communication			
Consultation			3. participatory planning		
Participation				4. group commissioning	5. Cooperative housing
Decision making					

Figure 4 shows that especially rung 4 and 5 can be related to cohousing. It is relevant to keep in mind the differences of participation, which has to be clear when investigating cohousing from a planning perspective.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Integrative framework for collaborative governance

Given the theme of this research and the fact that cohousing projects might need different planning criteria, there is a need for an institutional type of policy analyses. There are different kinds of policy analyses, but in this thesis the collaborative governance theory will be used. This theory will be helpful to get a better idea of governance structures regarding cohousing initiatives for different reasons. More specifically, the integrative framework of collaborative governance regimes introduced by Emerson et al. (2012) will be used. Firstly, the framework extends beyond the focus on the public sector to include also the private and civic sectors. To understand cohousing initiatives from a planning perspective, other sectors and actors play an important role as well. They all have different roles within the collaborative governance approach. Secondly, the framework also situates collaborative governance regimes in the broader context with which it interacts. The regime of housing and policy of the different stakeholders will influence the surrounding conditions and will lead to specific collaboration dynamics.

The framework will be explained per element, where the collaboration dynamics are the most relevant element of the framework. This theoretical framework will be supported by the framework of the policy arrangement approach, which is helpful to connect the dynamics of the actors with social and political changes. Eventually a conceptual model is made to define the highlighted variables, with in the end a conceptualisation which operationalise the variables to create questions which can be used to obtain the qualitative data.

3.1.1 Defining collaborative governance

Since the 1990s, the shift from ‘government’ to ‘governance’ reflects both ideological standpoints and empirical evidence that governments are no longer be the sole decision-making authority in, for instance, housing projects. Governance refers to practices rather than formal institutions and can be understood as the general manner in which people are governed, but not exclusively by the

institutions of government. What eventually enables the survival of the collaborative partnership or institution (Emerson et al., 2012). Collaborative governance has emerged as a response to the failures of downstream implementation and to the high cost and politicization of regulation. More positively, because those institutions have become more complex and interdependent, the demand for this collaboration increases (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

In collaborative governance, key is the working together of governments, business and civil society groups and individuals in governing. Non-governmental actors have better knowledge of their day-to-day behaviour, and this can lead to more suitable and effective governance tools than could be delivered by distant bureaucrats. Collaboration is also expected to result in more efficient governance tools since resources can be allocated to better suit those governed (Van der Heijden, 2014).

Not only non-governmental organisations have a role in a collaborative governance. To achieve cohousing initiatives, city governments may also act as initiator or leader of collaborative governance processes. Another essential role of city governments may be to act as guardian of collaborative governance tools. Finally, city governments may act as supporters or facilitators of collaborative governance processes, which are initiated by non-governmental actors. This support can be provided through different kind of tools to obtain different results (Droste, 2015; Van der Heijden, 2014).

Collaborative governance regime is focusing on a networked approach. In such a networked enforcement regime actors who e.g. operates in cohousing are accountable to a range of other actors, and these all have specific disciplinary powers to incentivize compliance (Van der Heijden, 2014).

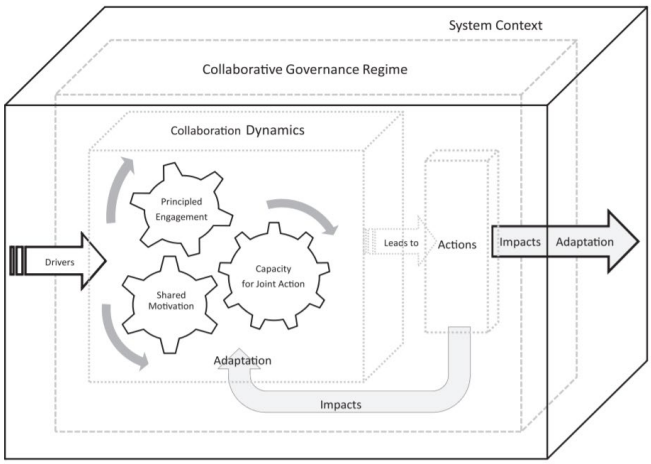
Stoker (1998) also argue that governing from a governance perspective is always an interactive process because no single actor, public or private, has the knowledge and resource capacity to tackle the problem unitarily. Moreover, collaborative governance needs involvement of various forms of partnerships to obtain resources of other private and public actors. Those actors and institutions gain a capacity to act by blending their resources, skills and purposes into a long-term coalition also called a regime (Stoker, 1998).

3.1.2 A framework of integrative collaborative governance

The framework for collaborative governance is integrative in various ways. First, the definition of collaborative governance is broader than what is commonly seen in the literature. Second, the framework integrates numerous components of collaborative governance and finally it organizes several variables into a multilevel framework what enables further analyses of the internal dynamics and causal pathways of collaborative governance and its performance (Emerson et al., 2012)

The framework of integrative collaborative governance as introduced by Emerson et al. (2012) is set up as three nested dimensions, shown as boxes.

Figure 6: An integrative framework of collaborative governance (Emerson, Nabatchi & Balogh, p6, 2012)



As seen in the figure above, the system context, which is the outermost box, generates opportunities and constraints and influences the dynamics of the collaboration at the outset of time. The system context is represented in this framework as a surrounding three-dimensional space because external conditions may influence the dynamics and performance of collaboration what can open new possibilities. In this case, the system context is the planning context about cohousing in a general way, which 'affect and are affected by' the collaborative governance regime (Gollagher & Hartz-Karp, 2013). The system context will be explained further in this chapter through the policy arrangement approach.

3.1.2.1 Drivers

In the framework of Emerson et al. (2012), they separated the contextual variables from essential drivers. These drivers are leadership, consequential incentives, interdependence and uncertainty.
The first essential driver is Leadership, which refers to the presence of an identified leader who is in a position to initiate and help secure resources and support for a collaborative governance regime. Later also mentioned as a CGR.
The second driver is consequential incentives, which refer to internal or external drivers for collaborative action. Those incentives must exist to induce leaders and participants to engage together. An example in this particular case is the subsidies the province provides to stimulate collective private commissioning.
Interdependence, the third driver which include when individuals and organisations are unable to accomplish something on their own, is also a precondition for collaborative action. In the line of cohousing this is the collaboration between governmental organisations and groups of initiatives.
The last driver is uncertainty, which is a primary challenge for managing 'wicked' societal problems. The more drivers are present and recognized by participants, the more likely a CGR will be initiated (Emerson et al., 2012).
Through those drivers, the form and direction of the CGR is shaped. However, the development of the CGR is influenced over time by two components: collaborative dynamics and collaborative actions. Collaborative dynamics is the core of the framework and this consists of three interacting components:

principled engagement, shared motivation, capacity for joint action. Together they determine the quality and extent of the collaboration dynamics leading to action (Westerink, 2015).

3.1.2.2 Principled engagement

Principled engagement occurs over time and may include different stakeholders at different points and a face-to-face dialogue is the most advantageous at the outset. This component is called 'principled' to refer to effective engagement, which stand by the basic espoused principles articulated broadly in both practice and research (Emerson et al., 2012). Within this engagement participants are very important, because they bring a set of individual attitudes, values, interests, and knowledge which give voice to multiple perspectives in the conversation to eventually solve a problem (Emerson et al., 2012). Who is going to participate can vary. Some participatory processes are open to all who wish to engage, whereas others invite the stakeholders specifically (Fung, 2006). Moreover, inclusion and diversity are valued not only as normative organizing principles but also for instrumental reasons. More voices mean multiple perspectives, but also a more 'challenging' process. The degree of power is also relevant when speaking about stakeholders, the Ladder of Participation as stated in the literature review gives a sufficient overview of the different degrees of participation can practice.
Principled engagement is based on four basic process elements: discovery, definition, deliberation and determination. Those elements create and reinforces shared motivation and builds the needed capacity for joint action, they will be discussed further in the operationalisation.

3.1.2.3 Shared motivation

Shared motivation is the second cycle in the collaborative dynamics and is initiated by principled engagement and it can be an intermediate outcome. Emerson, Nabatchi & Balogh (2011) define shared motivation as the interpersonal and relational elements of the collaborative dynamics and is sometimes referred to as social capital. A wide range of social capital exists, the definition as defined by Putnam who has become a very important concern for the research of community development is focused on the civil society as one of the main components for economic growth and democratic government. Social capital is important because it can contribute to a range of beneficial economic and social outcomes, such as better health and more effective institutions of government (Williams, 2005). Also, cohousing can produce social capital and can occur in various ways. First of all it can be obtained within the community through for instance in the decision-making process and the physical design process. But what is more interesting is the linking social capital, which is connected to the ability of groups to obtain information, ideas and advantages of institutions. This linking social capital is related with the ability to create partnerships with external actors (Ruiu, 2016). Just as the principled engagement, shared motivation also build on four basic elements: mutual trust, understanding, internal legitimacy, and commitment. Those elements will be discussed further in the operationalisation.

3.1.2.4 Capacity for joint action

To eventually create desired outcomes through collaboration, the CGR must generate a new capacity for joint action and this new capacity has to sustain or grow for the duration of the shared purpose (Emerson et al., 2012). This new capacity is also the basis for group empowerment and it can be seen as an intermediate outcome of the interacting cycles of principled engagement and shared motivation. However, the capacity of joint action can also strengthen the engagement and shared motivation

cycles. Capacity can be important for governments. There is historic evidence that indicates that significant community development takes place only when local community people are committed to investing themselves and their resources. However, community capacity building efforts are inevitably tempered by both considerations of power and existing government values, policies and operation processes. The implication of these mentioned constraints will need to be considered by governments who wish to implement meaningful capacity building frameworks (Cuthill & Fien, 2005). This also implies municipalities who can use the 'right sort' of capacity building to support and realize cohousing projects. In the framework of Emerson et al. (2012), the capacity of joint action consists also of four elements: procedural and institutional arrangements, leadership, knowledge, and resources, and will be discussed further in the operationalisation.

3.1.2.5 Collaborative actions

The outcomes of the collaborative process are called collaborative actions in this framework. Effective CGRs should provide new mechanisms for collective action determined by collaboration partners in accordance with their expressed theory of action to obtain the preferred outcomes (Emerson et al., 2012). In the context of cohousing, such actions may include enacting policy measures, carrying out new management practices and monitoring implementation. This is also depending on the aim of the CGR, in cohousing it can differ from a very broad aim of housing and liveability in general to a more specific aim where the focus is on a particular project. Several factors affect the likelihood that collaborative action will eventually be implemented, including some elements which are integrated in the elements of collaborative dynamics such as power, and leadership (Huxham, Vangen, Huxham, & Eden, 2000). So in the end, collaborative actions are more likely to be implemented if a shared theory of action is identified explicitly among the collaboration partners and that the capacity for joint action is generated (Emerson et al., 2012).

3.1.2.6 Impact

In the framework of Emerson et al. (2012), the definition of impact, which derived from CGRs, are focused on what Innes and Booher (1999) are classified as third order effects. Third order effects are activities triggered by the consensus building process. In comparison with the first- and second order effects, third order effects may not be evident until a little time later than the collaboration. Impacts are intentional changes of state within the system context. Impacts can be physical, environmental, social, economic, and/or political. They can be very discrete and occur in the short term, but they can also be more broadly cast with longer term impacts (Emerson et al., 2012).

Impacts resulting from collaborative action are likely to be closer to the targeted outcomes with fewer unintended negative consequences when they are specified and derived from a shared theory of action during collaborative dynamics (Emerson et al., 2012).

3.1.2.7 Adaptation

One step further, the framework identifies potential transformative change which can be a consequence of collaborative governance as adaptation to impacts fostered by CGRs. For example, problems can be solved or not, new research findings confirm selected management practices or not and it could arise new challenges and opportunities. Each of these may alter the general system context (Emerson et al., 2012). This adaptation is also a kind of feedback loop, what provides the framework an orienting space for the study of adaptation within both the system context and CGRs

themselves. In the end, collaborative governance regimes will be more sustainable over time when they adapt to the nature and level of impacts resulting from their joint actions (Emerson et al., 2012)

3.2 Policy arrangement approach

Because this research is viewed from a planning perspective, it would be beneficial to adjust institutional analyses to the theory of collaborative governance. Therefore, the Policy Arrangement Approach (PAA) will be incorporated in this research as it defines a framework of dimensions that will help to better understand the collaborative dynamics. This approach will be used to understand the system context in the collaborative governance regime of Emerson et al. (2012) better, because this give some understanding about the policy processes and provide background information for the collaborative dynamics.
Here the policy arrangement approach is going to be introduced and elaborated briefly. In the next chapter 'operationalisation' the four elements of the approach will be elaborated further on and then they are already connected with some elements of the collaborative governance regime.

The policy arrangement approach has been developed by Leroy and Arts (2006) and it is based on three main theoretical concepts. The first concept is institutionalisation, this refers to the phenomenon whereby patterns arise in people's actions, fluid behaviour gradually solidifies into structures, and those structures in their turn structure behaviour (Arts, Leroy, & Van Tatenhove, 2006). More looked at cohousing as a policy process, it concerns the fact that relatively stable definitions of problems and approaches, more or less fixed rules and patterns gradually arise. The concept incorporates the development of structures, stabilisation and change: institutions. No matter how stable they appear at the beginning, institutions are subject to continual change and adjustment, deconstruction and reconstruction.
The second theoretical concept where the PAA is based on are the policy arrangements. These can be defined as the temporary stabilisation of the content and organisation of a policy domain, which is in this research cohousing over several policy levels. The aim of this approach is to understand the ongoing institutionalisation of policy arrangements (Arts et al., 2006). Based upon the idea of modernisation Leroy and Arts (2006) suggested policy arrangements not only to be the result of strategic behaviour in putting policy into practice, but also to reflect long term contextual societal and political trends and processes.
The third theoretical concept is political modernisation. This concept refers to structural processes of social change and their impact on the political domain. Political modernisation, as a structural process, manifests itself in all kinds of day-to-day policy practices, which in turn influence this 'grand' process (Arts et al., 2006).

