

University of Liège  
Faculty of Applied Science  
Urban and Environmental Engineering



**NEW WAYS OF WORKING, NEW WAYS OF LIVING...**

**WHAT HOUSING AND PLANNING IMPLICATIONS?**

**ONTOLOGIES AND GOVERNANCE OF LIVE-WORK MIX**

**A COMPARISON OF AMSTERDAM, BRUSSELS AND STOCKHOLM**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor in Architecture and Urban planning

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Stockholm

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*To my grandmothers, Nauny and Babcia*

## **Abstract**

The ‘flexibilisation’ of labour markets has led to the blurring of the work and home spheres, which has had implications on housing and planning. This thesis addresses the ‘live-work mix’, that is, the renewed intertwining of living and working activities in new housing production and urban development. This phenomenon is related to the focus on new target groups, the restructuring of housing provision and changes in urban agendas. The research addresses three overarching questions: (i) what are the different ontologies of live-work mix in contrasting institutional frameworks, (ii) what kind of governance arrangements are used to implement live-work mix and (iii) how do institutional frameworks influence the nature and governance of live-work mix. An embedded, comparative case-study analysis was conducted to tackle these questions, with three cities as main cases (Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm) and a typology of live-work mix as embedded cases. The analytical framework draws on path dependency and an institutionalist approach to collaborative governance.

The first part of the thesis compares the housing and planning regimes as well as live-work mix strategies of the case-study cities. The analysis confirms the impact of early planning directions and shows how factors, such as historically dominant actors, impact local ontologies of live-work mix. Nevertheless, current issues conditioning live-work mix, such as the flexibilisation of tenure, apply across contexts. The second part explores the governance of live-work mix. The results indicate that local governments’ intervention is essential in live-work development, whereas market parties remain focused on residential development. Live-work mix also requires new instruments and strategic uses of existing tools. Although the actors share interests to enhance the attractiveness of a specific location for target demographics, divergent views, for instance, about the nature of live-work mix can affect their collaboration. As a result, the projects delivered are likely to favour housing, and affordability and accessibility issues can arise.

A comprehensive discussion reconnects the empirical findings to the conceptual framework. It confirms that live-work mix is purposed for specific groups and draws on the emergence of new (commodified) housing forms in locations prioritised in urban agendas. Although institutional frameworks affect several variables of live-work mix, the implementation of live-work goals is not always more effective in more regulated frameworks. The discussion closes with suggestions for the regulation and governance of live-work mix that will inform planners and decision-makers on a phenomenon that is likely to expand in the future.

**Key words:** Live-work mix, Institutional framework, Governance, Shared housing, Mixed use.

## Résumé

Partant du constat que la flexibilisation du travail a eu des répercussions sur le logement et la planification urbaine, cette thèse porte sur la 'mixité logement-travail', à savoir l'interpénétration renouvelée de l'habitat et du travail dans la nouvelle production de logement et le développement urbain. Ce phénomène est lié à la définition de nouveaux groupes cibles, la restructuration du secteur du logement et les nouvelles stratégies des villes. Trois questions sont examinées dans cette recherche: (i) quelles sont les ontologies de mixité logement-travail dans des cadres institutionnels différents, (ii) quel types de gouvernance permettent de mettre en œuvre la mixité logement-travail et (iii) comment le cadre institutionnel influence la nature et la gouvernance de la mixité logement-travail. Une analyse comparative par études de cas a été menée, avec trois villes comme cas principaux (Amsterdam, Bruxelles et Stockholm) et une typologie de mixités comme cas imbriqués. Le cadre analytique est basé sur une approche institutionnaliste combinant dépendance historique et gouvernance collaborative.

La première partie de la thèse porte sur la comparaison des régimes de logement et de planification ainsi que des stratégies de mixité logement-travail dans les villes étudiées. L'analyse confirme l'impact de directions passées et montre comment des facteurs tels que des acteurs historiquement prépondérants impactent les ontologies de mixité logement-travail. Néanmoins, des problématiques actuelles conditionnant cette mixité (par exemple, la location flexible) sont observées dans plusieurs contextes. La seconde partie porte sur la gouvernance de la mixité logement-travail. L'intervention publique apparaît essentielle, tandis que le secteur privé reste focalisé sur le résidentiel. La mixité logement-travail requiert aussi de nouveaux instruments et l'utilisation stratégique d'outils existants. Bien que les acteurs cherchent ensemble à améliorer l'attractivité de zones spécifiques pour des groupes cibles, leur collaboration peut pâtir de vues divergentes, notamment sur la nature de la mixité logement-travail. Ainsi, les projets réalisés favorisent le logement, qui n'est pas toujours accessible et abordable.

La discussion finale confirme que la mixité logement-travail se base sur de nouvelles formes (marchandisées) de logement dans des zones en redéveloppement pour des groupes spécifiques. Bien que le cadre institutionnel impacte la mixité logement-travail à de nombreux égards, sa mise en œuvre n'est pas toujours plus aboutie dans des cadres plus régulés. Pour terminer, des suggestions d'amélioration sont formulées en soutien aux décisions futures qui seront prises autour de ce phénomène en expansion.

**Mots clés:** Mixité logement-travail, Cadre institutionnel, Gouvernance, Logement partagé, Mixité fonctionnelle.

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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*While affordable housing continues to dwindle across the globe, a growing group of people who are working precarious jobs and can easily be laid off will be hit hard by the coronavirus crisis. In many cases they don't even need to be laid off because the beauty of the gig economy, the sharing economy and the flexible labour market means that they were never 'employed' in the first place. Gig, sharing, flexible. All beautiful words that have become bywords for 'shitty': a shitty economy with shitty jobs and shitty housing.*

(Aalbers, 2020)

The present manuscript was completed in autumn 2020 amid the Covid-19 pandemic. As shows the above excerpt from Aalbers' opinion in *Tribune* entitled 'The Coronavirus Housing Crisis', many people do not foresee a bright future. Some even consider that the Covid-19 crisis has exacerbated existing inequalities and crises. What this quotation further illustrates is the perpetual and inevitably intimate connection between *labour* and *housing*.

The reader has undoubtedly noticed that the relationships we have to the places where we live and work have considerably changed in 2020. Many people have been suddenly confronted with permanent telework, which might have structural effects on both labour and housing markets. When this research project started back in January 2017, the impact of home-based telework on housing design and urban development was precisely what the researcher had planned to study. But soon, exploratory interviews were conducted with actors of the housing market, who unanimously affirmed that remote work only requires to have a laptop. The current crisis has shown that things are far more complex than that. For instance, many households struggled to renegotiate home-work borders (Gurney, 2020). Anyhow, at the time, these responses questioned the research design. If the choice of studying the impact of labour markets' flexibilisation on housing production and urban development was maintained, the focus moved on from the housing unit to the building and the block scales. Also, from the start, it was decided to study the influence of local contexts on this phenomenon, by conducting a comparative analysis of Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm. From there, the research aims were defined as (i) conceptualising the 'live-work mix', (ii) understanding its nature and governance in different contexts and (iii) informing the decision-makers confronted with this phenomenon.

Based on European policy documents and scientific references, the next section introduces the mutual dependence between living, working and planning in the European context, and in

particular, the effects of changes in the labour market on housing production and urban development. Section 2 then frames the research topic – live-work mix – and states the related aims, questions and contributions. The chapter concludes with the thesis outline.

## **1 LIVING, WORKING AND PLANNING IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT**

Housing and labour have always been strongly connected. At a macro level, the reproduction of the labour force has notably influenced the organisation of residential space over time (Kesteloot, 1988). At a micro level, housing and the economy were historically intimately dependent on each other (Madden & Marcuse, 2016), before the home was emptied of work under industrialisation (Marzloff, 2013). Crucial changes in the labour market over the 20<sup>th</sup> century nevertheless brought work back into the home, which affected housing provision and urban development.

*New ways of working* have emerged following the flexibilisation of work (Marzloff, 2013; Messenger & Gschwind, 2016), under the development of information and communication technology (ICT) and the advent of the ‘new economy’ (Hutton, 2009; van Meel & Vos, 2001). Amid flexible work arrangements have arisen different forms of telework, namely work performed out of the employer’s premises, using technology (Vilhelmson, Thulin, 2016 ; Moos, Skaburskis, 2010 ; Ellmér, 2017 ; Gallardo, Whitacre, 2018). Messenger & Gschwind (2016) have identified three generations of telework, from home-based work to virtual forms of work, which can be performed anytime, anywhere. The flexibilisation and dematerialisation of work have induced new relations to time and space (Marzloff, 2013), which have affected home meanings and practices (Bergan et al., 2020).

Consequently, *new ways of living* have been observed under the renewed blurring of work and home (e.g., van Meel & Vos, 2001). New housing forms have emerged in new kinds of locations, in a context of ‘housing crisis’ (European Union, 2018c), especially in cities. The European Union deplores that ‘housing in cities is expensive, small and crowded’ (European Union & UN-Habitat, 2016, p. 13). Housing affordability has decreased across the EU as housing prices have recovered faster than incomes in the aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) (European Union, 2018c). The shortage of affordable housing has affected an increasing number of people, in particular in large cities with high property and land prices, due to the lack of available land and ‘political will’ (European Union, 2018c; Housing Europe, 2019). As a result, housing has become a key policy topic in European cities and one of the priorities in the

Pact of Amsterdam (2016) framing the ‘Urban Agenda for the EU’ (EU Ministers responsible for Urban Matters, 2016).

Nevertheless, Housing Europe<sup>1</sup> (2019) regrets that the housing crisis is still addressed with policy solutions and investments too much focused on incentives to private development. Instead, the Urban Agenda for the EU emphasises the provision of affordable and good-quality housing in cities through public housing production, state aid and appropriate housing policies (European Union, 2018c). In particular, Housing Europe pleads for housing policies adapted to the realities of the youth<sup>2</sup>, investment in affordable housing, higher-quality housing in the private-rented sector (PRS) and the promotion of specific solutions, such as shared housing (Housing Europe Observatory, 2018). These issues and related agendas frame the current context of new housing production in European cities.

Developing new ways of living and working may require *new ways of planning*. Under accelerated globalisation and increased competitiveness, cities have developed urban agendas fostering densification and mixed-use development as tools of attractiveness, economic development and ‘urban regeneration’ (e.g., van den Hurk & Taşan-Kok, 2020). The 2007 Leipzig Charter promoted ‘integrated’ urban development through partnerships and dedicated strategies, including mixed-use neighbourhoods and affordable housing. Nowadays, the Urban Agenda for the EU advocates for the regeneration of brownfield sites, to improve land-use efficiency and ‘increase the supply of attractive and affordable, mixed-use urban neighbourhoods’ (European Union, 2018b, p. 4). Housing production is key to the redevelopment of these sites and the overall economic development of cities (European Union, 2018a). The Urban agenda further acknowledges the need for state intervention and strategic planning that integrates various governance levels and stakeholders to achieve these goals (ibid). The Pact of Amsterdam indeed calls for ‘effective urban governance’ through ‘sound and strategic’ urban planning and partnerships. All these EU policies demand, directly or indirectly, new governance arrangements and give a central role to affordable housing production and mixed-use development. These two dimensions are fundamental aspects of the phenomenon investigated in this research.

---

<sup>1</sup> Housing Europe is the ‘European Federation of Public, Cooperative & Social Housing’ (<https://www.housingeurope.eu>)

<sup>2</sup> The term ‘youth’ embraces various professional situations and family compositions, so that young people should be provided with a broad diversity of housing solutions (Housing Europe Observatory, 2018).

## 2 LIVE-WORK MIX AS A RESEARCH OBJECT: AIMS, QUESTIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This thesis explores *what happens* at the intersection of new ways of working, living and planning. The study is articulated around three aims: conceptualise, understand and inform. Firstly, the researcher *conceptualises* the ‘live-work mix’ as the renewed intertwining of living and working activities in new housing production and urban development. Live-work mix is assumed to assemble specific housing forms, economic activities and target groups in particular locations (see Chapter 2, section 1 for the full conceptualisation). Although partly driven by global developments, one can assume that live-work mix has governance implications that vary across contexts. Secondly, and most importantly, the research aims to *understand the ‘how’*, namely (i) how local contexts, in particular institutional frameworks, influence the nature of this phenomenon and related live-work goals, and (ii) how – or through which governance arrangements – these goals are implemented. Thirdly, the researcher seeks to *inform* planners, decision-makers and scholars to help them apprehend an emerging phenomenon that is likely to expand in the future, notably given the recommendations of the European urban agenda and other European policy documents mentioned above.

The concrete steps proposed to achieve the research aims are articulated around three objectives:

1. Retrieving the different ontologies of live-work mix in contrasting institutional frameworks based on the analysis of housing, planning regimes and urban agendas;
2. Understanding the governance of the implementation of a live-work mix typology in these institutional contexts, including the actors and instruments that make live-work mix possible;
3. Understanding the overall influence of local institutional frameworks on the nature and governance of live-work mix, and providing suggestions and recommendations for the regulation and governance of live-work mix.

The overarching research questions addressed in this thesis mirror these objectives:

*Q1. What are the different ontologies of live-work mix in contrasting institutional frameworks, and how are they influenced by housing and planning regimes, as well as current urban agendas?*

*Q2. How is live-work mix implemented locally, and more specifically, what kind of governance arrangements make live-work mix possible?*

*Q3. How do local institutional frameworks influence the nature and governance of live-work mix, and how to improve live-work mix?*

All the terms introduced in the objectives and questions are defined carefully in the next chapters.

The approach selected to tackle these questions draws upon social constructionism, a broad school of thought aiming at understanding how reality is socially constructed (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009). More specifically, the analytical framework combines a path dependency approach to local institutional frameworks and an institutionalist approach to collaborative governance. Such a framework allows understanding both local institutional paths and governance arrangements and capacities.

Comparative, embedded case study research was conducted for the empirical exploration of live-work mix, in three European cities (Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm) and through three types of live-work mix (the shared housing market, live-work development in targeted areas and live-work, co-housing). This approach is appropriate to study social and context-related phenomena such as live-work mix and to address research questions focused on the ‘*how*’ (Yin, 2009). Throughout the qualitative analysis of the empirical data, special attention was paid to reflection, defined as:

‘...thinking about the conditions for what one is doing, investigating the way in which the theoretical, cultural and political context of individual and intellectual involvement affects interaction with whatever is being researched, often in ways that are difficult to become conscious of.’ (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009, p. 269)

Further enhancing reflexivity, or ‘ways of seeing which act back on and reflect existing ways of seeing’ (ibid, p. 271), through different levels of interpretation, was also a central goal.

Although tools and methods belonging to the social sciences were extensively used in this research project, the positioning here is the one of an architectural engineer interested in improving understanding of cities’ development. Urban sociologists such as Manuel Castells have stressed the need for investigations of ‘hybrid cities made up of the intertwining of flows and places’ (Castells, 2002, p. 16). Live-work mix is believed to play an important role in such cities and, thus, seems relevant as a research object to understand urban development better. Besides, the methods used (comparative, embedded case-study analysis) and the focus on governance are consistent with the researcher’s competences in architectural engineering.

Accordingly, the researcher seeks to make contributions at different levels, first through the original framing of the live-work mix concept. At a theoretical level, the thesis aims to contribute to creating knowledge about contrasting housing and planning regimes as well as collaborative

governance in institutionalist approaches. The methods proposed for the study, in particular the embeddedness of cases in the studied cities, can also be considered an original contribution. Finally, the formulation of suggestions and recommendations provides practical outputs that aim to draw the attention of planners and decision-makers to new markets and practices. As for academic researchers, a research agenda for future investigations of this emerging and under-researched phenomenon concludes the dissertation.

### **3 THESIS OUTLINE**

The thesis outline is summarised in Figure 1. To begin with, *Chapter 2* conceptualises the ‘live-work mix’, before exploring the global drivers of this phenomenon. The emphasis on ‘young urban single professionals’ is discussed first. Then, changes in housing provision are examined through the lens of housing regimes. In contrast, the emergence of new urban agendas is addressed with the instrumentation of live-work mix in a context of accelerated globalisation and economic changes. The research gaps are then defined as the need to (i) identify similarities and discrepancies in local ontologies of live-work mix within institutional contexts influenced by similar globalisation patterns and (ii) understand the governance arrangements used to implement different types of live-work mix. Finally, the analytical framework (path dependency and collaborative governance) is developed.

*Chapter 3* connects the theoretical considerations of the previous chapter to the empirical body of the thesis. It starts by explaining the methodological choice of a comparative case study analysis. The related qualitative methods and successive phases of investigations are then introduced. The explanation of the selection of cities (Amsterdam, Brussels, Stockholm) as case studies and the typology of live-work projects as embedded cases follows. Finally, the data collection process is described before the summary of the research design.

The first part of the empirical work is encapsulated in *Chapter 4*, which explores the ontologies of live-work mix in Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm, through the analysis of local drivers and live-work mix strategies in each city. A concluding discussion compares the three cities, according to their housing, planning regimes and strategies. The main path dependencies and current issues conditioning live-work mix are highlighted as well, before a self-reflection on the relevance of path dependency as an analytical framework.

*Chapter 5* corresponds to the second part of the empirical investigations and examines three types of live-work mix: (i) the shared housing market, (ii) live-work development in targeted areas and (iii) live-work, co-housing. For each type, the analysis of selected projects is detailed

per city. The structure of the argument is consistent with the analytical framework, which draws particular attention to the actors and instruments of live-work mix. A discussion closes the presentation of each type and compares the results between cities. Then, a comprehensive discussion pinpoints the overall results of what constitutes the core of the thesis. A methodological discussion of the typology design concludes the chapter.

Prior to the conclusions, *Chapter 6* reconnects the empirical research to the theoretical background and concludes on the relationship between institutional frameworks, ontologies and governance of live-work mix. It also reflects on possible ways to improve the regulation and governance of live-work mix. *Chapter 7* closes the dissertation with a summary of the findings, research contributions, limitations and perspectives for future research.

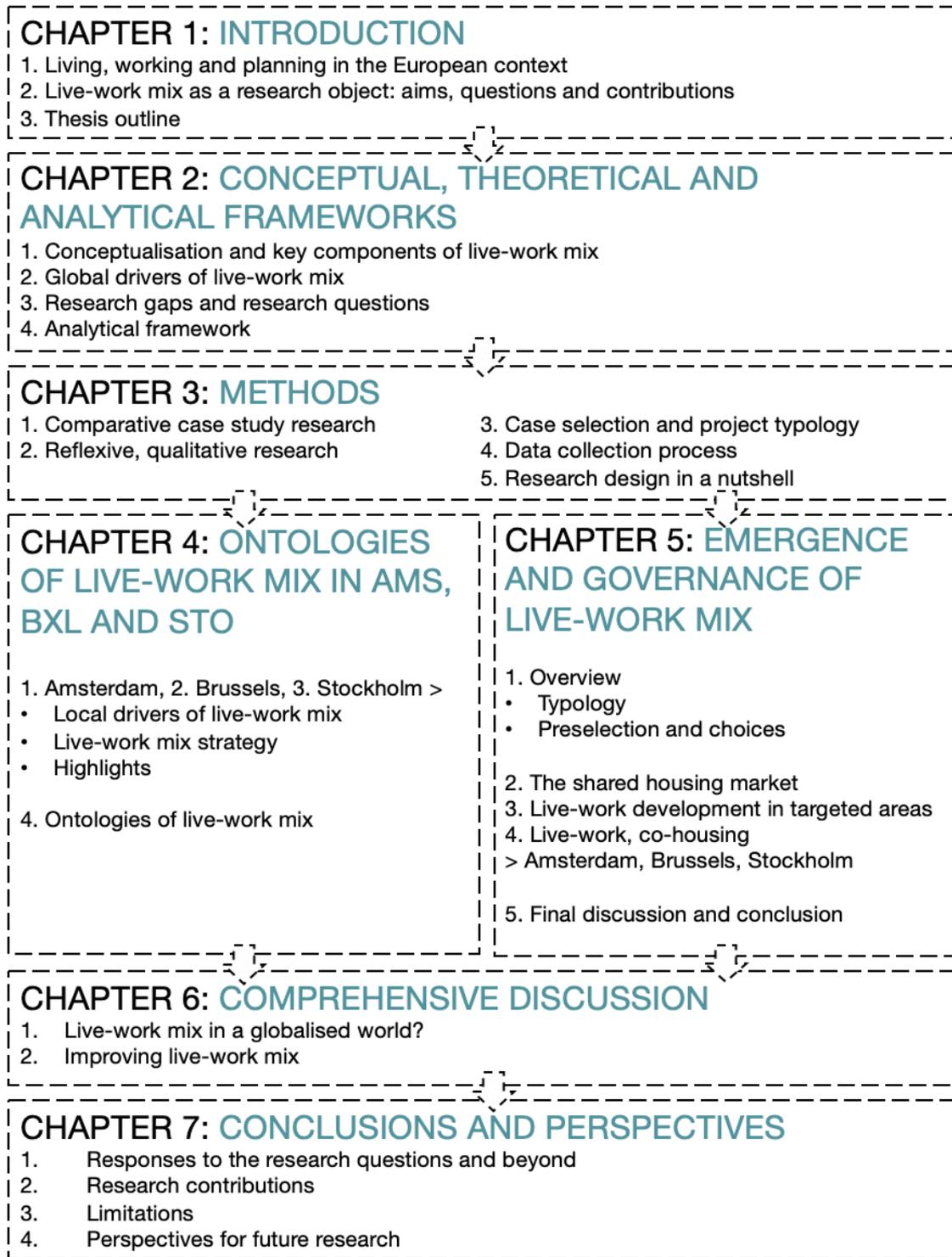


Figure 1: Outline of the thesis

# CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL, THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

*...One of the most intractable problems is that of defining problems (of knowing what distinguishes an observed condition from a desired condition) and of locating problems (finding where in the complex causal networks the trouble really lies). In turn, and equally intractable, is the problem of identifying the actions that might effectively narrow the gap between what-is and what-ought-to-be. As we seek to improve the effectiveness of actions in pursuit of valued outcomes, as system boundaries get stretched, and as we become more sophisticated about the complex workings of open societal systems, it becomes ever more difficult to make the planning idea operational.*

(Rittel & Webber, 1973, p. 159; emphasis added)

This excerpt from Rittel and Webber's article on 'wicked problems' in planning was selected as an introduction to the present chapter in purpose. The reader will soon discover that the 'live-work mix' is a wicked problem. Conceptualising live-work mix as a problem may be indeed *intractable*. Still, section 1 tentatively frames this concept and its components. Then, section 2 provides a theoretical discussion of the main drivers of live-work mix, organised around three themes: target groups, housing provision and urban development. The research gaps identified in this theoretical background are underlined to introduce the research questions next (section 3). The primary objectives of this research include examining the nature of live-work goals in different institutional frameworks – *what-ought-to-be*, and further understanding the governance arrangements used to implement these goals – *narrow the gap*. Section 4 introduces the analytical framework used to address the research question, and Section 5 encapsulates the theoretical highlights that can be useful to the reader in the next chapters.

## 1 CONCEPTUALISATION AND KEY COMPONENTS OF LIVE-WORK MIX

This thesis addresses the ontologies and governance of the 'live-work mix'. This hybrid concept refers to the renewed intertwining of residential and economic (or work-related) uses in new urban developments, under labour markets' flexibilisation, both at the building, building-block and area levels. Live-work mix is translated into specific housing forms (e.g., with shared arrangements, short-term tenures), often designed to meet the presumed aspirations of preferred target groups – who are assumed to live and work in mobile and flexible ways – and developed in particular locations to enhance their attractiveness.

Before being separated under functionalist principles, housing and economic activities were intimately interdependent, and housing dwellings reflected ‘the intimate union of domesticity and labour’ (Mumford in Madden & Marcuse, 2016). With the ‘flexibilisation’ of labour markets, the temporal and spatial distinctions between the work and home spheres have once again become increasingly blurred (Bergan et al., 2020). Labour flexibilisation and re-commodification have led to the rise of the ‘precariat’ (Standing, 2011), an emerging class confronted with ‘labour-related insecurity’, and encompassing both ‘victims’ (i.e., ‘groaners’ who are forced to precarious jobs) and ‘heroes’ (i.e., ‘grinners’ who welcome precarious jobs<sup>3</sup>) of changing labour conditions (ibid). Workers from the precariat are demanded to work flexibly and to be spatially mobile (Bergan et al., 2020), which has contributed to enhancing flexibility in housing markets (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020). The return to live-work mix is, thus, *indirectly* related to the paradigm shift towards a flexible labour market.

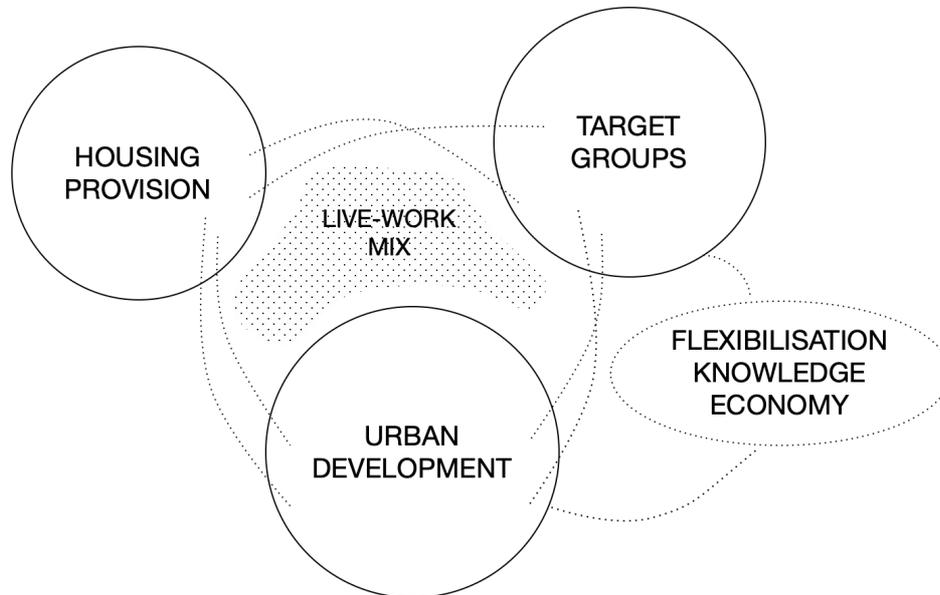
Conversely, live-work mix is *directly* related to the consequences of this new labour paradigm amid global structural changes. Three evolutions are identified as the major drivers of live-work mix: (i) the concentration of – and competition for – preferred *target groups*, such as ‘young urban singles’ (Ronald & Hirayama, 2009), expatriates, ‘knowledge workers’ (Bontje et al., 2017) and ‘young professionals’ (Heath & Kenyon, 2001) in cities; (ii) structural changes in *housing provision* under the transformation of welfare states (Bengtsson, 2001; Fahey & Norris, 2011; Hedin et al., 2012); (iii) the impact of the so-called ‘new economy’ (Hutton, 2009), in particular the creative and knowledge-intensive sectors, on *urban development* agendas of ‘global cities’ (Sassen, 1991). These drivers are further explored in section 2.

Live-work mix is conceptualised as a *hybrid* concept positioned in between its drivers (**Erreur ! Source du renvoi introuvable.**) and influenced by the hybridisation of the three spheres encompassing these drivers. Firstly, hybrid, flexible labour forms have emerged, notably through multiple-employment declinations (Bögenhold & Klinglmair, 2016). Flexible work has led to the creation of the aforementioned target groups, who are of particular interest in live-work developments. Secondly, on the housing market, hybrid third-sector housing providers now have to combine public services with market-like behaviours, under welfare state restructuring (Brandsen et al., 2005; Christophers, 2013; Lee & Ronald, 2012). These changing roles for the third sector lead to new tenure forms, including in live-work projects. Thirdly, cities witness the development of hybrid third places. These are places outside the workplace and the home (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982), such as co-working spaces (Fuzi, 2015; Kingma, 2016;

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<sup>3</sup> Standing (2011) considers as ‘grinners’ young students who take short-term jobs as well as retired people with adequate pension who continue to work for pleasure.

Waters-Lynch & Potts, 2017), which have emerged under the advent of ICT and New Ways of Working (NWOW) (e.g., Messenger & Gschwind, 2016). These places play a decisive role in live-work mix. Live-work development thus assembles new housing forms with new economic activities for new target groups in new types of locations. These components are briefly introduced in the next paragraphs and examined in more details in the next section.



**Figure 2: Live-work mix as a hybrid concept resulting from new target groups, structural changes in housing provision and new urban development agendas, under the influence of labour flexibilisation and the advent of the knowledge economy**

Amid the *new target groups* of live-work mix, the so-called ‘young professionals’ are young (commonly defined as aged 20 to 34), often single and highly-educated adults. They are in the early stages of their careers and are expected to be flexible and mobile for their work (Bergan et al., 2020; Heath & Kenyon, 2001). They are entering both the housing and the labour markets, as part of their transition to adulthood (Arundel & Ronald, 2016). Young professionals are often part of the young cohort of ‘creative’ and ‘knowledge’ workers of the *new economy*. They are of high interest to local governments, in the context of cities’ globalisation and competitiveness (Sassen, 1991).

Demands for more flexible workplaces and housing have led to *new housing forms*. In particular, since the global financial crisis (GFC), increasing market pressure and a significant rise in housing costs (Tromp, 2020) have encouraged a decrease in housing standards – including domestic space shrinking – resulting in the development of ‘micro-living’ or ‘micro-apartments’ (Gabbe, 2015; Harris & Nowicki, 2020). Harris and Nowicki (2020, p. 591) consider three sub-categories within ‘micro-living’: ‘self-contained living spaces, purpose built co-living

developments and converted shared living spaces'. Micro-living 'repackages' older traditions of small and shared living by positioning it as desirable for young singles and a privatised solution to housing crises (ibid).

Related to this development, a 'shared housing market' has emerged amid new housing production. In this thesis, the shared housing market refers to large-scale developments delivering a substantial number of small housing units (up to 900 units starting from 25m<sup>2</sup> in this study), equipped with shared spaces and services (e.g., libraries, working spaces) for the residents. This emerging housing segment has been increasingly supported by local governments and generally targets students (e.g., Thomsen, 2007) and 'young professionals' (Druta & Ronald, 2020; Kemp, 2011). Shared housing providers do not necessarily exclude other target groups, but the focus is implicitly reflected in the tenant demographic (Bergan et al., 2020). In response to young professionals' demand for flexible and affordable accommodation, the shared housing market has been developed throughout Europe, considering that shared facilities can compensate for smaller – and supposedly more affordable – dwellings (Verhetsel et al., 2017). In countries such as the UK, young professionals and students are the main drivers of inner-city shared-housing developments (Bromley et al., 2007; CBRE, 2018; Hubbard, 2009).

Sharing is expanding in a situation of an investment-driven private-rented sector (PRS), fast-growing prices and reduced social housing provision (Maalsen, 2020). The old and initially innovative concept of sharing common spaces (e.g., a kitchen) was *repurposed* by the market through the development of new real estate practices, to meet students and young professionals' perceived needs (Pfeiffer et al., 2019). However, the development of youth and student (shared) housing can lead to 'youthification' and 'studentification', that is, the creation of exclusionary spaces following the expansion of youth and student populations in particular neighbourhoods (Moos, 2016; Revington et al., 2018; D. P. Smith & Hubbard, 2014). Young professionals can further impact gentrifying areas by enhancing the development of luxury mixed-use buildings (Landriscina, 2018).

Regarded as an advanced, commodified form of shared housing, 'co-living' has arisen in global cities as well, and was initially aimed at young professionals and 'digital nomads' (Bergan et al., 2020, p. 4) or 'millennial, self-employed and freelance workers' (Harris & Nowicki, 2020, p. 595). Recent co-living projects have also been developed for older age cohorts, who cannot afford an apartment in large cities or aspire to a different lifestyle (Tromp, 2020). Similarly to the shared housing market, co-living provides shared spaces – including co-working spaces – and amenities (Harris & Nowicki, 2020). Co-living is somehow the apogee of live-work mix in

that it reconceptualises ‘home as mobile, a place of work and a social network’ (Bergan et al., 2020, p. 9). Nevertheless, it was not investigated in the framework of this thesis because it is still a very niche market in the case-study cities. The more widespread shared housing market also fosters live-work mix through the provision of third places (both privately-shared workplaces and commercial co-working spaces) and the practices of the target group.

As for *new locations*, return to live-work mix was initiated by artists who transformed former industrial settings into lofts where they could both live and work (Dolan, 2012). Since then, various forms of live-work buildings, including housing over commercial ground floors and mixed-use live-work neighbourhoods (Dolan, 2012), have been observed. Live-work mix is seen as a particular form of mixed-use development that ranges from the building to the district scale (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005). Mixed-use buildings are more common in inner-city areas, whereas mixed-use areas consist of walkable clusters of three or more uses (Grant, 2002) and are either defined as ‘mixed’ in land-use plans or the result of multiple land uses (Korthals Altes, 2019). Industrial use is rarely advocated because it is seen as more challenging to mix with other uses (ibid.). In this thesis, the concept of ‘live-work development in targeted areas’ refers to developments that mix housing and economic activities (industrial, service-oriented), both at the building and at the block level, in areas targeted for redevelopment.

In cities, live-work mix came to be seen as instrumental in fostering economic growth and competitiveness. In particular, both the creation of attractive live-work environments and the more recent emergence of ‘live-work-play’ concepts (Dolan, 2012) were promoted in obsolete office and industrial areas. This was part of a strategy to attract highly skilled workers in knowledge-intensive sectors (e.g. Bontje & Musterd, 2009; Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009), especially in post-industrial cities, but some argued that it came at the expense of affordable housing (Ferm & Jones, 2016). Introducing housing into these former ‘employment lands’ has been used as a ‘regeneration catalyst’ since the 1990s (ibid.). Other approaches seek to enhance innovative forms of active production, urban manufacturing and logistics within cities, following recent planners’ discourses on the ‘productive city’, the ‘city of making’ or the ‘productive democracy’ (Baudouin, 2010; De Boeck et al., 2017; Pecqueur, 2006).

Today, despite the difficulties associated with live-work developments, such approaches are becoming more widespread in urban development agendas. Live-work mix strategies are illustrative of strategic spatial planning, which emerged in the 1980s as a public-led process ‘through which a vision, coherent actions, and means for implementation are produced that shape and frame what a place is and what it might become.’ (Albrechts, 2006, p. 1152). Strategic spatial planning is both a political project and an intellectual project in that it relies on changing

discourses and practices as well as new understandings and concepts (Healey, 2007). Such planning has brought about innovative governance capacities (ibid – see section 4).

As illustrated in this section, live-work mix combines housing with different kinds of spaces (e.g., shared semi-private spaces) and economic activities (e.g., retail, offices, light industry). It is also observed at different scales and here explored from the building to the block scales, through both market-led, community-led and multi-actor initiatives.

## **2 GLOBAL DRIVERS OF LIVE-WORK MIX**

Based on the conceptualisation of live-work mix, this section explores existing scientific knowledge on the global drivers of live-work mix: (i) the definition of new target groups, (ii) the evolution of housing provision under welfare restructuring, and (iii) the impact of economic changes on urban development agendas.

### **2.1 PREFERRED TARGET GROUPS AND ACTUAL NEEDS**

Young urban single professionals have gained increasing attention in new housing production and urban agendas. Having moved to cities to complete higher education, young singles tend to stay for the first years of their careers (e.g., in Amsterdam - see Booi & Boterman, 2019). The concentration of young adults in urban areas has been linked to the development of the knowledge economy. The latter has also brought about a substantial highly-skilled working class, sometimes labelled as the ‘creative class’, which mostly includes knowledge-based job occupations (R. Florida, 2002; R. Florida et al., 2008). The creative talents conceptualised by Florida, the ‘winners of capitalism’ (Bergan et al., 2020), are assumed to live and work differently, being attracted to innovative environments and third places (Bontje et al., 2017). However, scholars have heavily questioned the idea that a *unique* creative class could drive urban economic development (Bontje & Musterd, 2009; Eckert et al., 2012; Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009). They have also denounced the myth of the glamorised ‘young, hip professionals’ moving between locations with similar amenities (Bergan et al., 2020). Nevertheless, local authorities still rely upon these narratives to design their urban development strategies (e.g., Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009 - see section 2.3).

The delineation of ‘young adults’ itself received criticism, especially from Bourdieu, who saw the division between age cohorts as arbitrary and the distinction between young and old people as primarily related to power struggles and, thus, socially constructed (Bourdieu, 1978). Referring to the ‘youth’ dissimulates the disparities within this group, which encompasses at

least ‘two youths’ sharply divided by social and economic inequalities (Mauger, 2001). Between two extremes, defined at the time by Bourdieu (1978) as the *bourgeois* student and the young worker, a spectrum of intermediary situations does exist, even more in today’s labour market. These inequalities have been made less apparent, given the growing number of young people attending higher education (Mauger, 2001). Moreover, young people have common interests related to their generational power struggles (ibid). Keeping the limits of this categorisation in mind, young (single) professionals are still referred to throughout the thesis because of their designation as a target demographic in the discourse of both local governments and real estate actors.

As other age cohorts, some young adults face precarity on both housing and labour markets (Ferreri et al., 2016). Housing is critical in young adults’ transition to adulthood<sup>4</sup>, as it impacts both quality of life and economic security (Arundel & Ronald, 2016). Young adults tend to leave the parental home later than before in all EU Member States, with almost half of the people aged 18 to 34 living with their parents in the EU (Housing Europe Observatory, 2018). Furthermore, Hoolachan et al. (2017) have designated young adults as ‘Generation Rent’ to emphasise their tendency to live in the PRS for ever-longer periods, especially in the aftermath of the GFC, making the time of ‘settling down’ more difficult for them to reach.

Young professionals are also one of the main target groups for the shared housing market (Arundel & Ronald, 2016; Bergan et al., 2020; Druta & Ronald, 2020; Heath & Kenyon, 2001; Landriscina, 2018; Parkinson et al., 2020; D. P. Smith & Hubbard, 2014). Maalsen (2020) introduced, provocatively, the ‘Generation Share’ concept implying that shared housing is not so transient any longer. Such developments raise concerns regarding young adults’ housing careers, as shared housing has been associated with tenure insecurity, reduced affordability and overall precarity (Bergan et al., 2020; Parkinson et al., 2020). Nevertheless, as for the labour market, shared housing is assumed to encompass both those ‘forced’ to such accommodations and the ones who choose shared housing conditions. Also, the actual residents of shared housing accommodations do not systematically correspond to the groups for whom the developments are initially branded. Not all shared housing arrangements include live-work mix, neither all live-work housing is shared. However, both overlap in the shared housing market (see section 1 and Chapter 5, section 2).

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<sup>4</sup> Arundel and Ronald (2016, p. 885) define this process as follows: ‘Transition to adulthood is by no means a clear-cut process and comprises varied sequences of institutionalised status passages from school completion, to labour market entry, to parental home-leaving, to family formation and potential parenthood.’

Given the strong emphasis on preferred target groups in housing production and urban development, lower-income households and families might be overlooked. Shared housing and more generally, high-density living deliver predominantly small properties, thus possibly excluding family households (Easthope & Randolph, 2009). Youthification and studentification were introduced in the previous section. These specific forms of gentrification are induced by high-density and micro-living purposed for young adults and childless couples (or students in University areas), in which families cannot downsize (Hubbard, 2009; Moos, 2016). These developments exemplify the role of the housing market in inducing and reinforcing social change and gentrification (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). Gentrification generally designates the ‘social upgrading’ of urban areas through the ‘increasing presence of high-income and highly educated categories at the expense of low-income or low-educated categories’ (Roger Andersson & Turner, 2014, p. 7). Gentrification is often driven by urban policies and related investment and eviction patterns (N. Smith, 2005).

Different waves of gentrification have been observed in cities, including state-led gentrification (the third wave), which is typically induced by tenure-mix policies introducing more expensive dwellings and affluent residents in targeted neighbourhoods (Hochstenbach, 2016). Market-based reforms do also play a role in excluding lower-income groups, especially in global cities with high market pressure (Kadi & Ronald, 2014). Other forms of state-led displacement include ‘renoviction’, namely displacement through urban renewal (e.g., Baeten & Listerborn, 2015). In particular, urban revitalisation intended for so-called ‘millennials’ fosters rising housing costs and gentrification in inner cities (Ehlenz et al., 2019). The combination of state-led gentrification with the financialisation of home (see section 2.2) was seen as a fourth wave (Lees et al., 2008 in Aalbers, 2019). Aalbers has identified a fifth gentrification wave, since the GFC, driven by finance-led capitalism supplementing the state (Aalbers, 2019).

Gentrification is a well-established field of research and does not represent the central topic of this thesis. Nonetheless, the instrumental role of housing markets in gentrification enables to assume that live-work mix, by targeting preferably young professionals, knowledge workers and middle- to high-income households might contribute to increasing gentrification. The next section further develops the second driver of live-work mix, that is, the evolution of housing provision under welfare state restructuring.

## **2.2 SHIFTS IN HOUSING PROVISION RESULTING IN DECREASED HOUSING AFFORDABILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY**

This section first introduces the notions of housing affordability, accessibility, provision and regimes before discussing their relationship with changes in regimes of accumulation and welfare states, which are also defined. All these notions are used to understand local institutional frameworks and their relationship to live-work mix over time. While the evolution of housing provision in different contexts is analysed in Chapter 4, this section provides a broad picture of the evolution of housing regimes and global developments that have been observed with local variations. The section concludes with current affordability and accessibility issues observed in different housing regimes. The analysis of local housing regimes follows a similar structure.

### **Preliminary definitions**

Housing is defined both as a market commodity and as a public good because it involves states but is provided through markets (Bengtsson, 2001). The tension apparent in these two dimensions of housing lies in the notions of housing affordability and accessibility. On the one hand, housing affordability broadly refers to the share of a household's income spent to cover housing costs (Kadi & Musterd, 2015; Sendi, 2011). However, affordability has multiple dimensions and no clear-cut definition, so that affordable housing can designate housing for low- and middle-income households in certain contexts, but not in others (Granath Hansson, 2017b). On the other hand, the notion of housing accessibility values housing as a social right to 'adequate' housing for all, or housing which provides tenure security and fulfils basic standards such as the availability of services and facilities (Sendi, 2011). The right to housing can only be understood when contextualised within a national (or even more local) housing discourse (Bengtsson, 2001). Attention must be paid not to falling in particularism, though (Hantrais, 1999 - see Chapter 3, section 1). Without entering complex discussions on these notions, one can consider affordability as the market dimension of housing (*housing as capital*) and accessibility as the social dimension of housing (*housing as a service*) (Fahey & Norris, 2011).

Housing affordability and accessibility characterise housing provision and related regimes. Housing provision is the 'process through which housing becomes available to users' (Ruonavaara, 2020, p. 10). Three ideal-typical modes of provision can be distinguished: self-, commercial and non-profit housing provision (ibid). From there, housing regimes can be defined as:

‘...constellations of power relationships, ideological beliefs and cultural patterns referring to the social, political and economic organisation of the provision, allocation and consumption of housing.’ (Kemeny, 1981 in Dewilde & De Decker, 2016, p. 121)

Ruonavaara gives a more straightforward definition of the housing regime concept that is consistent with path-dependent perspectives:

‘The set of fundamental principles according to which housing provision is operating in some defined area (municipality, region, state) at a particular point in time.’ (Ruonavaara, 2020, p. 10)

The second definition is the one used in this thesis, as it stresses well the fact that each regime reflects differences in the operating principles of housing provision (Dewilde & De Decker, 2016). Also, housing regimes must be distinguished from housing systems, which designate housing and welfare policies in one country at one point in time (Kemeny, 2001). Moreover, the relationship between housing systems and state intervention depends on the policies examined (Fahey & Norris, 2011). The present comparative case study research, therefore, focuses on housing regimes rather than systems. Irrespective of the definition chosen, examining housing regimes is essential to understand struggles between different groups, since ‘the residential is political’ (Madden & Marcuse, 2016, p. 4). Housing regimes also present specific *critical junctures*, that is, essential changes in the institutional path (see section 4.1), that are further explored in the introduction of each case study (see Chapter 4).

Previous research has examined the evolution of housing regimes through the lens of other types of regimes, including regimes of accumulation and welfare states. While some authors strongly disagree with the use of welfare states to characterise housing regimes, the approach developed in this thesis is a careful, nuanced and pragmatic use of the concepts developed in both approaches (accumulation regimes and welfare states). Regimes of accumulation were introduced in economics by the French regulation school (e.g., Boyer & Saillard, 2002) and can be understood as:

‘the social and economic regularities which allow for the long-term development of accumulation between two structural crises.’ (Boyer & Saillard, 2002, p. 61; author’s translation)

The notion of ‘structural crisis’ is here fundamental as it makes the transition (critical juncture) between two regimes of accumulation.

Regimes of accumulation vary according to time and space. Accumulation can be *extensive*, when exploring new economic spheres without changing the conditions of labour production, or *intensive*, when transforming the conditions of production and increasing labour productivity (ibid). For example, Fordism<sup>5</sup> corresponds to the post-war, intensive regime of accumulation,

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<sup>5</sup> Fordism guarantees the share of productivity gains within the national space. This accumulation regime, dominated by a Taylorist mode of production, started after WWII (Boyer & Saillard, 2002).

whereas Post-Fordism was associated with return to extensive accumulation under flexible specialisation (André in Boyer & Saillard, 2002). The latter is an outcome of technological development and supposes the return of workplaces in urban areas (ibid).

Besides, the concept of 'welfare state' globally covers all state interventions targeting individuals and groups, including housing, although the latter has been described as the 'wobbly pillar' of welfare states (Torgerssen in Bengtsson, 2015). While the welfare state notion is closely related to the regulationist approach (ibid), the application of both approaches to housing delivers different conclusions.

### **Housing provision, regimes of accumulation and welfare states**

Different authors used regimes of accumulation as an analytical framework to understand the evolution of housing provision. Florida and Feldman (1988) studied housing in US Fordism, which they defined as 'the parallel development of mass production and mass consumption in advanced capitalist countries' (R. L. Florida & Feldman, 1988, p. 187). Consistently, Keynesianism provides the theoretical roots of the nature of state intervention in different accumulation regimes (Kesteloot, 1988). In the European context, Kesteloot (1988) examined the relationship between regimes of accumulation and the organisation of urban residential space, with a focus on the case of Belgium, which the author considers as 'broadly' comparable to other West-European states. His contribution, written in times of flexible specialisation (1980s), identified three successive accumulation periods, namely competitive, extensive and intensive modes of accumulation, separated by two crises (the Great Depression of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the Great crisis of the 1930s). He associated each period with a type of residential space (the inner city, its surrounding belt and the periphery) and a specific role for housing, which, besides its primary shelter role, played an active role in mass consumption (ibid). Beyond informing the evolution of housing provision, this approach draws evident links between labour and housing provision and tells about the evolution of live-work mix at macro scales.

Another approach consists of relating housing regimes to welfare states. Given the later onset of Welfare states (compared to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century competitive regime of accumulation), this approach automatically focuses on a later period. While Harloe was against the application of welfare regimes to housing markets and policies (because of the different timelines), Kemeny saw the housing sector as critical for welfare systems, given its effects on other welfare sectors (Hoekstra, 2010). For Ronald (2008, p. 11), housing is a 'welfare good in itself' and 'the basis of how households use and share other welfare goods'. Seeing the relationship between housing policies and other welfare sectors as 'bilateral', Hoekstra defends that 'the welfare state regime

clearly exerts an influence on the housing system' and that 'the housing system is certainly not a passive victim of the welfare state regime' so that housing is *integrated* into the welfare state (Hoekstra, 2010, p. 170). As for accumulation regimes, different shifts directly related to economic crises were observed in welfare provision: the first at the turn of the 1970s and the second, after the GFC. These structural changes impacted both housing provision and the economy (see section 2.3) more or less significantly depending on local specificities.

Esping-Andersen classified welfare states by defining three *ideal-types*<sup>6</sup> of welfare state regimes, that is, social-democratic, conservative-corporatist and liberal. This classification does not deal directly with housing, though (Ruonavaara, 2020). Other researchers later added a type for Mediterranean countries (e.g., Barlow & Duncan, 1994). Social-democratic welfare states imply state dominance in the provision of (universal) welfare services whereas conservative-corporatist welfare states refer to fairly active states but with segmented welfare provision, partly operated by non-state organisations (Hoekstra, 2005). Liberal welfare states correspond to little-interfering states with a strong market orientation, leaving most of the provision of welfare services to private companies (ibid). Most European countries mix elements of each ideal type so that substantial differences in the power balance can be observed between welfare sectors (Hoekstra, 2010). Hoekstra translated Esping-Andersen's typology into a housing policy regime typology and also used Kemeny's differentiation between 'collective' housing provision (*unitary* rental system, i.e., with similar regulation for both market and social rental housing) and 'privatist' housing provision (*dualist* rental system, i.e., with segregated rental sectors and little social housing focused on low-income groups) (ibid).

Within such a framework, the consolidation of *Fordist* welfare state regimes after World War II (WWII) was associated with the massive production of fair-quality housing 'for all', at least in social-democratic regimes such as Sweden (and the Netherlands, to a certain extent<sup>7</sup>). This is much less verified in housing regimes dominated by liberalism such as Belgium, for which the regulationist approach is more suitable. Still, the trio Fordism – Keynesianism – Welfare state was central during the post-war era (Genestier, Jouve, & Boino, 2008) and led by interventionist and regulatory states (Lascombes & Le Galès, 2004). Welfare states were restructured as from the mid-1970s. Thorough welfare state reforms were induced by neoliberal practices and accelerated globalisation, two contingent processes of advanced capitalism (Gledhill in Nugent & Vincent, 2007 - see section 2.3). In this new *Post-Fordist* regime, the welfare state progressively

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<sup>6</sup> These ideal-types were based on the analysis of social security and the pension system in different countries (Hoekstra, 2010).

<sup>7</sup> Until the 1990s, the Dutch housing policy regime mixed corporatism and social-democracy (Hoekstra, 2010).

gave way to the ‘enabling’ state (Hoekstra, 2010). The GFC was another critical juncture in that it made apparent and amplified previous patterns of flexibilisation and financialisation, and it shed light on the role of ‘entrepreneurial states’ (Aalbers, 2017).

All in all, both approaches acknowledge strong state intervention in housing supply over time (Aalbers, 2015). In this research, both concepts related to regimes of accumulation and welfare states are used to inform the evolution of housing regimes over time in different institutional frameworks. These frameworks are used for what they are: ‘tools for the research process’ (Kettunen & Petersen, 2011 in Ruonavaara, 2020). Figure 3 (see the end of section 2.2) summarises the key periods of both frameworks.

### **Housing regimes set in time and place**

In the early days of industrialisation, housing was strongly commodified (so was labour), the PRS was dominant in the most liberal housing regimes, and many households, especially factory workers, experienced poor living conditions (Dewilde & De Decker, 2016). Already back then, precarious housing and work conditions were closely related to each other. In certain welfare states in-the-making, states started to ‘de-commodify’ housing (Dewilde & De Decker, 2016; Ronald, 2008) and to bring ‘correctives’ to the housing market (Bengtsson, 2001). In particular, social-democratic welfare states (e.g., Sweden) initiated by working-class movements integrated the ‘new middle class’ after WWII (*Fordist* regime – intensive accumulation) by delivering attractive welfare services to this group (Hoekstra, 2010). Housing provision, especially tenure forms, relied on the nature of working-class movements, however. This sensitivity to context is well illustrated when comparing Belgium to the Netherlands (see Chapter 4 for further details). While the Catholics dominated in Belgium and promoted homeownership and transportation policies to fix the working class in the countryside, the Dutch ‘class-alliance’ allowed for the mass production of subsidised dwellings for the working class (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997).

The processes that led to ‘*post-Fordist*’ regimes (*flexible accumulation*) in the 1970s (Boyer & Saillard, 2002; Swyngedouw & Baeten, 2001) affected housing regimes. The related changes observed in housing provision varied depending on local institutional arrangements. In particular, housing marketisation and commodification were encouraged where housing had previously been de-commodified (i.e., mainly in social-democratic regimes - Dewilde & De Decker, 2016). Housing *commodification* can be defined as follows:

‘Commodification is the name for the general process by which the economic value of a thing comes to dominate its other uses. Products “are only commodities because they have a dual nature, because they are at the same time objects of utility and bearers of value” (Marx, 1976

[1867], 138). The commodification of housing means that a structure's function as real estate takes precedence over its usefulness as a place to live. When this happens, *housing's role as an investment outweighs all other claims upon it*, whether they are based upon right, need, tradition, legal precedent, cultural habit, or the ethical and affective significance of the home.' (Madden & Marcuse, 2016, p. 17; emphasis added)

Housing commodification and financialisation were amplified in the 1980s under the development of the global economy and accelerated when the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) was created in Europe in 1990 (Nappi-Choulet, 2012). In countries experiencing such developments, homeownership was strongly advocated, particularly for its economic rationality, efficiency and security (Fahey & Norris, 2011; Ronald, 2008). Notwithstanding these benefits, homeownership was also regarded as alienating, leading to more debt and insecurity for lower-income households and sustaining the interests of the real estate industry (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). Homeownership reached higher levels in countries where it contributed to pension savings, such as Belgium (Dewilde & De Decker, 2016). Overall, housing provision became predominantly market-driven, and housing came to be seen as an asset.

As an illustration, the UK, where public housing used to accommodate one-third of the population (Hodkinson et al., 2013), was particularly hit by the state-led restructuring of welfare services throughout the 1980s and 1990s, under the advocacy of market-based services (Goodlad, 1999). In particular, the Thatcherian policies such as the 'Right-to-buy' policy resulted in the massive privatisation of public housing (Hodkinson et al., 2013). Housing privatisation and 'deregulation', emphasising the PRS and homeownership, were also observed in the Netherlands as from the 1980s (Kadi & Ronald, 2014), altering the roles of Dutch social housing providers (Nieboer & Gruis, 2016 - see Chapter 4, section 1.1.2). The shift from universal (social-democratic) to market-led (liberal) housing provision was also striking in Sweden in the 1990s (Roger Andersson & Turner, 2014 - see Chapter 4, section 3.1.2). In Belgium, despite an expanding welfare state, housing policies had already 'failed' in the 1960s, partly because of the 'wrong' choice to back homeownership (De Decker, 1990). In other European countries, massive cuts in public subsidies for housing provision jeopardised housing accessibility (Sendi, 2011). Housing affordability was less threatened in countries with strict rent regulation (Dewilde & De Decker, 2016). Hence, housing regimes with higher state regulation of housing provision (e.g., Sweden) were more 'efficient' in preventing market failure than countries with more liberal housing provision (e.g., the UK) (Barlow & Duncan, 1994).

More recently, housing regimes were affected by the GFC, which was partly triggered by the US housing crisis and led to heavily decreased housing prices, paradoxically where they had previously grown rapidly (Aalbers, 2015), as in the Netherlands. The crisis exacerbated the

development of *Financialised* or *Finance-led* regimes of accumulation (See Aalbers' work, e.g., Aalbers, 2008, 2015, 2017). The impact of this regime shift on housing provision has been the acceleration of the financialisation of housing (Aalbers, 2008), under advents of the new economy, the non-bank financial industry, and financial markets (Nappi-Choulet, 2012). Aalbers defines financialisation as follows:

‘...the increasing dominance of financial actors, markets, practices, measurements and narratives, at various scales, resulting in a structural transformation of economies, firms (including financial institutions), states and households’ (Aalbers et al., 2017, p. 573)

First observed in the 1980s, the financialisation of housing facilitated the development of opportunistic funds with short-term investments (Nappi-Choulet, 2012) and the growing influence of institutional investors like pension funds (Theurillat et al., 2015). Most importantly, state institutions enabled financialisation by creating – consciously or unconsciously – the conditions for it (Aalbers, 2017), thus behaving as entrepreneurial states (Mazzucato, 2013). Hence, what ‘neo-liberalisation’, ‘commodification’, and ‘financialisation’ have in common is *state involvement* ‘requiring more or less regulation to put in place and defend propitious conditions for capital accumulation’ (Christophers, 2013, p. 896). However, the state and the third sector are increasingly dependent on finance and need to behave like the market (Aalbers, 2017). Finance-led regimes created new dependencies between actors, which are explored for live-work mix (see section 4.2.1).

### **Current housing provision reflecting decreased affordability and accessibility**

Today, under on-going market pressure, many West-European cities face an enduring housing crisis (European Union, 2018c), resulting in a housing shortage and lower levels of housing affordability and accessibility. The concept of ‘housing crisis’ is useful to describe this situation, yet must be used carefully since the crisis tends to become the norm for disadvantaged households, indicating structurally unsustainable housing provision (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). Similarly, the ‘housing shortage’ can be seen as permanent for less affluent households (ibid). Affordable housing development can be politically used to legitimise public support to real estate production rather than community needs, and foster gentrification (ibid). Affordable housing policies must thus be considered carefully because such policies may not guarantee accessibility for all (Sendi, 2011).

Additionally, both social (or public) housing and homeownership are long-term and secure tenures but have become inaccessible, including for young households who are assumed to need flexible tenure forms (Aalbers, 2015; Bergan et al., 2020). As an alternative, the PRS has been expanding towards more unaffordable and insecure forms, delivering ever-smaller dwellings

(Clinton, 2018), which is particularly visible in the UK (Aalbers, 2015; Kemp, 2015). Even in countries with long homeownership traditions such as Belgium, homeownership rates started declining in the early 2000s to the benefit of the PRS (Dewilde & De Decker, 2016; Verstraete & Moris, 2019). In countries with strong rent regulation, temporary and less regulated tenure forms were introduced for specific target demographics (e.g., in the Netherlands, Huisman, 2016b). Amid these developments, live-work mix, in its current form, might enhance further commodification rather than de-commodification of the housing market, given the nature of its initiators and its target groups (see Chapter 5). However, housing commodification and financialisation should be regarded as something that can be made and unmade by human beings (Hodkinson et al., 2013), so that more de-commodified live-work alternatives, both affordable and accessible (yet flexible), are possible to develop.

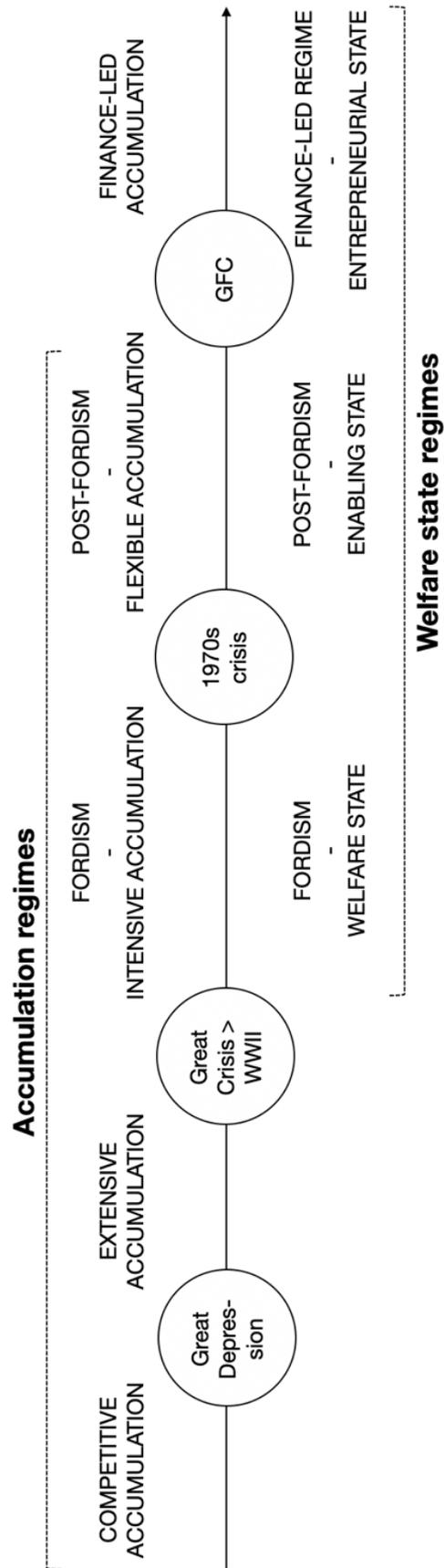


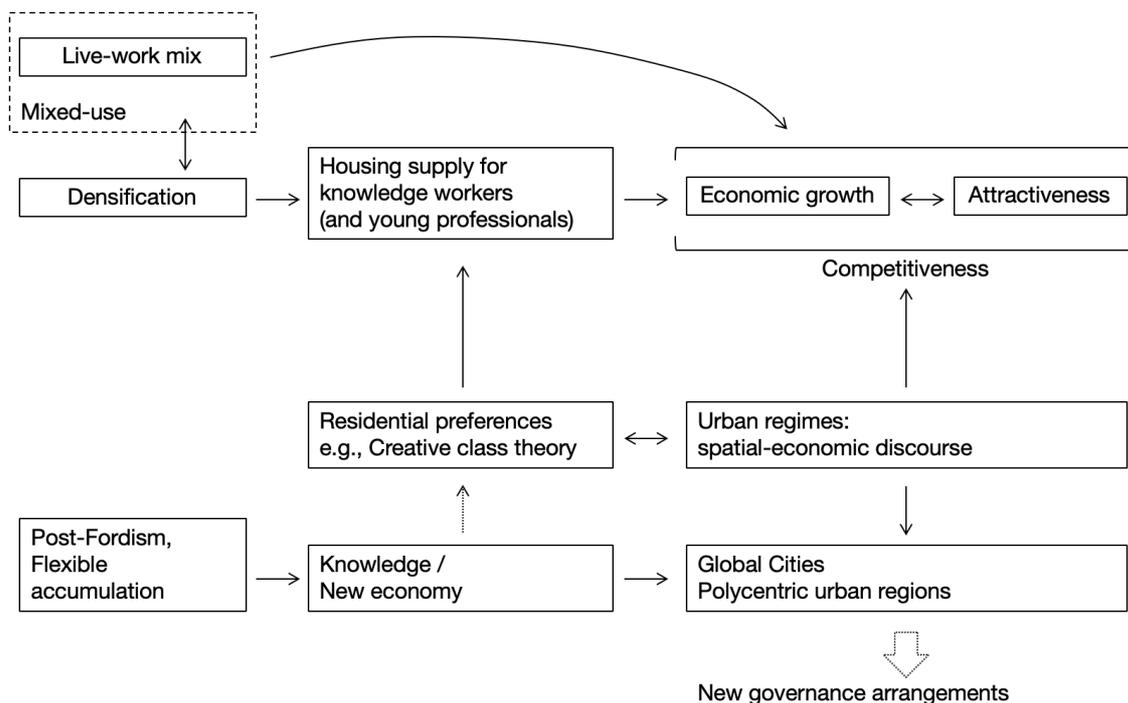
Figure 3: Key periods defined in the welfare-state and accumulation-regime approaches

## 2.3 URBAN DEVELOPMENT AGENDAS DRAWING UPON THE NEW ECONOMY RATIONALE

This section first explores more closely the mutual dependence between densification and live-work mix and the instrumentation of live-work mix as a way to enhance economic growth and attractiveness. These goals are then contextualised as consequences of accelerated globalisation and the impact of the new economy on urban development agendas (Figure 4). As for housing, urban development paths can be analysed in terms of regimes. This was done, for example, by Terhorst & Van de Ven, who considered the following definition of regimes:

‘Regimes enable and constrain the creation of a certain mix of private and public property rights. Therefore, a regime is a historically and geographically specific set of interdependent electoral, territorial and fiscal rules that moulds the production of a specific social and material reality. For this reason, between a regime and a specific social and material reality a “structural coherence exists”.’ (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997, p. 80)

The authors identified contingencies, stability phases, regime switch and ideal types in two different regimes. In this thesis, the approach to urban development paths and regimes focuses on urban development policies related to housing supply and workplace development.



**Figure 4: Positioning of live-work mix as a tool of densification and an instrument of attractiveness in a context of globalisation and advent of the knowledge economy**

### **The instrumentation of live-work mix**

Live-work mix and more broadly mixed-use development have been adopted as fundamental principles in urban policy, especially since the new charter of Athens in 1998 (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005) and the North-American New Urbanism and Smart Growth movements (Ferm & Jones, 2016). These movements have been disseminated across different regions of the world, just like older urban models in the past, such as the ‘garden city’ (Fernández-Ges in Gandy, 2000). In particular, New Urbanism, initiated in the US in reaction to urban sprawl, draws upon the traditional garden city model (ibid) – making it less ‘new’ than it pretends – and seeks to establish transit-oriented development in high-density, mixed-use built environments (Newman & Kenworthy, 1996). Mixed-use developments emphasise the efficient integration of diverse uses – especially in well-connected locations (Grant, 2002; Grant & Perrott, 2011) – and higher-quality built environments with improved social control (Cozens, 2008; Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006; Mualam et al., 2019). Mixed-use buildings are more common in inner-city locations whereas mixed-use areas consist of walkable clusters of three or more uses (Grant, 2002) and are either defined as ‘mixed’ in land-use plans or the result of multiple land uses (Korthals Altes, 2019). Local planners have backed mixed-use to enhance social integration and economic development (Grant, 2002). In that sense, live-work mix remains a central aspect of urban development strategies.

Nevertheless, mixed-use developments have been associated with increased segregation and little improvement in economic vitality (Grant, 2002; Novak, 2019). Residential-led mixed-use developments have been criticised for creating vacancies in other uses (Korthals Altes, 2019) and for displacing the remaining industries – seen as incompatible with housing – in post-industrial cities, hence fuelling unemployment in manufacturing (Ferm & Jones, 2016). Also, the tension between ‘liveability for all’ and investment value can lead to affordability issues (Korthals Altes, 2019, p. 1153).

Furthermore, implementing live-work goals is challenging. Cultural and economic forces promote the separation of uses and the segregation of markets, leading to separate housing and job clusters (Dolan, 2012; Grant & Perrott, 2011; Healey, 1997; Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005). At the building level, public ground floors are often requested, but they involve complex joint (or 3D) ownership arrangements with multiple stakeholders (Mualam et al., 2019; Winston, 2007). These barriers generate planning uncertainties, especially in the case of urban regeneration (van den Hurk & Taşan-Kok, 2020). Urban regeneration projects are large-scale developments, initiated by the public sector and (partly) privately financed, which aim to ‘upgrade, revitalise, or renew neighbourhoods’ (Taşan-Kok, 2010, p. 126). The GFC has

exacerbated planning uncertainties, leading to an emphasis on public-private partnerships and the emergence of new real estate actors (van den Hurk & Taşan-Kok, 2020). These actors are assumed to need new instruments for the implementation of live-work goals (see section 4.2.2).

### **Live-work mix as a tool of densification**

Throughout Europe, urban development agendas and planning policies emphasise housing supply through urban densification and land-use intensification (Amer et al., 2017; Cheshire et al., 2018; Moos, 2016). Densification was already observed in industrial cities of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and it was badly perceived at the time (Ananian, 2016). Nowadays, strategic planning uses higher-density living as a tool for urban development (Easthope & Randolph, 2009). Densification policies rely on the same models that mixed-use development, namely the Compact city, Smart Growth and New Urbanism (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020). The compact-city model is alternatively referred to as the ‘Walkable city’ (Ananian, 2016) since it encourages walking and bicycling amid mixed-use neighbourhoods (Rabianski et al., 2009).

Densification has been advocated to tackle demographic growth in situations of land scarcity (Mualam et al., 2019) and environmental issues. High-density built environments are indeed seen as more sustainable, help stem urban sprawl and related adverse effects and make a more ‘efficient’ use of land and existing amenities (Ananian, 2016; Meijer & Jonkman, 2020; Moos, 2016; Mustafa et al., 2018). More than a green strategy (Bossuyt & Savini, 2017), densification enhances liveability in cities by increasing support for amenities, public transport and agglomeration economies (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020). Densification is often part of urban development policies targeting populations with higher earning capacity to facilitate competition with neighbouring municipalities (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997).