As stated, the concept of policy arrangement can be seen as the temporary stabilisation of the content and organisation of several policy domains. So to understand the policy domain of housing and cohousing in particular and the associated policy processes, the PAA incorporates the complexity of society through various interrelated dimensions. The system context can be defined as a three-

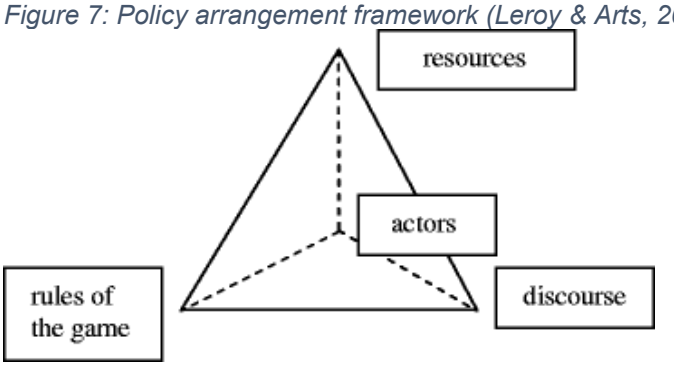
dimensional space where external conditions may influence the dynamics and performance of collaboration. Because the elements in the system context as described in Emerson et al. (2012) are less structured and therefore would require a longer time to describe them accurately. The elements of this PAA will be used. In order to capture the three main concepts of the approach, the theory distinguishes four dimensions of policy arrangements, each of which are equal sources of change and stability (Leroy & Arts, 2006).

3.2 Operationalisation

In this section, first the dimensions of the policy arrangement approach will be operationalised. Subsequently, the collaborative governance framework will be operationalised into a conceptual framework as used in the article of Emerson et al. (2012).

3.2.1 Policy arrangement approach

Figure 7: Policy arrangement framework (Leroy & Arts, 2006)



3.2.1.1 Actors

In the framework, actors play a role, as through people and organisations and their interactions the other three dimensions develop. This also includes coalitions of actors as well as oppositions. Analysing who is involved in cohousing projects and what the role is of different actors is essential in understanding the policy processes (Leroy & Arts, 2006). In this research the actors will include authorities like municipalities, provinces and housing associations. On the private side, external consultancy firms and citizens groups can also be involved in cohousing projects. It is crucial to know what kind of actors are out there in the field and what their role is in particular to eventually make an in depth analyses of the collaborative dynamics. In the collaborative dynamics the focus will be on the municipality as an actor, they need to engage and sometimes lead the process, have to share motivation and they have the capacity for joint action in a certain way.

3.2.1.2 Resources

The division of resources between these actors are leading to differences in power and influence. Power refers to the mobilisation, division, and deployment of resources. Influence refers to who determines policy outcomes and how (Arts et al., 2006). Within the planning perspective of cohousing, resources can include subsidies, expertise, technology and other facilities. Understanding the effect of resources on the collaborations in a municipality allows us to analyse their role in the process performance. Resources are not only involved in the system context of a CGR, they also play a

significant role in the component of capacity for joint action. In each level, they influence the incentives for collaborative actions. Thus, this dimension will overlap with elements in the collaborative dynamics.

3.2.1.3 Rules

The rules of the game which are currently in operation. Both in terms of actual rules for political and other forms of interaction, and in terms of formal procedures for pursuit of policy and decision-making as well as the informal rules (Leroy & Arts, 2006). It is important to know the formal and informal rules which are involved in cohousing projects before going in depth in collaboration dynamics. Similarly to the dimension of resources, rules can empower or limit actors and therefore influence the process performance of the collaborative governance and especially influence on the capacity for joint action. This dimension is for this reason also overlapping with elements in the collaborative dynamics.

3.2.1.4 Discourses

The final dimension of the policy arrangement framework is the current policy discourse and programmes, where the concept of discourse refers to the views and narratives of the actors involved - in terms of norms and values, definitions of problems and approaches to solutions. The concept of programme refers to the specific content of policy documents and measures (Arts et al., 2006). Cohousing is embedded in different discourses. For example the discourse of higher densities and better quality of public space and architecture, another discourses are the ageing population and the increased loneliness of seniors and the self-management with residential involvement and sometimes the extra focus on sustainability. Discourses in this context can also be stated as the definitions of problems and approaches to solutions of the actors involved. This means that the discourses can directly be linked with the component of principled engagement. The norms and values of the actors influence this principled engagement through their shared theory of change and action. Discourses are also present in the shared motivation, because a shared motivation is impossible without mutual understanding, trust and shared commitment. By analysing the discourses present in the system context and more specifically in the collaborative dynamics is evident to completely understand the collaborative governance (Emerson et al., 2012).

3.2.2 Collaborative dynamics

3.2.2.1 Principled Engagement

In the situation of cohousing initiatives different kind of actors are involved in the process with each a different perspective to the situation. As stated, principled engagement occurs over time through the iteration of four elements.

The first one element is **discovery**. According to Emerson et al. (2012) it refers to the revealing of individual and shared interest, concerns, and values, as well as to the identification and analyses of relevant and significant information and its implications. It can be important for municipalities to know what kind of values of cohousing are visible within their municipality. Furthermore, since cohousing is sometimes a relatively new phenomenon what means that that other actions and rules are required, joint fact-finding offers a solution to the consensus building process. Joint fact-finding extend the interest-based, cooperative efforts of parties engaged in consensus building into the realm of information gathering. In join fact-finding, stakeholders with different viewpoints and interest work together to develop common assumptions and informed opinion to eventually reach decisions together (Ehrmann & Stinson, 1999).

The second element is the **definition process**, which characterizes the continuous efforts to build shared meaning by articulating common purpose and objectives. In the first stages of collaboration, it is important to clarify each other expectations. Firstly, this can occur within governmental organisations to create a common definition of the cohousing phenomenon. When contacting with other stakeholders, the planners and the stakeholders learn from each other. The planner from the stakeholders' personal knowledge, the stakeholder from the planner's technical expertise (Bentrup, 2001).

Thirdly, **deliberation**, or candid and reasoned communication, is broadly celebrated as a hallmark and essential ingredient of successful engagement. Deliberation enables stakeholders to better understand and appreciate each other's interests and motivates them to strive to find mutually beneficial solutions (Choi & Robertson, 2014).

Finally, **principled engagement** incorporates the processes of making enumerable joint determinations, including procedural decisions such as setting agendas and tabling a discussion. Substantive determinations are often an end product of collaboration. However, in the collaborative governance regime, many substantive determinations are made over time and can be a repeating element (Emerson et al., 2012). In different researches, advance consensus building is seen as the foundational method for making group determinations. Although, this does not mean that consensus has to be achieved.

In the framework of the collaborative governance regime, the engagement component is distinguished from both the shared motivational benefits it produces and the subsequent capacity for joint action that is generated. So in the end, the four elements as elaborated above create and enforce shared motivation and build the needed capacity for joint action (Emerson et al., 2012).

3.2.2.2 Shared motivation

The first element of shared motivation is the development of **trust**, which happens over time as parties work together and to get to know each other. Trust consists of acceptance of risk and vulnerability deriving from the action of others and an expectation that the other will not exploit this vulnerability. There are two types of trust; the first one is 'competence trust' which refers to trusting that the other person or organisation has the capability to control risk by meeting their commitments. The second form of trust is 'goodwill trust' which has a more emotional acceptance of the moral commitment (Purdue, 2001). According to Emerson et al. (2012), trust generates mutual understanding, which in turn generates legitimacy and finally commitment.

So the trust forms the basis of **mutual understanding**. Mutual understanding is not 'shared understanding' as discussed by Ansell and Gash (2008) where participants agree on a shared set of values or goals. In contrast, mutual understanding specifically refers to the ability to understand and respect others' positions and interests even when one might not agree (Emerson et al., 2012).

In turn, mutual understanding generates a sense of interpersonal validation and **cognitive legitimacy**, which is the third element of shared motivation. During a traditional housing project, the legitimacy is already achieved because the structures, processes, and strategies that are appropriate for the institutional environment are already known. However, when a newly organized entity is a network of organisations such as some forms of cohousing, legitimacy is not directly regarded. It is less understandable than more traditional forms of housing. So it is important to pay attention to three

components: the legitimacy of the network as a form that can attract internal and external support and resources, the legitimacy of the network as an entity that is recognizable to both insiders and outsiders, and the legitimacy of the network as an interaction that builds trust among the members as stated above (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006).

The fourth element ensues from this legitimacy and is the created bonds of **shared commitment**, which enable participants to cross the organisational, sectoral, and/or jurisdictional boundaries that previously separated them and commit to a shared path (Emerson et al., 2012). The level of commitment can differ in various situations. Commitment is explicitly related to the original motivation to participate in collaborative governance. But stakeholders may wish to participate in order to make sure their perspective is not neglected. By contrast, commitment to the process means developing a belief that good faith bargaining for mutual gains is the best way to achieve desirable policy outcomes. Yet, commitment to collaboration can still require a very significant psychological shift (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

3.2.2.3 Capacity for joint action

The first element of the capacity for joint action is **procedural and institutional arrangements**, this encloses the range of process protocols and organisational structures necessary to manage repeated interactions over time (Emerson et al., 2012). Collaborative networks are more dynamic and fluid than those found in traditional bureaucracies, because of the ambiguity and complexity that is inherent in collaborations (Bryson et al., 2006). Cohousing does also need a change in government policy, which could destabilize systems in the way housing is normally organized. Hence, it asks for a rearrangement in structures of ties among members. The process protocols and organisational structures that are seen as legitimate for traditional housing could be less legitimate or even illegitimate from the perspective of cohousing. So in the end the way how the procedural and institutional arrangements evolve determine in what extent collaborations can agree on essential elements (Bryson et al., 2006).

The second element in capacity for joint action is **leadership**. Leadership is crucial for setting and maintaining clear ground rules, building trust, facilitating dialogue, and exploring mutual gains (Ansell & Gash, 2008). Collaboration provide various different roles for leaders. Formal leadership might include a coordinator of a collaborative or a project director. To be effective, these people need formal and informal authority, long term commitment to the collaboration, integrity, and relational a political skills (Bryson et al., 2006). Informal leadership is also important throughout a collaboration, since participants often cannot rely on clear-cut, easily enforced, centralized direction. To cope with leadership changes, it is important to build in ways to sustain the collaboration during those changes in leadership. Leadership can emerge in distinctive roles, two key leadership roles are ‘sponsors’ and ‘champions’. By ‘champion’ it is about a person who is a tireless, promoter of the change effort. While on the other hand, a ‘sponsor’ is less involved in the process, but deploys authority, money, or connections to move the change effort forward (Crosby & Bryson, 2010). Leadership can be an external driver, an essential ingredient of collaborative governance itself, and a significant outgrowth of collaboration.

The third element is **knowledge**. Emerson et al. (2012) argue that knowledge is the currency of collaboration. In this framework, the term knowledge refers to shared knowledge that has been

weighed, processed, and integrated with the values and judgements of all participants. Shared knowledge has not to be confused with data whereas this refers to discrete, objective facts and it has not to be confused with information whereas this is a message in the form of a document or an visual or audible communication. Knowledge however, is more action oriented and has two dimensions: explicit knowledge, which can be communicated easily in words, numbers and/or drawings, and tacit knowledge, which is embedded in the senses, intuition, and individual perceptions. To conclude, knowledge management is the process of bringing together explicit and tacit knowledge and displaying and manifesting it which happens in collaborations (Agranoff, 2006). With transfer of knowledge, municipalities can support communication regarding cohousing. However, municipalities does need a proper structure and policy to obtain this transfer which is sometimes still missing (Droste, 2015).

Resources are the finishing element of the capacity of joint action. Useful resources may include funding, time, technical and logical support, organisational and administrative assistance, requisite skills for analyses and needed expertise. Power can also be seen as a resource and, is almost always distributed unevenly across participants which is also the case in cohousing projects. Resource disparities can create barriers to engagement. Through the collaborative dynamics, these resources can be leveraged and redistributed as shared resources to affect the common goals of the collaborative governance regime (Emerson et al., 2012). In cohousing the mentioned resources are playing a significant role in the efficacy and legitimacy of the collaboration.

3.2.3 Measurable variables

Here the dimensions and the definitions of the theories are summarised which are retrieved from the literature. The dimensions are going to be used in the empirical research and the definitions of the dimensions will be translated into a set of questions which are going to be used in the interviews (see also appendix C). In this way, it is possible to describe and measure the theories that are used in the research.

Table 2: Operationalisation per variable

Theory + additional elements	**Dimensions**	**Definitions**
Policy arrangement approach		
	Actors	Involved persons and parties as well as coalitions and/or oppositions of stakeholders.
	Resources	A set of tools which can be used by the actors and are divided among them.
	Rules	A set of explicit regulations and principles procedure within cohousing. Rules can be formal as well as informal.
	Discourses	The views and narratives of the actors involved -in terms of norms and values, definitions of problems and approaches to solutions.

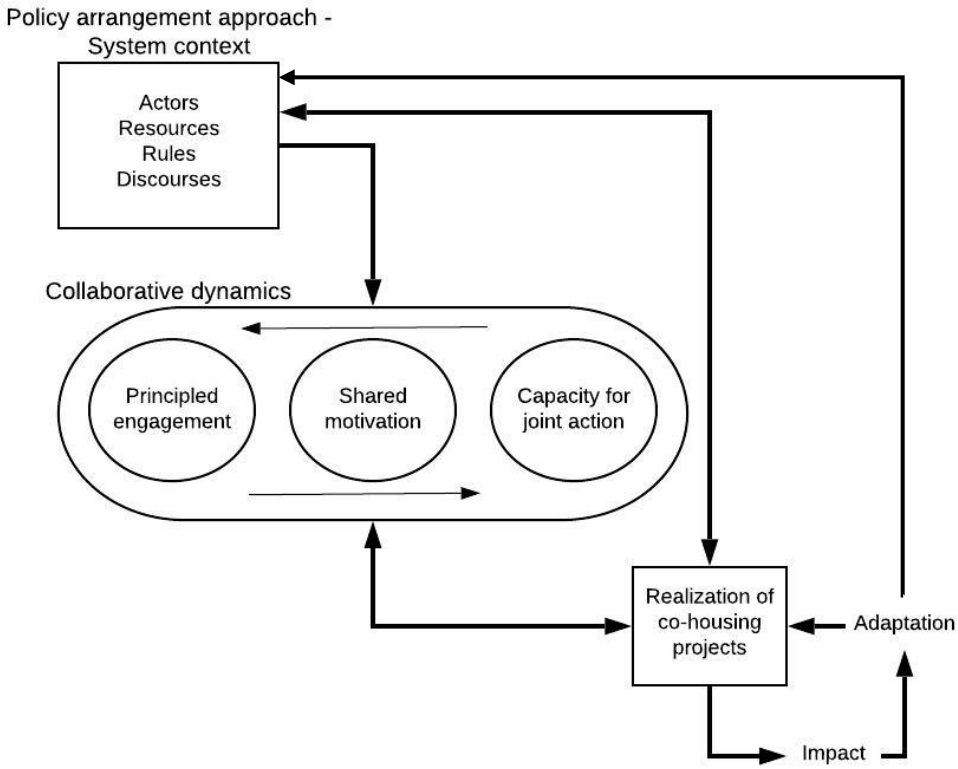
Collaboration dynamics		
Principled engagement	Discovery	The revealing of individual and shared interests, concerns and values.
	Definition	The effort to build shared meaning by articulating common objectives.
	Deliberation	Reasoned communication.
	Determination	Composing procedural decisions.
Shared motivation	Trust	To prove to each participant that they are reasonable and predictable.
	Mutual understanding	Appreciate differences in others.
	Internal legitimacy	The confirmation that participants are trustworthy and credible.
	Shared commitment	Engagement to the process of collaboration.
Capacity for joint action	Procedural and institutional arrangements	The range of protocols and organisational structures.
	Leadership	The capacity to guide a process.
	Knowledge	Information combined with understanding and capability.
	Resources	Funding, time, expertise and technical support.