However, densification can have harmful effects as it can increase pressure on existing services and housing prices by reducing the availability of land in urban areas (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020). In particular, residential densification can foster gentrification under certain conditions by contributing to the displacement of deprived households (Ananian et al., 2018; Cheshire et al., 2018; Moos, 2016). Also, applying densification objectives can be challenging, especially in contexts of high land prices or multiple ownership (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020). When implemented in suburbs, densification is the object of tough negotiations and creates a social mix that is not always in favour of disadvantaged households (Rousseau, 2015). Densification can also face protests from local inhabitants who perceive a quality loss in urban densification (Kytä et al., 2013). Despite these drawbacks, densification is still at the core of urban strategies and often combined with mixed-use development and amenities (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw,

2005; Meijer & Jonkman, 2020). In that respect, live-work mix guarantees improved liveability in densification processes.

Both densification and mixed-use development have been used in the public discourse following globalisation processes and the development of the new economy, which are examined in the next sub-section.

### **Emphasis on attractiveness as a result of globalisation and economic changes**

As for housing regimes, changes in welfare states and regimes of accumulation have affected spatial planning regimes (see section 2.2). For instance, under Fordism, Sweden had a ‘planning-led’ regime, but post-Fordism and financialisation led to a shift towards a ‘development-led’ regime (Zakhour & Metzger, 2018 - see Chapter 4, section 3.1.3). Generally-speaking, nowadays, governance agencies often play active roles in local economies, for example, through public-private partnerships (Healey, 1997 - see section 4.2 ). The next paragraphs provide a brief background of the global developments that have influenced local planning regimes.

Globalisation and the development of the knowledge economy have led many cities to focus on both residential attractiveness and economic development, as two sides of the same coin, competitiveness. Live-work mix is one possible declination of such an agenda. The theory of the ‘Global city’ relies on the observation that major cities have become strategic places in the world economy, being critical locations for finance and advanced services (Sassen, 1991). Global cities can be seen as outcomes of new economic regimes:

“These cities play, then, a strategic role in the *new form of accumulation* based on finance and on the globalisation of Manufacturing. (...) The socio-political forms through which this *new economic regime* is implemented and constituted amount to a new class alignment, a new norm of consumption where the provision of public goods and the welfare state are no longer as central as they were in the period dominated by mass manufacturing. (...) It is this combination of a new industrial complex that dominates economic growth and the socio-political forms through which it is constituted and reproduced that is centered in major cities and contains the elements of a *new type of city*, the global city.” (Sassen, 1991, p. 338; emphasis added)

Such economic developments are often related to neoliberal practices. Neoliberalism broadly refers to policies and regulations striving market principles in social activities, through strong state intervention (Pinson & Morel Journal, 2016). Based on this concept, neo-liberalisation designates the ‘inherently fuzzy, diverse, contingent, ever-mutating and path-dependent processes of regulatory change that have been inspired by neoliberal ideas’ (Brenner & Theodore, 2002 in Pinson & Morel Journal, 2016, p. 137). Applied to urban development, neoliberalisation practices emphasise the commodification of urban space (Serin et al., 2020). Although neoliberal practices have been observed in most global cities, the concepts of neoliberalism and neo-liberalisation have limits – including the difficulty to accurately define

these concepts – and are not independent variables (Pinson & Morel Journal, 2016). Aalbers (2013, p. 1883) argues, nevertheless, that ‘the ideology of neoliberalism may have failed, but that neoliberal practice is alive and kicking’. Still, to avoid falling into ideological debates that would move away from the thesis’ focus, the concepts related to neoliberalisation are sparsely used in the next chapters of the thesis and presented here for the sake of contextualisation.

Concomitantly to globalisation, the emergence of the knowledge (or new) economy precipitated the shift towards post-Fordism and flexible accumulation. The substantial increase in students completing higher education and the expansion of research, especially since the 1970s, have enhanced knowledge production and the related growth of the knowledge economy (Nowotny et al., 2003). Cities and their metropolitan regions progressively took more proactive roles and marketed themselves as knowledge cities (Sleutjes in Musterd et al., 2016). Cities started competing with each other to attract and retain highly skilled workers (e.g., Bontje & Musterd, 2009; Hansen & Niedomysl, 2009). Within this new agenda, cities have started to apply polycentric urban development principles – including live-work goals – to reach more efficient, liveable and sustainable urban systems (Boussauw et al., 2018; Rader Olsson & Cars, 2011). Polycentric development models typically consist of mixed-use urban cores connected through infrastructure, hence alleviating the divide between city and suburbs (Boussauw et al., 2018; Kloosterman & Musterd, 2001; Rader Olsson & Cars, 2011). Polycentric development principles tend to fuel competition at the metropolitan level (Boussauw et al., 2018) and are exemplary of a spatial-economic discourse (Healey, 1997). Such a discourse is encapsulated in the notion of ‘urban regime’, which designates, in the US, alliances of local government and local development interests (ibid).

In this competitiveness framework, the residential preferences of knowledge workers have been increasingly studied (Musterd et al., 2016). Knowledge and creative workers are expected to value the urban lifestyle of global cities (Sassen, 1991). This group is not homogeneous, though, as it encompasses several subgroups with different incomes and housing preferences (Sleutjes in Musterd et al., 2016). Young, creative workers are more inclined to settle in inner cities, while older, highly-educated workers (e.g., in business services) rather live in suburban areas (ibid). Furthermore, the creative class theory (R. Florida, 2002) assumes that creative knowledge workers are attracted to cities based on soft conditions (cultural, historical and leisure amenities). In contrast, other location theories consider hard conditions (typically, job opportunities) as the main drivers of choice (Sleutjes in Musterd et al., 2016). In Europe, employment and personal considerations remain dominant location factors, and amenities affect preferences more than needs (Bontje et al., 2017; Sleutjes in Musterd et al., 2016). A third approach, focused on social

capital, values 'social, non-formalised' networks as location factors (Westlund, 2006). The three approaches still acknowledge that a high-quality living environment drives location choice for skilled individuals. However, for opponents to the creative class theory, soft conditions only *retain* workers (Sleutjes in Musterd et al., 2016). The role of amenities in live-work development shall thus be assessed carefully.

Despite the relative role of amenities in residential preferences, many cities have developed policy instruments to enhance residential attractiveness for specific groups in specific places, emphasising place-based economic policies (Miot, 2015; Musterd et al., 2016). As part of these attractiveness policies, cities have invested in urban amenities (e.g., leisure facilities - Sleutjes in Musterd et al., 2016). They have also advocated for third places, new housing forms (including smaller dwellings) and 'creative live-work environments' (ibid) to respond to the assumed lifestyle and workstyle of creative knowledge workers. These policy developments point at the creative class hegemony in the public discourse of the 2000s, which has had unfortunate social consequences, due to an overemphasis on middle and upper classes at the expense of low-skilled employment, the rise of informal – and precarious – jobs, increased competition between municipalities and the displacement of marginalised populations (Bontje et al., 2017; Sleutjes in Musterd et al., 2016). Some scholars now regard globalisation, competitiveness, attractiveness and excellence imperatives as myths that can fuel socio-spatial inequalities when used in urban policies (e.g., Bouba-Olga & Grossetti, 2020). Instead, urban policies should provide a diversity of residential environments and focus on both employment opportunities and housing and amenities (Sleutjes in Musterd et al., 2016).

The above developments have affected the governance of cities. The empowerment of cities and regions has modified local-global institutional relations, especially as regards to planning (Boyer & Saillard, 2002). These changes in public policy have led to the hybridisation of governance modes (e.g., with the institutionalisation of European governance) and the creation of new regulation instruments, such as norms and standards (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2012). The real estate sector has become actively involved in the governance of cities, in particular, in major urban projects (Theurillat et al., 2015). As a tool of densification and attractiveness, live-work development is expected to be instrumental in these urban projects.

### 3 RESEARCH GAPS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the previous section, three drivers of live-work mix (targets groups, housing provision, urban development) were explored through the discussion of existing theories explaining why these processes are critical to the understanding of live-work development. The gaps in this explanatory process are now highlighted to introduce the overarching research questions explored in the thesis.

The discussion of the relationship between housing regimes, welfare states and regimes of accumulation pointed at local divergences in the evolution of housing provision. Housing can be understood as a welfare service, as an asset and increasingly as a purely financial product. In contrast, urban policies aimed at providing attractive built environments seem to have spread across various cities. As an instrument of attractiveness, one can assume that live-work mix has been promoted in numerous cities as well. However, each of these cities has its institutional path and cultural setting, which may lead to different *ontologies* of live-work mix. The Oxford English Dictionary gives different meanings to the word ‘ontology’. From a philosophical perspective, an ontology is a ‘conception relating to the *nature* of being’ (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020). John Law (2004, p. 162) further defines it as ‘the branch of philosophy concerned with what there is, with what *reality out-there* is composed of’. In the Logic field, however, an ontology broadly refers to a logical system of interpretation, a theory of classes (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020). The philosophical approach to ontology is the one considered in this thesis since the researcher aims at understanding local discrepancies in the *nature* of live-work mix and the ‘enacted realities’ (Law, 2004) of live-work mix.

Consequently, the first part of the empirical research surveys the similarities and differences in ontologies of live-work mix (Chapter 4) and addresses the first research question:

*Q1. What are the different ontologies of live-work mix in contrasting institutional frameworks, and how are they influenced by housing and planning regimes, as well as current urban agendas?*

This overall question is divided into three sub-questions and completed with one methodological question:

- What are the housing and planning regimes in each city, and how have they influenced current live-work mix strategies?
- What ontologies of live-work mix do these regimes and strategies underlie?
- How do these ontologies differ across contexts?

- What are the benefits and drawbacks of the path dependency approach to answering the previous questions?

The second part of the research returns to the need, also highlighted in section 2, for improved understanding of the governance arrangements and practices related to live-work mix. Hence, the thesis focuses on the production side of live-work mix – how it is implemented – rather than the operation and use of live-work mix. Accordingly, the second research question is:

*Q2. How is live-work mix implemented locally, and more specifically, what kind of governance arrangements make live-work mix possible?*

This research question is divided into different sub-questions depending on the level of live-work mix considered. At the housing-market level, it was argued that young professionals and creative workers are preferred target groups of live-work mix, especially on the shared housing market. Young peoples' housing pathways towards a time of 'settling down' have been increasingly studied in the literature (e.g., Heath & Kenyon, 2001; Hochstenbach & Boterman, 2015; Hoolachan et al., 2017), so have been their housing preferences (e.g., Nijënstein et al., 2015; Verhetsel et al., 2017). Space sharing in community-led developments has become a well-established field of research as well (e.g., Tummers, 2016). Receiving less attention so far has been the institutional context of the shared housing market, which first emerged as a response to the housing shortage for young adults in cities before being progressively institutionalised. However, the new alliances of actors and their roles in the creation of this market require further investigation (Maalsen, 2020; Mackie, 2016), together with the genuine reasons for governments' support to these initiatives. Three sub-questions are raised to increase knowledge about these aspects of the shared housing market:

- Which coalitions of actors develop shared housing projects?
- What instruments are used in this process?
- What kind of outcomes can be expected in a global context of on-going commodification of housing?

The notions of 'actors', 'instruments' and 'outcomes' are defined and discussed in section 4. Similar questions are addressed for live-work, co-housing projects (see the typology of live-work mix described in Chapter 3, section 3), to realise which aspects of co-housing models were repackaged in the shared housing market, and what kind of actors and instruments are needed to make these projects possible today.

At the urban level, implementing live-work goals can be difficult because this involves different kinds of public and private actors with overlapping interests. These actors need to build consensus, or at least align their agendas. Such collaborative efforts in governance (Healey, 1997) have become increasingly complex and entail improved understanding (Taşan-Kok, Atkinson, & Refinetti Martins, 2019). Collaborative governance is constrained by existing planning frameworks and requires new roles for the actors and new planning instruments, such as tailor-made contractual arrangements (van den Hurk & Taşan-Kok, 2020). Much of the research on mixed-use development has focused on single contexts (Grant, 2002; Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005; Korthals Altes & Tambach, 2008; Mualam et al., 2019), whereas comparative case study research is needed to address variations in local governance arrangements (Bassett et al., 2002) under the influence of different institutional contexts. Consequently, for the live-work projects examined at the block level in redevelopment areas, the main research question *Q2* is divided into the following sub-questions:

- What is the impact of local institutional frameworks on live-work development? In particular, which actors and instruments make such developments possible?
- What are the primary shared interests in these developments, and how do the actors build consensus on these interests?

A concluding discussion closes Chapter 5 and includes the questioning of the local declinations of live-work mix and the methodological choice of investigating a typology of live-work mix:

- What are the opportunities and limits of investigating a typology of live-work mix across contexts?

Finally, Chapter 6 links empirical research to the present theoretical considerations by framing conclusions on the possible relationship between institutional framework, ontologies and governance of live-work mix, and reflecting on potential improvements of live-work mix:

*Q3. How do local institutional frameworks influence the nature and governance of live-work mix, and how to improve live-work mix?*

The next section provides the appropriate theoretical tools to address the research questions.

## 4 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

The analytical framework is regarded as a useful ‘toolbox’ for the analysis of the empirical material and the fulfilment of the research goals (i.e., understanding the ontologies and governance of live-work mix). The framework is twofold: a path dependency approach is used to compare local institutional frameworks in Chapter 4, while the literature on collaborative governance and public policy instrumentation shape the analytical framework used in Chapter 5. The different steps of this framework (Figure 5) are detailed in the next sub-sections.

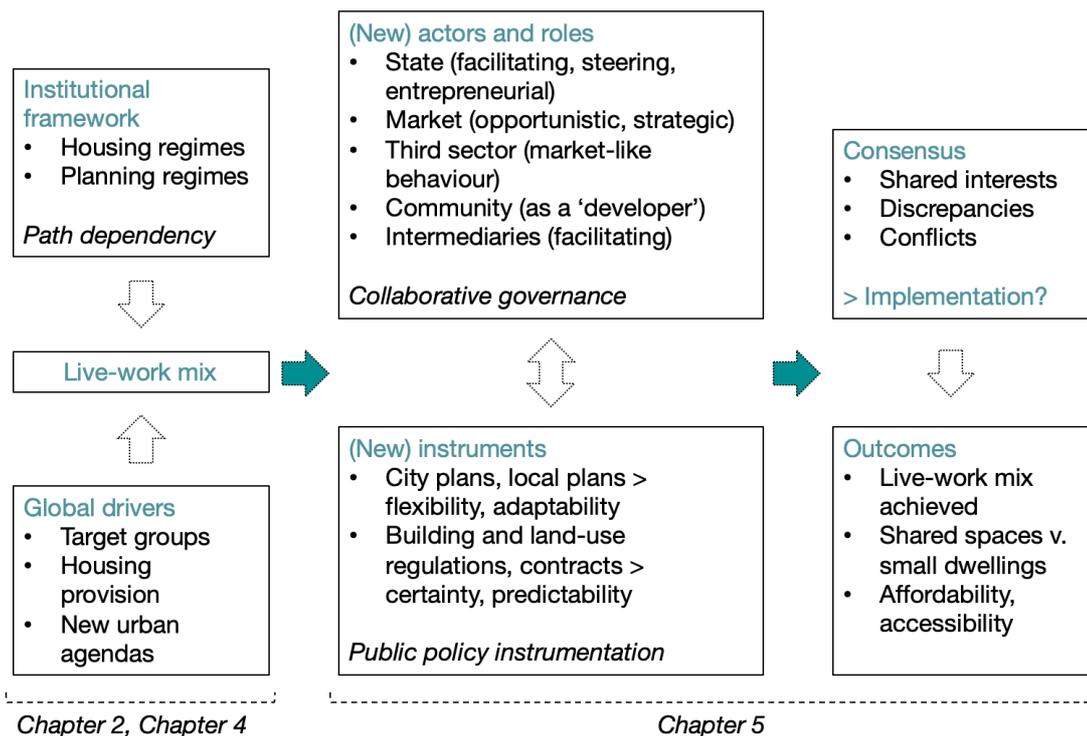


Figure 5: Analytical framework with the different steps of the policy analysis (drivers, institutional framework) and the project analysis (actors/instruments, consensus, outcomes)

### 4.1 A PATH DEPENDENCY APPROACH TO LOCAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS

Path dependency (or path dependence) is a concept which overall values the influence of past developments on present institutional choices. Path dependency was initially introduced by economic historians designated as evolutionists, notably to study the lock-in effects generated by path-dependent trajectories and how these effects threaten the development of innovative practices (Boyer & Saillard, 2002; Mahoney, 2000). In sociology, path dependency is based on the idea that:

‘...what has happened at an earlier point in time will affect the possible outcomes of a sequence of events occurring at a later point in time’ (Sewell, 1996 in Mahoney, 2000, p. 510).

A sociological path-dependent analysis draws on the combination of historical sequences of contingent events (Mahoney, 2000). Historical sequences create institutional patterns with deterministic properties and can be either ‘self-reinforcing’ or ‘reactive’ (ibid). On the one hand, self-reinforcing sequences are the result of the long-term reproduction of institutional patterns with ‘increasing returns’, that is, increasing benefits over time that become more difficult to transform despite more efficient alternatives (ibid). On the other hand, reactive sequences consist of ‘temporally ordered and causally connected events’, with each event being a dependent reaction to prior events, and the final event being the outcome of the whole path (Mahoney, 2000, p. 509). Mahoney further defines three key features of path-dependent analyses: (i) causal processes sensitive to the early stages of the sequence, (ii) contingent occurrences in these early stages and (iii) deterministic inertial patterns (of reproduction or reaction, depending on the sequence type) leading to desired outcomes (ibid). In particular, contingency indicates that early choices are the results of political compromises and power struggles (Sorensen, 2015).

The notion of *critical juncture* is also essential in path-dependent processes and happens when new institutions are established through the selection of a particular institutional arrangement amid alternatives, making more difficult to return to other alternatives afterwards (Halleux et al., 2012; Mahoney, 2000; Sorensen, 2015). Crises may influence critical junctures as they are decisive moments for the creation of new institutions, in response to the failure of established structures to pressing issues (Sorensen, 2018). On the opposite, the concept of *lock-in* effect refers to the inevitable reproduction of a given institutional pattern (Mahoney, 2000). Applied to economic systems, path dependency approaches - and in particular, the concept of increasing returns - were developed to highlight the resilience of national economic systems under global economic changes (Pierson, 2000).

Soon applied to comparative housing research, path dependency appeared to be relevant to analyse housing institutions and policy (e.g., Bengtsson & Ruonavaara, 2010; De Decker, 1990; Lawson, 2010; Malpass, 2011). It was applied, for example, to examine the institutional implications of historical heritage and social context on housing demand, or to analyse state intervention on the housing market (Bengtsson & Ruonavaara, 2010). Path dependency in housing relies on three mechanisms: (i) the efficiency of established institutions, based on their coordinating capacity; (ii) their perceived legitimacy, both by political actors and by the society at large, and (iii) the actual and perceived power relations supported by these institutions (Bengtsson & Ruonavaara, 2010; Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2018). In this framework, housing is regarded as:

‘...surrounded and sustained by a local context of contingently defined emergent relations and path-dependent and dynamic institutions, which mediate open and often vulnerable housing markets’ (Lawson, 2010, p. 206).

Path-dependent analyses have also been conducted in urban planning research (e.g., Lawson, 2010; Taşan-Kok, 2015; P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997; Wilson & Dearden, 2011; Zwiers et al., 2016). Path dependency was used to identify the impact of choices in decision-making on urban development paths (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). In planning history, it was also used to understand the long-term effects of early choices and the process through which established institutions become resistant to change (Sorensen, 2015). Understanding these processes requires to trace back the critical moments of new institution building (ibid).

Given its emphasis on institutional patterns, path dependency is suitable to compare local institutional frameworks, including housing and planning regimes (Figure 6). Indeed, path-dependent comparative research examines the impact of urban institutions on outcomes and local variations in the capacities developed to respond to institutional changes (ibid). Besides, the concept of housing regime (see section 2.2) is relevant to understand housing outcomes and the interplay between different types of actors (Dewilde & De Decker, 2016). Hence, Chapter 4 highlights the principal critical junctures and lock-in effects in the evolution of housing and planning regimes in the case-study cities. Without drawing short-cuts in the causalities between long-term institutional paths and short-term live-work developments, a path-dependent analysis allows discussing the specificities, similarities and divergences between local institutional frameworks and identifying relations between frameworks and *ontologies* of live-work mix (see Chapter 6, section 1.4). Specific attributes of housing and planning regimes apply to the national context or have been influenced by international developments, which is carefully mentioned in the discussion. The path-dependency approach further helps understand which actors are involved in live-work mix strategies and what are their power relations (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2012).

Nonetheless, the use of path dependency in policy studies was criticised for missing account of decision-making, since path dependency explains stability rather than change (Kay, 2005). In particular, the overemphasis on stabilised trajectories tends to supplant patterns of change and convey the idea that path transformation is unlikely in the absence of radical ruptures (Djelic & Quack, 2007). This vision neglects the effect of different sets of power relations within institutional systems on decisions and conflicts (Crouch, 2001). Hence, the utility of path dependency depends on the extent to which the path is clear and linear, or on the contrary, uncertain and complex (ibid). In particular, complex systems are less likely to be path-dependent because, in these systems, rules are more subject to interpretation and subversion so that

noncompliance can be critical in institutional change (Sorensen, 2015). To tackle these weaknesses, new views on path dependency have integrated better the ‘fact of constant, undramatic change in institutions and policies’ (i.e., gradual change - Mahoney & Thelen, 2010 in Ruonavaara, 2020, p. 9).

With these limitations and nuances in mind, sensitive use of path dependency remains suitable to stress the *emergence* of live-work mix in a *well-established* institutional framework (Boyer & Saillard, 2002). Live-work mix can take different forms, some of them being inspired by existing architectural or urban models. Architectural models (e.g., the Haussmannian block in Paris), have always structured urban development and have been disseminated across contexts, through different means, depending on economic and political events (Panerai et al., 1997). Urban development has also been affected by urban models (e.g., the ‘creative city’ or ‘New Urbanism – see section 2.3) in the form of urban projects or urban development tools and practices (Leducq et al., 2019). Iconic cities have been promoted as models as well (e.g., Paris or London), because they imagined new planning approaches or creatively adapted new planning practices (Ward, 2013). The reproduction of architectural or city models touches upon the question of policy transfer, which may seem opposed to a path dependency approach. Indeed, policy transfer belongs to processes:

‘...in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political setting (past or present) is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas *in another political setting*’ (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000, p. 5; emphasis added)

Hence, the ambivalence of live-work mix lies in that it can be both path-dependent and the outcome of a model development involving policy transfer. This idea is developed in Chapter 4, based on the comparison of the ontologies of live-work mix in the three cities.

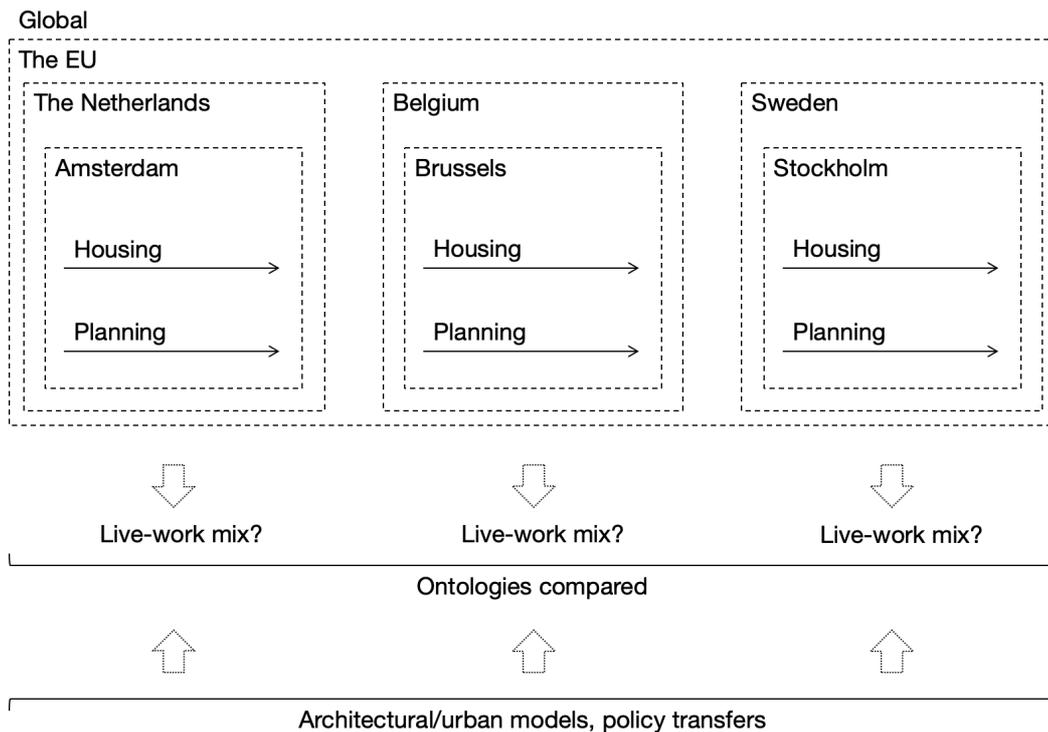


Figure 6: Path-dependency approach for the comparison of institutional frameworks and ontologies of live-work mix (see Chapter 4)

## 4.2 AN INSTITUTIONALIST APPROACH TO THE GOVERNANCE OF LIVE-WORK MIX

Live-work mix is subject to inherent uncertainty and complexity, which make the implementation of live-work goals constraining and long-lasting. Segregated land-use and real estate sectors enhance complexity and uncertainty (Healey, 1997; Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005), together with competing functions and changing market conditions (Taşan-Kok, 2010). At the building level, joint ownership and cohabitation issues further complexify live-work mix (Mualam et al., 2019). In this context, implementing live-work goals may require new roles for the actors and adapted planning instruments. Accordingly, the analysis of live-work projects (see Chapter 5) draws on an institutionalist approach to collaborative governance (Healey, 1997), with a focus on the governance arrangements used to implement collectively-defined live-work goals (Healey & González, 2005). The roles of the actors are examined based on collaborative planning in the next sub-section. Then, the planning instruments used during the implementation process are surveyed through the lens of public policy instrumentation. The tools for the reflection on the outcomes of delivered live-work projects are finally introduced.

### 4.2.1 Collaborative governance and the actors of live-work mix

Collaborative governance (Healey, 1997) draws on institutionalisation and social-constructionism (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Haworth et al., 2004; Healey & González, 2005). It was selected as a consistent approach to examine the actors of live-work mix. Before delving into the analysis of actors, a few definitions of useful concepts are provided.

#### Definitions and concepts underpinning collaborative governance

In this approach, *governance* corresponds broadly to the organisation of collective action (Healey & González, 2005), in a process that involves ‘much more than the formal institutions of government’ (Healey, 1997, p. 59). More specifically, governance can be defined as:

‘...a coordination process of actors, social groups, and institutions to reach goals discussed and defined collectively. Governance refers to multi-actor dynamics which produce stability in society and political regimes, as well as direction and ability to provide services and ensure legitimacy.’ (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2012, p. 23; author’s translation)

Consistently, *governance capacity* – a primary interest for sociological institutionalists – refers to the ability of institutions to operate as a collective actor (Healey & González, 2005; Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2012).

Critical geographers instead see governance as the outcome of the shift from government under state rollback – governance ‘beyond the state’ – implying the involvement of both the market and the civil society and a state that ‘steers rather than rows’ (Baeten et al., 2015; Swyngedouw, 2005). This alternative vision relies on the concept of *governmentality*, which was first developed by Foucault to delineate the competences, ‘tactics’ and limits of the state (Swyngedouw, 2005, p. 1992). In the planning field, new forms of governmentality involving state-like forms, civil society organisations and private market actors were identified (Swyngedouw, 2005; Taşan-Kok, 2010). The advent of new technologies, instruments and practices inclined more interdependent modes of governance to take place within an ‘institutional void’, in response to changing socio-economic and cultural conditions (Swyngedouw, 2005).

Both sociological institutionalists and critical geographers acknowledge that governance arrangements involving new institutional forms can lead to ‘socially innovative practices’ (Swyngedouw, 2005, p. 1992) that are strongly context-related as they can produce different outcomes in different frameworks (Healey & González, 2005). Consistently with the choice of not using the neoliberalisation analytical approach (see section 2.3), the institutionalist definition of governance, which is more descriptive and holds fewer connotations, is the one used in this thesis.

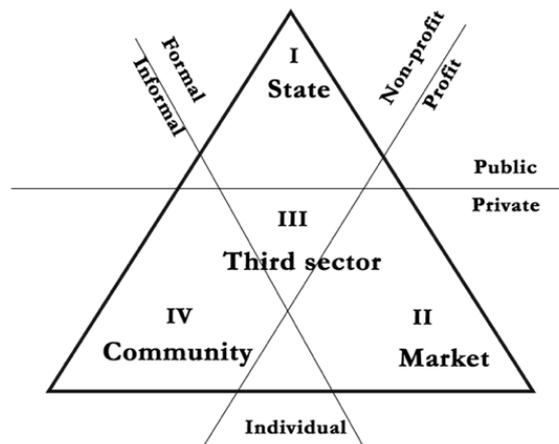
*Sociological institutionalism* emerged in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and was soon used in planning theory to contextualise policy actions and practices and to understand better implementation processes (Healey & González, 2005). In particular, *social constructionism* consists of studying modes of governance (e.g., the practices of the actors) and changes in institutions, through the questioning of taken-for-granted realities and the emphasis on processes built on interaction, negotiation and conflict (Haworth et al., 2004; Healey & González, 2005; Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2012). Such vision implies a path-dependent and context-based analysis of changes in governance arrangements, drawing on the concept of ‘institutionally bounded limits to change’ (Haworth et al., 2004, p. 18). Sociological institutionalism is thus consistent with the path-dependency approach previously introduced.

In this context, *institutions* are defined as ‘frameworks of norms, rules and practices which structure action in social contexts’ (Healey & González, 2005, p. 2058) and influence individual and collective actors (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2012). By offering a stable framework for anticipation, institutions do also reduce uncertainty (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2004). Consistently, institutional capacity refers to the ‘quality of the collection of relational networks in a place’ (Healey, 1997, p. 61). The social-constructionists Berger and Luckman further defined the concept of *institutionalisation* as the process through which institutions emerge and are typified (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009). The institution-building process implies consensus on underlying values and the related actions required to implement collective agreements (Albrechts, 2001).

*Collaborative planning* aims at the institutional design of regimes encouraging collaborative consensus-building (Healey, 1997). For instance, land-use regimes drawing on collaborative planning emphasise mutual dependencies of actors through public-private partnerships (Halleux et al., 2012). The collaborative planning theory has received criticism from critical geographers and structuralists, who see the state as an ‘arm of capital’ (Harvey, 2007; Castells, 1977 in Healey, 1997) and perceive consensus-building as a process reinforcing the ‘neoliberal political-economic hegemony’ of the market (Roy, 2015). Notwithstanding these disapprovals, since the collaborative planning theory is here used as a framework rather than an ideological positioning, it is relevant to critically examine and compare the roles of the actors involved in multi-stakeholder, live-work developments in different institutional contexts.

**(New) actors and roles**

In the dissertation, the actors of live-work mix are conceptually differentiated according to the ideal-types ‘state’, ‘market’, ‘third sector’ and ‘community’ (Figure 7), to discuss their roles and overlapping areas of means and interests (Brandsen et al., 2005). The next paragraphs examine successively each type of actors as well as new actors intervening between them.



**Figure 7: Ideal-typical differentiation between State, Market, Third sector and Community, based on Brandsen et al. (2005)**

The state is no longer a single entity, but a ‘specific institutional ensemble with multiple boundaries’ and ‘intersecting relations’ (Healey & González, 2005, p. 2058). In the analysis of live-work projects (Chapter 5), the state refers to public entities that depend on the local government, which is seen as a ‘flexible institutional actor’ and an ‘active negotiating party’ (Castells, 2002; Taşan-Kok, 2010). More broadly, local governments ‘regulate and manage the production and reproduction of urban spaces’ (Sorensen, 2018, p. 21). Their capacities rely on their past choices, for examples, in terms of public investment (ibid).

States can alternately play steering, facilitating, and entrepreneurial roles in the implementation of live-work goals, depending on their governance capacity (Taşan-Kok, 2010). The *facilitating* role consists of supporting the market with resources, such as incentives, and assisting it in development and investment decisions (Heurkens et al., 2018; Nyström et al., 2014). Assuming a *steering* role expands the state’s capacity to take a guiding role through such means as interaction, persuasion, seduction, and the development of assessment mechanisms (Béal et al., 2018; Healey, 2007; Wang & Andrew, 1995). The steering state thus uses ‘negotiated governance’ rather than regulations (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2004). Beyond guiding and de-risking the market, the state can also actively play an *entrepreneurial* role by envisioning risks and investing in new areas, in ‘flagship projects’ (Taşan-Kok, 2010) or in policy solutions ‘sold’ from abroad (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000), to achieve policy goals (Korthals Altes, 2019). In the latter

case, the state and market are no longer adversaries because effective state actions and decisions help create and support markets (Mazzucato, 2013). This can be challenging, for example, for local governments intervening proactively in land markets, as they are both regulators and market players (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020). Entrepreneurial forms of governance have been increasingly adopted in the context of ‘flexible, dynamic economic networks’ (Healey, 1997, p. 209). Irrespective of its role, state intervention creates conditions (e.g., through regulations or planning instruments) that allow markets to work ‘efficiently’ (Korthals Altes, 2019).