3.2.3 Conceptual model

In the conceptual model, the theory of the policy arrangement approach and the collaborative governance regime will be the foundation to investigate cohousing from a planning perspective. In the model, first the 4 dimensions of the policy arrangement approach are displayed, as they give an organized overview of the system context in which cohousing is situated. The system context is linked with the collaborative dynamics, in the model of Emerson et al. (2012) a set of drivers is necessary for a collaborative governance regime to begin and to give a direction of the CGR. In this conceptual model, the link between the system context and the collaborative dynamics also contains those drivers, but they will not specially be elaborated. The main focus however, lies on the collaborative dynamics. The collaborative dynamics determines mainly how a CGR is developing. In the model, the collaborative dynamics is divided in the already stated three dimensions. The dimensions within collaborative dynamics are cyclical as well as iterative interactions and, hence, they are displayed together with two unattached arrows in it. The collaborative dynamics leads eventually to collaborative actions which can be seen as the major outcome of the process. In this case, it is called ‘the realization of cohousing projects’. The collaborative processes lead towards a realization of these cohousing initiatives. However, the realization is not always the same over time because the realization of cohousing initiatives causes impacts and these impacts can establish potential transformative change as adaptions. The last feature of the conceptual model is that the model can be

seen as an adaptive feedback loop. This provides an orienting space for the study of adaption within both the system context and the collaborative dynamics (Emerson et al., 2012).

Figure 8: Conceptual model (own creation)



4. Methodology

4.1 Research strategy

4.1.1 Research philosophy

A research philosophy is one of the three design's components of a research. The philosophy of a research consists of ontology and epistemology and affects the research concerning the role of the researcher himself within the study (Graue, 2015).

The philosophy of science incorporates all kind of assumptions and inquiry beliefs that reflects a logical primacy of the ontology, epistemology, and methodology of scientific research. The ontological questions examine the form and nature of social reality or things that comprise reality and what can be known about it. Ontological positions describe what entities exist or can be said to exist and also what kind of relationships exists among basic categories of being (Slevitch, 2011). The ontological issue relates to the idea of multiple realities. This is caused by the fact that individuals embrace different realities. Evidence of multiple realities includes the use of various forms of evidence in situations using the actual words of different individuals and presenting different perspectives (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

Epistemological answers are constrained by the answer already given to the ontological question. So after the establishment of the process of knowing, epistemology questions will give an insight in the theory of knowledge concerned with the nature and the scope of knowledge (Slevitch, 2011).
For a researcher, it is important to conduct studies in the 'field', to create an understanding of the context the participant. By studying in the 'field', the qualitative researcher (the investigator) tries to minimalize the objective separateness (Creswell & Poth, 2016). According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), typical epistemological questions are: *How do we know what we know?* And *What is the nature of the relationship between the investigator and what can be known?*
Consequently, epistemology assumptions lead to the question: how can one investigate whatever he or she believes to be known? Methodology is a theoretical and philosophical system that structures the way research is conducted (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).
Any scientific inquiry is based on a particular paradigm. A paradigm can be described as a cognitive perspective or a set of shared beliefs to which a particular discipline adheres (Slevitch, 2011). Inquiry paradigms define for inquires what it is they are about, and what falls within and outside the limits of legitimate inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The summary of responses of the three fundamental questions define those inquiry paradigms.
In this research, the paradigm of constructivism (often called interpretivism) entails the most suitable presuppositions about the ontological and epistemological questions regarding collaborative governance in relation to cohousing. The paradigm in this research is mostly focused on the social side of the spectrum, where the reality is formed through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals live (Creswell & Poth, 2016). More specifically, the constructivist paradigm assumes multiple, apprehendable, and sometimes conflicting social realities that are the products of human intellects, but that may change as their constructors become more informed and sophisticated. The knowledge is created in interaction among investigator and respondents, which allows for a deeper understanding of the research phenomenon. Through a dialogue, the reconstruction of previously held constructions is aimed (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).
Furthermore, when speaking about cohousing, from a constructivist point of view there is need to reorient the policies. An 'outside-in' approach is needed, where this approach is mentioning human and non-human subjects, relevant actors, factors and institutional settings in an evolutionary network (Boelens & Visser, 2011). Also, the integrative framework of collaborative governance ask for a constructivist approach, because with this framework it is possible to understand the different perceptions and interactions between the actors involved in the collaborative governance of cohousing initiatives. Moreover, the integrative framework of collaborative governance integrates knowledge about individual incentives and barriers to collective action, collaborative social learning and conflict resolution processes, and institutional arrangements for cross-boundary collaboration what means that reality is socially constructed and can change constantly (Emerson et al., 2012).

4.1.2 Research approach

This research philosophy is leading to a particular research strategy. To determine a suitable research strategy, it is important to know how to answer the research questions in the best way possible, because a research strategy is a main guideline for a research (Bryman, 2012). In this research

cohousing practices will be placed in a spatial planning context implying an institutional context of cohousing practices. Whereas some aspects can be presented in quantitative terms (e.g. frequency of collaboration, finance), most aspects are preferable measured qualitatively because the cohousing practices are constantly changing due to various internal and external factors. Therefore, quantitative research is not the best choice so, as already mentioned various times before, the research will be conducted in a qualitative way. With this approach, you are able to talk directly to the policymakers and the involved stakeholders to get an understanding of the mechanisms and linkages in the integrative framework of collaborative governance.
There are different qualitative approaches to use. In this research, particularly the case study approach will be used. To find out how the planning policies interact with cohousing projects it is necessary to seek in depth in different cases. Case study research is defined as an approach in which the investigator explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system(s) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (Creswell & Poth, 2016).
Furthermore, the main type of the case study used does have an explanatory character. Explanatory case studies try to investigate causal relationships, hence they are mainly used for theory testing (Baskarada, 2014). In this research, the integrative framework of collaborative governance will be tested on the phenomenon of cohousing. Because of the existence of this theory and the retest in a new context, deductive analyses will be used. On the basis of this theory, the policy side of cohousing projects is going to be reviewed. The policy field of cohousing could be different in terms of collaborative governance regimes, so it is interesting to use this framework to conclude whether or not this is true. In the end the aim is how the municipality can realize cohousing initiatives, and this framework in combination with the policy arrangement approach will give a structured answer to this.

4.2 Research design

4.2.1 Multiple case study

As already stated in the chapter of the research strategy, a case study research is going to be used. This method is necessary to give a clear answer to the main and sub-questions. In addition to (Creswell & Poth, 2016), Yin (2009) argues that a case study research starts from a particular compelling feature: the desire to derive an in-depth understanding of a single or small number of ‘cases’, set in their real-world context. The closeness aims to produce an invaluable but complex understanding, resulting in new learning about real-world behaviour. More specifically, a multiple-case studies is going to be used which enables the researcher to explore differences within and between cases. Hereby, the collected data will be more confidence in a study’s finding. Because of those comparisons between the different cases, it is imperative that the cases are chosen carefully so that it is easier to indicate similarities across cases or indicate difference (Baxter & Jack, 2008). In the chapter of data collection, those choses will be further elaborated.

A case study method begins with identifying the case that is to be the subject of study, the case serves as the main unit of analyses in a case study. The main unit that is going to be investigated is the policy about cohousing initiatives. In total three different municipalities are going to be studied.

Also, it will be an embedded case study what means that there are several units of analyses present in a single case. The case of policy regarding cohousing initiatives involves different parties who are collaborating. There is some collaboration within the governmental organisations. But more important, cohousing initiatives inquires intergovernmental cooperation and place-based regional collaboration with nongovernmental stakeholders. All those different stakeholders have their own perspective on the case, in the end the stakeholders will cooperate so an integral approach will be useful.

4.2.1 Data collection

In this study, qualitative methods are going to be used for data collection to obtain relevant information. First literature will be used to get the theoretical insights which will lead to connections between the phenomena of collaborative governance and the policy about cohousing initiatives. Also, the literature on cohousing initiatives will be evaluated and aspects that are relevant for governmental organisations will be organized in a way they help to get insights in the organisational part. An advantage of specialist literature as a knowledge source is that in many areas profound insights have already been acquired, eliminating the necessity to start all over again. Hereby it is important to get new knowledge and insights out of the existing literature so that it can be useful for further defining the perspective that is chosen (Verschuren, Doorewaard, & Mellion, 2010).

Another source that is important to study that provide information or knowledge are documents. In this case, those documents will mostly include policy documents of governmental organisations regarding housing or specifically cohousing. Municipalities for example do sometimes have policy documents that contain their ambitions on housing or some strict ‘rules’ about housing initiatives of citizens. Those documents are very helpful to get some background information before starting in-depth interviews to examine the underlying ideas of those documents.

The last but most important source of collecting data will be the people. In social science research the main sources of information are individuals, those people can provide a very wide diversity of information and the information can be gathered in a relatively quick way (Verschuren et al., 2010). The main goal is to use the people as an informant while the persons provide information about the policy of an organisation or a belief/goals of a cohousing initiative. Those people are stakeholders who are involved in a cohousing initiative in a particular municipality. This always include a representative from the municipality who is involved in the cohousing projects and knows about the policy arrangements and the collaboration between the different stakeholders. As stated, other stakeholders will also be interviewed because they can give a holistic view of the collaborative dynamics. They can confirm or refute things the municipality is saying about the valuation of various collaborative dynamic dimensions.

Interviews seems to be the most relevant method, given the exploring character of the case study and the complexity of the using theoretical frameworks. The semi-structured way of interviewing derives from the use of the interpretivist approach, in this way the predetermined themes are more flexible and contingent on what each participant will be saying. In this case, the order in which the questions will be asked will be varry depending on the flow of the conversation and the data shared which is going to be shared (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009).

4.2.2 Validity and reliability

Both reliability and validity are essentially concerned with the adequacy of measures, which are most obviously a concern in quantitative research. Although, in qualitative research as well they can have an added value.

Reliability is concerned with the question whether the results of a study are repeatable. Reliability in relation to findings derived from semi-structured interviews are not necessarily intended to be repeatable since they reflect reality at the time they were collected, in a situation which may be subject to change (Bryman, 2012). To make the results of the research repeatable it is very important to explain the research design, the reasons underpinning the choice of strategy and methods, and how the data were obtained very clearly. So that it is possible to let other researchers understand the processes used in this research to carry out a repeatable research to find same results when using the same case (Saunders et al., 2009).

A further important quality criterion is validity. Validity is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research. If the study is conducted by someone else, she/he should be able to draw the same conclusions (Bryman, 2012).

Semi-structured interviews can achieve a high level of internal validity were conducted carefully using clarifying questions, probing meanings and by exploring responses from a variety of perspectives (Saunders et al., 2009). Also, triangulation could also be seen as an effective instrument for gaining an overall and holistic picture of the research object. The focus of this research is not to aim at a complete external validity. The focus is on achieving in depth knowledge for the city of Nijmegen in particular, so it is more difficult to apply the results to a broader population of interest or to similar cases.

The literature research and the theories as described earlier provide both understanding and handles to execute this semi-structured interviews. The theory of the policy arrangement approach and the collaborative governance regime and in particular collaborative dynamics are the foundation of the comparative analyses. The dimensions will be used as an item list for the interviews in this research.

5. Case selection

5.1 Relevant case studies

As stated, 3 other municipalities than the municipality of Nijmegen will be researched in depth. The reason for this is that those in depth case studies can give an insight in the collaborative governance regarding cohousing which, in turn, could give some valuable advices for Nijmegen. Cases with relatively a high number of cohousing projects and municipalities with a (relatively) big civil service are the most interesting one. They have some experience with cohousing initiatives and they might have the resources to realise some policy. The selection of those cases is sorted in an organized way and the choices are made stepwise to find the most interesting cases.

Every cohousing project differ, but distinguish can be made between rural and urban cohousing projects. In urban cohousing the projects have to be more integral with the surroundings. It is always situated in a neighbourhood, and there is also a sort of density to take into account. Therefore, coordination and regulation could be more important. With this in mind, a selection is made of municipalities with equal or more citizens than the municipality of Nijmegen (177.660 citizens).

For the municipalities which have more than 177.660 citizens the cohousing projects per municipality are calculated. The main data source is the Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen. Here a lot of cohousing projects are affiliated. An important remark is, that these are not all the cohousing projects that are realised in the Netherlands. Also, for not every cohousing project the number of households are known. However, this gives a sufficient starting point to select 3 municipalities as case studies for this research.

The rows that are marked green are the municipalities with the highest percentage of cohousing unites in comparison with the housing stock. The municipalities of Amsterdam, 's-Gravenhage and Utrecht do relatively have the most cohousing units.

Table 3: Municipalities with more than 177.660 citizens (CBS, 2020)

Municipality	Citizens	Housing stock	Cohousing projects	Cohousing unites[1]	% cohousing projects (in comparison with housing stock)
Amsterdam	872.760	447.350	112	1.680	0,38%
Rotterdam	651.160	315.570	38	685	0,22%
's-Gravenhage (municipality)	545.840	262.490	56	1.055	0,40%
Utrecht (municipality)	357.600	156.680	63	700	0,44%
Eindhoven	234.390	112.970	12	215	0,19%
Groningen (municipality)	232.870	116.450	25	230	0,20%
Tilburg	219.790	100.420	10	70	0,07%

[1] Roughly estimated cohousing unites, not all units are known.

Almere	2118.930	85.980	3	50	0,06%
Breda	184.070	84.570	5	80	0,09%
Nijmegen	177.660	81.720	78	530	0,65%

Furthermore, the policy of the municipalities have to include certain aspects of sustainability and for this research it is also interesting that they have some sort of policy regarding cohousing initiatives. The sustainability aspect is important, while this vision is still very important in Nijmegen. The municipality of Nijmegen was the Green Capital of Europe in 2018 and they still have the sustainability aspect high on their list. Although Nijmegen has already many cohousing projects according to 'Vereniging Gemeenschappelijk Wonen', a policy document and a straightforward approach is still missing as stated before in the first chapter of this research. Each of the marked municipalities have been researched through a literature review. The conclusion of this literature review is that the selected municipalities have various interesting (similar and opposite) aspects which can be answering the questions of this research and thereby can give interesting insights for the municipality of Nijmegen. Below is a short case study description per selected municipality:

Amsterdam

The city of Amsterdam is saying in their coalition agreement of 2018 that they are going to focus on new housing concepts such as friends-housing and other housing concepts where facilities can be shared (gemeente Amsterdam, 2018). At the moment, Amsterdam is also working on the concept of housing cooperatives which is relatively new in the Netherlands. This is an interesting concept to look at, because here future citizens of a project determine together how they want to manage their estate in the rental sector. Housing cooperatives can contribute to the growing demand of affordable houses in the city. In 2019, they made a document called 'Actieplan wooncooperaties' in where they explained what the role of this new housing form is and how it contributes to the housing problems in the city. In May 2020 they came with an 'eindrapport Kwartiermaker'. In this document the ambitions were set clearer which has led to further more concrete proposals on the subjects: locations, formal rules, finance, practice development. Furthermore, the municipality of Amsterdam has clear outlines for initiatives on their website in forms of a map with available building plots and other sufficient policy documents and visions.

Additionally, Amsterdam is also aiming for 'sustainable building in Amsterdam' which is mainly intended for project developers, architects and other stakeholders which play a role with the development and the architecture of a building. The basic principle for this new developments is that they contribute to a more sustainable city.

In the case of Amsterdam, there are also different stakeholders which are involved in the process of cohousing. The first stakeholder is !WOON, this is a supporting institute and it helps and give advises towards citizens regarding problems and taking initiatives in and around the house. This independent consultancy firm (the organisation is financed by municipalities, funds and housing corporations) is a direct link between the municipality and the people who are taking initiatives on cohousing projects.

In terms of initiatives, there are different interesting housing cooperatives who are in the middle of the collaboration process. They can give some insight and give a value judgement towards the current collaborative dynamics between the municipality and their party.

‘s Gravenhage

In the Woonvisie of The Hague is little less said about cohousing. What is said is that with collective approaches economies of scale appears towards sustainability. This collectively has to be organised. In their vision, they argue that they give away at least one location towards CPC projects (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019). Furthermore, on the website of the municipality a webpage and a brochure is committed to CPC projects. Here, information is added on which steps an initiative have to take to participate in the process. At the moment the municipality has one specific location open for a building group. In a recent study of SVH (2018) shows that one third of the people who are looking for housing have some sort of interest in collective housing.

In 2019, a research took place about cohousing specifically for elderly. A reason for this is that The Hague tells relatively a lot of elderly cohousing projects. One part of their research was a focus on the governance of the cohousing projects. Therefore, they interviewed different stakeholders. As a recommendation they argue that the governance problems in cohousing for elderly can be obviated by the support of volunteers or by offering of board training courses. The whole research is focused towards cohousing for elderly, therefore it is interesting to have a more in depth look into the collaborative governance system of cohousing seen from a planning perspective.

In the case of The Hague, there are also different stakeholders which are involved in the process of cohousing. An important stakeholder is ‘Centrum Groepswonen’. As stated on their website “they have the ambition to become a spider in the web and operate from a rich tradition of cohousing in The Hague”. They also advise the municipality about cohousing projects.

Utrecht

In the Woonvisie of Utrecht it is stated that one of the goals is to stimulate and facilitate maximum control of their citizens on their housing. They say that in the past years, they have experimented with CPC projects. They specifically mention the project ‘Veemarkt’. Also in the rental sector they admit that there is a certain demand towards more control and ownership of housing. At the moment, Utrecht is not working with housing cooperatives, but they stated that in the future they will have a look at this specific type of cohousing. In the Woonvisie of 2019 they argue that new housing has to be healthy, liveable and sustainable. Also, the availability of affordable housing is central in the Woonvisie (2019), this can also be linked towards cohousing.

Another argument for the municipality to stimulate cohousing initiatives are the different preferences of various target groups. Those preferences do not always match with traditional housing and therefore some space has to be made for innovative housing concepts.

Ten years ago, Utrecht wanted to realise a prestigious sustainable neighbourhood with 'innovative participation' named the Veemarkt. The neighbourhood is now almost completely finished and in 2018 the site 'Gebiedsontwikkeling' has already evaluated in what extent the goals has been realised. A short summary is that the project is still very sustainable and the participation process has worked really well. There are also some lessons learned to be mentioned. The first one is that you better can let sustainable demands grow with the development of technology and costs. The second one is the question if a cheaper plan process will have the same result.

5.2 Selection of different stakeholders

As mentioned before, the generalisation of findings is not a goal of this research, but to get a holistic idea a selection of different actors per case study is made. Within the case study of Amsterdam, a project manager at the 'land and development' section of the municipality of Amsterdam will be interviewed. This person is part of a team specifically concerned with cohousing projects (such as housing cooperation 'De Warren'). Also, 'De Warren' as the first housing cooperation in Amsterdam will be interviewed. Besides those two actors interviews are going to be held with the director of an external consulting organisation (!WOON), a consultant at a housing corporation who is also involved in cohousing (Rochdale) and a policy officer regarding housing in the metropolitan region of Amsterdam working for the province of Noord-Holland. Within the case study of The Hague an interview is going to be held with a policy officer regarding housing of the municipality of The Hague who was involved with cohousing projects. Also, an interview was held with the director of an external consulting organisation (Centrumgroepswonen) and with a senior relation manager at Triodosbank who also financed a cohousing project in The Hague. Within the case study of Utrecht an interview is going to be held with the 'quartermaster cohousing' of the municipality of Utrecht. Also, one of the founders of a CPC project named 'De Kersentuin' is going to be interviewed. This is a big CPC project (94 households) including social housing. Housing corporation Portaal participated in the project as well, therefore a consultant within Portaal is going to be interviewed. Beside the three in depth case studies a lot of other interviews will be held with relevant stakeholder in the field of cohousing. Some have more knowledge about resources (provinces, external advisors) and some other municipalities have some unique collaboration ideas which are also interesting for Nijmegen. A list of all the interviewed actors is stated in Appendix A. Including the specific relevance of each interviewed person for this research. In combination with document studies, the interviews are used for the main findings and for answering the (sub)questions. In the following chapters references are made to the interviews[2]. For reasons of privacy the interviews will be indicated by numbers which are linked to a certain person (see also appendix A).

[2] The interviews were held in Dutch so the quotes in this research are translated to English.

6. Findings

In chapter 2, the literature review, the first research question is explained. In light of what cohousing includes and how the policy arrangement approach and collaborative dynamics theory relate to the cohousing phenomenon, this chapter answers the other two sub-questions through qualitative research (with the main focus on the interviews). In this chapter, the main research findings are presented. Firstly, it presents the systemic context of cohousing in municipalities, including actors, resources, rules, and discourse dimensions. Secondly, the results of the research into the collaborative dynamics of cohousing initiatives and how they differ per municipality are presented.

6.1 Policy Arrangement Approach

To understand the collaborative dynamics in the case studies, it is important to first understand the policy processes in the municipalities as well as the context of the local systems. That systemic context differs according to each case study. In this section, the four elements of the policy arrangement approach – and specifically the differences and similarities – are, discussed. Sometimes the cases are supplemented with examples of other municipalities that were interviewed as well. This supplementation creates a broader scope for different kinds of policies that relate to cohousing.

6.1.1 The roles of actors

The number of actors and their roles in the field of cohousing differ according to each case study in this research. In this regard, it is essential to analyse who is involved in various cohousing projects and to understand the roles of different actors in order to understand the policy processes (Leroy & Arts, 2006). Firstly, the **national government** of the Netherlands plays an inactive role regarding cohousing initiatives – in particular, the RVO (Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland), which is part of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate. Within the RVO, there was an expert team (called Expertteam Eigenbouw), which was established by the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (BZK) and the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG). The expert team had the greatest involvement with cohousing initiatives. The expert team itself does not exist but is merged into the RVO. They do not interact with the cohousing initiatives themselves. Although they are a source of information for municipalities and housing associations, the information is more general. Because of their passive and non-committal roles, their direct impact is modest (interview 13). It is efficient to use the information as a reference if the municipality or housing associations do not have the information themselves. A remarkable fact is that the expert team is known only by provinces and external advisors but not directly by most municipalities.

The provinces of the Netherlands are also promoting cohousing initiatives. Some provinces in the Netherlands give the opportunity for cohousing initiatives (e.g. CPC projects) to get a subsidy for their plans. Only the costs related to cohousing initiatives in the preliminary phase of a project are eligible. The website of the RVO states that the subsidy is primarily for the following:

- The establishment of a legal entity for the realisation of a CPC project;
- Hiring a joint process supervisor and/or advisor;
- A collective design and construction drawing (architect, contractor);

- Other costs arising from the collective or collective elements in the preliminary phase.

Only the provinces of Gelderland and Noord-Brabant still subsidises CPC projects. Moreover, the role of the province is a bit passive. The interviewee of the province of Gelderland describes the role by saying, ‘The subsidy is more a means to an end. It is about how to transfer knowledge about CPC and how to inspire people’ (interview 7, p. 2). The role of the province has changed over the last few years. In 2018 they noticed that with the current regulations, only a few applications came in. After the evaluation, they made the regulations more simple and holistic, and they raised the subsidy. Another change is that they now have a more digital and active role. They started a forum where people can share their experiences and where the municipality can share their findings. The ultimate goal of the province is to share information.

The most important actors in the process of cohousing initiatives are the **municipalities**. Other than in the Netherlands, in Germany, demands for support for cohousing initiatives are usually directed first to local politicians and then to municipal administrators (Droste, 2015). Indeed, all 6 municipalities researched are facilitators of cohousing initiatives. The municipalities recognise that simply building more houses is not going to solve the housing shortage. Some of them agree that we have to be more creative with the living area (interviews 1,2,3,4) . Especially in cities, where other markets function differently than in rural areas, such creativity takes courage. The municipality, as an actor, is able to take on different roles – from a very passive one to a very active and assertive one –. The interviews show that simply being a facilitator does not directly lead to a successful collaboration in creating cohousing. The collaboration dynamics vary per municipality.

In the literature on cohousing, **external advisors** are not often mentioned as an important actor. Nevertheless, they were mentioned multiple times in this research. These external advisors are often in direct contact with the initiatives (i.e. they are hired by the initiative). One of the interviewed external advisors used a metaphor about a tugboat to explain their role, ‘As an advisor we are the small tugboat who has to lead the big boat safely into the harbour’ (interview 15, p. 2). The respondent explained that the group is in the lead but that, as an external advisor, it is necessary to push the group in a certain direction. This research made it clear that external advisors are almost indispensable because they facilitate a more efficient and effective process.

Furthermore, some **housing associations** also deal with cohousing projects. In essence, the role of the housing association as a private non-profit organisation differs from that of other governmental organisations. They operate on the basis of registration and are supervised by the national government. Although housing associations work within a legal framework set up by the state, they are independent organisations, setting their own objectives and bearing their own financial responsibilities. The role of housing associations is especially important when pursuing affordable housing. For example, the housing association Portaal is active in Nijmegen as well as in Utrecht. Portaal has deliberately started experimenting with other forms of housing, like cohousing. They did not wait for new policies to come into force; they took the lead in experimenting. However, for each project, they

interact and make arrangements with the municipality. An important factor that arose in the interview with Portaal is that any housing implementation has to be a common decision (interview 18).

The banks do not play a specific role in the collaboration process of a cohousing initiative, but they do have a role in the first phase of a project. The initiative itself often does not have sufficient resources to independently fund a whole collective housing project. Thereby, the difficulty for those groups is that traditional banks may be wary of innovative funding models and do not offer mortgages for CPC projects, for example.

The most crucial actors are the **cohousing initiatives** themselves. This is not a strictly defined group. The case studies show that (successful) groups differ in size and formation. In some cases, the group of initiatives is already formed when starting the collaboration process with the municipality, but in other cases, the municipality organises open applications for individuals. For example, in one study (Beck, 2020), empirical data show that cohousing groups are often created through social media, which advertises the project and encourages people to join. Besides planning, deciding on values, and taking decisions, the group must self-organise and adopt by-laws and rules. The conclusion of that study was that it does not matter when a group is formed. The most important aspect is the like-mindedness of individuals.

6.1.2 Resources that are used

In addition to actors, different kinds of resources are used to realise cohousing projects. Firstly, an important resource is funding, which could come from higher levels of government (like the province) or directly from the municipality. The most important financial resource is the subsidy for the initiative itself. For example, with subsidies from the province of Gelderland, initiatives are able to hire expertise from external advisors who organise and structure the plan before sending it to the municipality. In the last few years, there has been a shift from subsidies for constructions subsidies that subsidy expertise (interview 7, p. 5). The case studies show that subsidies that require one to obtain knowledge from an external advisor are more valuable than subsidies without any terms and conditions. CPC project ‘De Getijden’ in Nijmegen stated, ‘When you build your own house, you also don’t get any extra subsidy, so it’s fair that we as a group don’t get one as well. A form of easier regulations regarding pre-financing or some help from the municipality (in the form off a process manager who knows the national subsidies) would be very helpful, even necessary maybe’ (interview 9, p. 7).