Market parties have been playing more proactive roles in urban development, including *opportunistic* and *strategic* roles (Koppenjan, 2014; Taşan-Kok, 2010; Theurillat et al., 2015), to respond to existing demand and compete with new products (Theurillat et al., 2015). They have also become subject to speculative investment with short-term return (Landriscina, 2018), especially when regulatory policies are relaxed and land-use regulation can be captured (Healey, 1997). In multi-actor processes such as live-work projects, states and market parties may share interests, but they do also have shifting and conflicting interests (Taşan-Kok, 2010), for example when they both engage in opportunistic behaviours (Koppenjan & Enserink, 2009). Shifting and conflicting interests may be observed between actors of the same type or sector as well, however (Taşan-Kok, 2010). Market parties can also play facilitating or steering roles, for instance, when they are involved in urban regeneration projects (Taşan-Kok et al., 2019).

The third sector is difficult to define as an actor, given its inherent hybridity. Nevertheless, it can be broadly described as hybrid organisations – in between the state, the market and the community – providing goods and services and combining public and private interests (Brandsen et al., 2005; Kleit et al., 2019). Third-sector organisations merit to be distinguished from other types of actors, given their adapted strategies to conflicting demands (Brandsen et al., 2005). However, the third-sector rationality does not exist in all institutional contexts and is related to the characteristics of the goods and services provided and the tensions raised for their production (ibid).

In practice, European social housing organisations consisting of private non-profit entities with public interests are often considered as third-sector parties (Kleit et al., 2019). For example, Dutch social housing providers (housing associations) are third-sector organisations, which have the duty to deliver certain functions and tenures. In this study, Swedish public housing providers (municipal housing companies) are considered within the same category, given their similar intertwining of public purpose and business-like behaviour (see Chapter 4). As non-profit housing providers, third-sector housing organisations have to provide a certain amount of housing based on quantitative targets, especially in case of a housing shortage. However,

whether they are demanded to produce *affordable* housing, either for ‘all’ or means-tested groups, depends on local housing policies and their evolution over time. Under EU competition laws, third-sector housing providers have also been increasingly required to act like market and, thus, play similar roles (Elsinga & Lind, 2013 - see Chapter 4).

Finally, the community, consisting mainly of small informal groups, is locally based and shares long-term contacts (Brandsen et al., 2005). The specific roles of communities (as ‘developers’) within the planning process of live-work, co-housing developments are directly discussed in Chapter 5. Besides, new actors, such as ‘innovation intermediaries’, which facilitate innovation, transfer knowledge and intervene between the traditional actors, may be needed as support (Nyström et al., 2014). For example, specific actors can help local governments in the implementation process of policy transfer (Dąbrowski et al., 2018). The actors involved in live-work projects experience mutual dependence and may need to strategically use (*new*) *instruments* throughout the implementation process of live-work goals.

#### **4.2.2 Public policy instrumentation and the instruments of live-work mix**

The analysis of two types of policy instruments used in collaborative governance, based on the concept of ‘public policy instrumentation’ (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2004), completes the analytical framework. For Le Galès, comparing the evolution of instruments and instrumentation patterns across different contexts is a way to consider both path-dependent trajectories and global dynamics (Le Galès et al., 2018). The choice of particular policy instruments gives indications of the desired outcomes and the path chosen to mind the gap between ‘what-is’ and ‘what-ought-to-be’ (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Public policy instruments are regarded as institutions and defined as:

‘...technical and social devices which organise specific social relations between the public authority and its recipients based on the representations and significations they carry.’ (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2004, p. 13; translation: author)

Public policy instrumentation corresponds to the issues related to the choice and use of these devices and can serve the mediation of public and private agendas (Natarajan, 2017). Both tenure instruments (e.g., new tenure forms such as temporary rent) and planning instruments (e.g., city plans, land-use regulation, development contracts) are analysed because they play essential roles in the governance of live-work mix.

Firstly, tenure is an important instrument and institution of housing provision in that it has ‘certain social and political effects’ (Barlow & Duncan, 1988, p. 229; Bengtsson & Ruonavaara, 2010; Stephens, 2011). Housing tenure defines ‘the basic right of possession and exchange’ on the housing market (Bengtsson & Ruonavaara, 2010, p. 194). Examining tenure in comparative

housing research is both an important and a difficult task because it is a contingent concept, specific to time and place (Stephens, 2011). Barlow and Duncan (1988, p. 229) denounced the abusive use of tenure as a ‘single, uniform housing shorthand’. In response to this issue, Stephens advises the following when it comes to the study of tenure:

‘If we are to employ tenure in (comparative) housing research then we should do so on the basis of hypotheses that are consistent with what has been established empirically about the nature of tenure in different countries.’ (Stephens, 2011, p. 346)

Accordingly, the different tenure forms encountered in the three cities studied are detailed in Chapter 4, and the effects of tenure choice in terms of housing affordability and accessibility are discussed in particular for the shared housing market (see Chapter 5, section 2).

Secondly, planning instruments are essential tools for the actors to implement live-work goals. From the strategical, city level (urban development agenda) to the local level (specific strategies and land-use plans), various instruments are used concomitantly, which can lead to conflicts and lock-in effects. Comparative research is pertinent to the analysis of planning instruments and has been conducted, for example, to study land-use regulations (Alterman, 2012) or instruments fostering adaptive efficiency (Halleux et al., 2012). The comparison of planning instruments is also relevant for the study of tools, such as ‘city projects’, which are used to promote cities’ strengths (Pinson in Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2004). The next sub-section focuses on the planning instruments playing a role in live-work development.

### **(New) planning instruments**

At the city level, the urban development strategy, or city plan, is the principal strategic instrument formalising collective live-work goals. City plans<sup>8</sup> were developed upon failure of technical urban planning and have been increasingly used as branding instruments to improve cities’ competitiveness and enhance economic growth in dedicated areas (Pinson in Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2004; De Boeck et al., 2017). Such visions are central to strategic spatial planning (Healey, 2007). They are used to define collective objectives and values, based on tense negotiations between public and private actors, who primarily agree on means rather than interests (Pinson in Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2004). Similarly, large-scale urban projects are used to build consensus among actors with conflicting visions (Bassett et al., 2002). Although urban projects are often associated with the neoliberal ideology, Pinson defends their closer link with an ideology of communication and ‘consensual regulation’, relying on opportunities for

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<sup>8</sup> In the case studies, such plans refer to the 2025 strategy in Amsterdam, the regional development plan in Brussels, and the City plan (or comprehensive plan) in Stockholm (see Chapter 4).

consensus, legitimacy and political interactions (Pinson in Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2004). The political ambitions of this ‘coalition-building’ process are yet difficult to achieve (Salet, 2008).

Locally, planning instruments help mitigate the tension between *flexibility* and legal *certainty* – inherent to any planning system – by balancing conflicting objectives and pressures as well as increasing both the transparency and predictability of actors’ behaviours (Buitelaar & Sorel, 2010; H. Remøy & Street, 2018). Flexible instruments are key to successful governance (Müller et al., 2014) because too predictable instruments can be resistant to change (van Bueren & ten Heuvelhof, 2005). Live-work mix requires time and space flexibility so that institutional rigidity can play as a barrier. Flexible instruments that bring together visions, concepts and designs can be enhanced, as part of ‘design-oriented’ planning (Taşan-Kok, 2010).

Amid regulatory instruments, land-use regulation retains a critical role since live-work mix is often made possible by changing land-use plans to allow housing development in previously non-residential areas. However, such land-use changes have contributed to housing speculation in former industrial areas (Ferm & Jones, 2016) and have been associated with industrial gentrification (De Boeck et al., 2019). Still, local governments use land-policy instruments to intervene more or less proactively in property rights and land use to prevent market failures (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020). Other regulatory instruments include development contracts, which formalise public-private negotiations and further agreements (van den Hurk & Taşan-Kok, 2020) and allow de-risking of the market while safeguarding public services and facilities (Taşan-Kok et al., 2019). Such contractual arrangements are commonly used in regeneration projects in obsolete urban areas to avoid opportunistic behaviour and foster adaptability (van den Hurk & Taşan-Kok, 2020). Public revenues are noticeably increased by value capture instruments, whether direct (e.g., public leaseholds in the Netherlands and Sweden) or indirect (e.g., urbanisation charges in Brussels) (Alterman, 2012).

All these instruments play a role in the implementation process of live-work mix and are returned to in Chapter 5. As an overview, Table 1 summarises the main instruments evoked in this section.

Legally-binding, regulatory instruments	Flexible, strategic instruments
<b>City/area level</b>	
Land-use plan	City plan (i.e., urban development strategy) Large-scale urban project
<b>Local level</b>	
Local land-use plans Value-capture instruments (direct, indirect) Development contracts	Local visions and strategies

**Table 1: Main planning instruments playing a role in the collective definition and implementation of live-work goals**

### 4.2.3 Reflecting on the outcomes of completed live-work projects

Reflecting on ‘outcomes’ is not an easy task because the definition of outcomes depends on the field under discussion. Housing outcomes can be defined as access to ‘decent and affordable housing’ (Dewilde & De Decker, 2016). Housing affordability and accessibility are, thus, two key variables to consider in the discussion of the outcomes of live-work mix. Because live-work mix is partly the result of new urban agendas, the related outcomes might also be discussed. In that case, a distinction must be made between outcome and impact: the former refers to the combined effect of the planning system and other forces, whereas the latter is considered as a direct effect of the planning system alone (Rae & Wong, 2012). In practice, outcomes are easier to study, although identifying them is challenging, given the overlap between the indicators of the conditions in which the planning policies were defined and those measuring the outcomes of the policies (ibid). Since the main focus of the thesis is to improve knowledge of the governance arrangements enabling the implementation of live-work goals, spatial planning outcomes are not measured in the next chapters. Instead, the potential risks that might be raised by the governance arrangements under investigation are critically discussed, based on empirical evidence and the theoretical background presented in this chapter. Moreover, analysing governance arrangements enables to discuss the outcomes of the governance process (e.g., in terms of capacity) and go beyond ‘goal-based’ compliance (Rogers & Weber, 2010).

The outcomes of completed live-work projects are considered for two types of live-work mix: the shared housing market and live-work, co-housing projects. For the shared housing market, the outcomes are analysed in terms of (i) live-work mix achieved, (ii) spatial balance between

small housing units and shared spaces and (iii) housing affordability and accessibility of the dwellings. After reflecting on the ‘success’ of the products delivered for the target group, based on the allocation pace of the housing units, the practical mix of living and working activities is examined, in comparison to the live-work goals defined beforehand. Then, the potential contribution of shared facilities on the spatial quality of the developments is discussed. Shared spaces and services can balance the inconvenience of small and high-density living by offering quality spaces for sociability and work or leisure activities (Ellen, 2015). Social interactions help connect people and further contribute to a sense of community (Reid, 2015). However, the concept of sharing common spaces can be utilised by the real estate market to attract specific groups rather than foster community aspects.

The discussion finally moves on to housing affordability (*housing as capital*) and housing accessibility (*housing as a service*). A reflection on the risks related to three elements is undertaken: (i) possible signs of market pressure (e.g., speculation), (ii) the tenant selection process (e.g., selection criteria) and (iii) tenure forms. In particular, a selective process can degrade accessibility and lead to more ‘exclusive’ housing markets (Grundström & Molina, 2016). The analysis is similar for co-housing projects, yet with a closer look at the effective presence of live-work mix and space sharing.

## 5 SYNTHESIS OF THE THEORETICAL CHAPTER

Live-work mix refers to the renewed intertwining of living and working activities in new housing production and urban development. This phenomenon is indirectly related to the flexibilisation of labour markets and directly related to three phenomena, that is, (i) the focus on *new target groups* in cities, (ii) the restructuring of housing provision and the creation of *new housing forms*, and (iii) the emergence of *new locations* for live-work mix, following the transformation of urban agendas under the advent of the knowledge economy. Live-work mix is a hybrid concept impacted by the hybridisation of labour, housing and places. This phenomenon is observed at different scales and brings together different kinds of spaces and economic activities. Local governments promote live-work mix to boost economic growth and competitiveness, although it can foster exclusive housing and high-density living.

The second section introduced theoretical considerations related to the three drivers of live-work mix. New target groups include young urban single professionals and knowledge workers, who are assumed to live and work differently. This narrative tends to overshadow that some people in these groups suffer from precarious conditions on both housing and labour markets.

In particular, young adults have been successively designated as Generation Rent and Generation Share, to highlight their tendency to stay for ever-longer periods in the PRS and shared accommodations. Besides, low-income households and families cannot accommodate in small properties in high-density living. Moreover, the emphasis on young professionals and middle to upper classes in live-work development may raise gentrification risks.

The evolution of housing regimes was examined next. Housing affordability and accessibility were first defined, considering affordability as the market dimension of housing (*housing as capital*) and accessibility as the social dimension of housing (*housing as a service*). The application of regimes of accumulation and welfare state regimes to housing regimes was then discussed. It was acknowledged that the former is more suitable for liberal housing regimes such as Belgium while the latter works better for social-democratic housing regimes such as (originally) Sweden. In light of the concepts defined in these frameworks, the broad evolution of housing regimes under global developments was sketched, with nuance as regards to context.

Hence, during the *Fordist* era (intensive accumulation), interventionist and regulatory states de-commodified housing by bringing correctives to the housing market, which was mainly observed in social-democratic regimes. Then, *post-Fordist* regimes (flexible specialisation) were related to housing marketisation and commodification – at least where housing had been previously de-commodified. Local measures were taken throughout Europe to encourage housing privatisation and advocate for the PRS, and most importantly, homeownership. The period which started from the GFC onwards was named '*finance-led regime*' to point at the acceleration of financialisation and flexibilisation of housing, under conditions that state institutions created. Given their changing roles and means, new dependencies between actors have been observed in this regime. The latter has intensified a global housing crisis, with housing shortages and decreased levels of housing affordability and accessibility in many cities around the world. Live-work mix, in its current form, might encourage further commodification rather than de-commodification of the housing market, given the nature of its initiators and its target groups. De-commodified alternatives could be, nonetheless, imagined.

At the urban level, live-work mix is seen as a form of mixed-use development, which acts as a tool of urban densification. The latter has been encouraged in strategic, compact-city planning, to tackle demographic growth and stem urban sprawl amid sustainability goals, despite unwanted effects such as gentrification. Live-work mix and more broadly mixed-use development have been adopted as fundamental principles in urban policy. Although perceived as enhancing social integration and economic development, mixed-use development can foster segregation and threaten housing affordability and less profitable economic activities. Both

densification and mixed-use development are advocated to attract highly-skilled workers and boost economic growth. In a context of accelerated globalisation and increased competitiveness, many cities have sought to enhance residential attractiveness and economic development. These developments have contributed to giving more proactive roles to cities and their metropolitan regions, which apply polycentric urban development principles based on a spatial-economic discourse. Different approaches to residential preferences of creative and knowledge workers similarly recognise that high-quality living environments and amenities help retain workers. Accordingly, many cities have developed attractiveness policies promoting urban amenities, new housing forms and creative live-work environments. However, the creative-class hegemony in the public discourse has contributed to fuelling socio-spatial inequalities.

Section 3 identified research gaps in the theoretical background, including the impact of different institutional paths on ontologies of live-work mix and, most importantly, on the governance arrangements used to implement live-work goals. The theoretical tools used to bridge these gaps form the twofold analytical framework of the thesis (see section 4).

Firstly, a path dependency approach is used to compare local institutional frameworks, and more specifically, housing and planning regimes. Path dependency draws on three main definitional elements (institutional paths, contingent occurrences, patterns of reproduction and reaction) and the notions of critical junctures, lock-in effects and increasing returns. In comparative housing research, path dependency is used to analyse housing institutions and policies, based on different mechanisms (efficiency, legitimacy and power relations). Despite some limitations, this approach was considered as suitable for the comparison of housing, planning regimes and ontologies of live-work mix.

Secondly, an institutionalist approach to collaborative governance was selected to explore the governance of live-work mix. Collaborative governance draws on sociological institutionalism and social-constructionism. The notions of governance, governmentality, governance capacity, institutions and collaborative planning have a particular meaning in this approach. The institutionalist approach is consistent with path dependency and appropriate to investigate innovative governance practices, institutional change and implementation processes in different contexts. The actors of collaborative planning play different roles and have overlapping areas of means and interests. States can alternatively play steering, facilitating and entrepreneurial roles in the implementation of live-work goals, depending on their governance capacity. Market parties have been increasingly playing opportunistic and strategic roles. In multi-actor processes, states and markets' roles overlap, however. The third sector is inherently hybrid and central in housing provision, especially in housing regimes influenced by social-democratic welfare

provision. However, third-sector housing organisations have been demanded to act like the market, under competition concerns.

Furthermore, the actors involved in live-work projects may need to use (new) instruments during implementation strategically. The analysis of tenure and planning instruments is based on the concept of public policy instrumentation. At the city level, the city plan formalises collective live-work goals, which are the outcomes of tense negotiations between public and private actors. At the local level, different kinds of instruments help find a balance between flexibility and legal certainty. Flexibility is enhanced through design-oriented planning. On the contrary, legally-binding, regulatory instruments (e.g., land-use regulation, value capture instruments and development contracts) foster predictability and certainty. Finally, three types of outcomes (achieved live-work mix, balance offered by shared spaces, housing affordability and accessibility) are discussed for completed live-work projects in Chapter 5.

The above summary underlines the critical analytical choices and reflects the researcher's sensitivity to context and concern for understanding better the ontologies and governance of live-work mix. The next chapter delves into the methodological implications of comparative, embedded case study research and introduces the research design.



## CHAPTER 3: METHODS

*What we're dealing with here is not, of course, just method. It is not just a set of techniques. It is not just a philosophy of method, a methodology. It is not even simply about the kinds of realities that we want to recognise or the kinds of worlds we might hope to make. It is also, and most fundamentally, about a way of being.*

(Law, 2004, p. 10)

This chapter links the previous theoretical chapter to the empirical body of the thesis. The choice of a comparative case study research is introduced in section 1, before presenting the qualitative methods used to address the research questions (section 2). The research design, selection of cities and live-work mix typology are then discussed (section 3), and relevant information on the data collection process is provided (section 4). The last section (section 5) summarises the research design and provides illustrative diagrams.

### 1 COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY RESEARCH

Live-work mix is a social phenomenon which takes place within housing and planning regimes that are intrinsically context-related. It thus seemed wise to adopt a comparative, case study method to examine this phenomenon. Case study research is appropriate to address research questions that focus on the 'how' and the 'why' (Yin, 2009). Since the purpose of this thesis is to understand better the influence of different institutional frameworks on live-work development, working with case studies is relevant. The research is also closely related to housing issues, which have been increasingly set on comparative, policy-driven research agendas (e.g., Lawson, Haffner, & Oxley, 2009 for an overview). If various levels of housing reality can be compared, the chosen ontological approach must be consistent (Lawson, 2010), adequately contextualised and aware of the impact of the researcher's own culture (Hantrais, 1999; Lawson, 2010; Stephens, 2011). Hence, understanding the contexts in which housing policies are applied is a pre-condition to comparative research (Hantrais, 1999; Stephens, 2011). In that respect, the analytical framework – based on path dependency and social constructionism – is consistent with comparative housing research.

Social constructionism aims at questioning taken-for-granted assumptions, which is particularly important in the contemporary discourse of globalisation (Haworth et al., 2004). It is suitable for comparative housing studies to stress international differences in housing provision due to

different outcomes of housing policies (*ibid*). Social constructionism is also appropriate to explain differences and similarities between countries. It further allows addressing three aspects of international, comparative housing research related to policy transfer: (i) the translation of discourse to other countries, (ii) the transferability of policies within different contexts and (iii) the actual transfer and implementation of policies within different cultural backgrounds (*ibid*). In a social constructionist framework, international comparative housing research becomes ‘more context-sensitive and interaction-grounded’ (Haworth et al., 2004, p. 19).

Comparative case study research offers two main advantages. Firstly, it provides opportunities for generalisation from hypotheses tested empirically (Hantrais, 1999), especially in case of multiple case studies (Yin, 2009). Comparing housing policies is also appropriate to determine the mutual dependence of the global and the local, and more specifically, the mediation of international pressure through local policies and institutions (Stephens, 2011). In particular, social-constructionist approaches to comparative housing research qualify generalisations by the path dependencies that have affected policy arrangements over time (Haworth et al., 2004). In practice, a ‘system-embedded approach’ (Stephens, 2011) is required, given the ‘locally embedded nature’ of housing (Lawson, 2010), because it situates housing policies within housing regimes interacting with broader socio-economic structures. Accordingly, the second advantage of comparative research is its suitability for policy-driven research. It is appropriate to study the contribution of institutional arrangements (Stephens, 2003 in Quilgars et al., 2009), including the use of policy instruments, to different housing outcomes (Lawson et al., 2009). Further advantages are related to the choice of comparing cities rather than nations. In a globalised world in which cities and metropolitan regions play more active roles, many supranational developments are addressed locally (Hoekstra, 2019). Comparative housing research based on cities or regions as units of analysis may better capture local variations in housing outcomes and is relevant to study local housing policies and institutions (*ibid*).

Nonetheless, comparative case study research presents limitations, which lie in the challenge of building a framework that is at the same time flexible and robust (Quilgars et al., 2009). This tension fuels two opposite risks: descriptivism and universalism (Hantrais, 1999). Falling into descriptivism is tempting unless the analysis rigorously sticks to investigating one specific issue in the different contexts, using a common theoretical framework. Lack of rigour is one of the main concerns raised in case study research and should be further tackled by reporting all evidence fairly (Yin, 2009). On the opposite, universalism can be enhanced in comparative housing research supporting convergence. The latter tends to emphasise global – or at least European – economic, financial and institutional processes at the expense of local institutional

and power-distribution specificities (Hoekstra, 2019). The tension descriptivism - universalism highlights the importance of playing with both macro and micro levels. To mark this duality better, Hantrais (1999) recommends referring to ‘international’ comparative research rather than ‘cross-national’ research. More generally, several misunderstandings affect case study research when it comes to knowledge generation, opportunities for generalisation, verification of assumptions and the difficulty to summarise case studies (Flyvbjerg, 2016). To tackle these issues, Flyvbjerg (2016) advises developing multiple case studies that provide sufficient knowledge and theoretical contributions.

With these cautions in mind, the research design corresponds to a comparative, embedded case study research (see section 5, Figure 9). Three cities were selected as main cases, and embedded cases consisting of a typology of live-work projects were examined in each city. The purpose of this approach is to formulate context-related and nuanced – yet critical – conclusions about the emergence and governance of live-work mix in different European institutional frameworks.

## **2 REFLEXIVE, QUALITATIVE RESEARCH**

This section details the qualitative methods used throughout the research and gives insights into the sources of inspiration for the reflexive interpretation and discussion of the findings. The details related to the selection of cases and data collection are presented respectively in the third and fourth sections.

Each context was first the object of an *exploratory phase*, through the conduct of an extensive number of exploratory interviews (n=74, see section 4, Table 4). The purpose of these interviews was to highlight the intangible aspects of the studied phenomenon. Discussing existing policy documents with the interviewees was also a way to situate the use of these documents in the local context. Leading exploratory interviews allowed drawing attention to intangible aspects of the research and refining the research questions and assumptions (Blanchet & Gotman, 2015). Another advantage of exploratory interviews is the high level of freedom for the researcher (ibid). Favouring interviews as an additional source of evidence in this initial phase was also motivated by a natural inclination to human interaction, possibly at the expense of more efficient data collection methods. With hindsight, too many interviews were carried out, leading to an excess of data. Nevertheless, such a high number of interviews probably reflects, beyond the rational choice of a method, a *way of being* (Law, 2004). The exploratory phase was very stimulating for the researcher. This phase contributed to framing the problem under investigation better and suggesting new ways forward for the study, and it provided

critical information for the policy analysis. The literature review of housing and planning contexts was completed with content from the interview summaries, which were the object of a thematic qualitative coding (processed manually). The analysis of strategic, planning and regulatory documents further completed the policy analysis.

The *extensive* exploration of each context was followed by the *intensive* study of concrete live-work projects classified in three types (see section 3). This part of the research consisted of a qualitative analysis based on various sources of evidence. The primary source was in-depth, semi-structured interviews (n= 56, see section 4, Table 4), mostly conducted through face-to-face encounters to enhance the interpretability of the context (Cloeke et al., 2004). The other sources of evidence were tenure/planning instruments and other relevant documents (e.g., commercial brochures), as well as observations and pictures taken during visits. Conducting interviews produces verbal data which help explore and understand facts constructed through representations and social practices (Blanchet & Gotman, 2015). The interviewees' discourse was contextualised according to their involvement in the live-work project studied and was, consequently, considered as a *narrative* discourse (ibid).

Both the in-depth interviews' literal transcriptions and the examined instruments were analysed and interpreted with computer-aided qualitative coding<sup>9</sup>, conducted with the software *NVivo*. Other documents, such as building plans, were reviewed manually. The software was used to code the material and pre-shape the argument. The quantitative requests available in the software were not handled, considering that the validity of the results does not come from quantification but from taking the discourse and practices of the actors 'seriously' (Lejeune, 2016). Concomitantly to the interpretation process, the same sources of evidence were used for the reconstruction of facts, namely the programme and development process of each project.

The coding of the empirical material was organised in several steps, inspired by Lejeune (2016), who advises structuring the coding in three phases: open coding (immersion in the material), axial coding (articulation of the properties) and selective coding (theory building). The open coding consisted of creating root nodes during a first careful reading of the transcripts. Being a first step in the interpretation process, these nodes consisted of reformulations of the actors' statements. They had to reflect what the actors *say* about the studied phenomenon to *qualify* their experience in the project (ibid). Thematic coding was avoided, considering that it does not bring theoretical insights. Then, the root nodes were organised through axial coding to create one 'tree structure' for each type of project investigated in each city. These trees were structured

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<sup>9</sup> The building plans were examined separately.

similarly for each project type, according to a pre-analytical framework to produce comparable results (Quilgars et al., 2009). The standardised organisation of the trees intended to underline local variations in governance for a similar type of live-work mix. Selective coding was not conducted within the software, but the trees were exported and used as a basis to build the argumentation.

Scientific literature supported the coding and argumentation process to sharpen the conclusions and take distance from the presuppositions and ideologies of both the interviewees and the researcher. Distancing from the empirical material is consistent with the idea that thoughts are constructed through the encounter of individual experience and social models in a partly irrational process (Blanchet & Gotman, 2015). The discussion operated for each type and the final, comparative discussion of cities and types, or *cross-case synthesis* (Yin, 2009), are both the outcome of intermediary conclusions and iterations with the analytical framework. The qualitative reasoning used throughout that process was mostly abductive. Abduction is situated in between induction and deduction as it starts from an empirical basis but accepts theoretical preconceptions. Induction indeed ‘works from the particular to the general’ while deduction ‘works from the general to the particular’ (Cloke et al., 2004, p. 216). Abduction is commonly used in case study research, yet can lead to trivialisation. In comparative housing research, abduction – or, more specifically, ‘retroduction’ (Blaikie, 1993 in Lawson, 2010) – is recommended for the construction of explanations.

Receiving *critical feedback* on the first results from the actors directly involved in the research was valuable in many respects, first to check potential factual mistakes in the reconstruction of facts for the analysis of live-work projects. Most importantly, it was an opportunity to confront the researcher’s perceptions and interpretations with the views of local actors, to receive new insights and improve the conclusions. Returning to the actors is essential to refine, amend or comfort findings (Lejeune, 2016). In practice, a feedback workshop was organised in each city. The results were presented, and the key findings were debated in parallel groups, based on a few questions prepared in advance to guide the discussion. The organisation of the debate was inspired by the focus group method, which is recognised as flexible, efficient, encouraging interaction and highlighting the ‘discursive dispositions’ of the participants (Cloke et al., 2004). However, the feedback workshop cannot be considered as a proper focus or in-depth discussion group since it took place at the end of each city research process. The advantages mentioned above were still experienced during the debates, which were organised with groups of five to twelve participants. Questions were raised by a moderator in each group, similarly to the

methodology used in discussion groups (Cloke et al., 2004). This process was useful to fulfil the aims of the workshops.

Throughout the analysis, it was endeavoured to be reflexive by playing with different *interpretation levels*, as suggested by Alvesson & Sköldbberg (2009). Their thoughtful and well-documented work on reflexivity in qualitative research was chosen as a basis to reflect on the methodological choices and avoid falling into empiricism and relativism. In this thesis, the first level of interpretation corresponds to the conclusions derived from the empirical research, as an outcome of the abductive approach (see Chapters 4 and 5). The second level is inspired by Hermeneutics and applies to the final comparison of live-work development in the three contexts. Hermeneutics emphasises the plurality of interpretations and is conceptualised as a circle, illustrating the idea that ‘the meaning of a part can only be understood if it is related to the whole’ and pointing at the iterative process between pre-understanding and understanding (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009, p. 92). If this interpretation method helps gain in generality while stressing the importance of contextualisation, it can lead to over-simplistic conclusions. Hermeneutics insights still inspired the final discussion of Chapter 5. Additional levels of interpretation consist of integrating political and philosophical dimensions to the conclusions, which is attempted in the comprehensive discussion and the general conclusions (see Chapter 6 and 7) by connecting the empirical findings to the theoretical issues previously raised. Although this may lead to the reproduction of dominant ideas, this process allows taking distance from the empirical material.

### **3 CASE SELECTION AND PROJECT TYPOLOGY**

This section explains the choice of Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm as case studies before detailing the process behind the establishment of the embedded cases, based on a typology of live-work mix.

#### **Selecting cities**

Live-work mix was explored in three different contexts: Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm. Brussels capital *region* was compared to Amsterdam and Stockholm *municipalities*. This scale was considered as appropriate in each context to compare the processes responsible for difference and change (Goodwin, 2001 in Lawson, Haffner, & Oxley, 2009). The corresponding levels of power are indeed responsible for housing provision and spatial planning (see Chapter 4). Brussels’ region is responsible for public housing provision, and although the municipalities are involved in spatial planning, the urban development strategy is defined at the regional level. The

municipality of Amsterdam is also responsible for land allocation and spatial planning. In Stockholm, the municipality is not only responsible for housing provision but also has a planning monopoly<sup>10</sup>. In most other European countries, the responsibility for housing policy has moved to lower levels of government as well (Stephens, 2011). Although comparing territories that are smaller than nations can raise ambiguity on the definition of borders (Hantrais, 1999), investigating live-work mix in three different environments forms a sufficiently ‘significant’ multiple-case study research (Yin, 2009). Moreover, selecting local levels for the analysis responds to scholars’ call for comparative housing research of this type, provided that the right indicators and relevant data are used (Hoekstra, 2019).

The main similarities and divergences that led to the decision of comparing Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm are summarised in Table 2, and additional key facts and figures can be found in Appendix 1. A first motivation for investigating these cities was the willingness to study three Northern European major cities, with comparable population size. The cities further belong to nations that are members of the same international organisation – the European Union – which provides a common reference framework (Hantrais, 1999). However, the cities are part of countries that have experienced different levels of welfare services and housing provision, with differences in historically dominant tenures (social/public housing in the Netherlands/Sweden v. homeownership in Belgium). The cities also present local variations in institutional capacities, especially when it comes to spatial planning. These first observations already indicate that Amsterdam and Stockholm cluster together on institutional aspects, whereas Brussels is a singular case. The urban agendas are comparable as well: each city aims at enhancing live-work mix in designated areas (see Chapter 4). The global drivers of live-work mix (see Chapter 2, section 2) are also apparent in the three cities. Nonetheless, the coming chapters show that the intervention scales, types of product delivered, and target groups are different. Based on these similarities and differences, the three contexts were suitable for addressing the research questions. Besides, the cultural bias related to prior knowledge of the Brussels’ context - as opposed to very little knowledge of Amsterdam and Stockholm - was considered during the investigations.

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<sup>10</sup> The planning monopoly means that municipalities have control over land use and development so that they can easily integrate housing supply goals to urban development and influence housing policies (Lundström et al., 2013).

Amsterdam	Brussels	Stockholm
Population <sup>11</sup> : 0,96 – 2,77 million inhabitants (city – urban region)	Population: 1,2 – 2,67 million inhabitants (city – urban region)	Population: 0,95 – 2,31 million inhabitants (city – urban region)
Housing regime: social-democratic/corporatist > corporatist*	Housing regime: liberal (/corporatist)*	Housing regime: social-democratic > liberal*
Social housing tradition	Homeownership tradition	Public housing tradition
‘Unitary’ rental system*	‘Dualist’ rental system*	‘Unitary’ rental system*
Active planning > flexibilised and relaxed planning	Absence of spatial planning > incremental planning	Active, regulatory planning > contract planning
Urban development strategy: living-working areas	Urban development strategy: priority areas	Urban development strategy: densification and expansion areas

**Table 2: Similarities and differences between the cities. For more details, see Chapter 4 (including for the definition of the terms not introduced yet) - \* According to Hoekstra (2010)**

### Designing a typology and selecting projects

In order to investigate the emergence of live-work mix in the three cities, it was decided to sample real estate operations to be studied empirically, considering such sampling as the most suitable approach to examine the governance of live-work mix. In practice, the projects were selected based on a typology of live-work mix using similar criteria for the three cities (see the description of Types 1 to 3 in Table 3). Adapted criteria were yet applied for the practical selection of projects (see Chapter 5, section 1). Although previous comparative studies based on the qualitative analysis of projects were conducted in the field of housing (e.g., Costarelli et al., 2019) and planning (e.g., Taşan-Kok, 2010), this method remains relatively scarce – at least to the researcher’s knowledge.

The selection criteria used to build the typology and listed next are consistent with the conceptualisation of live-work mix and the institutionalist perspective.

*1. Live-work programme and target groups:* three types of live-work mix (see Table 3) were built consistently with the conceptualisation of live-work mix (see Chapter 2, section 1 – this process was iterative, in practice). Hence, all types of live-work mix represent projects that are settled in areas with live-work goals, be it within the dwelling itself through (semi-)private, multi-purpose or working shared spaces, or through the presence of formal economic activities of different nature (co-working space, commercial ground floor, small-scale offices, integration of light

<sup>11</sup> Data retrieved from the Urban audit: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/fr/web/cities/data/database>. All data correspond to the year 2018, except for the city population of Amsterdam, which corresponds to the year 2016.

industry). Beyond uses, the concept of live-work mix is also related to target groups, so that the definition of the live-work types considered different target demographics, mostly defined according to age, household type and socio-professional status. Target groups were of particular interest to the definition of the typology because this variable is indicative of the urban agenda for the areas where live-work mix is developed. Since the tenant demographic is not always clearly defined, the size and tenure form of the dwellings were used as additional indicators of the target group. Indeed, young single professionals are more likely to rent small dwellings for a short period than families.

*2. Ideal-typical differentiation of the actors who initiated the project:* the typology differentiates live-work projects depending on the coalitions of actors who developed them because they influence the nature of live-work mix. The actors are classified according to the ideal-typical differentiation of Brandsen et al. (2005) (see Chapter 2, section 4.2.1). Not all categories were present in the three cities, however. For example, mixed initiatives of the market (investor or developer) and the third sector (housing associations) appeared to be a specificity of the Amsterdam housing market. Similar initiatives were exclusively developed either by the market (in Brussels) or the third sector (in Stockholm). Also, no recent development resulting from a community-led initiative was found in Stockholm (see Chapter 5).

*3. The scale of the development:* the concept of live-work mix entails developments ranging from the building to the district scale. For the empirical analysis, the typology was bounded to the building and building-block scales, which made possible to examine the governance arrangements of each real estate operation. In particular, the building scale was chosen to study the development of shared spaces and services (Types 1 and 3). In contrast, the block scale was appropriate for the analysis of live-work developments in targeted areas (Type 2). Nevertheless, for each project, a broader reflection on the interactions between the project and its built environment was carried out. Specific land-use requirements and planning regulations for the whole area were analysed as well if they had a direct impact on the live-work mix of the studied development.

*4. Progress:* pragmatically, investigating governance arrangements required to study developments sufficiently advanced in the planning process. The planning-permission stage was the earliest stage accepted for Type 2 (see the definition of the types in Table 3). For Types 1 and 3, discussing outcomes was only possible for completed projects that could be visited and for which the panel of interviewees included residents.

Based on these criteria, the three types of live-work mix were built up to form the embedded cases of the comparative case study analysis. The typology was slightly adapted in each city to meet local specificities. The three types of live-work mix are further described in Chapter 5.

Type 1 (T1) Shared housing market	Type 2 (T2) Live-work development in targeted areas	Type 3 (T3) Live-work co-housing
<i>Short description</i>		
Large-scale developments with small dwellings, shared spaces and services	Mixed-use developments aiming at intertwining housing and economic activities	Co-housing projects with working spaces for the residents and/or economic activities
<i>Live-work programme</i>		
<p>Private or semi-private <i>shared spaces</i> used to work, e.g., multi-purpose room or meeting room</p> <p>Public spaces with <i>economic activities</i>, such as a co-working space, coffee bars or restaurants, commercial units</p> <p><i>Target public</i>: students and young professionals (possibly combined with older people), small households</p> <p><i>Dwelling size</i>: mostly studios or small dwellings</p> <p><i>Tenure</i>: mostly public or private-rented, temporary tenancy</p>	<p><i>Economic activities</i>: small-scale offices, co-working spaces, light industry (workshops), commercial units</p> <p><i>Intertwining</i>: 3D-property (vertical, joint ownership) and mixed-use at the area level</p> <p><i>Target public</i>: both small households and young families</p> <p><i>Dwelling size</i>: diversity of dwelling typologies but tendency to emphasise small dwellings</p> <p><i>Tenure</i>: both private-rented and owner-occupied</p>	<p><i>Dwellings</i> arranged for working activities</p> <p>Private or semi-private <i>shared spaces</i> used to work</p> <p><i>Economic activities</i>: small-scale offices, light industry (workshops), spaces for artists.</p> <p><i>Target public</i>: artists, self-employed, precarious workers, mostly families or couples</p> <p><i>Dwelling size</i>: larger than average on the local housing market</p> <p><i>Tenure</i>: owner-occupied</p>
<i>Other criteria</i>		
<p><i>Actors</i>: Market, Third sector, State</p> <p><i>Scale</i>: Building (up to 900 units)</p> <p><i>Progress</i>: Completed</p>	<p><i>Actors</i>: Market, State</p> <p><i>Scale</i>: Block and group of building blocks</p> <p><i>Progress</i>: In progress</p>	<p><i>Actors</i>: Community</p> <p><i>Scale</i>: Building (up to 50 units)</p> <p><i>Progress</i>: Completed</p>

**Table 3: Typology of live-work projects divided into three types: shared housing market (Type 1); live-work development in targeted areas (Type 2); live-work co-housing (Type 3)**

## 4 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection was based on fieldwork periods, analysis of documents, semi-structured interviews and feedback workshops. It was tried to be as systematic as possible in the case study *protocol*, in particular during fieldwork, to improve the reliability of the cases (Yin, 2009). The primary sources of evidence that were collected in each city consisted of documentation (e.g., planning instruments), interviews – one of the most important sources of case study information (Yin, 2009) – and direct observation (visits of live-work projects). This combination was a way of multiplying sources of evidence. Because anonymity was crucial to data collection and processing, all interviewees and projects were made anonymous in the manuscript.

NB: All empirical material is listed in appendices 2 and 3, and summarised in Table 4.

### Baseline data

Key facts and figures (see appendix 1) were collected to improve the reliability of the case study research (Yin, 2009). When possible, European datasets such as the Urban Audit were used (e.g., for population data). For more specific data, the statistics produced by local or national competent authorities were trusted. The case-study cities have their own statistics office, which provides extensive, reliable data, both at the metropolitan, municipal and even district levels:

- OIS – *Onderzoek, Informatie en Statistiek*, in Amsterdam;
- IBSA – *Institut Bruxellois de Statistique et d'Analyse*, in Brussels;
- Municipality of Stockholm – *Stockholms stad*, in Stockholm.

The data produced locally were mainly used to compare demographics, the structure of the housing stock, economic sectors and planning features.

### Fieldwork periods

Data collection for the city of Brussels was spread in different periods, from spring 2017 to spring 2019, given geographical proximity. Brussels was initially chosen as the *pilot* case, but Amsterdam appeared to be a more *straightforward* case (Yin, 2009). The data collection and analysis of the Amsterdam case were completed first, given the amount of documentation, local resources, and most importantly, the stage of development of live-work mix. The efficiency and focus of the data collection process and analysis were then improved for Brussels and Stockholm. The investigations carried out in Amsterdam and Stockholm were both concentrated in the following fieldwork periods:

- Amsterdam: the first exploration of the context took place during the period 15/06 – 01/07/2017 and was based at Delft University of Technology, Department of Management in the Built Environment, Delft. The second, main fieldwork phase was held over the period 02/01 – 30/03/2018 and based at AMS – Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan Solutions, Amsterdam.
- Stockholm: the first exploration of the context took place during the period 19 – 24/11/2017 (first exploration, based at KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Centre for the Future of Places, Stockholm). The second, main fieldwork phase was held over the period 28/02 – 31/05/2019 and based at KTH Royal Institute of Technology, URS – Department of Urban and Regional Studies, Stockholm.

The ‘first explorations’ listed above correspond to the short exploratory trips planned in each foreign city during the first year of the thesis. The objective was to conduct exploratory interviews with local experts and academics to create a local network. Then, the three-month fieldwork period was organised to complete the data collection for the policy analysis (exploratory interviews and documents), to select projects to investigate and to proceed to the interviews and document collection for each project. Limited time on site obliged to define the case boundaries in terms of collection of evidence, and to complete investigations within time and resource constraints (Yin, 2009).

#### **Data collection for the policy analysis (Chapter 4)**

A large number of semi-structured, exploratory interviews (n=74 - see Table 4) was conducted in each city, especially in the two contexts that were unfamiliar to the researcher. The purpose was to meet both academic experts in the local housing and planning systems, and local informants belonging to public and private sectors, who had good knowledge of critical issues in the researched fields, or were aware of on-going live-work developments. Some of the informants were more directly concerned with live-work mix than others (e.g., civil servants working on the urban development strategy or private developers involved in live-work projects). The interviewees were accessed through different means, with a pragmatic mix of direct contacts, step-by-step method and different relays (Blanchet & Gotman, 2015).

Apart from Brussels where the first exploratory interviews happened very early in the research process, a standard interview grid, made of open questions and a few specific items, was used in the three cities and for all actors. The main themes addressed in the questions were the current housing situation (demand, strategy, current issues), the urban development strategy (including the mixed-use goals) and the potential competition between housing and office markets. The

interview process was still semi-structured as the primary purpose of the open questions – which were not all raised if not necessary – was to facilitate the discussion. The interviews took place in French in Brussels and English in Amsterdam and Stockholm. So, no one was speaking its mother tongue during the interviews in Amsterdam and Stockholm. This situation created a language bias in these cities, whereas most exchanges in Brussels were in peoples' mother tongue. Awareness to these biases was kept during the analysis of the research material, and distance was taken from word choices. In the next chapters, all quotations for the Brussels' case are translated from French to English. The exploratory interviews generated much information to complement the literature review and the analysis of policy documents, which made essential to 'create silences' in the empirical material (Law, 2004). Given the significant number of interviews and their informative purpose, the content of the interviews was not transcribed but summarised in a synthetic document. All summaries were then used to support the policy analysis in Chapter 4.

Different kinds of documents were finally gathered to complete the analysis of each local context. Many documents were read but eventually not retained for the analysis, as part of the exploration and definition of the studied phenomenon. The urban development strategy was systematically examined in each city (Table 4) because it draws long-term ambitions for housing supply, economic development, and mixed-use areas. When present, more detailed strategies, such as housing agendas, office development strategies, statistics yearbooks or annual reports of key actors were included. The enactment of various planning and strategic documents by the local actors already gave first indications on the institutional framework and was considered as a result per se. For example, the number and frequency of strategic documents in Amsterdam are higher than in Brussels and illustrate different planning capacities. Language issues were also faced in that part of the analysis since many planning and strategic documents were not available in English. While reading texts in Dutch was feasible, analysing documents in Swedish required online translation support, not to cite Google Translate ©.

### **Data collection for the project analysis (Chapter 5)**

The second part of the research started with the selection of three to four projects to investigate in each city (n= 11 in total). The sampling of self-selected projects respects the criteria defining the typology (see section 3) as well as practical, additional criteria. Both methodological and practical reasons guided the decision to investigate certain projects rather than others. Each selected project was visited (existing area, completed buildings), and semi-structured, in-depth interviews (n= 56 in total, see Table 4) were conducted with one representative of each of the ideal-typical actors' group (Developer and/or Investor; Municipality and/or Region; Architect;

Resident; ...). The selected interviewees had to occupy comparable functions in each city (e.g., project manager). The same attention was paid to possible language bias as for the exploratory interviews (see the previous subheading).

For each completed project, at least one interview was conducted with a resident (n=13 in total, i.e., 23% of the total number of in-depth interviews). The residents who accepted an interview were mostly recommended by other actors, such as the property manager. In one case (Project STO-T1), the expressions of interest came from the residents themselves after a message had been posted on the community Facebook page. Despite access to tenants' social media pages in some instances, it was chosen not to explore such data, to keep the analysis focused on the governance of live-work mix. Although the number of residents interviewed may be too small to give a voice to inhabitants as an actor group, the transcriptions could be used to inform the tenants' role in the planning process in the case of co-housing projects and to feed into the reflection on the outcomes of all completed projects. Being aware that the feedback received from residents is more limited than in research specifically designed, for example, to assess residents' preferences, such data were completed with additional evidence from other sources.

Furthermore, at least three interviews were carried out for each project to validate information on the programme and the development process through data triangulation (Patton, 2002 in Yin, 2009). When this was not possible, the whole project was rejected. It happened once in Stockholm: one project could not be analysed because it was impossible to meet neither the investor nor his architect, despite tremendous efforts to get in touch with the company. The investor happened to be very secretive, possibly because he was in financial troubles (according to informal sources) following the real estate downturn in Stockholm. This uncomfortable situation likely required from the investor to reconsider the project programme, something the company was not willing to communicate on (see Chapter 5 for more details). Such issues were only considered half a failure because the investor's behaviour provided insights on Stockholm's current housing market situation. Overall, it was possible to complete the analysis of eleven projects: four in Amsterdam, four in Brussels and three in Stockholm.

The main instruments used in each project for the implementation of live-work goals were also analysed. The building plans were, most of the time, provided by the architects while local visions and strategies were sent by other actors directly involved in the projects (e.g., urban planner working for the municipality, private developer). Other instruments were available online (e.g., local land-use plans). However, not all planning instruments were accessible. For instance, in Amsterdam, land-lease and development contracts are confidential. For these instruments, the analysis was based on the literature and the interviewees' discourse. The

analysis relied on the empirical material available. The latter was the object of a qualitative coding in *NVivo* (see section 2). The programme and development process of each project were reconstructed based on the qualitative data to understand the decision-making process throughout the developments.

### **Feedback workshops**

Feedback workshops were organised in each city and open to all actors interviewed (exploratory and in-depth phase). The workshops were held with specific support and formulas in the three cities. The minutes of each workshop are compiled in appendix 4.

In Amsterdam, the workshop took place on the 14<sup>th</sup> of January 2019 and was organised at the AMS Institute – Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan Solutions. Eleven participants attended the event, the presentation of the results was split in different themes, and the debates took place in between these themes, in two subgroups. The two moderators were Ellen van Bueren (Co-promotor, TU Delft) and the researcher, and the notes were taken respectively by Saskia Gribling (MSc student at TU Delft) and Jacques Teller (First promotor, ULiège).

The second workshop was organised in Brussels on the 5<sup>th</sup> of November 2019, with the support of Perspective.brussels, the regional planning office. The organisation of the workshop was adapted to match the event framework (Perspective.lab). A comparison of the first results in Brussels and Amsterdam was presented during a lunch event opened to the whole network of the institution. The attendees (n=35) could react during a Q&A session. A smaller group of participants (n=11 - mainly actors involved in the research) continued the discussion about Brussels in two parallel working sessions during which specific issues were debated. The two moderators were Jacques Teller and the researcher, and the notes were taken by Pierre-François Wilmotte (PhD student, ULiège) and Stéphanie van Doosselaere (Research Fellow, ULiège).

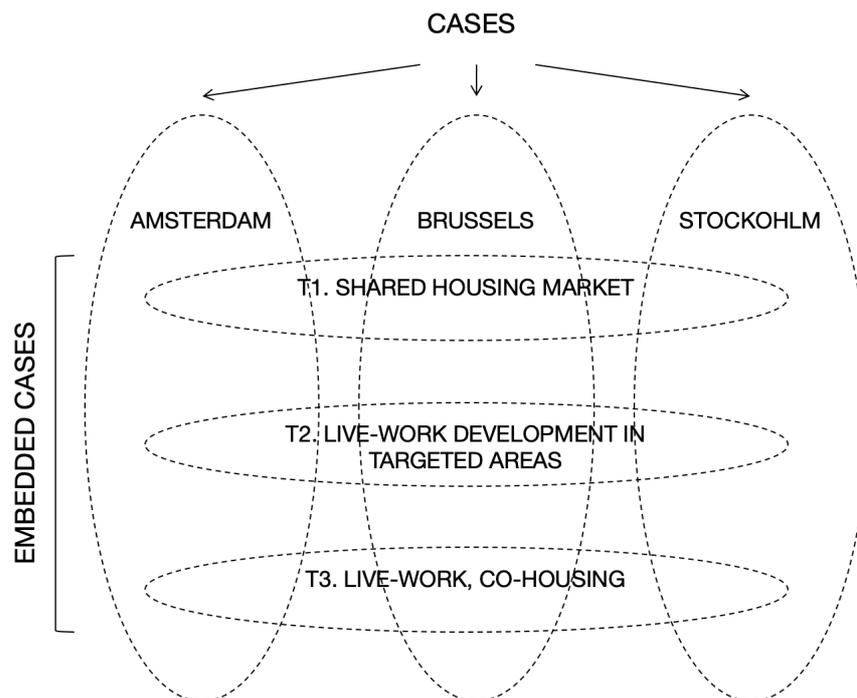
The third workshop should have taken place in Stockholm on the 31<sup>st</sup> of March 2020 at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH). However, because of the Covid-19 pandemic, the workshop was postponed to the 5<sup>th</sup> of May and turned into a webinar. The meeting was organised on *Livesize* and welcomed five participants from Stockholm as well as Jacques Teller and Ellen van Bueren (two promotors). The results were briefly presented in 15 minutes and opened a one-hour, thematic discussion, which was recorded. Although the feedback received during this online event was more limited, useful insights were provided by the participants.

Amsterdam	Brussels	Stockholm
<b>Policy analysis</b>		
<p><i>Documents:</i> Amsterdam structural vision, Amsterdam 2025 strategy, ...</p> <p><i>Exploratory interviews</i> (n=25):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- State: 6</li> <li>- Market: 6</li> <li>- Third sector: 3</li> <li>- Community, academia: 10</li> </ul>	<p><i>Documents:</i> Regional development plan, Regional land-use plan, ...</p> <p><i>Exploratory interviews</i> (n=22):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- State: 11</li> <li>- Market: 5</li> <li>- Third sector: 1</li> <li>- Community, academia: 5</li> </ul>	<p><i>Documents:</i> Stockholm city plan, Regional development plan, ...</p> <p><i>Exploratory interviews</i> (n=27):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- State: 6</li> <li>- Market: 6</li> <li>- Third sector: 6</li> <li>- Community, academia: 9</li> </ul>
<b>Project analysis</b>		
<p><i>Project sampling</i> (n=4):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Type 1: 2</li> <li>- Type 2: 1</li> <li>- Type 3: 1</li> </ul> <p><i>Documents:</i> Building and land-use plans, brochures, local visions and strategies, ...</p> <p><i>Visits:</i> February, March and May 2018</p> <p><i>Interviews</i> (n=22):</p> <p>Interviews (by actor group):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- State: 5</li> <li>- Market: 5</li> <li>- Third sector: 2</li> <li>- Residents: 6</li> <li>- Experts: 4</li> </ul> <p>Interviews (by project type):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Shared housing: 12</li> <li>- Mixed-use: 6</li> <li>- Co-housing: 4</li> </ul> <p><i>Feedback workshop:</i> 11 participants</p>	<p><i>Project sampling</i> (n=4):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Type 1: 1</li> <li>- Type 2: 2</li> <li>- Type 3: 1</li> </ul> <p><i>Documents:</i> Building/local land-use plan, planning permission, brochures, vision, ...</p> <p><i>Visits:</i> October and December 2018, February 2019</p> <p><i>Interviews</i> (n=18):</p> <p>Interviews (by actor group):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- State: 6</li> <li>- Market: 3</li> <li>- Third sector: 0</li> <li>- Residents: 5</li> <li>- Experts: 4</li> </ul> <p>Interviews (by project type):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Shared housing: 6</li> <li>- Mixed-use: 7</li> <li>- Co-housing: 5</li> </ul> <p><i>Feedback workshop:</i> 35 attendees (Perspective.lab), 11 active participants</p>	<p><i>Project sampling*</i> (n=3):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Type 1: 1</li> <li>- Type 2: 2</li> <li>- Type 3: 0</li> </ul> <p><i>Documents:</i> Building and local land-use plans, brochures and marketing documents, ...</p> <p><i>Visits:</i> March to May 2019</p> <p><i>Interviews*</i> (n=16):</p> <p>Interviews (by actor group):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- State: 3</li> <li>- Market: 4</li> <li>- Third sector: 2</li> <li>- Residents: 2</li> <li>- Experts: 5</li> </ul> <p>Interviews (by project type):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Shared housing: 7</li> <li>- Mixed-use: 9</li> <li>- Co-housing: 0</li> </ul> <p><i>Feedback workshop:</i> 8 participants</p> <p>* 1 project and 3 interviews unused</p>

**Table 4: Summary of the empirical material collected, both for the policy analysis and the project analysis. For more details, see appendices 2 and 3**

## 5 RESEARCH DESIGN IN A NUTSHELL

As a social phenomenon, live-work mix was studied through the lens of a comparative case study approach. Comparative housing studies have been increasingly used to investigate housing policies and are conditioned to the in-depth understanding of the contexts in which these policies are applied. Path-dependent and social-constructionist approaches to comparative housing research have been advised in the literature. Comparative case study methods offer opportunities for generalisation and are well-suited for policy-driven research. Also, comparing cities rather than nations presents the advantage of stressing the active roles of cities in today's globalised world. However, the main limitations of comparative case study research lie in the risks of falling into descriptivism or universalism. These risks can yet be tackled by playing with multiple case studies. It was thus decided to conduct comparative, embedded case study research, with three cities as main cases, and three types of live-work mix as embedded cases (Figure 8).



**Figure 8: Comparative, embedded case study research**

The analysis was conducted in two phases (Figure 9). Each city was first the object of an extensive exploratory phase, based on interviews and document analysis (Figure 10). The exploratory interviews captured intangible aspects of the studied phenomenon that could be identified neither in the scientific literature nor in policy documents. This first exploration was used to build the policy analysis of each context (see Chapter 4). Then, an intensive study of live-work projects was carried out, based on the definition of a live-work mix typology and the

sampling of real estate projects fitting in this typology. The selected live-work projects were subject to a qualitative analysis, based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews, planning instruments and observations (Figure 11). Consistently with a pre-analytical framework, the empirical material was coded in several steps in dedicated software, which produced one tree structure for each type of live-work mix in each city. The trees were used as a pre-argumentation for the presentation of the results in Chapter 5. The qualitative reasoning applied throughout the explanation-building process was considered as abduction (i.e., retroduction, in between induction and deduction). The provisional results of the research were presented and debated during feedback workshops, organised as focus groups, in each city. Additional levels of interpretation were emphasised to enhance more reflexive discussions and conclusions.

Three cities were selected for analysis, namely Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm. The city-scale was relevant for this research, given these cities' competences in housing and planning. The three contexts were also easily comparable and provided a right balance of convergence and divergence on different aspects of their regimes and live-work mix strategies. Three types of live-work mix (the shared housing market, live-work development in targeted areas, live-work, co-housing) were identified according to different criteria (e.g., target groups, actors involved) and explored in each city through the selection of live-work projects.

The data collection process was differentiated between Brussels and the other cities. After establishing baseline data, the core data were collected during different periods. Data collection was spread over time in Brussels, while specific fieldwork periods were organised in Amsterdam and Stockholm. Each fieldwork period included a first exploratory trip during the first year of the thesis, followed by a three-month research stay. For the exploratory phase, the interviews were conducted with experts from different sectors. Information brought through these interviews provided feedback on the realities of certain issues and completed the literature review and the analysis of policy documents (including the city development strategy). For the second phase of the research, eleven live-work projects were selected across the three cities. Each project was visited, and the main actors involved were interviewed. Key planning instruments were also collected (when available) and analysed. The feedback workshops concluding the investigation of each city were organised respectively in January 2019 in Amsterdam, in November 2019 in Brussels, and virtually, in May 2020 in Stockholm.

The next two chapters form the core of the thesis as they present the empirical findings. The results of the policy analysis are first presented by city (see Chapter 4). Then, the project analysis is structured according to the typology of live-work mix (see Chapter 5). This allows focusing on the leading cases first before delving into the embedded cases.

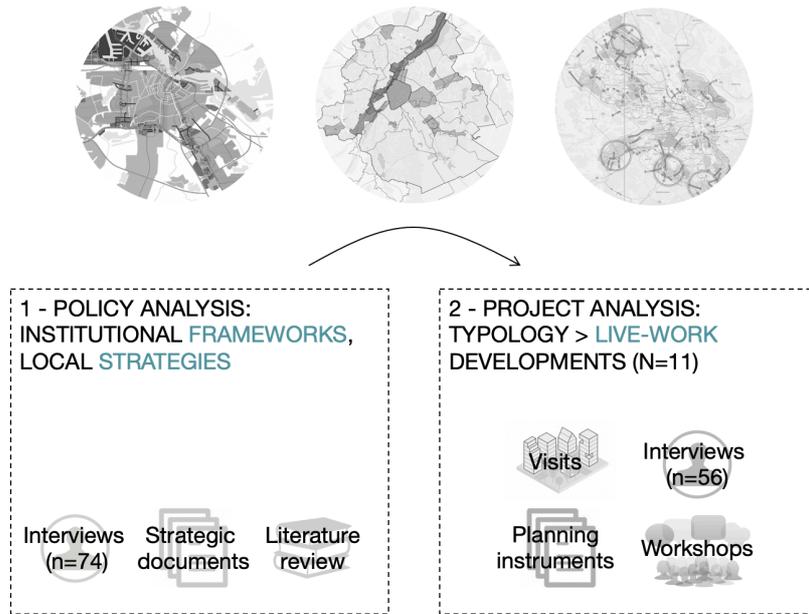


Figure 9: Comprehensive research design

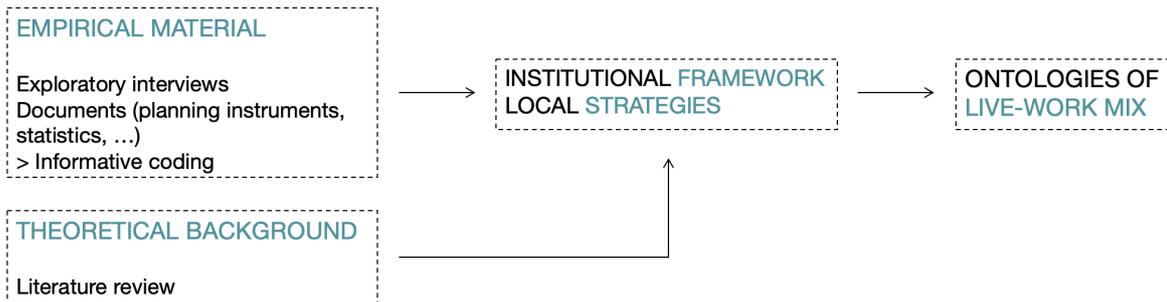


Figure 10: Research design for the policy analysis

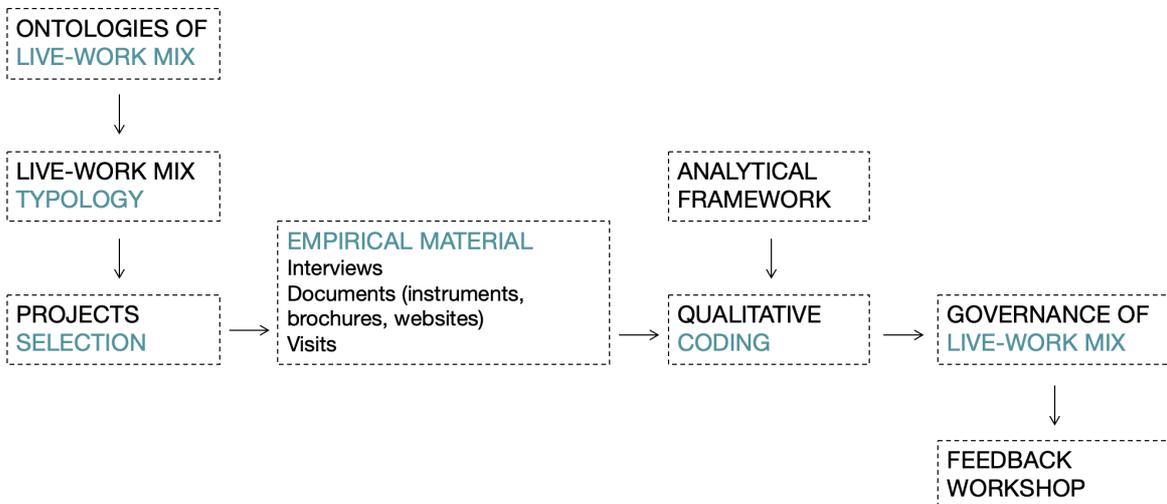


Figure 11: Research design for the project analysis



## CHAPTER 4: ONTOLOGIES OF LIVE-WORK MIX IN AMSTERDAM, BRUSSELS AND STOCKHOLM

*It is not just the inability of the housing market to produce affordable housing that is the problem, but the way housing markets work to distribute living opportunities for different people within an urban area, so that poorer people may end up facing inequalities not only in access to housing, but to work opportunities, health services, education and leisure opportunities. (...) Strategies that emphasise the spatiality of activities and relations thus foreground some critical interconnections and qualities arising from the evolving co-existence and juxtaposition of multiple activities and webs of relations in particular areas, locales and territories. (...) Is an urban area a bundle of property rights, a landscape, a set of activities, a collection of networks, a jurisdiction, a symbol? Does it exist objectively, to be 'found' by appropriate analysis, or is it a social construct, to be discovered and imagined by some kind of creative process? And, however it exists, is an urban area just a 'presence', a 'place-in-itself', or can a place 'act', to become a 'place-for-itself'? The answers to such questions are important because they frame political initiatives and policy programmes. These initiatives and programmes in turn affect the daily life experience of those living in, working in, visiting and passing through urban areas.*

(Healey, 2007, pp. 201–202)

This chapter provides a policy analysis of the local housing and planning regimes in Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm. Each city is introduced, consistently with the three drivers of live-work mix: target groups, evolution of housing provision and policies, planning traditions and shifts under new economic driving forces. Then, the current strategies related to housing supply, urban development and economic growth are presented, with a focus on live-work goals and underpinning ontologies. The research questions addressed are:

- What are the housing and planning regimes in each city, and how have they influenced current live-work mix strategies?
- What ontologies of live-work mix do these regimes and strategies underlie?
- How do these ontologies differ across contexts?
- What are the benefits and drawbacks of the path dependency approach to answering the previous questions?

The questions are discussed in the concluding section, after the presentation of each city individually. The comprehensive discussion compares the housing and planning regimes and stresses the main path dependencies and issues conditioning live-work mix, before returning to the methodological choice of path dependency as an analytical framework.

## 1 AMSTERDAM

### 1.1 LOCAL DRIVERS OF LIVE-WORK MIX

#### 1.1.1 Young professionals and middle-income households as target groups

Amsterdam is a fast-growing city, with 23% demographic growth expected between 2017-2040 (OECD, 2017). The city concentrates young single adults, a target demographic of particular interest to both public and private actors active in housing provision and urban development. One-person households represent half of the population, and one-third of all households are aged 20 to 34 (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2017c). Amsterdam's housing agenda 2025 (*Woonagenda 2025*) estimates that students and 'under 35, without children and with higher education' (i.e., young professionals - Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017c, p. 34; authors' translation) will represent 15% of the population in 2025 and sets quantitative targets for this group (ibid). Having moved to the city to complete higher education, young singles intend to stay for the first years of their careers (Booi & Boterman, 2019).

In Amsterdam, even more than in other Dutch cities, young adults face long waiting times for social housing<sup>12</sup> (Amsterdamse federatie van woningcorporaties [AFWC], 2018). They are often neither eligible for social housing nor able to obtain a mortgage (Boelhouwer, 2019), even less following recent changes in loan conditions (Interviewees AMS-I3; I18). These conditions, combined with stagnating housing production (Boelhouwer, 2019) and the growth of (international) students following higher education (Fang & van Liempt, 2020), have contributed to growing market pressure on the Dutch private-rented sector (PRS) and the housing shortage (Boelhouwer, 2019). Because it has become increasingly difficult for young adults to pursue a linear housing career<sup>13</sup> in cities like Amsterdam (Hochstenbach & Boterman, 2015), flexible life arrangements have expanded in Dutch cities (Hochstenbach et al., 2020). Although young professionals are usually expected to value urban living (Fincher & Costello, 2005; Muhammad et al., 2007), young singles show no intention to settle long term in Amsterdam (Booi & Boterman, 2019). This is consistent with government support to the introduction of short-term, flexible tenure forms in youth and student housing development (see section 1.1.2).

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<sup>12</sup> The average waiting time for social housing rose from 13 years in 2015 to 15 years in 2017, in the municipality of Amsterdam (Amsterdamse federatie van woningcorporaties [AFWC], 2018). Moreover, 15% of active seekers are younger than 23 years old (Ibid).

<sup>13</sup> Linear housing careers, or pathways, refer to the fact of moving between official and stable housing sectors (Hochstenbach & Boterman, 2015).

Apart from young people, Amsterdam's local authorities have also been drawing increasing attention to knowledge workers by providing them with attractive living places (Bontje & Musterd, 2009). Although Amsterdam has a high proportion of low-income households<sup>14</sup>, high-income households have reached 25% of the municipality (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2017a). The position of the city is ambivalent though, as it strongly supports housing for middle-income households through dedicated policies (see section 1.2). Housing accessibility and affordability are key-issues for middle-income groups as well, even more for 'outsiders' (Kadi & Musterd, 2015), for the same reasons as young adults. Middle-income households are often represented as 'between two stools', since they are not eligible neither for social housing nor for a mortgage, and they cannot afford a private-rented dwelling (Boelhouwer, 2019). This situation illustrates growing inequalities in Amsterdam (Hochstenbach, 2016) and explains why young professionals and middle-income households are two primary target demographics of new housing production and, by extension, live-work development.

### **1.1.2 Social housing tradition challenged by housing commodification**

#### **Evolution of housing provision since the emergence of social housing**

Amsterdam has a long tradition of social housing, which is developed by non-profit and financially independent housing associations (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). The social housing sector, a fully rental market, still represents over 40% of the total housing stock<sup>15</sup> (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020). Social housing was created in the Netherlands at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when housing cooperatives started to develop residential areas for workers, as part of a movement for better living conditions. In Amsterdam, the massive production of subsidised dwellings for the working class followed the consolidation of the city's territory (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). The Housing Act of 1901 established a legal framework for social housing (Halleux et al., 2012; P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997) and institutionalised the housing associations formed during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Boelhouwer & Priemus, 2014). State pillarisation resulted in the organisation of social and cultural institutions – including housing associations – according to socio-religious lines (Aalbers et al., 2017).