So, on the one hand, subject-matter expertise is important for cohousing projects. It starts with the fact that most initiatives do not know where to start or how to ask for information. The ‘kwartiermaker’ of the municipality of Utrecht mentioned the following challenge: ‘In the extent of the dissemination of knowledge, a lot of stakeholders do not know where to obtain this. Now there are a lot of different platforms to obtain this knowledge (like Platform31, Woonkoop, the municipality itself) which makes the process more inefficient’ (interview 3, p. 11). On the other hand, the interviews revealed that municipalities also do not know the possibilities for the initiatives. Because cohousing is a niche market and because many municipalities are pursuing their first project, they lack frameworks for

implementation. When expertise is not available, some municipalities, like Amsterdam and The Hague, refer directly to their external advisors (!WOON and Centrumgroepswonen). In this way, an initiative can be helped relatively quickly, and experience shows that this is a positive element for the overall collaboration process.

Another form of expertise, besides subject-matter expertise, is expertise about the process. Having the knowledge available to ensure the right steps are taken is also essential for a successful collaboration process in cohousing. For an effective process, it is important that different stakeholders know how the process is organised. This knowledge could come from governmental parties, external partners, or the initiatives themselves. For example, some municipalities, like Amsterdam, have created an online platform for initiatives where they can find (and share) information regarding cohousing projects. This is an easy platform to reach , and it is a good first step to setting up a collaboration. The case studies show that, in the end, a lack of knowledge is one of the main reasons a project does not succeed.

6.1.3 Influence of rules

Besides those resources, laws, regulations, and agreements influence the performance of the collaborative governance process *(*Arts et al., 2006*)* because rules either empower or limit actors. The literature distinguishes formal and informal rules and observes that rules are present on both a local and national level. Firstly, regarding the national level, no rules directly affect collaborative governance. The main national law on housing in the Netherlands is the Woningwet 2015, in which only the most advanced form of collective housing is mentioned: the housing cooperation. The legislation gives the cooperation a number of rights and gives residents the possibility to become the ‘collective owner’ (art. 18a, Woningwet). At the local scale, though, rules have significant impact on the governance of cohousing. The municipality is responsible for the enforcement of laws and regulations. Besides various actors and financial resources, the rules are most impactful for the collaboration process. The rules within a collaboration process consist of the tender process, planning procedures (e.g. zoning plan), building requirements, and rules about financing. In the collaboration process it works best if the rules do not change. As BIEB stated, ‘for aspects such as transparency and a defined processing time it is important to not change the rules of the game during the process’ (interview 15, p. 10). Vague rules lead to delays, and with delays, it is possible that some governmental legislation or requirements can change over time (e.g. changing building requirements about energy, water storage, etc.). Such delays, therefore, are not helpful for the success of a cohousing initiative.

Rules about building requirements and aesthetics are a separate discussion. The extent to which a municipality meets building requirements is important for the duration and success of the process. First, within the organisation of the municipality, there is a discussion about private commissioning and building without restrictions (*welstandsvrij bouwen*). All interviewed municipalities think specifically about the demands to be met by groups. It is a dilemma to create, on the one hand, strict requirements that fit into the surrounding area while, on the other hand, allowing an initiative to be free to come up with its own design. An external advisor gave the following advice, ‘make a zoning plan that is strict but explainable and logical. But do not create an entire design or façade regulations’

(interview 13, p. 11). Those sets of rules can be oppressive. It is a given that a collective initiative cares about the aesthetics of the property. The aesthetic or symbolic value of the estate is also related to its economic value in terms of the financial investment made by residents in purchasing a house there (Cheshire, Rosenblatt, Larence and Walters, 2009).

6.1.4 Discourses of cohousing

Apart from those rules, analysing the discourses present in a system's context – and more specifically, in the collaborative dynamics – is necessary to completely understand collaborative governance (Emerson et al., 2012). Cohousing is embedded in different discourses. Each case study shows that each municipality has its own strategy to tackle the housing crisis, and each finds a way to fit cohousing into this strategy to fulfil sustainable goals. As Scheller and Thörn (2018) stated, analyses of the discourse on sustainable urban development are often theoretically driven or based on analyses of municipal policy declarations or statements made by planners and policymakers. The present research shows that such discourses affect how cohousing is put into practice. First, all governmental stakeholders agreed that policy and, more importantly, governmental capacity are important for collective initiatives. As also seen in Almere, it all starts with the mindset of the local government (they facilitated the ultimate form of self-building). The municipal council must have the mindset that people are also full-fledged developers. With this mindset, the people working for the government are able to make policy around it. As an interviewed external advisor said: 'You cannot live in policy, but it all starts with good policy' (interview 13, p. 7).

Besides the comprehensive discourse that drives municipalities and influences the collaboration process, the interviewees of the governmental organisations in all the three case studies (interviews 1,2,3) found it positive that people have more influence on their future living environment. This requires the housing stock to be more mixed and available for everyone. This is, however, an area of tension because, on the one hand, the municipalities in the case studies want a housing stock that is as diverse as possible. As one respondent stated, 'A housing market may be so diverse; that is what makes a city beautiful' (interview 3, p. 2). However, it is necessary to have some regulations as a municipality, to take control of which householders have the right to suitable housing.

Another important discourse within the case studies is the belief that collective housing forms make a strong contribution towards social sustainability and liveability. As the interviewee of the municipality of Utrecht stated, 'collective initiatives have a positive impact on the appearance of the surrounding neighbourhoods' (interview 3, p. 3). The Kersentuin in Utrecht agreed. They regulate the public space in and around housing project. As a result, the municipality has to spend less on maintenance. They argue that in this way, the residents of the project are more connected to their neighbours. The only factor the municipality is held responsible for is safety, but in this case it worked out well (interview 12, p. 6). This discourse is, from a policy perspective, an efficient way to implement and support sustainable cohousing projects. The set of sustainable ambitions (especially ecological sustainability) is, however, also on an exciting track because of the financial feasibility of affordable cohousing (social sustainability). A housing corporation that worked on different cohousing projects argued, 'Because of

the national ambitions and the ambitions of municipalities on the implementation of sustainability in housing (such as solar panels and a mandatory a heat pump instead of gas), it is way harder to make projects financially viable' (interview 18, p. 7).

6.2 Collaboration dynamics in cohousing

With that understanding of the policy arrangement approach, in this section, the findings relating to the collaborative dynamics between the municipalities and the involved stakeholders are discussed. As previously explained, collaborative dynamics are the core of the framework of collaborative governance and consist of three interacting components: principled engagement, shared motivation, and capacity for joint action (Emerson et al., 2012). Understanding these components clarifies the collaboration between the stakeholders and the municipality. That collaboration determines the quality and extent of the collaborative action. In this context, it is important to ask what kind of cohousing policy is useful for municipalities. This chapter answers the third research question: What are relevant collaboration dynamics for cohousing initiatives, and how do they differ per municipality?

6.2.1 Principled engagement

Principled engagement occurs iteratively over time. It enables people with differing substantive, relational, and identity goals to collaborate across their respective institutional and sectoral boundaries to solve problems (Emerson, Nabatchi, 2015). In the interviews, questions were asked about how the cohousing policy fits within the general housing policy of the municipality (discovery), how they identify a shared meaning of the cohousing initiatives (definition), how the communication is held (deliberation), and what kind of agreements and decisions fit best to achieve the goal of creating a successful cohousing initiative (determination).

The aspect of **discovery** deals with the identification of shared interests under the principle of cohousing. First, it is relevant to give an insight into the shared interests within a municipality. All the case studies (interviews 1,2,3) show that, from a policy point of view, everyone is thinking about and interested in new forms of housing and how to organise those forms. External advisors BIEB and Urbannerdam argued that policymakers within municipalities don't see cohousing as their primary concern and it is mainly seen as e niche market (interview 13, 15). However, they see in the last few years that a shift has occurred. Municipalities are now more aware of the demand for cohousing initiatives and the advantages of cohousing: 'The demand is valued that it can provide to the neighbourhood in general, think about (social) sustainability and commitment' (interview 3, p.3). An interesting outcome of the case studies is that the municipalities thought they were promoting the same kind of philosophy about cohousing, but in reality, the different departments (spatial planners, developers, district controller) had different ideas and were not on the same page. This can be concluded because two initiatives stated, 'What we encountered were the different services of the municipality and they reacted differently to the plans we had' (interview 9, p. 4).

The main obstacle that creates differences in shared interests is that the municipalities have to deal with a citizen initiative, which encompasses different people with different interests. The main

difference between working with a project developer and a bottom-up initiative is that a project developer has a clear goal and that municipalities know what to expect. With cohousing groups, it is important to create an organised structure so that the interests are clear in advance. The case studies have shown that an external advisor is an important partner in creating a clear story for the other parties, as demonstrated by the following quote from an external advisor, ‘As a member of a cohousing group, you always have your own interest, and then it is very important that someone can assist a group who is responsible for the interest of the project because that person has no self-interest’ (interview 13, p. 2).

Definition, the second aspect of principled engagement, relates back to that of discovery as both try to determine the common ground and goals of the collaboration. However, definition is more about the continuous effort to build shared meaning by articulating a common purpose and common objectives. The cohousing initiatives interviewed in the present study highlighted the importance of the first phase of the collaboration to create a cohousing project in a reasonable time. In this phase, it must be discovered what terms the parties agree to, and consideration must be given to the agreements on social and sustainable goals, housing prices, selection and availability of the land, and the number of houses that are going to be built. These are all important but difficult issues but are nonetheless important to discuss: ‘In the beginning it is important that you don’t focus too much on the quality of a plan […] an action plan is most of the time sufficient to start a conversation’ (interview 13, p. 9).

Searching for common ground and goals for a collaboration also starts the moment an initiative is sent to a municipality or when a municipality creates a public request. Those two ways of working – active or passive participation – determine in large part how the collaboration process is formed. What was clear from the case studies is that it helped the municipality to have a clear selection process and clear quality criteria. That kind of clarity was needed to refute any suggestion of unfair subsidies for private projects or other forms of miscommunication. The case of Amsterdam, for example, shows that the first steps of a miscommunication could be tackled by creating a platform where ideas about cohousing are introduced. Because of this setting, the municipality is clear and transparent about their interests at a very early stage, before even starting a specific collaboration with an initiative. And instead of reacting to the demands of different initiatives, it is possible to create a clear definition that all stakeholders will know, ‘If the goal is that you want that citizens take the ideas up more broadly, then you have to inform the citizens more widely about the phenomenon of housing cooperatives […] to reach not only the ones that already know about it but also the ones for whom it is a new concept’ (interview 14).

This proactive approach towards cohousing initiatives is also effective for dealing with an interesting paradox that comes with the discourse of sustainable urban development. The paradox is that because of all the positive (sustainable) aspects cohousing can create, each policy field brings their own ambitions to the project. Those multiple of ambitions can lead to conflict, which puts pressure on affordability. As the housing corporation involved in cohousing projects stated, ‘It is possible to build

real sustainable houses (with solar panels, heat pumps etc.), but at some point the rental prices will become inaccessible for some of the cohousing candidates' (interview 8, p. 8).

When the definition is clear within the policy of the municipality, the next stage is effective **deliberation**. This stage must surface pertinent information and engage in discussion so that a consensus is forged among conflicting interests. Effective deliberation reflects the properties of dialogue, through which participants develop mutual understanding (Choi & Robertson, 2013). It is important to create appreciation for each other's motivations. This applies to both the initiative group and the municipality. Effective deliberation is undermined if stakeholders intentionally screen out information not compatible with their preferences or if they give less weight to information from another stakeholder. The forms of deliberation differ per case study, especially on aspects such as mutual knowledge, time, and forms of meetings. Centrumgroepswonen argued that the fastest time of a cohousing process was two years but that they also know a cohousing group where the process lasts for almost fourteen years (interview 16). Also, as one external advisor stated, in line with the theory of Choi & Robertson (2013), 'The communication has to be transparent; there should be no hidden agendas or any kind of underlying strategic goals of the municipality' (interview 15, p. 5) . In light of the importance of mutual knowledge, the financial aspects are often seen as obstacles. The three case studies show that agreements about prices should be transparent. Especially because of the competition between project developers and collective initiatives. A common argument from outsiders is that the price of a plot of land is too high. But all the cohousing initiatives interviewed argued that it did not matter if a plot was sold at market-conforming price. The collective housing project in Utrecht, for example, argued that they were able to build the project at market-conforming price but that it was more energy-efficient and had more social facilities than a regular project from a developer (interview 12). The only municipality that had sold plots at a discount was Amsterdam. The other case studies show that this is not necessary. The reason Amsterdam sold the plots at a discount is to put housing cooperatives on the map, but discounted plot sales are in the end a less common cohousing type in the Netherlands (interview 1).

The meetings with the initiatives differ per case study in terms of form and frequency. Some examples show that frequent and open meetings had a positive effect on the quality of collective decisions. One meeting type was speed dates roundtable discussion, which the municipality of The Hague used. This short but intensive form of contact helps the stakeholders driving the initiative to feel heard and to get a lot of information in a short time from the municipal stakeholders (interview 2). Further in the process, it is important to create a level playing field through predetermined rules and forms of collaboration – and more specifically, deliberation. The most important aspect of a collaboration process is to organise a transparent contest where everyone can subscribe. In Amsterdam, for example, they created a '*kaartenbak*', a place where cohousing initiatives could register. When there was a plot available, everyone subscribed to every initiative in the *kaartenbak*. Then they made up some criteria for how cohousing initiatives could earn points. This system was also used in the municipality of Utrecht. They argued that it is hard for the municipality to assess such initiatives. The

solution for this is to make objective criteria: ‘At the front, you have to think carefully about the criteria you assign towards visions of initiatives’ (interview 3, p. 10).

Determination

Lastly, determination deals with the decisions made within the collaboration. In the collaborative housing initiative process, many decisions have to be made. The case studies show some differences with regard to the number of decision-making moments and the qualitative aspects of those decision-making processes. Firstly, it is the most important and difficult moment for a municipality to decide with which initiative they start the collaboration, as discussed above in the principle of ‘discovery’. The present aspect of determination focuses instead on the decisions made after the first commitment. This is most often the moment when the municipality and the cohousing group sign a reservation agreement, after which, the initiative group is in charge of turning ambitions into more concrete plans. In the interviews, different external advisors and municipalities argued that the consensus-building process is the most common factor that can delay decision-making. When a group is organised in a way that everyone has the same right and voice for making decisions, municipalities notice delays in the collaboration process. This creates tension because, from an initiative group's point of view, they argue that the group has to be as democratic as possible. Some initiatives interviewed stated that working with a board and calling some participants of a group ‘members of a board’ is counterproductive to working towards a common goal (interviews 9,11).