The regime shift towards social housing policies only happened during the interwar period, after universal suffrage and income-tax were introduced (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). The Social-Democratic workers' party, who won the 1919 elections and kept the quasi-majority for

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<sup>14</sup> 21% of Amsterdam population belonged to a low-income household in 2014 (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2017a). Besides, middle-income households - i.e. with an income below 1,5 time the 'modal income' (EU threshold) - represented almost 20% of households in 2017 (ibid).

<sup>15</sup> Housing associations also own a small share of 'free-rental' housing (of which the rent is above €710).

the next decades, had to respond to the housing demands of their voters (*ibid.*). Housing provision was, thus, directly related to the workers' demands. Amsterdam was allowed to annex adjacent territories and used actively land policy to deliver affordable housing in lower-density urban extensions (see section 1.1.3).

Social housing supply became substantial after World War II and the establishment of the welfare state (e.g., Hochstenbach, 2016; Musterd, 2014). Nevertheless, in Amsterdam, a prior large-scale urban reform, the General Extension Plan (1935) was enacted to develop working-class housing in new urban extensions, based on social-democratic housing and liberal economic growth policies (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). Much later, during the economic crisis of the 1970s, the housing associations, which were still state subsidised, had a central role in housing production (Boelhouwer & Priemus, 2014; Savini et al., 2016). The social housing sector continued to expand during the 1980s, through a growing number of subsidies and loans that formed an 'anti-cyclical investment strategy' (Ekkers & Helderma, 2010 in W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019). In Amsterdam, the housing policies of the 1970-1980s were also driven by the urban renewal of the 19th-century districts surrounding the city centre (Savini et al., 2016). This was also the time of first calls for a 'retrenchment' of the social housing sector to providing affordable housing for target populations (Aalbers et al., 2017).

The 1990s were a critical juncture for housing policy, following what Dutch researchers name the 'neo-liberalisation of the state' (e.g., Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020; Kadi & Musterd, 2015; Kadi & Ronald, 2014; W. P. C. Van Gent, 2013). The turning point was the 1989 housing memorandum, which emphasised housing 'deregulation, decentralisation and self-sufficiency' (Boelhouwer & Priemus, 2014, p. 224). Housing policy shifted from state-subsidised social housing provision to homeownership advocacy through tax deductions and low-interest rates (Aalbers, 2008; Savini et al., 2016; W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019). This led to unprecedented price increases on the owner-occupied housing market and the expansion of homeownership (Aalbers, 2008).

Furthermore, responsibilities and risks were decentralised and transferred to local authorities (Boelhouwer & Priemus, 2014), and the Dutch housing regime became increasingly marked by corporatism (Hoekstra, 2010). Although the housing associations became financially independent, the share of social housing reached its peak in 1995<sup>16</sup> before declining (Savini et al., 2016). In 1997, a new instrument, the 'Social Housing Sales Covenant' made it possible for

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<sup>16</sup> The share of public housing reached 55%, and there was also 15% private-rented, regulated affordable housing (Savini et al., 2016)

Amsterdam housing associations to sell dwellings to individual households, but the sales became conspicuous only after the 2011 housing memorandum (Hochstenbach, 2016; Savini et al., 2016). Social dwelling sales were primarily observed on the edges of the inner city, in post-war housing estates (Interviewee AMS-I21). The sales were part of urban renewal or regeneration projects, consisting of mixed-use developments aimed at accommodating higher income groups in disadvantaged areas (W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019). The housing associations thus had an entrepreneurial role in these projects (ibid).

The welfare state restructuring affecting the Dutch housing regulations continued to impact the housing associations in the 2010s (Boelhouwer & Priemus, 2014; Nieboer & Gruis, 2014, 2016; Priemus & Gruis, 2011). In 2011, a national policy ('Right-to-buy') encouraged the housing associations to shift part of their housing stock into the private market, notably through sales to institutional investors or rise in rents above the social housing threshold of €711 (Musterd, 2014). During the same year, the largest Dutch housing association, Vestia, lost two billion euros due to speculation with financial products and derivatives, and this event was considered exemplary of the progressive financialisation of Dutch social housing providers (Aalbers et al., 2017; Hoekstra, 2017). For Aalbers et al. (2017), the conditions for housing associations' financialisation were created through 'regulated deregulation', that is, the enactment of new rules and institutions allowing them to act 'freely'. The Vestia case was highly-mediatised and led to reregulation in social housing (Nieboer & Gruis, 2014).

In 2012, following advice from the European Commission, the national government forced housing associations to focus on housing primarily the low-income groups, whereas they previously accommodated various income groups (Boelhouwer & Priemus, 2014). The previous ability to maintain a high share of social housing with broad access (unitary rental system) was specific to the Netherlands (W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019), in contrast to other European countries where social housing provision had always been scarce (dualist rental system – e.g., Belgium, see section 2). Then, the revision of the Housing Act in 2015 restricted housing associations in their investments and activities. As a result, they are no longer allowed to develop mixed tenures or commercial activities (e.g., Nieboer & Gruis, 2016). Consequently, housing associations are restricted in their means (W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019), which may complexify the implementation of mixed-use goals (Interviewees AMS-I9; I18; I19). For live-work projects, housing associations thus need to collaborate with private actors (see Chapter 5, section 2.1 for an illustration of such partnerships).

Another essential regulatory change is the emergence of short-term or '*temporary*' rental contracts (Huisman, 2016a). Temporary tenure was tolerated initially in a few specific cases such as vacant

buildings or urban renewal (Huisman, 2016a). By default, the social housing sector offers *time-unlimited* rental contracts with regulated rents and high tenure security. However, unlimited tenure turned out to lead to ‘skewness’ issues, with residents keeping their social dwelling despite having reached an income beyond the threshold (Musterd, 2014). Nonetheless, it is mostly the housing shortage, especially for students and young adults, that motivated the introduction of temporary tenure. Hence, the range of cases suitable for temporary tenure was expanded as from the late 1990s and ‘campus contracts’ were soon introduced (Huisman, 2016b). This was followed by ‘youth contracts’ in 2011. More recently (2016), non-renewable two-year contracts were approved, notably for young people under 28, with a focus on small dwellings<sup>17</sup> (AFWC, 2016). This new regulation was the outcome of a project for a five-year contract introduced by a housing association in 2013 and supported by the municipalities of Amsterdam and Utrecht.

The introduction of these time-limited contracts was meant to be substantial since it could concern up to one-third of the housing associations’ housing stock (AFWC, 2016). Temporary tenure is well perceived by certain actors who consider that the Housing Act is too protective for tenants (Interviewee AMS-I13) and who are in favour of a more flexible rental market (Interviewee AMS-I16; I20). Nonetheless, these contracts must be distinguished from the short-stay regulation<sup>18</sup>, which targets international workers and business travellers. It also differs from ‘Friend contracts’ which consist of the contractual formalisation of shared apartments (Interviewees AMS-I2; I16; I18). The expansion of temporary tenure illustrates the instrumentation of tenure by the local authorities (see Chapter 5, section 2).

Finally, the Dutch housing market was heavily impacted by the consequences of the global financial crisis (GFC). Since the crisis, a higher proportion of households with a significant need cannot access ‘adequate housing’ in the Netherlands (Jonkman, 2020). Furthermore, the crisis led to a sharp reduction in housing sales (Hochstenbach, 2016) and decreased property values (Nieboer & Gruis, 2016), which fell by over 12% in Amsterdam and up to 21% in the country as a whole between 2008 and 2013 (Boelhouwer, 2017; Teye et al., 2017). The real estate crisis particularly hit the Netherlands compared to other European countries (ibid): stricter mortgage criteria combined to falling demand made it more difficult for the country to recover (Boelhouwer, 2017). The crisis conditioned the behaviour of both real estate actors and local planning authorities (see Chapter 5). For some, the real estate crisis allowed new concepts to emerge on the housing market (Interviewee AMS-I13), while for others, it just delivered lower-

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<sup>17</sup> The dwellings have to be smaller than 40 or 50 m<sup>2</sup> depending on the location (AFWC, 2016).

<sup>18</sup> ‘Short stay’ refers to the non-regulated rental of a privately-owned, furnished dwelling for a period from one week to six months and is limited to 10% of the PRS in each district of Amsterdam (I Amsterdam, 2018).

quality housing (Interviewee AMS-I4). Anyhow, the crisis led to regulatory reforms, such as stricter conditions to obtain a mortgage (Boelhouwer & Priemus, 2014), and it can be seen as a significant critical juncture. In Amsterdam, one consequence was the expansion of the PRS under municipal support and with the collaboration of housing associations, which sold dwellings and increased rents (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2018).

### **Current issues: commodification, decreased accessibility and small housing production**

The recent evolution of the housing regime attests to housing commodification or ‘regulated marketisation’ (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020). The further financialisation of the Dutch housing market is apparent in the level of leverage of Dutch homeowners, the dependence of lenders on mortgage securitisation and the housing associations’ use of derivatives to manage their financial risks<sup>19</sup> (Aalbers et al., 2017). The structure of the housing stock is another indicator. Homeownership represents one-third of the stock (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2019), but the housing segment that has increased the most is the PRS, following the growth of individual landlords (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2019) and institutional investors (Interviewee AMS-I17).

Amsterdam’s local government supported the growth of the PRS through new incentives and regulations to respond to the inaccessibility of the social rental sector and the unaffordability of the owner-occupied sector (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020). Rent levels are regulated, based on a point system (including criteria on the dwelling size), which applies to both housing associations and private landlords (ibid). However, since 2015, rent levels and income criteria are no longer regulated above a certain point threshold so that many rental (newly-built) dwellings located in the most expensive districts of the city have shifted to the ‘free-market’ sector (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020; W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019). Nevertheless, the local government now aims to reregulate the PRS, especially in new construction (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020). Other signs of commodification were observed among the suppliers to the PRS, such as Dutch pension funds (van Loon & Aalbers, 2017).

Despite on-going commodification, the current housing situation indicates that accessibility issues still prevail over affordability issues, given the difficulties for low- and middle-income households to access housing, and the unequal position of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’<sup>20</sup> (Boelhouwer, 2019). However, the exploratory interviews reported decreasing affordability, even in the social housing sector. Moreover, the housing shortage applies to all segments

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<sup>19</sup> Almost one-third of the Dutch housing associations have speculative derivatives (Aalbers et al., 2017).

<sup>20</sup> Boelhouwer (2019, p. 5) distinguishes these two groups as ‘those households who have obtained a comfortable position in the housing market (insiders) and those who have to establish themselves in the near future (outsiders)’.

(Interviewees AMS-I2; I3; I16; I20), contrary to the perpetuated narrative of social housing surplus (W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019). The Housing agenda 2025 shows that the middle-income households retain most interests (see section 1.2), notwithstanding political debates on the groups to support:

‘So, what do you see actually in all segments of the housing market? There is more demand than supply! And then, I think it becomes a political decision: *which group do you want to support?* So, we, in the housing associations - and I think most of the tenants and the socialist parties - want to have more social housing. But liberal democrats are also in our college, and the conservatives, they want more middle-segment housing.’ [Interviewee AMS-I2; emphasis added]

Tremendous increases in mean property prices (from €200,000 in 2015 to €319,000 in 2018) were observed in the after-crisis recovery, placing Amsterdam well above the Dutch average, especially given the small size of Amsterdam dwellings (Hochstenbach & Arundel, 2019, p. 12). This has led to higher values in every segment – including in the PRS (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2017c) – and has fuelled housing affordability issues in the city. Housing pressure is the highest in the inner city (Figure 12). In this context, the opportunity to develop profitable, small dwellings – especially for students and young professionals – has emerged. The dwelling size is regulated in the Building Decree through indicative values<sup>21</sup> that are negotiated with local planning authorities (Interviewee AMS-I22). Between 2012 and 2016, in Amsterdam, the number of studios produced more than tripled, and by 2016, 40% of all newly built accommodations were studios (OIS, 2017). Figure 13 shows that most studios are private-rented. Evidence also indicates that small dwellings are developed in large-scale estates (up to 955 units per project - Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b), in line with the city densification goals. This trend was recurrently reported during the exploratory interviews (Interviewees AMS-I2; I3; I5; I12; I16; I17; I19). The interviewees were mainly concerned with reduced spatial quality in new housing production and the impact on the population the city wants to accommodate:

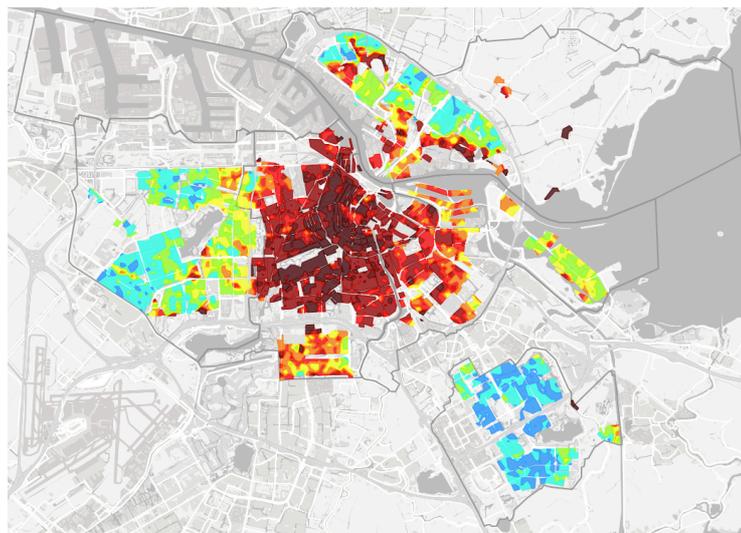
‘You make a re-composition of your spatial functions when you are densifying. And in what way we are doing that, that’s still under discussion. So, how do you create quality? You can’t create, you can’t maintain the same quality you had when you are densifying. (...) So, we are downgrading our...not on the quality rules, which are standardised, but our own vision of how much space is needed for households or families. So, we are squeezing all that. And that’s also...In that terms, we are now already creating less quality than we did. And you can also ask yourself the question “*for whom* are you creating the quality in housing nowadays?” So, when you are diminishing the size of dwellings, you are automatically creating a new force in selection mechanisms. (...) So, the decision about how spacious or big we want to create our apartments and houses, they create automatically a new driver in the selection processes. That’s also part of the quality question. What quality for whom?’ [Interviewee AMS-I5]

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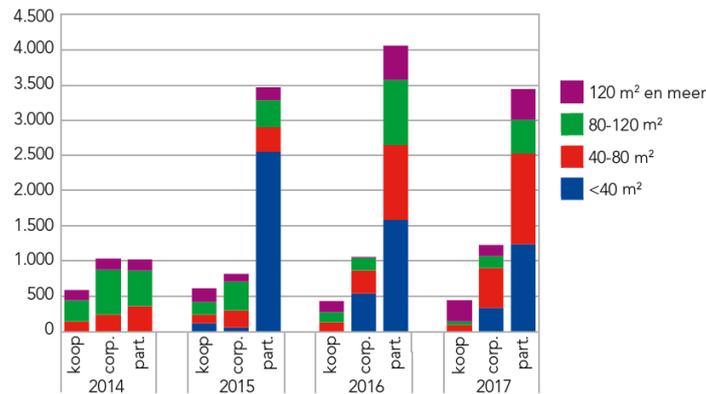
<sup>21</sup> For example, the minimum private floor area for housing is 18 m<sup>2</sup> (new construction). The Decree gives a set of rules depending on function, which are more flexible in case of renovation. For mixed-use developments, the most constraining regulation must be applied (Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2011).

Shared spaces for the residents are included in some developments, labelled as the ‘shared housing market’ (see Chapter 5, section 2). To the researcher’s knowledge, little research of the shared housing market has been conducted in Dutch cities so far, although different forms of ‘resurgent landlordism’ have been investigated in student cities (e.g., in Groningen, see Hochstenbach et al., 2020). In Amsterdam, the municipality monitors ‘youth’ and ‘student’ housing (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b). Amid these developments (Figure 14), 25 properties were aimed at both students and young professionals and were planned and developed either by housing associations (44%), market parties (40%) or a coalition of both types of actors (16%) (ibid). No data is available on the presence of shared facilities in these properties, however. Also, despite recent investigations of the ‘buy-to-let’ sector (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020), the tenure forms of these new housing developments are under-documented so that ‘an important shift in the Dutch rental system has gone unobserved’ (Huisman, 2016a, p. 102). What was learned from the exploratory investigations is that the shared housing market is still emerging, but may contribute to specific forms of gentrification (Interviewee AMS-12), such as ‘youthification’ (Moos, 2016 - see Chapter 2). Although growing, the shared housing market faces regulatory barriers and conservative building industry (Interviewee AMS-I24). Informal shared housing in the existing housing stock remains more common practice (Interviewee AMS-I3).

Housing policy has been closely intertwined with spatial planning in the Netherlands, as shows the above retrospect of the housing regime. Therefore, the active planning tradition that has shaped the country until today and conditions live-work development is explored next.



**Figure 12: Property values in €/m<sup>2</sup> in 2019, ranging between less than €1,976/m<sup>2</sup> (darkest blue) to over €7,901/m<sup>2</sup> (darkest red) (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2020)**



1) koop: eigenaar-bewoner, corp.: corporatieverhuur, part.: particuliere verhuur. bron: OIS

Figure 13: Housing production by surface and by tenure (OIS, 2017)

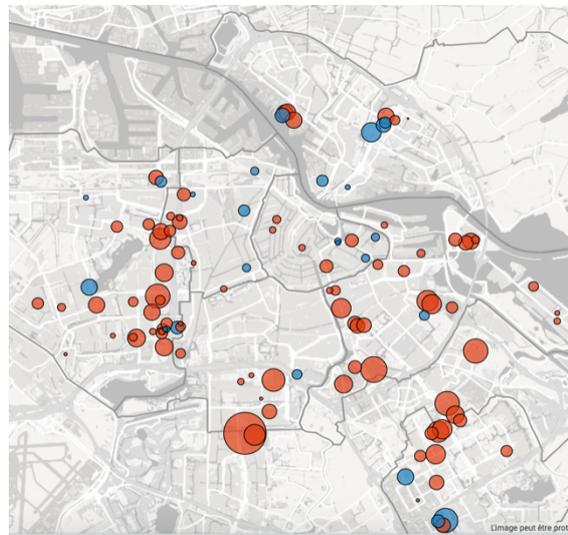


Figure 14: Student and Youth housing estates, both planned (blue) and existing (red) in October 2019 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b)

### 1.1.3 Active spatial planning subject to relaxation and flexibilisation

#### The Dutch active planning regime, from first land annexations to polycentric urban development

The Dutch tradition to active spatial planning involves municipalities in land-use policies (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020; OECD, 2017; Savini, 2016). This tradition relies on geophysical characteristics, controlled water management and a high population density (Halleux et al., 2012). The city of Amsterdam owns over 80% of the land – comprised within its limits – which is leased-out through a specific instrument: the land-lease contract (*erfpacht*) (Savini et al., 2016). This instrument, used in other large Dutch cities as well, contributes to the ‘effectiveness and efficiency’ of the Dutch planning system (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020). Amsterdam already owned land, acquired by compulsory purchases, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). The city favoured zoning and the provision of small-size plots to maintain density (ibid). It also

exemplified a mixture of economic activities and classes, where ‘functional and social specialisation only could be identified at the building-block level, or, vertically, within one and the same building’ (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997, p. 211). The roots of live-work mix can thus be conceptually traced back to this period.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, crowding issues led the city authorities to proceed to densification and demolition (ibid). Municipal land-lease and the active land policy were formally introduced in 1896 and allowed to preserve certain functions over time and avoid urban sprawl (Halleux et al., 2012; Korthals Altes & Tambach, 2008; OECD, 2017). Planning regulations were also driven by the desire to limit the nuisances of industrial urbanisation (Halleux et al., 2012). The land-regulation regime allowed Amsterdam to keep on extending its borders until the 1960s, by annexing land in surrounding municipalities (OECD, 2017). In particular, the city more than tripled in size in 1921 and the General Extension Plan (1935), which was practically implemented after WWII, allowed the spatial development of ‘fingers’ surrounded by green space (Healey, 2007; P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997).

Active land regulation and operational planning were primarily used to develop subsidised housing massively in the post-war period, with the entrepreneurial involvement of housing associations (Halleux et al., 2012). During the 1950s, Amsterdam expanded towards the North with the help of national funding (Healey, 2007). Publicly promoted urban development projects were further implemented during the 1960s, through master planning and strategies involving all levels of government around ‘concentrated deconcentration’ (ibid). Since then, compact urban development has been a central goal (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020).

Moreover, the new National Planning Act (1965) formalised two fundamental planning instruments: the structural plan (*Structuurplan*), defining the strategic vision at the municipal level, and the land-use plan (*Bestemmingsplan*), used for the implementation of the local strategy and regulating functions and property rights (Healey, 2007). The principles of polycentric urban development started to emerge in the 1970s. During this period, urban and economic development progressively shifted from large-scale towards smaller-scale renewal projects, and from industry towards commercial and financial services (ibid). Accordingly, the 1974 city plan emphasised mixed-use neighbourhoods and heritage preservation (ibid). During the 1970-1980s, Amsterdam experienced increasing unemployment, population outmigration towards the suburban New Towns and growing segregation (Savini et al., 2016). These developments inclined the city to start collaborating with the surrounding municipalities.

### **Compact city development and increasing market involvement**

The ‘concentrated deconcentration’ policy was replaced by the ‘compact city’ policy in the 1980s, to keep on avoiding uncontrolled suburbanisation (Halleux et al., 2012; P. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 2001). The central government supported this policy through the direct transfer of funds locally, and it promoted inner-city development and renewal, including first conversions from industrial to mixed-use areas (Healey, 2007; Korthals Altes & Tambach, 2008). In Amsterdam, the 1985 structural plan focused on housing supply and neighbourhood improvement and emphasised ‘urban compactness’ (Healey, 2007). The city was also a pioneer in using public-private partnerships in urban development projects (ibid), in the continuity of the Dutch tradition to dialogue between public and private sector actors through ‘a regulated consensus-based model of planning’ (Taşan-Kok et al., 2020, p. 4).

As from the 1990s, active market involvement in housing supply threatened the public land development model, with land speculation on building opportunities as an unwanted outcome (Halleux et al., 2012). From the mid-1990s to the 2008 crisis, the city launched large-scale urban regeneration programmes aiming at the renewal of post-war areas, often through social housing sales and demolishing, in close cooperation with market parties and housing associations (Savini et al., 2016). The development projects were mostly located along the A10 ring road and driven by the international economic transition (Savini et al., 2016), the need to improve the city competitiveness and the ‘live-work-play’ rationale (Healey, 2007). Large office estates were also developed in regeneration areas (e.g., in the South axis - ibid). More broadly, spatial and economic policies aimed at developing a more polycentric form (Savini et al., 2016). In order to enhance cooperation on economy, housing and infrastructure, the ‘stadsregio’ and the metropolitan region (MRA) were created (Healey, 2007; Savini et al., 2016).

At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the 2003 strategic plan focused on ‘urbanity’ and intensive, mixed-use development, and it acknowledged the consolidation of the Amsterdam metropolitan region (Healey, 2007; Korthals Altes & Tambach, 2008). The decentralisation of investment resources was supposed to give stronger powers to the municipalities but turned out to reduce resources and challenge the Dutch planning effectiveness (Halleux et al., 2012). Consequently, the municipality of Amsterdam started to collaborate more closely with the private sector (Healey, 2007). New urban districts were planned from scratch during the 2000s, including artificial islands (Savini et al., 2016). Industrial areas were opened to mixed-use development, and housing was utilised to improve social control, liveability and the attractiveness of these areas for service-based activities (Korthals Altes & Tambach, 2008). Focusing on housing development in these areas was also observed in other Dutch cities (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020).

### **Land-use reforms towards relaxation and flexibilisation after the 2008 crisis**

Amsterdam spatial planning has been redefining the balance between flexibility and certainty over time. Planning regulation was originally intended to limit property rights through detailed land-use plans, which had a steering function of encouraging desired land use and a safeguarding function of providing material legal certainty (Buitelaar & Sorel, 2010; Healey, 2007). The Dutch Spatial Planning Act (2008) gave a particularly central position to the land-use plan in the decision-making process of new developments (Buitelaar & Sorel, 2010). As a result, any development on public land implies early-stage negotiations, which are constraining for the market (Interviewee AMS-I15). However, regulatory changes since the GFC have prioritised market interests so that land use increasingly relies on economic conditions (OECD, 2017; Savini, 2016). Hence, the real estate crisis that followed the 2008 financial crisis led to interrupted or lagged developments and increased flexibility from the municipal authorities on maintained developments (Interviewees AMS-I4; I8). This situation led to reforms and policy changes (OECD, 2017), including the decentralisation of planning, to shorten procedures and reduce risks for the market (H. Remøy & Street, 2018; W. P. C. Van Gent, 2013)

Further reforms were consistent with planning relaxation and flexibilisation (Heurkens et al., 2018; Savini, 2016). The Crisis and Recovery Act (2010) allowed to speed up the approval process for developments through increased flexibility and closer involvement of private actors (OECD, 2017). Additionally, land use has allowed new functions and higher land values (Remøy & Street, 2018). These developments have reduced the steering capacity of Dutch municipalities, local governments having less room to manoeuvre (Heurkens et al., 2018). Such evolution further questions the reputation of the Dutch society as highly regulated and organised, and for some scholars, it reflects a ‘myth of formality’ (Jaffe & Koster, 2019).

Furthermore, the Environmental Planning Act, which should enter into force in 2022 (Rijksoverheid, 2020) will replace the Dutch Spatial Planning Act (2008) and ‘modernise’ and ‘simplify’ land-use planning (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Milieu, 2017). A significant change will be the replacement of land-use plans by an ‘Environmental plan’ (Rijksoverheid, 2020).

The drawbacks of the land-lease system were raised during the exploratory interviews. In particular, the land-price setting – by the municipality – is seen as lacking transparency (Interviewees AMS-I14; I15). It is also perceived as a barrier to live-work mix in that it creates uncertainty for mixed-use developments in areas in transformation (Interviewee AMS-I6; 15). Further issues were reported, such as the scarcity of available plots (Interviewees AMS-I14; I19),

the lack of coordination at the metropolitan level (Interviewee AMS-I8; I14; I15) and the need to find a balance between the city requirements and market initiatives (Interviewee AMS-I11).

### **Urban and economic developments intertwined**

Amsterdam's past economic development has much influenced the current urban development strategy. Amsterdam has been a centre for trade, finance and culture since – at least – the 17<sup>th</sup> century but was reached relatively late by the industrial revolution (Bontje et al., 2017). Accordingly, it did not suffer much of the industry collapse during the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Interviewee AMS-I21) and adapted quickly to the creative knowledge economy (Bontje & Musterd, 2009). However, the economic downturn of the late 1970s led to high levels of unemployment, fiscal austerity, and dualisation in households' incomes (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). Nowadays, Amsterdam has a diversified and robust economy<sup>22</sup>: the city had a higher amount of jobs than the labour force in 2015, and the 2019 unemployment rate was just above 4% (Bontje et al., 2017; Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2020). The city concentrates the Dutch creative industries (Bontje & Musterd, 2009) as well as finance and knowledge-intensive sectors, such as B2B (Business to Business) services and ICT<sup>23</sup> (Bontje et al., 2017). Advanced services are located at city edges, in former 'new towns' and around the Schiphol airport (ibid). Most of the active population works either in the tertiary or the quaternary sector (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2017b). The city is considered as one of the leading start-up hubs<sup>24</sup> in Europe and one of the fastest-growing cities (OECD, 2017).

Nonetheless, the office market experienced high vacancy rates following the 2001 downturn and the 2008 crisis (H. Remøy & Street, 2018), especially in the obsolescent post-war office stock (H. T. Remøy & Wilkinson, 2012; Remøy & van der Voordt, 2014). Although the 1990s policies for the Southern office districts aimed at creating mixed-use areas integrating housing and amenities, these districts revealed weaknesses in terms of use and 'functional diversification' (Savini et al., 2016). Office vacancy was reduced significantly<sup>25</sup> following conversions into housing (and live-work projects – see Chapter 5, section 2.1) and renewed demand for offices (see section 1.2.3). Conversion may be challenging because it implies land-use change. The municipality can indeed demand compensation for changing leasehold rights (Korthals Altes &

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<sup>22</sup> The GDP was around 2,6% in the MRA in 2016 against 2,1% in the Netherlands as a whole (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2017b).

<sup>23</sup> In 2017, Finance represented 9% the total amount of jobs in Amsterdam, ICT represented 11%, and B2B services represented 18% (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2017b).

<sup>24</sup> Almost 75% of companies were one-people establishments in 2017 (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek [OIS], 2017a). At the national scale, the growth of free-lancers has been the fastest over the last decade compared to other European countries (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek [CBS], 2018)

<sup>25</sup> The office vacancy declined from 18% in 2015 to 10% in 2018 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018). Conversions into housing led to over a thousand dwellings produced yearly (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017a).

Tambach, 2008) and require the preservation of architectural and technical quality (Heurkens et al., 2018 - see Chapter 5).

Urban planning and economic growth strategies have been developed concomitantly since the late 1980s in large Dutch cities, through compact city planning (P. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 2001). In particular, densification policies have led most housing developments to take place within existing urban boundaries since 2012 (Dembski et al., 2020; Meijer & Jonkman, 2020; Nabielek, 2011). However, different spatial patterns have been observed since planning decentralisation (Meijer & Jonkman, 2020; Nabielek, 2011).

In Amsterdam, the 2003 structural plan aimed at attracting creative industries and pioneer businesses in former industrial areas (Korthals Altes & Tambach, 2008). Developing housing in industrial areas improved their attractiveness for service-based activities, perceived as more compatible with housing (ibid). However, certain areas such as Amsterdam docklands became more residential than mixed-use (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005). The transformation of the port area into a high-density mixed-use urban district has also started (Bossuyt & Savini, 2017). These examples illustrate how the creative-class narrative has inspired urban restructuring and housing policies in Amsterdam (Hochstenbach, 2016). The next section examines the current live-work mix strategies and their role in the city attractiveness.

## 1.2 LIVE-WORK MIX STRATEGY

### 1.2.1 Urban development agenda emphasising densification and mixed-use development

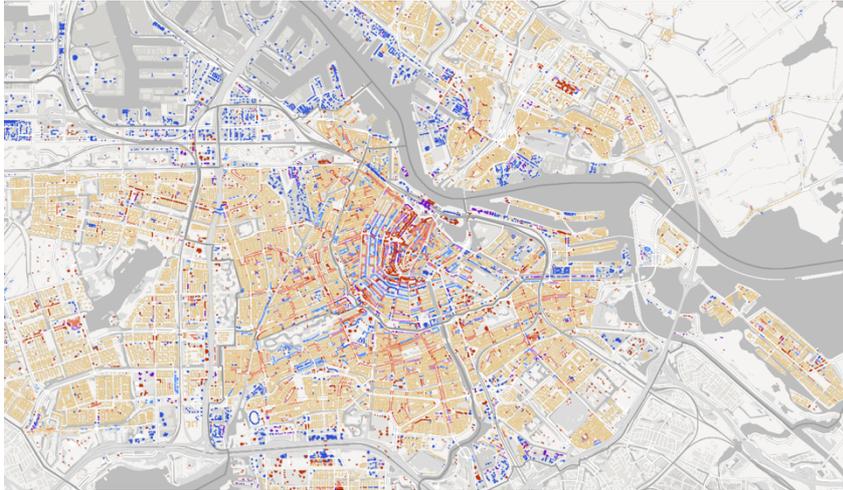
As for other large European cities, densification has become central to Amsterdam structural vision (*Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040*), which advocates mixed-use development with amenities. The structural plan was last revised in 2011<sup>26</sup> to respond to land scarcity, the lack of social control in sensitive areas and the need to increase the housing supply (Bontje et al., 2017; Hochstenbach, 2016; Savini, 2016). Notwithstanding the criticisms Richard Florida's creative class theory received (see Chapter 2, section 2.3), the structural vision builds upon this rationale:

‘Companies come to Amsterdam because they *follow* the people, you know, Richard Florida! (...) We really have to be able to keep people attached to the city.’ [Interviewee AMS-I7]

In 2019, the municipality added a map of the functional mix between housing, working and amenities to its online database (Figure 15). Monitoring such data is indicative of how high this topic is on the political agenda.

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<sup>26</sup> A new strategic document should be delivered in 2021.



**Figure 15: Functional mix between housing (light orange), working (dark blue) and amenities (red) in November 2019 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019a)**

Accordingly, the Amsterdam 2025 strategy (Koers 2025) designates so-called ‘working-living’ milieus (*woon-werk wijken*), where it promotes high density and mixed-use development in former harbour, industrial or office areas (Figure 16). The Department of Economic Affairs detailed different types of economic development areas – including ‘innovative’ districts (*innovatie districten*) and ‘creative’ neighbourhood (*creative wijken*) – with a focus on knowledge-based and creative sectors. The close collaboration between the Planning and the Economic Affairs departments allows combining urban development and economic growth:

‘Amsterdam forgot to build its centre with work and live, it was almost split: work, live, live, work in office areas and production zones. Now, we have the possibility to return to this tradition...to make a more real urban mix. And this has not been done so much yet. So, we really put it on the agenda, because of the transformation of all these production fields, and because of the *rise of the new economy*.’ [Interviewee AMS-I4; emphasis added]

The opportunities for the development of different categories of activities were mapped in the 2025 strategy (Figure 17). While the productive areas are mostly located outside the inner city and across the river IJ, the creative districts are spread along the ring road. Furthermore, commercial ground floors are demanded in most new developments, no matter their location. The 2025 strategy has received criticism for its excessive focus on housing and density (e.g., Interviewees AMS-I5; I8; I11).

Besides, making redevelopment areas attractive for housing is a challenge, especially in post-war downgrading areas (see project AMS-T2, Chapter 5). These districts are separated from the inner city by the A10 ring road, a physical and mental barrier (Savini et al., 2016) which marks social divide (Interviewee AMS-I21). Nevertheless, since the housing zones of the land-use plan

are too expensive<sup>27</sup>, mixed-use areas have become attractive to private developers (Interviewee AMS-I15). However, non-transparent land-lease prices, inflexible land-use plans and existing division of ownership can threaten live-work development (Interviewees AMS I6-I14).

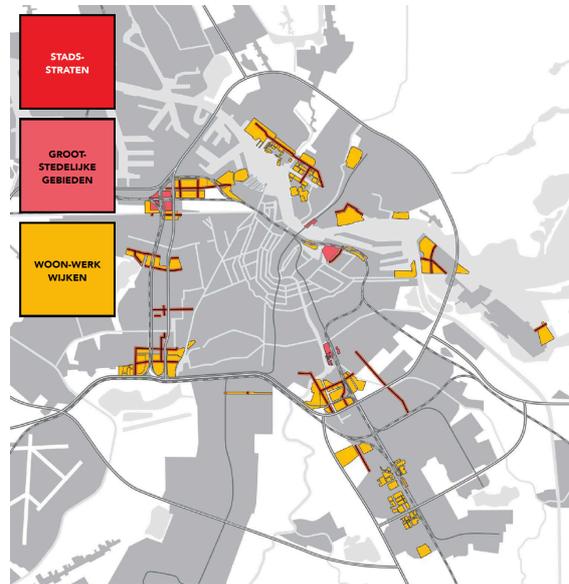


Figure 16: Living-working areas defined in the 2025 strategy (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017b)

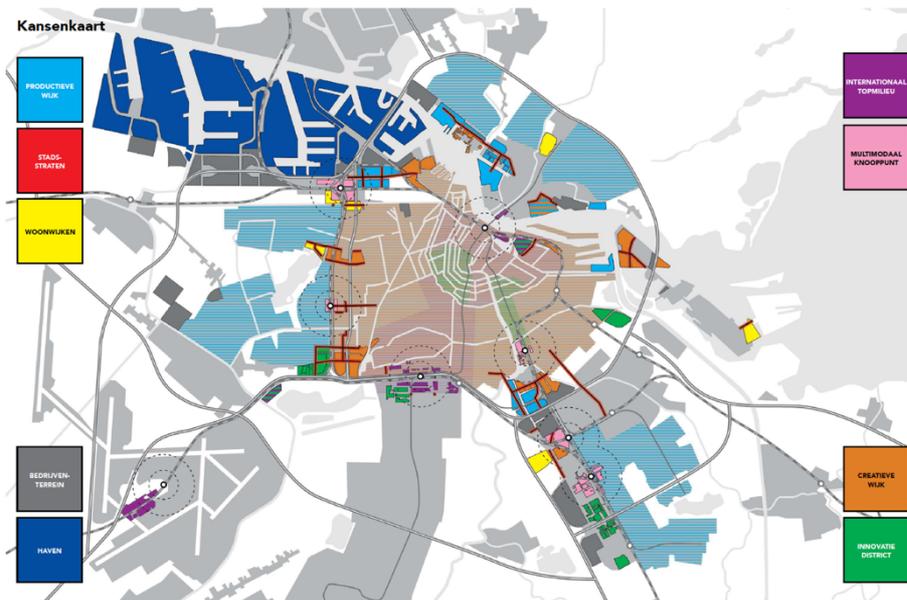


Figure 17: Opportunities for economic development, based on the economic development areas defined in the 2025 strategy (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017b)

<sup>27</sup> In the inner city, most housing land is sold at prices above €5,000/m<sup>2</sup> (up to €8,000/m<sup>2</sup> in the old-canal area) as shows Figure 12 in section 1.1.2.

### **1.2.2 Housing supply: supporting mid-rental housing and youth housing before social housing**

The recent demographic dynamics and related housing shortage inclined the municipality to set up housing supply goals. The Amsterdam 2025 strategy gives quantitative targets: it aims at building 50 000 housing units by 2025 within the city borders (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017b). Only in 2017, 9000 dwellings were delivered, a record (Amsterdamse federatie van woningcorporaties [AFWC], 2018). Furthermore, the Housing Act demands from municipalities, tenants organisations and housing associations to agree on a housing agenda (W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019). In Amsterdam, the Housing agenda 2025 seeks to make the housing market more affordable and flexible, in order to better meet the different groups' needs (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017c). The document also regulates the housing associations' portfolio and includes recommendations directed towards low- and middle-income households. The difficulties for middle-income households to enter the housing market led to enhancing the development of 'middle-income housing', or mid-rental housing (W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019).

Hence, in Amsterdam, the so-called 'policy 40/40/20' (2017) requires a distribution of 40% social housing, 40% mid-rental housing and 20% free-market housing in new developments. In the policy, mid-rental housing refers to dwellings with a monthly rent between €725 and €1,000 and larger than 50m<sup>2</sup> (AFWC, 2018). This policy has been little discussed in the scientific literature so far. However, Van Gent & Hochstenbach (2019) questioned the relevance of mid-rental housing for the targeted households, as many of them cannot afford rent above €725. The policy 40/40/20 was also criticised during the exploratory interviews because the new social dwellings were expected to be small, focused on students (see projects AMS-T1.1;2 in Chapter 5 – Interviewees AMS I3; I12), and rapidly upgraded to mid-rental housing (see project AMS-T2 in Chapter 5). Real estate actors further reported negotiating the distribution of tenure forms in redevelopment areas (Interviewees I14; I15).

Besides, there is a private and third-sector commitment to developing mid-rental housing, through the establishment of the 'PAM' platform ('Amsterdam's Mid-rental housing Platform' - *Platform Amsterdam Middenbuur*). The PAM members aim at delivering 10 000 new mid-rental housing dwellings by 2025 through both new investments and upgrading of social housing (Amsterdamse federatie van woningcorporaties [AFWC], 2018). Most interventions are to be located outside the inner city (Interviewee AMS-I19). Apart from mid-rental housing, youth and student housing – possibly with live-work mix (see Chapter 5, section 2.1) – have also been

advocated since the after-crisis recovery, in particular in the housing agenda 2025, despite ‘studentification’ and ‘youthification’ risks (see Chapter 2, section 2.1).

Before the new housing agenda was set up, social housing supply was the object of an agreement concluded for the period 2015 - 2019, between the AFWC (Amsterdam Federation of Housing Associations - *Amsterdamse Federatie van Woningcorporaties*), the tenants union and housing associations. The goal was to produce 1200 social housing units yearly and improve housing affordability. These targets were adjusted in the current housing agenda.

### **1.2.3 Economic growth: renewed office demand affecting live-work development**

The renewed office demand led the municipality to issue a specific office development strategy in 2017. The vision acknowledges the demand for ‘qualitative’ office space, innovative office concepts for SMEs as well as large developments. Accordingly, the strategy aims at making the office market more ‘flexible’ and ‘agile’ and transforming mono-functional office districts into well-connected mixed-use areas (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017a), consistently with the urban development strategy. The office agenda considers a ‘Brexit effect’ following the relocation of certain EU institutions in Amsterdam in the aftermath of the UK leave from the EU. The municipality expects higher demand for large-scale offices in central, mixed and international locations.

The current office demand has effects on live-work development in transformation areas where both functions are allowed in the land-use plan. High demand and land value for both uses may foster competition between the housing and the office market in these places. Real estate developers tend to choose the most profitable function in the absence of a clear vision from the planning authorities (Interviewee AMS-I14; I25). This issue highlights the required balance between flexibility and certainty that can be provided by an appropriate combination of actors and planning instruments (see Chapter 5).

### **1.2.4 Live-work mix as an instrument of attractiveness?**

Amsterdam is perceived as a fast-growing city under pressure (Interviewees AMS-I2; I4; I14), which is very ‘popular’ (Interviewee AMS-I2; I4; I16; I19), of an ‘unprecedented attractiveness’ (Interviewee AMS-I3) and the ‘economic engine of the metropolitan region’ (Interviewee AMS-I4). The city emphasises the provision of attractive living places as part of its investment in higher education institutes, which encourages a regular influx of highly-educated workers and knowledge companies (Bontje & Musterd, 2009; Hochstenbach, 2016). Since the early 2000s,

housing has been instrumented to improve the economic attractiveness of mixed-use areas in-the-making (Korthals Altes & Tambach, 2008). Such goals are still pursued today, in the context of a housing shortage and high market pressure. Amsterdam's live-work mix strategy enhances the 'live' component in redevelopment areas to make the 'work' component more attractive and retain highly-skilled and middle- to higher-income households.

### **1.3 HIGHLIGHTS**

Amsterdam concentrates young singles and students, and the municipality actively supports housing development for these groups. The municipality has been drawing increasing attention to knowledge workers and provides attractive living places for them as well. The city further backs housing development for middle-income households, for whom neither social housing nor homeownership are accessible.

The roots of the Amsterdam housing regime (Figure 18) correspond to the enactment of the 1901 Housing Act, which formalised social housing (40% of the housing stock). Social housing supply became substantial after WWII and the establishment of the welfare state, through massive housing development programmes. Social housing production remained state-subsidised until the 1989 Housing memorandum. After this critical juncture, homeownership became the new priority, and housing associations were allowed to sell dwellings (1997 covenant and 2011 Right-to-buy policy). They were later restricted in activities and target groups (2015), which impacted their role in live-work mix. The housing regime progressively shifted from Post-Fordist to Finance-led. Temporary tenure forms were developed, and regulatory reforms facilitated the expansion of the 'free-market' rental sector. Today, the housing market is more competitive and delivers smaller dwellings than before, possibly combined with shared spaces.

Housing policy has been closely intertwined with spatial planning in the Netherlands. Amsterdam owns over 80% of the land, which has been allocated through municipal land-lease since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The city extended its borders through land-annexation plans (e.g., the 1935 general extension plan). Spatial planning was also used to develop massive housing programmes in the post-war period. After the 1970s crisis, with the new focus on urban renewal and the development of commercial and financial services, the 'concentrated deconcentration' policy was replaced by the 'compact city' policy. From then on, economic growth and urban development strategies were intertwined. During the 1990s, market parties became increasingly involved in residential development. Large-scale urban regeneration programmes were launched under competitiveness policies. Mixed-use development became central in strategic plans as from the 2000s. After the GFC, planning was decentralised, and reforms were established in

line with planning relaxation and flexibilisation. These developments were paralleled with the promotion of live-work mix.

Amsterdam structural vision advocates densification and mixed-use development and builds upon a creative-class discourse. Accordingly, the Amsterdam 2025 strategy designates 'working-living' milieus, where it promotes high-density and mixed-use. Innovative and creative economic activities are mainly promoted in post-war areas. This strategy received criticism for its excessive focus on housing and densification. As for housing supply, the 2025 strategy gives quantitative targets and aims at enhancing housing affordability and flexibility. In particular, the policy '40/40/20' requires a distribution of 40% social housing, 40% mid-rental housing, and 20% free-market housing in new developments. This policy was questioned given the risk of assisting to the fast conversion of social housing to mid-rental housing, while the housing shortage affects all income groups. Youth and student housing have also been expanding since the after-crisis recovery. Besides, Amsterdam experiences renewed office demand. The city set up an office development strategy underlining high demand in well-connected mixed-use locations. Office demand may create competition with the housing market in live-work developments.

Based on the exploratory interviews, Amsterdam is perceived as a popular and attractive city and the economic engine of the country. In such a vision, housing development contributes to economic growth. This ontology of live-work mix considers both components as mutually attractive for each other.

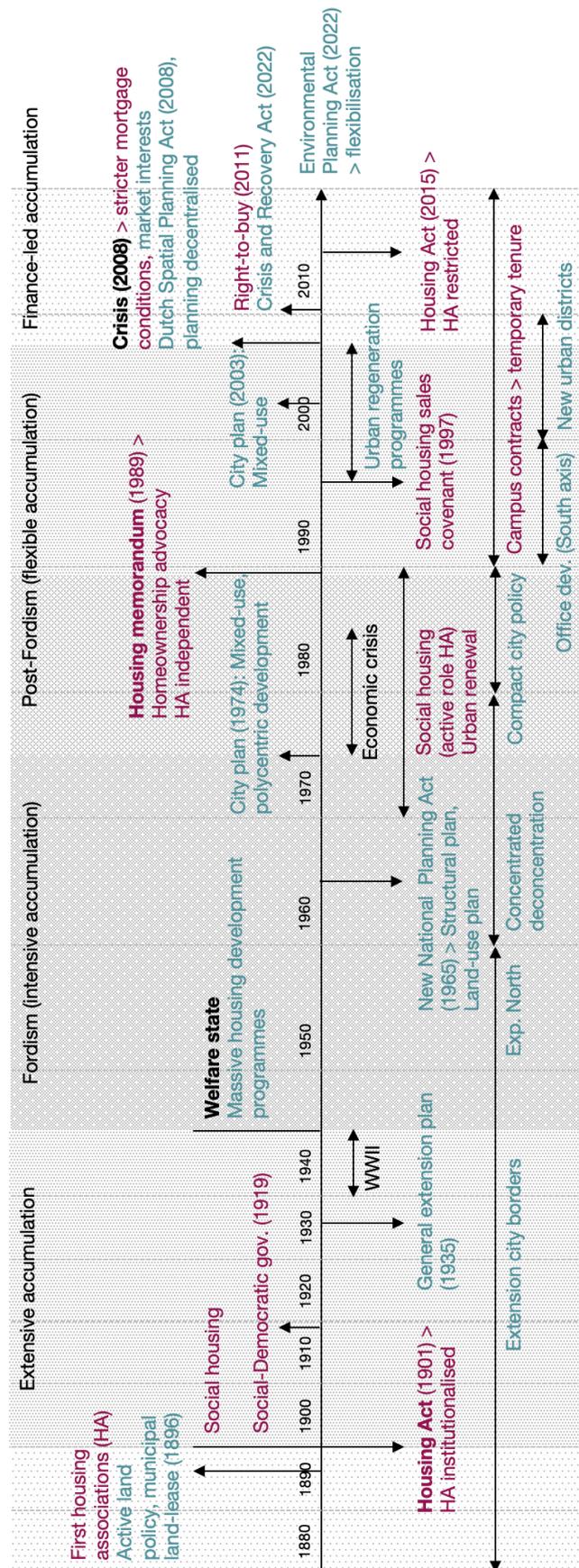


Figure 18: Evolution of housing and planning regimes (respectively purple and turquoise) in Amsterdam, under changes in accumulation modes and welfare services (diagram: author)

## 2 BRUSSELS

### 2.1 LOCAL DRIVERS OF LIVE-WORK MIX

#### 2.1.1 Middle-income households targeted in a context of fragmentation

Brussels – understood as Brussels’ Capital Region (BCR) – has experienced substantial demographic growth since the early 2000s<sup>28</sup>, primarily driven by international immigration (Casier, 2019). This development has hidden for a while a tendency to leave Brussels, which was particularly evident in the 1990s (e.g., Van Criekingen, 2009). Outmigration from Brussels has become more apparent again since 2016 (Bureau Fédéral du Plan (BFP), 2018). The likeliness to leave Brussels has been observed in all household categories, irrespective of their income (De Laet, 2018). The destinations and motivations vary, although the lack of affordable housing is an important driver (ibid). The city suffers from social and economic fragmentation which is physically marked by the Brussels Canal that runs through the city (Dessouroux et al., 2016). The social divide is reproduced in the destination of the households who leave Brussels: Northern periphery or former industrial towns in western Wallonia for the poor; South-eastern outskirts for the wealthy (De Laet, 2018). These developments draw upon a longstanding process of ‘sub- and de-urbanisation’ (De Decker, 2008).

Brussels’ region aims at improving its attractiveness for various target groups, including young professionals, families and middle-income households. Young adults move to the city to attend higher education or start their careers (Deboosere, 2010). A significant increase in young adults attending higher education has been observed in Belgium since the expansion of universities in the 1980s (Slegers et al., 2012). Hence, the proportion of young singles<sup>29</sup> has increased in the 1980-1990s, especially in the historical core of the city – the Pentagon – and its adjacent neighbourhoods towards the South-eastern suburbs (Van Criekingen, 2009). Slegers et al. (2012) have identified different locational patterns for young adults in Brussels, including suburbanisation, due to the high housing prices in the BCR. Still, Belgian highly-educated young professionals, in particular singles and childless couples, have been the main household types to move in the Pentagon from the late 1990s onwards (Van Criekingen, 2009). Today, however, the mean household size is expected to grow (Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2018). Brussels also attracts highly-skilled, affluent employees and expatriates (Slegers et al., 2012), given the

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<sup>28</sup> The Brussels Capital Region (BCR) population grew from 960 000 to 1 200 000 inhabitants between 2000 and 2018 (Casier, 2019). In particular, the share of EU immigrants increased from 15 to 23% between 2000 and 2018 (ibid). They also represent half of the new Brussels’ inhabitants during this period (ibid).

<sup>29</sup> In 2019, one-person households represented 46% of the population in the BCR and adults aged 20 to 34 accounted for 23% of Brussels’ population (Institut Bruxellois de Statistique et d’Analyse (IBSA), 2019).

presence of the European Commission and other international institutions<sup>30</sup>. These people do not automatically settle within Brussels' region, however (Interviewee BXL-I22). Still, the EU expansion played an essential role in the population increase (Deboosere, 2010).

Notwithstanding critical housing issues for low-income groups, middle-income households remain at the centre of the public discourse (De Laet, 2018). Amid state interventions in housing provision, the regional development company (*Citydev*) offers subsidised homeownership for middle-income households, implemented through public-private partnerships (see section 2.2). This actor combines responsibilities for economic expansion and urban revitalisation through subsidised housing, develops real estate operations and is central to the live-work mix in Brussels. Subsidised homeownership is used to improve the attractiveness of the city, especially in Brussels' 'poor crescent' (Figure 19), which corresponds to the deprived neighbourhoods north and west of the city centre (Dessouroux et al., 2016; Romainville, 2010). Although criticised for its lack of effectiveness (Dessouroux & Romainville, 2011), subsidised homeownership remains a primary instrument of housing supply and urban development. This tool is also used in live-work projects, in combination with economic and productive activities (see Chapter 5, section 3.2). The emphasis on homeownership can only be understood through the lens of the Belgian housing regime.

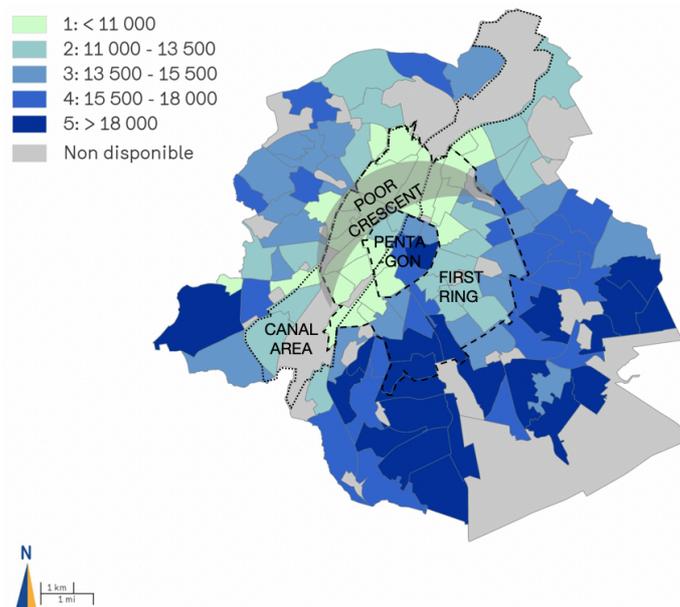


Figure 19: Average taxable income per capita (2015) with indications of the pentagon, the first ring, the canal area and the poor crescent (IBSA & Statbel, 2015; diagram: author)

<sup>30</sup> In 2016, almost 48 000 people worked for international employers in the BCR (Desière et al., 2018).

## 2.1.2 Homeownership advocacy fuelling the affordable housing crisis

### Liberal housing regime leading to generalised urbanisation

The Belgian housing regime can be qualified as 'liberal', given the historical promotion of homeownership, the emphasis on property rights and the dualist rental system (small, regulated social housing stock and substantial, little regulated PRS). Nevertheless, the owner-occupied sector has conservative-corporatist traditions (Hoekstra, 2010). Comparing housing and welfare state regimes is less appropriate for the Belgian case since housing provision was not well integrated into the welfare system (ibid). The liberal roots of the Belgian planning and housing regimes are closer to the US than other Western European countries (De Vries & Zonneveld, 2005 in de Vries, 2015). As in the American housing regime, the Fordist era led to organising consumption patterns around homeownership expansion and suburbanisation (R. L. Florida & Feldman, 1988). These developments similarly led to a polarised system including suburban, owner-occupied housing for middle to upper classes and inner-city, rental housing for disadvantaged households (ibid). When it comes to housing provision, Belgium can thus be seen as the 'most American country in Europe' (Slegers et al., 2012, p. 78).

Homeownership and an anti-urban mindset were advocated since the origins of industrialisation (De Decker, 2008). Under the Belgian 'competitive' regime of accumulation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the working class had bad living conditions and lived as near as possible to workplaces, while the *bourgeoisie* fled cities, hence initiating the first suburbanisation movement in Belgium (Kesteloot, 1988). Industrialisation then led to the development of one of the densest railway networks in the world, making employment centres quickly and cheaply accessible to workers (De Decker, 2008). Working-class suburbs were already emerging in the west of Brussels, whereas, in the east, low-density plans excluded the working class (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). The first housing law (1889) backed homeownership through housing supply, tax exemptions and social loans (De Decker, 2008). The Catholic party was behind this comprehensive housing policy and aimed at fixing the working class in the countryside (ibid).

Right after WWI, several reforms (e.g., the universal suffrage, shorter working days) led to extensive accumulation, and housing became part of the auto-reproduction of the labour force (Kesteloot, 1988). Accordingly, the national social housing agency (*Société nationale des habitations et logements à bon marché*) was created (1919) to stimulate the construction of both rental and owner-occupied dwellings (De Decker, 1990). Several instruments were established in the following decades to promote homeownership, including construction grants in 1922 and 1948 (De Decker, 2008). In the wake of the 1930s crisis, unemployed workers were encouraged to

leave the cities for houses with a garden in the countryside, based on Emile Vandervelde's vision of the '*Retour aux champs*' (i.e., back to the fields - De Decker, 1990, 2008; Ryckewaert, 2013).

Following WWII, Belgium entered an intensive regime of accumulation, in which state intervention facilitated mass consumption, including homeownership, through the De Taeye Act (1948), and social housing, through the Brunfaut Act (1949) (Kesteloot, 1988). In particular, the De Taeye Act regulated the delivery of free grants and offered advantageous conditions for mortgages (De Decker, 1990, 2008). Such a policy triggered housing development outside urban areas. It was an 'anti-urban' solution to the housing problem, which was delegated to individuals (Ryckewaert, 2013). During the 1950-1960s, the expansion of homeownership – on cheap, peripheral land – and the democratisation of car ownership permitted massive suburbanisation. Belgium suffered less physical destruction from the war and was not confronted with the same population growth than, for example, the Netherlands, so enhancing housing supply in Belgian cities was perhaps less pressing than in other countries (de Vries, 2015).

Throughout the post-war era, housing policies were affected by conflicting visions between the Catholic and the Socialist parties, with the Catholics blocking socialist attempts to realise a social rental-housing policy in central cities and inner suburbs (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). The Catholics had a selective vision of Keynesian principles (Ryckewaert, 2013). Their approach relied on a regime of frozen municipal boundaries (see next subsection), fiscal decentralisation, dense railway network and transportation subsidies (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). Such a regime consolidated Belgium as a commuting nation, with households tied to their local communities (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). Long story short, the liberal land acquisition system combined with cheap railway transport, little social housing and little spatial planning participated in the generalised urbanisation of the country (Deboosere, 2010; P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). The consequences were dramatic for Brussels, which lost many inhabitants (see section 2.1.3), including high-income households (Deboosere, 2010).

The creation of Brussels Capital Region (BCR) in 1989 led to the establishment of an urban revitalisation plan aiming at bringing middle- and high-income households back to the city (see next subsection for the related gentrification issues). Concomitantly, the new influx of high-income expatriates related to the expansion of the EU institutions inclined real estate actors to develop high-end residential products (Van Criekingen, 2009), which worsened social polarisation. Flexible accumulation thus enhanced both centralisation – of the elite – and polarisation (Kesteloot, 1988). Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, homeownership was fundamental to housing provision, and it is still used as social security today (De Decker & Dewilde, 2010 in Uitermark & Loopmans, 2013).

### **Current issues: scarcity of affordable and good-quality housing**

Nowadays, Brussels' homeownership rate is relatively high (45%), but still lower than in the rest of the country<sup>31</sup> (Dessouroux et al., 2016). The PRS is substantial, especially in the historic core and the 19<sup>th</sup>-century belt<sup>32</sup>, but it is hardly regulated. Public housing is scarce, representing less than 10% of the housing stock (De Decker, 2008; Dessouroux et al., 2016; Romainville, 2017). New housing production is dominated by private companies, and most property owners are individual landlords (Romainville, 2017). Due to the lack of regulated housing, low-income households have no choice but to rent low-quality housing, supposedly affordable but with unregulated rents, to private landlords on the private rental market (Bernard, 2008). Housing provision through self-development is a Belgian specificity (Halleux, 2005 in Dessouroux & Romainville, 2011). The structuration of the housing market with multiple small landlords is a singularity of Brussels compared to Amsterdam and Stockholm.

The structure of the housing stock inclines to consider that the housing affordability issue prevails on the accessibility issue. The housing crisis is indeed driven by a lack of affordable housing, with only 1% of the housing stock affordable for 40% of households with a lower income (Dessouroux et al., 2016). Contrary to the other case-study cities, the tenure regulation does not include indefinite rental contracts. Tenure regulation was regionalised in 2017 and reformed to encourage flexibility and residential mobility (Interviewee BXL-I19\*). For example, there is no minimum duration for rental contracts, only differentiation between short-term (three years or less) and long-term (nine years or more) contracts (ibid). Consequently, very short-term contracts (e.g., three months) are possible and look increasingly similar to the precarious tenure agreements used for temporary situations (e.g., empty buildings before demolition or refurbishment – ibid).

In addition to affordability and quality issues, low-income households have a vulnerable position in the private rental market due to the lack of tenure security and uneven access (Verstraete & Moris, 2019). Although discrimination is regulated, the limit between selection and discrimination is thin since a landlord can ask for the tenant's income level but not its source (ibid). As for social housing, most contracts are based on a nine-year lease, which is not reconducted if the tenant's income increases beyond 150% of the income threshold (Interviewee BXL-I7). The limited social housing stock implies increasingly long waiting times (Interviewees BXL-I2; I7), up to ten years for large families (Dessouroux et al., 2016). Because

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<sup>31</sup> The homeownership rate is around 70-75% in Flanders and Wallonia (Dessouroux et al., 2016).

<sup>32</sup> 47% of Brussels households were renting their dwelling from a private landlord in the early 2000s (Van Crielingen, 2009).

the affordable and regulated rental stock is small, the majority of the rental stock is subject to market dynamics, in a legal framework evolving towards flexibilisation and precarisation (Interviewee BXL-I19).

On the housing market, housing prices have increased faster than incomes. The higher prices are explained by low mortgage rates, incentives to homeownership, the growth of a foreign class with a higher ability to pay and emerging patterns of financialisation. The latter is notably apparent in the increase of financial investors on the housing market (Romainville, 2017). However, housing prices may differ significantly depending on dwelling size, location, amenities and housing quality (Interviewee BXL-I22). The prices are the highest in the south-eastern municipalities (e.g., Romańczyk, 2015). Also, regional housing supply targets (see section 2.2) led to a production boom, in particular between 2012 and 2016. Since then, the production flow has slightly slowed down (Figure 20). Housing supply is constrained, among others, by the delimited territory of the BCR, which encourages private developers and investors to invest in lower-density areas where large plots are still available (Romainville, 2017).

New housing production of small dwellings is still relatively limited<sup>33</sup> and controlled by the local planning authorities, which demand the provision of a variety of dwelling typologies in new developments (Interviewee BXL-I4). The market tries to negotiate the variety requirements case-by-case with the local authorities during the planning permission process (Interviewee BXL – I17;19\*). Under high land prices, the average dwelling size appears to be shrinking, at least in the market-led housing production (Interviewee BXL-I4; I5; I15). The regional building regulation (RRU – *Règlement Régional d'Urbanisme*) was debated during the exploratory investigations, between the market parties asking for the possibility to develop tinier apartments (below 55 m<sup>2</sup>) for small households and politics not ready to revise the regulation in that sense (Interviewee BXL-I11; I15).

The provision of shared spaces in new developments with a higher proportion of small dwellings is emerging but still uncommon, from the empirical investigations (see Chapter 5). Providing shared spaces was yet reported as a trend in the media during the investigations (e.g., Attout, 2017). Although shared spaces remain associated with the idea of co-housing (Interviewee BXL-I11), they can also be developed to foster social interaction (Interviewee BXL-I16) or create public services (Interviewee BXL-I2) in other housing segments, including

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<sup>33</sup> The analysis of the residential planning permission authorised between 2009 and 2011 shows a proportion of 4% studios against 49% two-bedroom apartments (Direction Etudes et Planification (AATL), 2013). These figures do not consider informal subdivisions of buildings, which are common practice in Brussels. Furthermore, according to the Economics Federal Public Service, the average apartment size in Brussels was 73m<sup>2</sup> in 2016 (Attout, 2017).

co-living (Interviewee BXL-I15). Shared spaces are little developed in public housing projects, except for cross-generational concepts (Interviewee BXL-I2). The next section situates the above homeownership patterns in the Belgian spatial planning regime and highlights the specificities of Brussels' urban development.

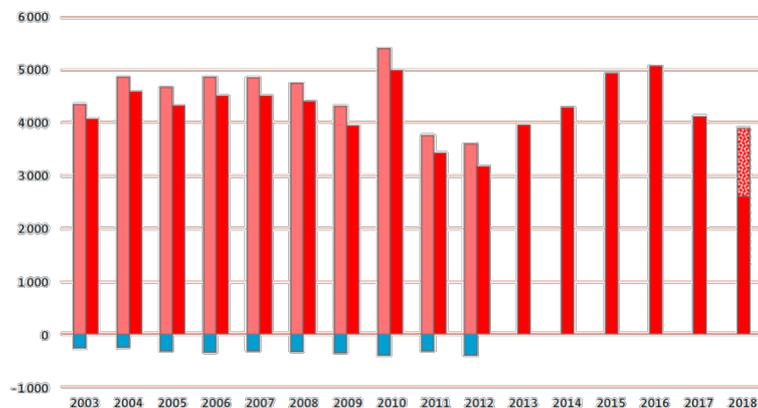


Figure 20: Housing production, creations (light red), suppressions (blue) and net authorisations (dark red) (Perspective.brussels, 2018)

### 2.1.3 Spatial planning affected by conflicting policies, institutional fragmentation and market interests

Brussels' spatial planning has suffered from conflicting policies of various government agencies, institutional fragmentation and complexity related to the regional border as well as an inclination to serve market interests first (De Boeck et al., 2017; Groth & Corijn, 2005; Romańczyk, 2012). Institutional fragmentation refers here to:

‘the proliferation, specialisation and diversification of institutions, actor-constellations, norms and discourses active in an issue-area’ (Pattberg et al. (2014, p. 5) in Taşan-Kok et al., 2020).

In Brussels, institutional fragmentation has enhanced territorial fragmentation, or a ‘fragmentation of political space’ (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997).

In what follows, the elements that have historically constrained Brussels' planning regime are introduced, namely conflicting policies, institutional and territorial fragmentation, institutional complexity and market influence.

#### From Belgium independence to setting regional borders: ‘no spatial planning’

When Belgium achieved independence in 1830, Brussels was already affected by non-coordinated densification, mostly of the lower classes, and inclusionary zoning set by the wealthier classes (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). The bourgeoisie established initially in the higher-eastern parts of the city. In contrast, the poor lived in the lower-western

neighbourhoods, where industry premises were concentrated (Slegers et al., 2012). The city territory was small and soon wholly built-up (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). For tax competition reasons, Brussels set up a Haussmannisation policy, which led to destructive planning interventions (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997; Van Criekingen, 2009). Belgium early industrialisation increased the demand for a workforce, which mostly lived in rural areas (see section 2.1.2 - de Vries, 2015; P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). Although land-use regulations were threatened by rural and property interests (Halleux et al., 2012), the country entered the 20<sup>th</sup> century with favourable physical conditions to urbanisation and dense road and railway networks (de Vries, 2015; Halleux et al., 2012).

After WWI, the universal suffrage (1919) changed the structure of the Belgian state (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). Except for one territory annexation in 1921, Brussels applied a regime of ‘frozen municipal boundaries’, which ‘gradually constituted a coherent structure with mass homeownership, cheap railway-transport, urban sprawl, and limited public property rights with respect to land use’ (ibid, p. 150). These developments were little influenced by spatial planning (de Vries, 2015) and encouraged suburbanisation, **‘territorial fragmentation’** (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997) and low-density living (De Decker, 2008).

In the 1950s, Brussels actively engaged in urban growth and developed massive infrastructure in preparation for the 1958 World Exhibition (Baeten, 2001; P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). In particular, the railway junction between the North and South stations entailed the destruction of dense working-class districts (Van Criekingen, 2009). With the decision to host EU institutions, Brussels became a central transnational political place (Van Criekingen, 2009). Internationalisation was vital to the economic expansion of the city (Ryckewaert, 2013) because it was an opportunity to revive the deindustrialising economy and transform Brussels into a cosmopolitan place (Baeten, 2001). The designation of Brussels as the European Capital compensated uncertainty on its regional competences and legitimised urban growth (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997).