Another interesting finding that has to do with how a group is organised is that although participants of a cohousing group often have high ambitions at the beginning of the process, those ambitions sometimes have to be adjusted. In the beginning – before going to a municipality – the cohousing group has full control of the situation and the determination of the ideals of the cohousing project. Then, when in the process of finding a contractor and arranging financing at a bank, some ideas turn out not to be realistic. An external advisor said, ‘Some of the more idealistically driven cohousing groups are more rigid than reality allows’ (interview 13, p. 4). This idealism can cause delays in the collaboration process. A solution for this kind of delay (which emerged from the interviews) is the principle of ‘in or out’. As a municipality, one must be clear about a set of rules. Also, the rules of the game are part of those rules, as already mentioned, as well as setting a clear time schedule for the whole collaboration process. When those deadlines are not met, collaboration with the group stops. In this way, there is no delay, and the municipality is able to invite another group. In theory, this is an ideal situation. However, the case studies show that reality is more volatile because of the planning processes of the municipality – especially zoning plan changes, which can take some time. For a sufficient collaboration process, it is important not to leave a group of initiatives waiting for a municipality, which can also raise problems with financial structures. The interviewed bank stated, ‘Because the environmental process took almost a year because of a mistake in the environmental permit, the loan agreement with the bank had to be dissolved. Normally, this is not possible without a penalty interest’.

6.2.2 Shared motivation

In addition to principled engagement, shared motivation deals with the interpersonal and relational elements of collaborative dynamics. It is about the focus on civil society as part of 'social capital' and how it can contribute to a range of beneficial economic and social outcomes. It contains four aspects: mutual trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy, and shared commitment. When these four aspects are well presented in the collaboration process, people are more likely to commit to the collaboration and achieve the desired results. Those four aspects influence the way they perceive the collaboration process and how cohousing initiatives see the role of the municipality (legitimacy). In this way, insight is gained into what the efficient role of the municipality is regarding the policy for cohousing. This research shows that trust is a key factor in obtaining shared motivation.

Mutual trust

The first aspect of shared motivation, mutual trust, deals with the truthfulness and reliability of the partners. 3 of the 4 interviewed cohousing initiatives explicitly mentioned this aspect of the collaboration. What became clear in the interviews is that the trust of the banks and housing corporations is an important factor for a positive outcome in the collaboration process. This research found that finance is, of course, an important factor but also that banks and housing corporations (who have to agree to the financing terms) do want to know a lot of information about the initiatives. Instead, they want a reliable partner, and bottom-up initiatives are seen as risky. As an external advisor argued, 'Eventually the bank must have the believe that an initiative will not only now have a strong and sustainable organisation, but also in the future' (interview 14, p.8). Besides the trust between the funder and the initiative, the trust between the developing parties and initiative is also important because those parties especially on risk analyses. So everything about risk, as well as the perception of this risk, is analysed. Mutual trust is therefore most important in the phase near the development because this is also the phase in which the most important (executive) decisions have to be made. This aspect of mutual trust connects with the phenomenon of determination in the collaboration process.

Mutual understanding

Mutual trust relates, in turn, to the aspect of mutual understanding, which deals with appreciation and respect for other partners. In the interviews, nearly no one discussed or mentioned this aspect of the collaboration. The municipalities already know what the overall intentions are for cohousing initiatives. However, in the case of the process of developing a cohousing project, this understanding relates especially to the different methods and approaches between the municipality and the partners, their expectations, and what they are able to do. There are some obstacles of 'misunderstanding' in expectations; those obstacles are mentioned at the end of this chapter.

Internal legitimacy

The legitimacy of cohousing is a difficult paradox because encouraging professionalism in cohousing (e.g. through setting boundaries of knowledge and expertise) clashes in many ways with the values of

cohousing. Tummers (2015) states that strictly setting parameters of knowledge and practice is in contrast to the values of cohousing as a system of bottom-up, non-hierarchical self-management that values residents' non-expert knowledge. The case studies showed that this is not especially a paradox. 2 of the 4 interviewed cohousing projects prefers to hold on to some set of frameworks, especially when it is about social housing (interviews 9, 12). The set of frameworks is on the one hand about defining a set of time frames and budget demands, and on the other hand, it is about the basics of construction and architecture. As the Kersentuin stated, 'At one moment we gave Portaal the mandate of a process manager and the communication with the contractor and we just control the whole project' (interview 12, p. 4). This idea worked well because in difficult cohousing projects (in the Kersentuin there was a mix of social housing and houses for sale), one project manager works more efficiently than two. The grey area of internal legitimacy relates to specific regulations within cohousing projects (e.g. less parking, extra sustainable measures, etc.) namely, all the things that go against the normal policy of a municipality. From a cohousing perspective, they want to innovate on those things and do not allow their thinking process to be limited. For example, IEWAN, a sustainable cohousing project in Nijmegen, wanted fewer parking spaces because they wanted more green space and shared mobility. This bottom-up idea was difficult for the municipality to accept because making exceptions for a bottom-up cohousing initiative is against the equal treatment of housing projects. IEWAN mentioned that the designing phase was the most difficult (interview 10). So in the end, the case studies highlighted the efficiency of show that a policy framework where it is possible to move forward efficiently to create internal legitimacy in the collaboration process.

Shared commitment

Shared commitment relates back to principled engagement, as it deals with 'dedication to the CGR and its collective purpose and goals'. In this aspect, most parties indicated that they do see the purpose and need of the collaboration and are really committed to making it work. The cohousing initiatives need the municipality for success, and the municipality also benefits from efficient collaboration. Indeed, in two of the three case studies, the municipalities collaborated with external organisations, which acted as mediators. In Amsterdam, the !WOON foundation is an important partner in creating a shared commitment between the municipality and the cohousing initiatives. As !WOON stated, 'In the conversations with the municipality, we want to search for the added value, as well for the municipality as for the cohousing initiative and the community as a whole. When illustrating the added value, shared commitment is better to be obtained' (interview 14, p. 3). Moreover, in The Hague, they have an external party called Centrumgroepswonen. They also argued that collaboration is crucial, even though there were many remarks about aspects of the collaboration process (interview 16). All involved stakeholders in the three case studies feel positive regarding the general presence of a collaboration. An interesting remark made by an external advisor is that shared commitment is important not only in the process of realisation but also afterwards, when the cohousing project is realised. Continuity is key in making a cohousing project sustainable.

6.2.3 Capacity for joint action

The last element of collaborative dynamics is the capacity for joint action. This element is necessary to create the desired outcomes. It can be seen as an intermediate outcome of the two other interacting cycles (Emerson et al., 2012). Collaborative action can be achieved through four aspects: procedural and institutional arrangements, leadership, knowledge, and resources. Those aspects do not differ much from elements in the policy arrangement approach. However, the elements of the policy arrangement approach focus more on the input for the collaborative dynamics, while the elements of joint action are more focused on the goal of collaborative action.

The first aspect of the capacity for joint action is procedural and institutional arrangements, which include dealing with protocols, structures, and regulations within the collaboration. The institutions of urban development – as well as the institutional reforms within municipalities and provincial governments –, are especially important for sustainable development (Firman, 2008). As Støa (2009) found, interdisciplinary cooperation and local participation can help in sustainable urban development, along with balanced multidimensional goals. At this point, there are many complex institutional frameworks that contribute to the sometimes slow and inefficient collaboration in cohousing. Some relevant institutions are mentioned in section 5.1. Here the focus is on the comment of Firman (2008), who states that reforms of institutions are important in governmental organisations. This is also the key point that arose from the case studies. 12 of 17 interviews argued that the standard institutions for housing are not helpful for starting a cohousing initiative because institutional procedures, rules, protocols, and so on are too limited and rigid. A cohousing initiative requires flexibility and a special set of rules. This uniqueness is visible in the municipality of Amsterdam, where housing cooperatives are such a completely new phenomenon that the current institutions no longer fit. Therefore, they worked with pilot projects, which are working well. As the external advisor of Amsterdam mentioned, ‘In the beginning with completely new projects such as the housing cooperations initiatives, they have to be capable of running three marathons to get success, but once a project is realised, other initiatives get inspired and more information is available’ (interview 14, p. 11). Because of the pilot project, other initiatives gained knowledge. An interesting side note from an external advisor is that self-built initiatives such as housing cooperatives have to be seen as a third option besides the traditional ones of buying and renting. The interviewee mentioned, ‘During the process of housing agreements within the municipalities, self-built (co)housing projects have to be permanently set on the agenda’ (interview 13, p. 13).

The most remarkable element about **leadership** is that none of the interviewees linked the municipality to the role of a leader, the focus being more on the municipality’s facilitating role. The term ‘leadership’ (as in ‘supervisor’ or ‘project leader’) is especially linked to the external advisors. All the initiatives mentioned that an external advisor in the role of a project leader works perfectly for the collaboration process: ‘Groups who don’t have a professional project leader are years down the road. People get in and out, and they don’t come to terms together. Or, the success rate is limited’ (interview 16, p. 6).

For the municipality itself, in terms of leadership, it is especially important that the leader is able to reduce perceptions of procedural constraints among participants. Firstly, initiatives found it helpful that there was one portal or person they can contact. The municipality has to exude a certain leadership attitude., Secondly, the leader within the municipality has to remove as many constraints as possible for the group of initiatives. This is not as easy as it sounds because there are many constraints on which the municipality has no influence.

The aspect of **knowledge** was mentioned by several interviewees. Mostly, they were referring to knowledge management, which is the process of bringing together explicit and tacit knowledge and displaying and manifesting it through, collaborations (Agranoff, 2006). As stated above regarding the policy arrangement approach, knowledge is one of the main aspects of obtaining an efficient and effective collaboration in cohousing. The different supporting parties, such as !WOON and Centrumgroepswonen, see knowledge as one of their main purposes. As one party stated, 'One of the main goals is that cohousing in the broadest sense become much better known' (interview 18, p. 15).

Several parties would like to see the sharing of knowledge and information happen on a larger scale. They would like to have more information from the municipality regarding new ideas and initiatives. This includes not only knowledge but also initiative and willingness.

The last aspect of the capacity for joint action is **resources**. The aspect of resources within the collaborative dynamics is obviously linked with the resources in the context of systems. From the interviews, the aspect of resources generated varying responses. In the policy arrangement approach, the focus was primarily on finance and expertise. In the collaboration dynamics, the focus was primarily on resources as a result of the policies being pursued, such as land policy and land prices. The municipality of Utrecht stated, 'We have different strategies according to our ground positions..' 'In the places where we have our own ground, we are able to allocate the land directly; that is the best resource we possess' (interview 3, p. 7). Besides the difference in active and passive land policies, the availability and locations of plots make the collaboration process complex and not easily transferable to other instances. In urban areas, plots are scarce, which influences the price of the plots and raises questions about prioritising cohousing initiatives.

7. Conclusions

This chapter answers the main research question of this study: How can the municipality of Nijmegen stimulate the realisation of cohousing concepts? This question arose from the main goal of this research – namely, gaining insight into the policy context and its relevance for the implementation of cohousing. In the findings, all the qualitative aspects of the case studies were discussed on the basis of theories regarding cohousing and how these theoretical frameworks are implemented within the case studies. To give a final answer to the main question, the three subquestions are first discussed.

Sub-question 1: What is the meaning of cohousing initiatives in the literature and in practice, and how is this already present in Nijmegen?

There is no unambiguous definition for cohousing initiatives, not in the literature nor in practice. As Lang, Carriou, and Czischke (2018) state, the field remains thematically fragmented, with literature on different forms and models spread across disciplines and conceptual classifications. Nevertheless, there are some elements that can define a cohousing initiative. First, the aspect of sharing is necessary; there has to be a shared facility or shared space. The case studies (including the municipality) showed many varieties of shared space, from sharing a garden (CPO de Getijden) to having a shared kitchen and meeting space (IEWAN). Another important aspect is that there has to be a noticeable collective organisation. A degree of self-reliance in the planning process is another constituent element of cohousing, according to Tummers (2016). Tummers also argues that autonomy is relative and that many cohousing projects are constructed in collaboration with institutional agencies. The case studies validate this statement and show that all successful cohousing initiatives have to deal with some sort of institutional agency. Also, in the municipality of Nijmegen, a housing association helped with the cohousing project of IEWAN. In this way, it is possible for cohousing initiatives to develop social housing.

In the literature, the shift in the socio-demographic context of cohousing has been explained – namely, a shift from a focus on income (Garciano, 2011) to one on gender, age, and household structures. However, the case studies show that nowadays the intention is to live with like-minded people, which is also due to increased individualism. From a policy point of view, intergenerational cohousing models can be an effective solution for the growing group of elderly people in combination with increasing extramuralization. In practice, cohousing initiatives target more seniors or first-time home buyers, for example. Effective policy and proactive action can encourage intergenerational cohousing.

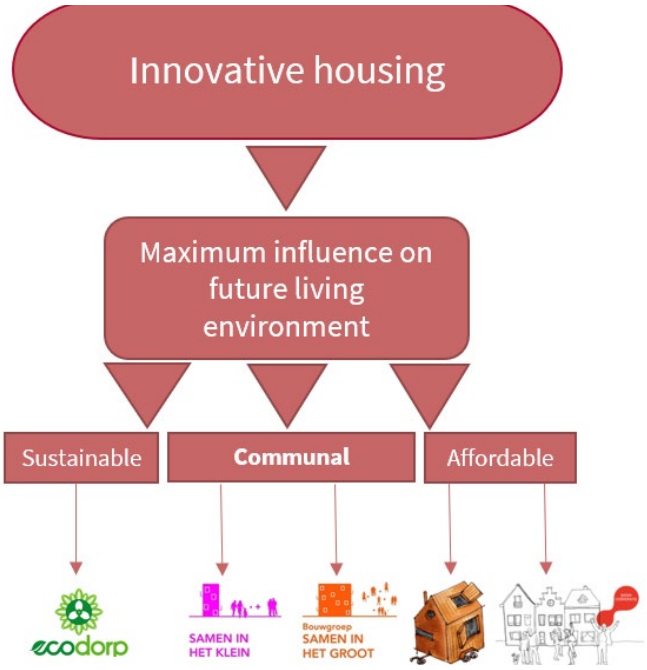
Despite those elements and the fact that cohousing initiatives have a lot in common, specific details differ per case study. A common observation from the case studies is that, taking into account the definition as described in the literature, a relatively large number of cohousing forms are present in the municipality – many more than the municipalities actually thought there were. The conclusion that can be drawn that cohousing is already much more common in practice than policy suggests. This can be linked to another observation – namely, that it is perceived positively to make cohousing initiatives and related policies more common.

Specifically, in the municipality of Nijmegen, the employees within the housing domain prefer to speak about ‘innovative housing’. They argue that cohousing is not the right term to cover all the important aspects. The real ‘innovative’ aspects are in line with the argumentation of Qu & Hasselaar (2011). They argue that in the last rung of the framework of voice and choice citizens and other stakeholders are given significant power within the process of decision-making. This is also what the municipality of Nijmegen intent: ‘maximum influence of the future residents on their future living environment’. This meaning does have different aspects, but it is mainly about initiatives that are able to build a house

without intervening of third parties where they can determine the outlook of their future environment. For being more innovative, it will depending on the level of influence. This is also in line with the level of self-reliance which Tummers (2016) described.

Where ‘maximum influence on future living environment’ is a more high-over term, in the municipality of Nijmegen especially the aspects of sustainability, collectively and affordability are the most important aspects. The municipality of Nijmegen is mostly focusing on the ecological aspect of sustainability with a special focus on sustainable construction. The term of sustainable construction is valid if a project has been build more sustainable than the rules of the construction standards. An example of sustainable cohousing projects are the so called ‘ecodorpen’. According to the definition of GEN-NL, the Dutch national network of ecovillages and ecocommunities (n.d.) an ecovillage is: “a civic initiative of a community that is consciously designing through collaborative participatory processes in all forms of sustainability”. Another aspect is collectivity, this concept refers mainly to the concept of Beck (2020) who came up with a framework where cohousing is divided into four interconnecting spatial dimensions (see also chapter 2.1). The main message is that the degree of collectivity not only is about shared facilities and spaces within a cohousing projects, but also about the collective organisational structures of an initiative. The last aspect which is present and important for the municipality of Nijmegen is affordability. Firstly, an important element is that initiatives must have the opportunity to reach a higher housing quality for the same amount of money than buying a house from a project developer. More quality is subjective in the case, it is more about the special wishes of a resident to really create your ideal future living environment. Also, due to the fact that initiatives build collectively they are able to create economies of scale. Secondly, it is important that also lower incomes can afford ‘innovative housing’. Think about the housing cooperations or just more tiny housing what makes it affordable. In collaboration with the municipality, the following ‘definition graph’ was created.

Figure 9: “Innovative housing in Nijmegen”. Own creation



Sub question 2: How does the system context look like for municipalities regarding cohousing?

The systemic context generates opportunities and constraints and influences the dynamics of the collaboration at the outset. External conditions may influence the dynamics and performance of collaboration. In this case, the systemic context refers to the general planning context of cohousing, which affects and is affected by the collaborative governance regime (Gollagher & Hartz-Karp, 2013). In this research, the system context is elaborated on by using the policy arrangement approach. The systemic context of cohousing determine how the collaboration process is framed.

Regarding actors, the governmental actors on a national and provincial level are not directly involved in the collaboration process at a municipal level. On a national level, it is particularly about creating knowledge for municipalities. This is organised in a passive way. On a provincial level, the level of participation has already become a bit more active. This is seen as a good working element for successful cohousing projects, especially because of the subsidy an external advisor can receive. The quote from the province of Gelderland sums it up well: 'The subsidy is more a means to an end. It is about how to transfer knowledge about CPC and how to inspire people' (interview 7, p. 2). Still, the most important actor is the municipality itself. Here, the distinction can be made between politicians and administrators. It can be concluded that all municipalities researched are facilitators of cohousing initiatives. Other than the governmental organisations, actors such as external advisors, housing associations, and banks play a very important role as well. More than the literature itself is often mentioned. This study found that external advisors are almost indispensable because they facilitate a more efficient and effective process. Of course, the cohousing initiatives do not have to be forgotten. The most important aspect of this actor in relation to realising cohousing initiatives is that they have to be patient and that they have to show willpower.

Besides actors, this research showed that resources are an important precondition. The most important resource is knowledge and expertise, both of which are valuable for successfully collaborating on a cohousing project. Another important resource is finance. The most important financial resource is the subsidy for the initiative itself. The case studies show that the subsidies can be best used for making a first draft of the plan and planning the process with an external advisor. So, resources are the most relevant at the beginning of the process. Regardless of putting the finances together in the last phase. However, this research shows that, in principle, this is not a problem when the collaboration is done in a sufficient way.

Laws, regulations, and agreements influence the performance of the collaborative governance process (Arts et al., 2006) because rules either empower or limit actors. The case studies show that the most important rules are the rules of the collaboration game (e.g. the tender process, planning procedures and rules about financing). Aspects such as transparency and fixity are important for a successful collaboration process and can be linked to the aspect of principled engagement. The reviewed cohousing projects show that initiatives have been helped by the fact that the rules of the game are familiar and well communicated to the various initiatives. The ambitions that correlate with

new discourses such as sustainability and mobility (fewer car spaces) interfere with the traditional rules, which can be delayed because of spatial objections.

Discourses have an impact on the three other aspects of the policy arrangement approach. The first important discourse is the current resurgence of interest in cohousing in light of a more sustainable urban development approach. Each case study shows that each municipality has its own city strategy to tackle the housing crisis and to fit cohousing within this strategy to fulfil sustainable goals. Besides this comprehensive discourse, which drives municipalities and influences the collaboration process, the trend in housing is towards self-building and alternative forms of housing. All case studies show that they found it positive that people have more influence on their future living environment and that, therefore, the housing stock is more mixed and available for everyone. Another important discourse within the case studies is that there is a belief that collective housing forms make a high-quality contribution to social sustainability and liveability. In the end, the interviewees all argued that there has to be variation in the housing stock as well as in the cohousing products.

Sub-question 3: What are relevant collaboration dynamics for cohousing initiatives, and how do they differ per municipality?

First, this research shows that the collaboration dynamics used by Emerson et al. (2012) are a systematic way to analyse the effect of cohousing policy. They illuminate the collaboration between the various stakeholders and the municipality. Here, the most relevant aspect of the collaboration dynamics are mentioned. Some interviewees revealed that they are very useful for the process, and some are seen as obstacles. This is summarised in the table below. The table shows the findings in the three case studies; the +, -, or +/- indicates whether the partners saw an aspect as positive, negative, or neutral. In this way an overview is given in what is important to create a sufficient collaboration dynamics regarding cohousing. The information within this table is gained from the input of the interviews[3].

Table 5: Findings of the components of collaboration dynamics in Den Haag, Utrecht, and Amsterdam

Collaboration dynamics	**Component**	**Most important aspect in case studies**	**Total review of the component on the cohousing process**
Principled engagement	Discovery	Communicate a vision what is known by every department	+
	Definition	Create a clear and uniform tender process up frond	+ / -
	Deliberation	Transparent communication	+ / -

[3] A more in depth overview where the three case studies are explained can be found in Appendix D.

	Determination	Democratic decision making in cohousing groups	-
Shared motivation	Trust	Be transparent about financing	+
	Mutual understanding	Promote an open mindset about cohousing	+
	Internal legitimacy	Create a (dynamic) framework	-
	Shared commitment	Work with an external advisor as a facilitator	+
Capacity for joint action	Procedural and institutional arrangements	Work with (experimental) pilot-projects	+ / -
	Leadership	A clear spokesperson in the organisation	+
	Knowledge	Sharing knowledge on a higher scale	+ / -
	Resources	The availability of land	+

About discovery, it can be found that municipalities are aware of the demand for cohousing initiatives and their ideas. However, it is important that every department (including the councillors) have the same values regarding cohousing and propagate them in the same way. Furthermore, the case studies show that it is very helpful for cohousing initiatives to have an efficient collaboration process with the chosen group. However, two of the three case studies (including Nijmegen) showed that they are struggling to set up a clear definition. Currently, the municipalities react more ad hoc and per project, where they have to make a set of definitions each time. Moreover, this is a field of tension because cohousing initiatives differ and required varied definitions. About the third aspect, deliberation, it can be concluded that each case study sets up the dialogue in various ways. But the overall view is that municipalities, in their policies as well as in their implementation, make enough room (e.g. in the form of meetings) to create mutual understanding. The most important aspect here is that those meetings and agreements have to be transparent. In reality, this is harder than it sounds because of external factors such as ground policy and financing. The last aspect of principled engagement, determination, is the most negative one and causes the most delay in cohousing projects. In the collaborative housing initiative process, many decisions have to be made, not only between the municipality and the stakeholders (and the cohousing initiative) but also especially within a cohousing group.

The first element of shared motivation, mutual trust, was explicitly mentioned as an important aspect of the collaboration. Mutual trust is most important in the phase near the development because this is

also the phase where the most important (executive) decisions have to be made. This aspect of mutual trust connects with the phenomenon of determination and the feasibility of ideals. The second element, mutual understanding, is also important and connect with mutual trust. In recent years, cohousing has become increasingly acknowledged as a partial solution to the housing problem and changing housing needs. The discrepancy is more on the step next to acknowledgement, effectively freeing institutional capacity. The third element, internal legitimacy, is especially important in the phase when one specific cohousing initiative is elaborating its plans. The fourth element of shared motivation, shared commitment, is hard to create during the collaboration process. Therefore, most case studies work with an external advisor to connect the policy side of a municipality with the bottom-up initiative with objectivity and knowledge.

The capacity for joint action can be seen as an intermediate outcome of principled engagement and shared motivation. The first element, procedural and institutional arrangements, relates to the fact that the variety of collective housing is broad but more common. Cohousing projects becoming easier to handle from a policy perspective. New forms of cohousing appear (such as housing cooperations). Those forms are not embedded in policy and are therefore progressing slowly. Working with pilot projects with a dynamic framework is a possible way to deal with those new institutional arrangements. Leadership, the second element, was not directly mentioned by the interviewees when speaking about the collaboration process. The term ‘leadership’ in the collaboration process of cohousing can be linked to the fact that the case studies show that there has to be a clear spokesperson at the beginning of the process. This relates strongly with the component of discovery. The third element, knowledge, is one of the main aspects of obtaining efficient and effective collaboration in cohousing. In the collaboration process of cohousing, it is about explicit and tacit knowledge. The last aspect of capacity for joint action is resources. One of the main aspects influencing the collaboration dynamics is land policy (and land prices). Besides the difference in active and passive land policies, the availability and locations of plots make the collaboration process complex and not easily transferable to other situations. This affects the process, especially in the beginning phase.

Main question: ‘How can the municipality of Nijmegen stimulate realization of cohousing concepts?’

For an answer to the main question, the insights gained from the interviewees are combined. From a policy perspective, what can the municipality of Nijmegen do to stimulate the realization of cohousing concepts? Through this research, it can be said that there are four key-elements for efficient stimulation of cohousing concepts:

Create a clear vision with a clear set of (achievable and verifiable) ambitions

A vision and specific policy helps with telling a complete and unambiguous story to the residents of the municipality, which is an aspect of discovery. In this way, it is clear in advance for cohousing initiatives what to expect. From a policy perspective it helps to not respond ad hoc to requests, which is in the end very ineffective and requires a lot of administrative capacity. For example, the municipality of

Amsterdam and Utrecht do both have an ‘action plan housing cooperations’. This document tells what a housing cooperation embraces and the possibilities of the municipalities to facilitate. It helps to create and share knowledge to (potential) initiatives, also an element of collaboration dynamics. As seen in the literature, to create mutual understanding it is also important to promote the values and ambitions you have as a municipality. As learned from this research, this is not necessarily a task for the municipality. Supporting groups such as !WOON and Cooplink kennisnetwerk wooncoöperaties does have a lot of experience and are able to connect initiatives with the municipality. In addition, transparency about policy helps an efficient collaboration process. This research made it clear that, as a municipality, It is most important to be transparent about finance and selection. An example to gain trust and good expectation management is the scheme the municipality of Amsterdam is using for explaining the role of the municipality.

Figure 10: which stakeholders are involved in the cohousing process? (municipality of Amsterdam, 2020)

Ensure a uniform selection policy

If a municipality has a clear policy on cohousing, it is important to create a sufficient selection policy. This comes from the fact that most cohousing forms arise from the housing demand of the (future) users themselves (SEV, 2007). The group of initiatives is ultimately formed by the shared housing needs and shared discourses and the mutual relationships of the residents. With a clear selection policy and the accompanying conditions, cohousing initiatives get a clear picture in how they can realise their housing demands, which can be linked to the component of definition. From a policy perspective, this research showed four advices that can be useful for the municipality of Nijmegen:

1. *Do not create too strict framework conditions:* It is important to create balance between the freedom of an initiative and the integration in the surrounding environment. Also, the degree of social space and the openness to the neighbourhood can be determined in the framework.
2. *Offer plots for cohousing projects only:* All the interviewed cohousing initiatives stated that it is hard to compete as a starting initiative against the established developers. It is therefore advisable to exclude potential project developers and to organise the tender only for self-build cohousing initiatives.

3. *Bring demand and supply together:* If a location is only open for self-build (cohousing) initiatives, it is important that possible interested parties actually know that a location is available. Bringing people together can be done by information evenings, but also by a 'digital market' (which the municipality of Amsterdam is using).
4. *Chose for an internal assessment method based on the best value procurement*: In the permit phase the tenders are valued according to the principle that not only the price but also the quality is considered. In this way, initiatives get the chance to show the quality of the plan. An advance of this method is that the reason of the cohousing initiative has to be clear which connect with various aspects of the collaboration dynamics.

Figure 11: 'Kaartenbak' (municipality of Amsterdam, 2020)

Work with a transparent land policy

The land policy of a municipality is important for creating a level playing field. After setting an ambition, the case studies showed that a transparent land policy is needed to make justify decisions. Two variables are important. The first one is availability of land en the second one is about the land price. The availability of land determines to what extent special initiatives can be facilitated by the municipality. If a municipality owns several land plots (as in the case of Nijmegen), it is easier to cooperate with initiatives. It is possible to facilitate cohousing initiatives without owning the land, but the case studies showed that it is harder to set a framework in an early phase within the collaboration process. The second aspect is about the price of the land. Several interviewed municipalities used the market value (residual land price). For CPC's this works fine. For cohousing initiatives in the rental sector it is more difficult to make the project profitable. The municipality Amsterdam is using a leasehold construction which able to set additional restrictions to keep land prices low. This can be arranged in the 'housing regulation'. The other element of the price aspect is the regulation for keeping the housing affordable. An anti-speculation cause is an instrument in the Dutch housing policy which can be used to maintain affordable cohousing. In the end, it can be concluded that the impact of procedural and intuitional arrangement make a distinction between buy and rental cohousing projects.

Obligate initiatives to cooperate with an external supervisor

Al case studies showed that an external advisor (such as BIEB, Centrumgroepswonen and !WOON) have a significant value for the success of the realisation of cohousing projects. The presence of an external advisor does have a positive impact on the collaboration dynamics of cohousing. They structure internal group processes, make discissions, organise collaboration with external parties and create shared commitment. Nijmegen does not have this kind of partner. It is therefore all the more important that they keep in contact (or oblige initiatives to do so) with external advisors.

8. Recommendations for further research

The main question already gave recommendations for praxis towards the municipality of Nijmegen. So in this chapter some recommendations for further research will be given. This research especially is focusing on the collaboration process and the impact on policy. However, this research showed some very interesting aspects of cohousing which require further research.

8.1 Affordability in relation to architecture

Affordability was a frequently recurring phenomenon in the research. An unexpected lesson is the importance of architecture regarding affordability. Cohousing in this research was mainly focussed on the organisational and relational dimension. However, the physical dimension is also a very important aspect for succeeding a cohousing initiative. This research shows that there is a field of tension between the ideal form of architecture (with a lot of common spaces etc.) and the costs of a cohousing project and specifically the costs of the common spaces. So in the end, architecture can be the factor that shapes a collective within the combination between better understanding the collaboration process and the institutional process in the building sector (finance, planning and building regulations).

8.2 Differences in cohousing

This research showed that there are multiple forms of cohousing projects. In this research, there is specially chosen for a broad view of cohousing while not focussing on the distinctive aspects. However, the cohousing form of cooperative housing (*wooncoöperatie*) has emerged to be a very interesting and new form of cohousing in the rental sector. This form of housing is more-known in foreign countries, but in the Netherlands this form of cohousing encounters many laws and regulations. To get a better insight in this particular form of cohousing will add to current literature about the emerging of cohousing in the Netherlands.

9. Reflection

In this chapter this research is reflected on different aspects; context, use of theory and research method.

9.1 Context

The context where this research in which this research is placed is context dependent in the sense of place and time. First of all, the case studies are comparable with the municipality of Nijmegen. This meant that the interviewed municipalities were relatively large in terms of citizens and organisation. And that the municipalities are relatively urban. Due to this, the results will be different in other (more rural) municipalities in the Netherlands. In other words, it makes it difficult to generalise the results of this study and therefore entails a low external validity. Secondly, the timing of this research did have a possible influence on the results. Nowadays, the housing market is tense and plots are scare. Which influences the price of the plots and raises questions about prioritising cohousing initiatives, this study showed.

9.2 Use of theory

The mix of the use of the collaboration dynamics and the policy arrangement approach worked well together. By using the theory of collaboration dynamics (Emerson et al., 2011) it allowed to analyse various aspects that otherwise would have been forgotten when analyses the collaboration process within the policy-context. However, in practice the theories did overflow sometimes. So, during the collection of the qualitative data it was not always clear which retrieved information belong to which certain aspect of the two theories. In the end a more distinction could have been made. This also relates to the reflection mentioned in the next paragraph.

9.3 Research methodology

Because of the method of doing semi-structured interviews, the influence of the researcher is present since the researcher is ought to keep a balance in the conversation between the structure of the conversation and the narrative of the respondents. The item-list had often been ignored during the interviews in terms of a chronological structure. This research can be improved by collecting data more according to the posed item-list. In addition, while letting respondents first construct their perception, it is necessary that the researcher link those perceptions directly to the elements of the theories in a most concrete way.

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Appendix A. List of interviewed actors[4]

Interview number	Governmental organisations	Function (in Dutch)	Reasons of relevance
1	Municipality of Amsterdam	Adviseur wonen	At the moment they are busy to get more social housing cooperatives in their city, where people can have more control about
2	Municipality of The Hague	Beleidsadviseur wonen (en zorg)	The municipality of The Hague does have relatively a lot of cohousing for elderly.
3	Municipality of Utrecht	Urban strategist en Kwartiermaker	The municipality hired a 'kwartiermaker'. A person who is going to actively engage in 'innovative housing concepts'.
4	Municipality of Almere (Oosterwold)	Projectleider Oosterwold	Oosterwold is an extreme form of a self-build neighbourhood with a lot of responsibility for the inhabitants.
5	Municipality of Nunspeet	Beleidsmedewerker volkshuisvesting	Relatively a lot of CPM projects within the municipality. Active and clear policy of CPM projects.
6	Municipality of Overbetuwe	Ambtenaar strategie en ruimte	This municipality has taken CPM in their housing policy what focuses on prioritising and the quality of housing.
7	Province of Gelderland	Adviseur team wonen	The province of Gelderland actively facilitates CPM projects

[4] Each interview was conducted with one person

			with subsidies among other things.
8	Province of Noord Holland	Adviseur wonen	The province of Noord Holland has actively stimulated self-built projects.

Interview number	**Cohousing projects**	**Function (in Dutch)**	**Reasons of relevance**
9	De Getijden	Bewoner/ (mede)oprichter	A CPM project in Nijmegen where an old school was transformed in houses.
10	IEWAN	Bewoner/ (mede)oprichter	A sustainable social housing cooperative at the Waalsprong, Nijmegen.
11	De Warren	Bewoner/ (mede)oprichter	The first self-built housing cooperative in the Netherlands (located in Amsterdam).
12	De Kersentuin in Utrecht	Bewoner/ (mede)oprichter	A cohousing project with houses in the rental sector as well as in the owner-occupied sector.

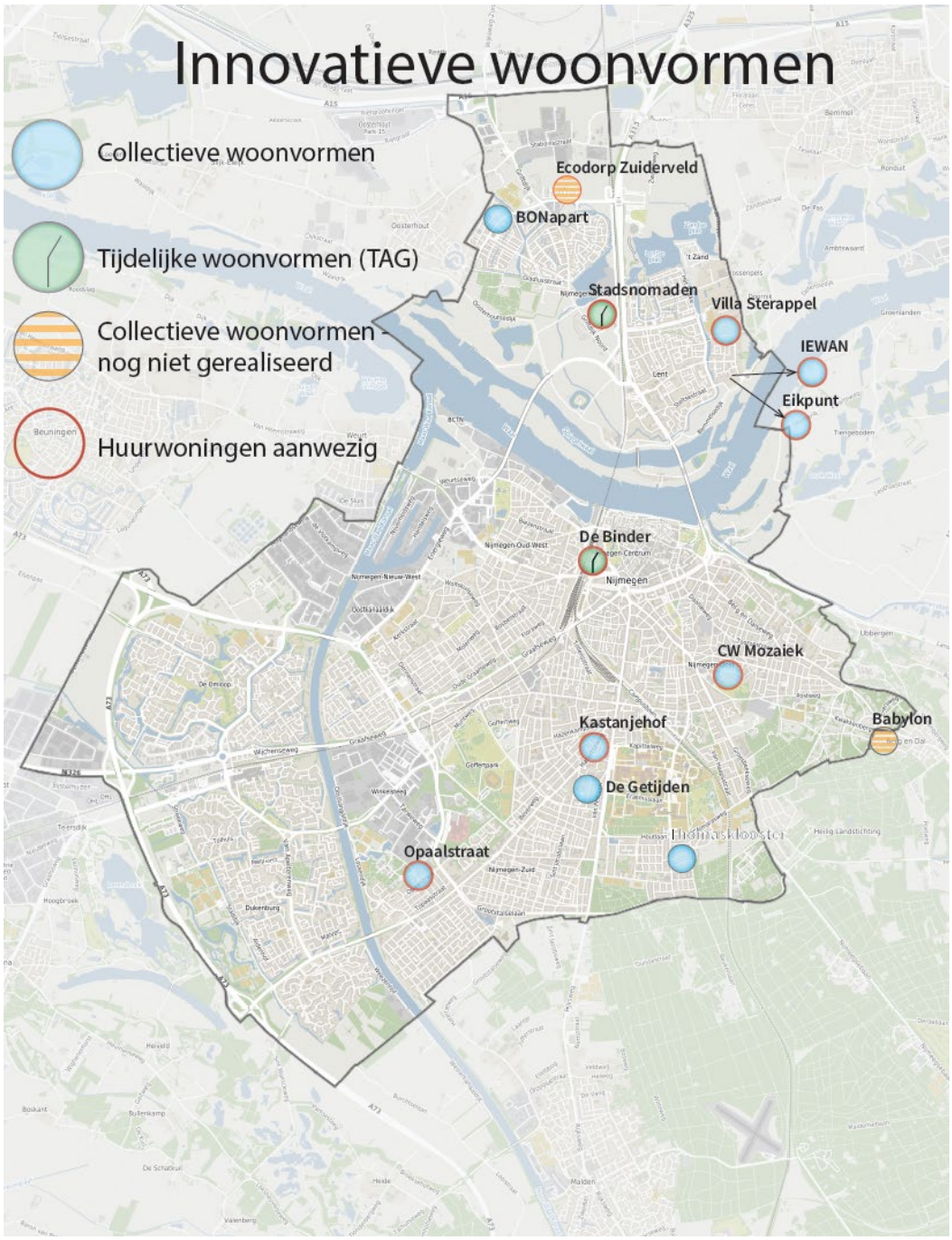
Interview number	**External advisors**	**Function (in Dutch)**	**Reasons of relevance**
13	Urbannerdam	Eigenaar (en ex-lid van het RVO)	An external advisor with a lot of experience throughout the country.
14	!WOON	Eigenaar	The only advising organisation with insights in the concept of housing cooperations.
15	BIEB	Eigenaar	An external advisor with a lot of experience throughout the country.
16	Centrumgroepswonen	Eigenaar	The external organisation of the municipality of The

			Hague with a lot of experience.

Interview number	Other stakeholders (housing associations as well as a bank)	Function (in Dutch)	Reasons of relevance
17	Rochdale	Adviseur strategie	A housing association engaged in (affordable) cohousing projects in e.g. Amsterdam.
18	Portaal	Adviseur leefomgeving	A housing association engaged in (affordable) cohousing projects in e.g. Utrecht.
19	Triodos	Senior relatiemanager	One of the first banks with knowledge and experience on financing cohousing initiatives.

Appendix B. Map of innovative cohousing initiatives in Nijmegen

Figure B.1: Map of innovative cohousing initiatives in Nijmegen (Gradussen, 2020)



De Binder	Temporary housing in a constructions which is going to be deconstructed in ten years. This project is called a 'Magic Mix', what means that different types of households are mixed.
Stadsnomaden	A bottom up initiative of people who wants to live life in a more creative and sustainable way with interacting with the direct environment. De 'Stadsnomaden' live on fallow land which is going to be developed in the future.

De Getijden	This is a CPC project in and around an old school building. An external advisor helped the initiative with the development.
IEWAN	An ecological housing project in cooperation with a housing association. They have build the project as sustainable as possible and also live in a sustainable way.
Eikpunt	A multigenerational project which is a mix of social housing and housing for sale. The project is called a 'woongemeenschap'.
Ecodorp Zuiderveld	A ecovillage which is realised by the cooperative party of 'Vereniging Ecodorpen Nederland' and the housing association. Prefab materials are used in this development.
Other small cohousing project	Such as CPC BONapart, Villa Sterappel and other 'Centraal Wonen' projects (there are around 10 'Centraal Wonen' projects in Nijmegen).

Appendix C. Used interview guide

Theory + additional elements	Dimensions	Asked questions
Policy arrangement approach		
	Actors	Which actors are involved in the cohousing projects?
	Resources	What kind of resources are used to realize cohousing projects? In what way was the process affected by the extent of available resources?
	Rules	Are there specific rules made for cohousing projects? Does current housing regulations influence cohousing projects?
	Discourses	What are current developments that led to the realization of cohousing projects?
Collaboration dynamics		
Principled engagement	Discovery	What is the policy of cohousing? Does that fit with the general housing policy of the municipality?
	Definition	How do you select the right stakeholder? How do you obtain common objectives with this stakeholder?
	Deliberation	How many exchanges are there in the collaboration process? In which form take those exchanges place?
	Determination	What kind of agreements are used to cohousing projects?
Shared motivation	Trust	How do you assess the relationship between the different actors? How do you ensure an open situation in communication?
	Mutual understanding	How do you cope with the different positions and interests?
	Internal legitimacy	What sort of collaboration is needed to obtain legitimacy?
	Shared commitment	In what extend do the stakeholders have influence on the process?

Capacity for joint action	Procedural and institutional arrangements	Are there different organisational structures for the realization of cohousing projects?
	Leadership	Is there a ‘leader’ present in the process? What is the role of this leader?
	Knowledge	Which external (knowledge) support is needed?
	Resources	What type of funding is used during the collaboration process? Does the timeframe influence the outcome of the collaboration process?

Appendix D. Findings of the components of collaboration dynamics in Den Haag, Utrecht, and Amsterdam

The table shows the findings in the three case studies; the +, -, or +/- indicates whether the partners saw an aspect as positive, negative, or neutral.

Collaboration dynamics	**Component**	**Review of the component on the cohousing process in Amsterdam**	**Review of the component on the cohousing process in The Hague**	**Review of the component on the cohousing process in Utrecht**
Principled engagement	Discovery	+	+ / -	+
	Definition	+	+ / -	+ / -
	Deliberation	+	+ / -	+ / -
	Determination	-	+ / -	-
Shared motivation	Trust	+	+	+ / -
	Mutual understanding	+	+	+
	Internal legitimacy	-	-	-
	Shared commitment	+	+	+
Capacity for joint action	Procedural and institutional arrangements	+	+ / -	-
	Leadership	+ / -	+	+
	Knowledge	+	+	-
	Resources	+	+	+