The regional borders were formally fixed in 1962, as part of a transition period towards the federal state, which was completed in 1993 (de Vries, 2015). Although the city’s functional urban area goes far beyond this boundary, metropolitan governance has been lacking until today, due to institutional complexity and related language conflicts (Ananian, 2014; Romańczyk, 2012; P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997; Vanneste et al., 2008). Brussels’ **institutional complexity** is related to its position as a bilingual region amid the four linguistic regions, three communities and corresponding regions. This situation created lock-in effects and hampered Brussels’ spatial and economic development.

### From 1962 onwards: spatial planning instruments, from land-use plans to pilot mixed-use developments

Before the first Spatial Planning Act was enacted in 1962, Brussels – and Belgium – had no spatial planning policy (De Decker, 2008). Nevertheless, some authors consider that there was an implicit national urbanisation endeavour built on a consensus about the concepts supporting this effort (Ryckewaert, 2013). While post-war planning occurred in a legal void with the municipal level practically responsible for land-use regulation, the 1962 Planning Act created an institutional framework for spatial planning (ibid). The legal framework included property-right and land-use regulations, but it came too late to rectify the general urbanisation of the country (Halleux et al., 2012). Still, the planning act allowed introducing the land-use plan (or ‘sector plan’), which defined regulatory zoning. Land-use plans were elaborated for the whole country between 1964 and 1987 and became the leading regulatory – and the most influential – planning instrument in Belgium (ibid).

In Brussels, the planning regulation facilitated expropriation and demolition of old mixed-use blocks and was described as ‘regulation made by the developers for the developers’ (Laconte, 2007 in Romańczyk, 2012), that is, planning regulation **servicing the market**. An urban planner interviewed for the project analysis summarised this phenomenon, in which locally elected politicians played an active role:

‘Only two more storeys on the Jacquemin boulevard led to 20 years of abandon of the Jacquemin boulevard. Because they could add two storeys. Foreign developers arrived and bought to invest, not to refurbish buildings. And so, we had *dramatic speculation* because we wanted to please the developers. But as a matter of fact, pleasing the developers, like this, globally, without control and instruments, it leads to chaos! And so, we ended up deregulating the city-centre completely, through all these *convenience plans* that Demaret had launched, supposedly to modernise the city, but that was actually dramatic.’ [Planner BXL-T3; author’s translation, emphasis added]

This happened in the context of deindustrialisation in favour of the tertiary sector and EU institutions (van Meeteren et al., 2016). Such a switch enhanced the development of large-scale, monofunctional office districts – the so-called ‘Brusselization’ – in which the EU institutions played an entrepreneurial role (Romańczyk, 2012).

In this *laissez-faire* planning regime, international interests were prioritised over local democracy (Baeten, 2001; P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). The demand for office space was primarily focused on the previously residential Leopold district, which became the EU district and saw significant population displacement (Baeten, 2001). The BCR consolidated its position as the seat of the Belgian service economy (ibid) and became the administrative capital (Ryckewaert, 2013). Furthermore, the expansion of higher education institutions in and around Brussels brought about a highly-skilled middle class and was an incentive for US companies to establish

their headquarters in the capital (ibid). By 1990, Brussels had the highest amount of office per capita in the world (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). Beyond office development, many urban redevelopments of the period 1950-1980 were driven by the expansion of European functions, 'legitimising the replacement of inner-city neighbourhoods with urban highways, office towers, tunnels, and administrative buildings' (De Boeck et al., 2019, p. 69).

Brussels' population started declining substantially due to accelerated suburbanisation. Growing access to car ownership made the interrelation between living and working more flexible and reduced the need for integrated urban development (Ryckewaert, 2013). This process weakened Brussels' financial means, especially during the 1980s, when higher-income households left the city (De Keersmaecker, 1998 in Swyngedouw & Baeten, 2001). Moreover, the regionalisation of spatial planning competences (1980) left no planning tools under federal competence (Boussauw et al., 2018), which was particularly problematic in Brussels until the formal creation of the BCR. Hence, economic growth *fuelled* suburbanisation, land scarcity and Brussels' population decline (Deboosere, 2010).

The establishment of the BCR in 1989 was a turning point in terms of planning. The regionalisation brought about a new spatial-economic discourse, which continued to constrain Brussels' economic development (van Meeteren et al., 2016). Nevertheless, the status of European Capital allowed the BCR to develop underground extensions and high-speed train connection with other capital cities (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). After a long period of constant decline only compensated by foreign immigration, Brussels' population started growing again in the mid-1990s (Van Criekingen, 2009; van Meeteren et al., 2016). New policy efforts were made to 'revitalise' the city, in particular in the Pentagon, where the population had been divided by four in a hundred years (Uitermark & Loopmans, 2013; Van Criekingen, 2009). Brussels-city municipal authorities created the 'Delegation for the Development of the Pentagon' (DDP – *Délégation au Développement du Pentagone*) in 1995. This institution was notably in charge of redeveloping former industrial buildings (Van Criekingen, 2009), in some instances with live-work goals (see Project BXL-T3 in Chapter 5).

Unfortunately, the 'revitalisation' and 'revalorisation' policies of the 1990-2000s exacerbated pre-existing socio-spatial polarisation and exclusion (Swyngedouw & Baeten, 2001). They also endorsed inner-city gentrification, which was not massive, however, given the proximity of popular inner suburbs (Van Criekingen, 2009). The real estate sector became an essential economic pillar, but it was affected by speculation and closely intertwined with urban governance (Swyngedouw & Baeten, 2001). Still today, the active role of real estate actors in urban development may be unfavourable to live-work mix (see Chapter 5, section 3.2).

In 2005, experimental ‘neighbourhood contracts’ were set up to improve living conditions in deprived neighbourhoods without fuelling gentrification (Uitermark & Loopmans, 2013). This experiment was based on the identification of areas on which to focus policy attention (ibid) and inspired the delimitation of priority (live-work) sites in the urban agenda. Concomitantly, the urban renewal of the Pentagon stimulated housing development in vacant sites and buildings under conversion.

Since the GFC, there has been renewed attention for urban production (De Boeck & Ryckewaert, 2020), which is translated into a productive-city discourse in the urban development strategy (see section 2.2.1). However, this has not prevented the BCR from losing 16% of its industrial assets between 2000 and 2018, mostly in the former industrial municipalities along the canal, following state-led ‘industrial gentrification’ (ibid). During the 2010s, mixed-use developments have also emerged as a new instrument to attract middle-class households and enhance live-work development, including on former industrial land (De Boeck et al., 2019; De Boeck & Ryckewaert, 2020).

### **Current planning issues, including conflicting policies and land scarcity**

Nowadays, effective spatial planning is constrained by the lack of coordination with housing and infrastructure production, long-lasting developments and public support to opportunistic private investment (Ananian, 2016). The planning system is primarily used to provide legal certainty and avoid uncertainty (Van Den Broeck in de Vries, 2015). Brussels’ spatial planning is weakened by the ‘fragmented and **conflicting policies** of its various government agencies’ (De Boeck et al., 2017, p. 1889). Also, the nineteen municipalities of the BCR are politically powerful as regards to urban planning and ruled by local elites with political ‘parochialism’ (Baeten, 2001; Swyngedouw & Baeten, 2001). This situation was inherited from the post-war planning framework whereby important planning decisions were politically taken by government agencies, regional development institutions and local authorities rather than planning administrations (Ryckewaert, 2013). The various scales of government and governance, together with the numerous informal bodies, complexified spatial planning (Swyngedouw & Baeten, 2001). Moreover, despite the creation of a metropolitan community after the 6<sup>th</sup> State reform, collaboration beyond the BCR borders is lacking (Interviewee BXL – I12). This situation further affects the live-work mix strategy (see section 2.2).

Furthermore, land scarcity obliges the regional authorities to collaborate with multiple stakeholders on large-scale developments (Bernard, Zimmer, & Surkin, 2009). Public land management and the implementation of strategic planning goals are now responsibilities of the

Urban development society (SAU – *Société d'Aménagement Urbain*). Since 2016, the development society acquires land in consultation with regional housing actors, with whom leasehold might be envisaged to develop public housing (Interviewee BXL-I2; I7; I8) provided the BCR can get a financial return (Interviewee BXL-I12). Given these new responsibilities for the development society, one can expect that this actor becomes essential for live-work mix in the future.

### **Economic and spatial development affected by deindustrialisation and speculation on the office market**

Path dependency of the structure and evolution of the labour market has influenced Brussels' economic and spatial development over time. Not only was Belgium early industrialised, but also Brussels was the first industrial place in the country (De Decker, 2008; Deboosere, 2010). The city deindustrialisation gave way to the European and international institutions and related activities (e.g., lobbies, diplomacy, NGO, consultancy firms). Beyond the concentration of political, administrative and financial activities, the expansion of the EU consolidated the position of Brussels as an economic and administrative engine, both at national and international levels<sup>34</sup>, with 53% of Belgian jobs located in Brussels' urban agglomeration (van Meeteren et al., 2016). Brussels soon became the place of production and Flanders and Wallonia the 'recipients of income flows', generating substantial daily commuting (Swyngedouw & Baeten, 2001). Paradoxically, capital accumulation and the macro-economic dynamics of Brussels do not help solve its socio-economic issues (ibid). Unemployment is concerning in the BCR, especially for young adults (De Boeck et al., 2017). The current regional development plan tackles this issue by aiming at developing light industry (ibid – see section 2.2.1).

The office market was subject to speculation during the tertiarisation of the inner city. However, since the first oversupply crisis of the 1970s, the office market has been declining continuously (Dessouroux, 2010). Conversion into housing helped decrease and stabilise the average office vacancy in the 2010s despite hidden vacancy and still high rates in peripheral obsolete office districts<sup>35</sup> (Coekelberghs & Boswell, 2019; Doornaert et al., 2016). More conversions into housing are expected in the coming years, given the predominance of the housing market in real estate operations and the low competition between the office and housing markets so far (Interviewee BXL-I12). Also, new office developments are required to include a conversion scenario, and their surface is regulated (Interviewees BXL-I4; I10).

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<sup>34</sup> The EU economy was estimated to account for 13% of Brussels' GDP in the 2000s (Van Crielingen, 2009) and all international companies for 40% of the GDP (Kesteloot & Loopmans, 2009).

<sup>35</sup> In Zaventem, for example, the office vacancy rate is still around 30% (Interviewees BXL-I4; I9) against less than 8% in average in the BCR (Coekelberghs & Boswell, 2019).

The past and present economic structures have encouraged the instrumentation of planning to foster economic growth. The main instrument serving both planning and economic interests consists of pilot mixed-use developments in targeted areas. Economic development and innovation legitimise these projects, which are mostly the initiative of the regional development company, in partnership with private developers (Ananian, 2016).

## **2.2 LIVE-WORK MIX STRATEGY**

### **2.2.1 Urban development agenda aiming at densification and economic growth**

Brussels' regional development plan (PRDD - *Plan Régional de Développement Durable*) promotes integrated economic growth through densification and mixed-use development in priority areas. Residential attractiveness for the middle class and physical proximity of people were already prioritised in the first development plan in 2002 (Romainville, 2010). The 2013 plan focused on housing supply and the definition of quantitative targets (Interviewee BXL-I10). The current plan (2018) defines priority development sites and hubs (Figure 21), including the Stimulated Urban Economy Area (ZEUS - *Zone d'Economie Urbaine Stimulée*, see Figure 22), which covers the canal area and neighbourhoods where unemployment reaches 40% (De Boeck et al., 2017). The ZEUS aims at promoting local employment and draws on former urban renewal policies, including the 'neighbourhood contracts' (Ananian, 2014) and the 'Canal plan'. The latter established a diagnosis of the canal area and drew flexible guidelines to federate the actors – including within the public sector – on common principles. The Canal plan is a strategic instrument that reflects Brussels' choice for case-by-case and incremental planning, based on soft rules. The urban renewal of the canal fosters the risk of state-led gentrification by bringing new uses in the area and, inevitably, a new population (Lenel, 2013). The attractiveness of the canal for international investment might indeed increase housing pressure and worsen socio-spatial inequalities in the area (Kesteloot, 2013 in De Boeck et al., 2017).

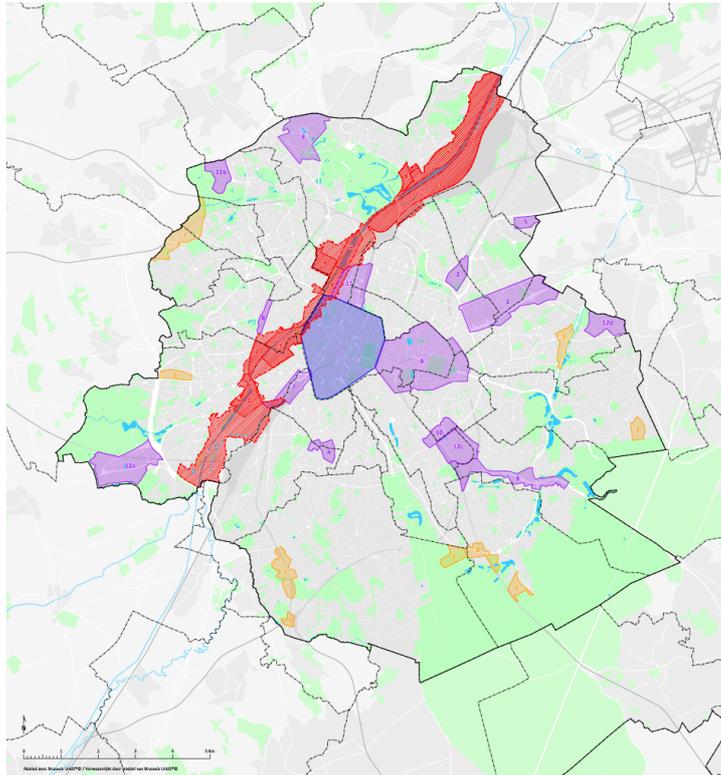


Figure 21: Regional development plan with the pentagon (blue), the canal area and development sites (red), development hubs (purple) and local hubs (orange) (Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2018)

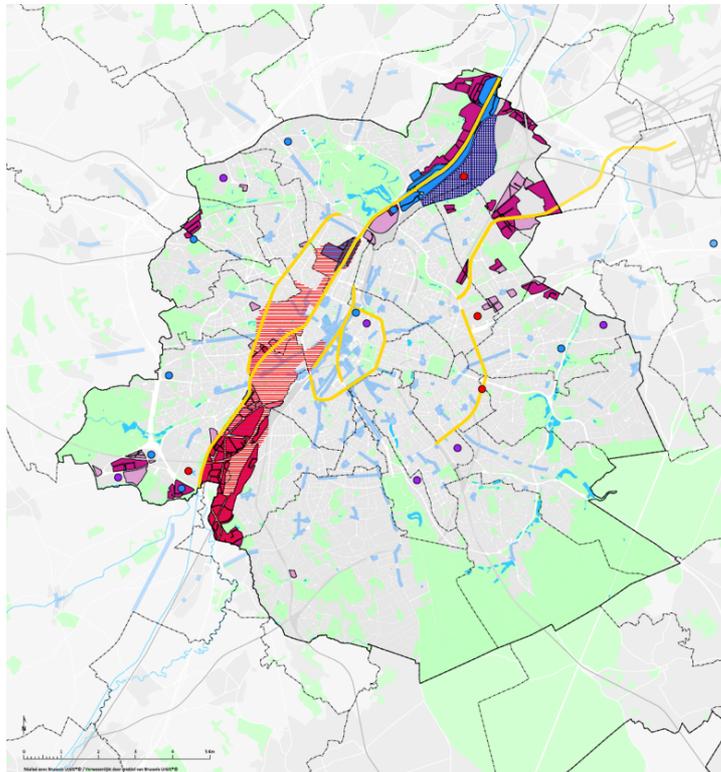


Figure 22: Economic development strategy, including both the ZEMU (light purple) and the ZEUS (red hatched area) (Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2018)

The regional development plan was influenced in part by changes in the regional land-use plan (PRAS – *Plan Régional d’Affectation du Sol*). The plan was first issued in 2001 and formalised the zoning of functions at the building-block scale, based on the consolidated land-use situation (De Boeck & Ryckewaert, 2020). The land-use plan reflects the historical, production-led live-work mix (ibid). It was initially issued in the context of a strong office market and the need to protect the residential function (Interviewee BXL-I12). The land-use plan was revised in the early 2010s, under the demographic boom, which was overestimated with hindsight (Interviewee BXL-I10). As a result, the current land-use plan can be seen as too protective of housing (Interviewee BXL-I12). The revision consisted of stimulating housing supply through the creation of a new mixed land-use zone called the Enterprise Area for Urban Development (ZEMU – *Zone d’Entreprises en Milieu Urbain*). The ZEMU opened former industrial areas to housing development and productive activities such as light industry, mainly in the canal area. This land-use change was consistent with Brussels’ densification and economic strategies (Ananian, 2016). Three main reasons motivated this: (i) tackling the demographic boom and further housing shortage, (ii) protecting the economic function in highly-mixed areas and (iii) answering the needs of SMEs (Interviewee BXL-I12).

Introducing ZEMU in the land-use plan raises three risks, according to De Boeck and Ryckewaert (2020): (i) constraints for certain types of production, (ii) displacement due to rising land prices following housing development and (iii) conflicts with the building regulations. Indeed, market parties are likely to maximise housing production –the strongest function on the real estate market (Interviewee BXL-I9) – at the expense of productive activities (Ananian, 2014). This is less the case for the mixed-use projects developed by the regional development company, which are required to include a vertical mix of housing and production. Still, the ZEMU prescriptions happen to be too easy to derogate from during the planning process (Interviewee BXL-I4; I22). Consequently, productive activities are replaced by housing, retail and services, and the vertical mix is often absent (Interviewees BXL-I9; I12). Mixed-use development is further constrained by cohabitation issues between functions (Interviewees BXL-I8; I9; I12) and segregated regulations by function (Interviewee BXL-I14). Any change of a function (e.g., in case of conversion) demands new planning permission. In order to mitigate these risks and balance functions better, local planning authorities use complementary instruments (e.g., specific land-use plan or subdivision permit, see Chapter 5). However, there is currently no political will to revise the ZEMU regulation (Interviewee BXL-I12).

Furthermore, institutional fragmentation weakens regional development goals and their implementation. For instance, Brussels’ municipalities are in tax competition and tend to avoid

new social housing construction (Kesteloot & Loopmans, 2009). According to civil servants from the strategic planning administration, the economic dimension of the regional development strategy suffers from the multiplicity of actors involved, the lack of a global vision and the need for more robust resources and political consciousness:

‘The PRDD could have put all this together and give a real prospective vision of the future, but it stuck to things... Well, there are interesting things in it, but it could delve deeper into this topic. However, I find that it is something only a few actors really know, actually. There is a *lack of knowledge*, including from us.’

‘We do not feel *legitimate* to talk about this topic.’

[Interviewees BXL-I12a; I12b – author’s translation, emphasis added]

These issues accordingly affect the setting of live-work goals and their implementation.

## **2.2.2 Housing supply: subsidised homeownership prioritised over social rental housing**

One of the main instruments enhancing housing supply is subsidised homeownership. This instrument consists of a state subsidy – about 30% of housing costs – guaranteeing access to homeownership with below-market prices for middle-income households. It is developed by the regional development company, in partnership with private actors, for whom the public subsidy guarantees profitability (Dessouroux & Romainville, 2011 - see Chapter 5, section 3.2). Subsidised homeownership is increasingly included in mixed-use developments along the canal. However, some consider it as ineffective given the significant investment per dwelling and the limited supply for a means-tested target group that represents a large share of Brussels’ households (Dessouroux & Romainville, 2011; Romainville, 2010). So far, subsidised homeownership remains the only public housing initiative that the researcher observed in live-work projects (see Chapter 5, section 3.2).

Besides, the regional plan estimates the BCR housing needs to 3000 to 4000 housing units yearly (Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2018). It also discusses the roles of social housing providers, the regional housing fund and community-led, niche initiatives such as the Community Land Trust<sup>36</sup>. Social housing production is stimulated, with 15% public or social dwellings demanded in new developments above 1000m<sup>2</sup> as an application of the Decree on urban planning charges<sup>37</sup>. However, the regional plan does not give indications on the location of future public

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<sup>36</sup> The Community Land Trust of Brussels (CLTB) allows low-income households to become homeowners by purchasing a dwelling (below market price) without becoming landowners, as the CLTB keeps the land property (Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2018).

<sup>37</sup> This Decree determines obligations that the real estate actors must fulfil to develop a new project. Delivering a certain share of social housing (to be acquired by a social housing agency) is part of the demands of the Decree (Gouvernement de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2013). However, it leaves the possibility to developers to pay a certain fee instead, which is sometimes even preferred by the local planning authorities (Interviewees BXL-I6).

housing developments. In terms of roles, the regional housing society (SLRB – *Société du Logement de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale*), whose core mission is social housing, can also deliver mid-rental housing, to ‘enhance social mix in its projects’ (Région de Bruxelles-Capitale, 2018; author’s translation). Another solution promoted in the plan is private-rented housing managed by social real estate agencies (AIS – *Agence immobilière sociale*) with below-market rents for households in conditions to access social housing (ibid).

The housing agenda of the regional plan is based on two older programmes: the housing alliance and the regional housing agenda. Each programme aims at delivering respectively 6720 and 5000 public housing units in total (ibid). Social housing production and land and property acquisitions are now direct missions of the regional housing society. Most social housing is still produced by the related municipal housing agencies, which can deliver up to 40% mid-rental housing. The regional housing society can also develop projects on private land or buy completed projects to private developers (Interviewee BXL-I7). One of the main barriers to social housing development is acceptability, especially in affluent suburbs where NIMBYism (Not In My Backyard behaviour) is nurtured by the local authorities (Interviewees I6; I20). To improve acceptability, some call for more social and functional mix (Interviewee BXL-I11).

Despite all the mechanisms and actors briefly introduced in this section, the current housing strategy remains based on access to homeownership, and middle-income households are still the primary target group of housing policies.

### **2.2.3 Economic growth through innovation**

Brussels is economically attractive for knowledge workers, and international institutions employ almost 48 000 workers in the BCR (Desière et al., 2018). Innovation has also been enhanced since the early 2000s through the regional innovation plans stimulating ICT, media, high-tech and green-tech sectors (Ananian, 2014). The regional development plan values creative and cultural economies as well, which are mainly present in the fields of advertisement and media (Mauri et al., 2018). However, research and development sectors (R&D) are slightly less developed in the BCR compared to other European metropolitan regions, in part because many R&D companies are located within the metropolitan region but outside the BCR borders (Teirlinck & Spithoven, 2018). The regional authorities also support entrepreneurship, notably through the Small Business Act.

The economic goals are translated spatially in the regional development plan to promote polycentric development around priority areas and structural axes such as the canal (ibid). However, these principles’ implementation relies on complex planning instruments and does

not especially match the existing geography of innovative companies in Brussels (ibid). Urban and economic developments could, thus, be coordinated better in Brussels.

#### **2.2.4 Coexistence of overlapping ontologies of live-work mix**

Brussels is attractive to international workers, given the presence of EU and international institutions (Interviewee BXL-I12; Desière et al., 2018). However, the international elite tends to settle in suburban areas out of Brussels, and the institutional ‘embedding’ of international organisations is limited (Swyngedouw & Baeten, 2001). Moreover, institutional and territorial fragmentation make Brussels’ attractiveness variable depending on municipalities and districts (Interviewee BXL-I22). Consequently, different ontologies of live-work mix coexist for different demographics and overlap; from co-living for young professionals to subsidised housing mixed with productive activities for young families, and community-led housing for artists (see Chapter 5).

### **2.3 HIGHLIGHTS**

Brussels aims at attracting young professionals and middle-income households. The regional development company develops subsidised homeownership for the latter group, including in priority areas of the ‘poor crescent’. Homeownership advocacy can only be understood through the lens of the Belgian housing regime (Figure 23), which is predominantly liberal, although influenced by conservative-corporatist traditions. The 1889 Housing Act already supported homeownership through housing supply, tax exemptions and social loans. The Catholic party intended to fix the working class in the countryside, notably through the construction of an extensive railway network and the allocation of transport subsidies. WWI was a turning point that was followed by construction-grant instruments and the creation of the national social housing agency (1919) to stimulate rental housing and homeownership. The 1930s crisis enhanced the working-class suburbanisation and, after WWII, state intervention facilitated mass housing consumption through the De Taeye Act (1948).

Massive suburbanisation was observed throughout the 1950-1960s and had serious demographic consequences for Brussels. In the 1990s, the BCR issued an urban revitalisation plan to bring middle- and high-income households back to the city, and subsidised homeownership was created. Nowadays, homeownership and private rental housing are the principal tenure forms, while public housing is scarce. Despite high levels of housing production in the 2010s, housing affordability and accessibility issues persist, due to flexible rent and tenure

regulations, a rapid increase in housing prices and patterns of financialisation. The real estate market delivers smaller dwellings than before, equipped in a few cases with shared spaces.

Brussels' spatial planning has suffered from conflicting policies, institutional fragmentation and complexity, and market orientation. From the start, the bourgeoisie settled in the south-eastern parts of the city, whereas the working-class lived in the west. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Haussmannisation policies led to destructive planning interventions. Brussels did not expand beyond its borders after WWI (regime of frozen municipal boundaries). Suburbanisation, territorial fragmentation and low-density living continued after WWII. Brussels developed considerable infrastructure for the 1958 exhibition and to host EU institutions. The 1962 Spatial Planning Act made regions responsible for land use and introduced the land-use plan as the primary regulatory planning instrument. Regretfully, planning regulations led to 'Brusselization', or the development of monofunctional office districts combined with population displacement, under the expansion of European functions.

After the creation of the BCR (1989), urban revitalisation was planned in the core city, where live-work projects were developed. However, the real estate sector used these policies opportunistically, which endorsed gentrification and polarisation. Today, pilot mixed-use projects contribute to urban renewal. Despite weak spatial planning for a long time, the creation of new actors (e.g., the urban development society) and instruments (e.g., subsidised homeownership) are expected to improve Brussels' governance capacity and stimulate live-work development. Besides, the concomitant deindustrialisation and internationalisation of Brussels created socio-economic issues that were tackled with a productive-city discourse.

Brussels' regional development plan promotes integrated economic growth through densification and mixed-use development. It defines priority development sites, including the canal area. New mixed land-use zones (ZEMU) were also created in the land-use plan to enhance residential attractiveness and economic growth in former industrial areas. However, housing development is often maximised at the expense of productive activities. Subsidised homeownership for middle-income households, which is increasingly present in live-work projects, is a main housing supply instrument, consistently with the historical homeownership advocacy. Social housing and community-led initiatives are also part of the development plan, but no indications are given on their location. Also, NIMBYism threatens such developments in the most affluent areas. Furthermore, the integration of economic growth to the urban agenda is based on polycentric urban development but is practically limited, given the lack of metropolitan collaboration. All in all, overlapping ontologies of live-work mix coexist in Brussels, with different types of mix developed for specific demographics and economic sectors.

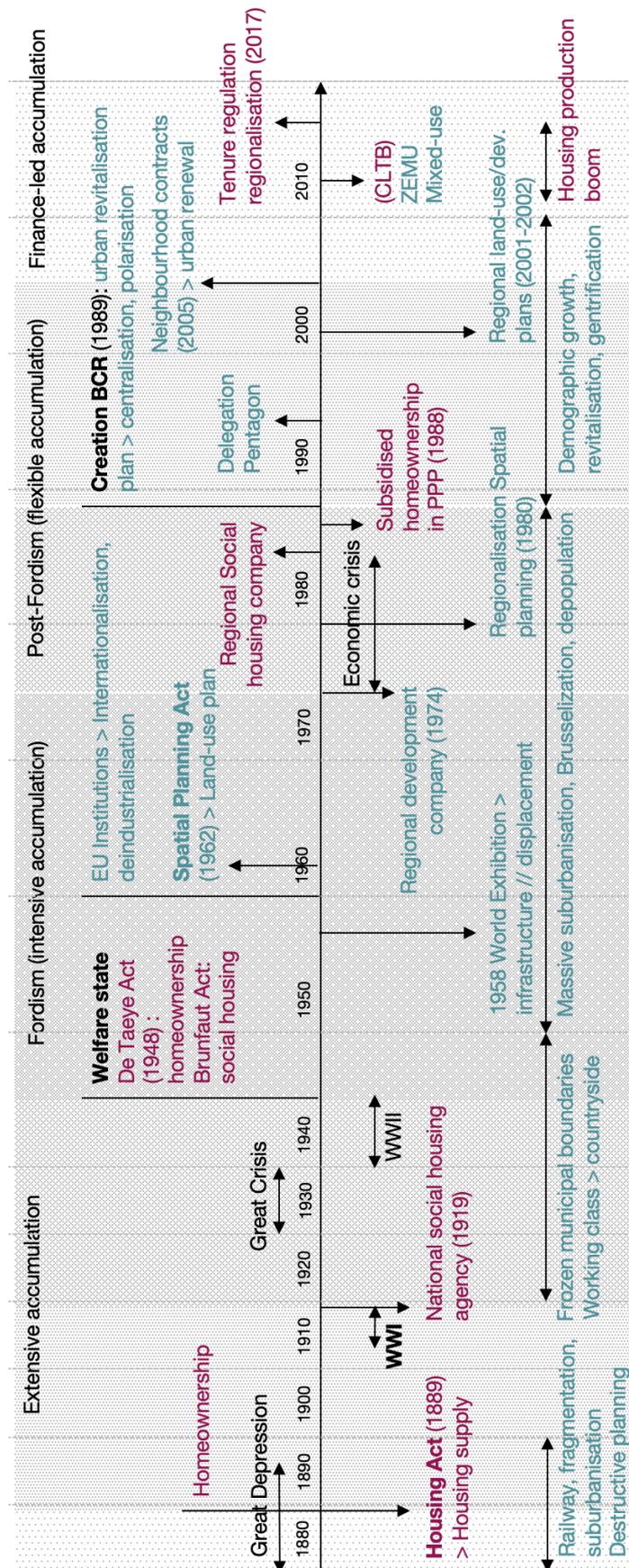


Figure 23: Evolution of housing and planning regimes (respectively purple and turquoise) in Brussels, under changes in accumulation modes and welfare services (diagram: author)

### 3 STOCKHOLM

#### 3.1 LOCAL DRIVERS OF LIVE-WORK MIX

##### 3.1.1 Residential attractiveness threatened by the housing crisis

Stockholm is a fast-growing city, which has experienced substantial demographic growth, with over 20% population increase between 2005 and 2015 (Granath Hansson, 2017a)<sup>38</sup>. Beyond local population growth, the city is attractive to foreign workers (Growth analysis, 2018). The massive immigration wave that Sweden faced in 2015 also drives the current population increase (Granath Hansson & Lundgren, 2018). The demographic dynamics have exacerbated the housing shortage experienced since the 1990s. The refugees who arrived from 2015 onwards received temporary accommodation before having to enter the regular housing market (Granath Hansson & Lundgren, 2018). In the absence of structural solutions, many refugees, as well as EU migrants, face homelessness (Spehar et al., 2017) or chaotic pathways on the housing market.

More broadly, outsiders, young adults and vulnerable groups (e.g., single parents, precarious labourers) face difficulties to enter the housing market, especially if they lack a local network (Lind, 2017). As a result, they experience high residential mobility (Interviewee STO-I1: I11: I22). Sweden has been facing a profound housing crisis (Grundström & Molina, 2016). Entry on the housing and the labour markets are mutually dependent, so that, in the major Swedish cities, those who live in deprived neighbourhoods are more likely to be unemployed (Schierup & Ålund, 2011). Accordingly, young adults are increasingly constrained to stay with their parents (Christophers, 2013). Half of the Swedish young adults (18-30) who wish to have their own place cannot leave the parental home, and part of the others is forced to subletting on the so-called ‘black market’, that is, illegally buying a high-priced rental contract (Roland Andersson & Söderberg, 2012; Christophers, 2013; Grundström & Molina, 2016). Only exchanging an apartment for another one – without making a profit – is allowed between tenants and called a ‘first-hand rental contract’ (Lind, 2005). In Stockholm, students also have a hard time finding accommodation, despite student housing expansion (L. M. Turner, 2008). Interestingly, 70% of the students registered in Stockholm Universities do originate from Stockholm (Interviewee STO-I6).

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<sup>38</sup> The comprehensive plan (i.e., Stockholm city plan) estimates that the population should reach 1,3 million by 2040 (City of Stockholm, 2018)

Furthermore, the housing shortage makes it difficult to accommodate expatriates working in knowledge-based sectors in Stockholm, although they are expected to have relatively high incomes. One company, in particular, complained about the lack of flexibility on the housing market in the media – although flexibility does not mean affordability – through an opened letter to politicians:

The *first obstacle* concerns, as we have repeatedly pointed out, housing availability, especially of rental housing. Today we have employees from 48 countries in Stockholm. Demanding that young people coming to a new country directly buy expensive housing will reduce our *attractiveness* and is not sustainable in the long term. Compare that to cities like New York, London and Singapore where the possibilities of renting housing are very simple. There, unlike in Stockholm, there is *flexibility*. (Ek & Lorentzon, 2016; author's translation from Swedish based on Google Translate©, emphasis added)

The housing accessibility issue thus undermines the attractiveness of the city for various target groups, including young professionals and international, creative workers, which are of close interest to the municipality (Grundström & Molina, 2016). The city also aims to retain students attending higher education in Stockholm (Interviewee STO-I6). Complex lock-in effects affect the housing market and the population who can settle in Stockholm. These issues rely on path dependency of the Swedish housing and planning regimes, which are examined next.

### 3.1.2 Public housing provision shifting towards the market

#### The roots of the social-democratic housing regime

The Swedish housing regime is built on five pillars (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013):

1. a *universally-oriented* housing policy aiming at producing 'housing for all';
2. a *public rental sector*, managed by municipal housing companies;
3. an *integrated rental market*, functioning with a rent regulation system;
4. a *corporatist* system, involving tenants' unions in the decision-making;
5. a sizeable *cooperative sector*, based on tenant-ownership.

These pillars were progressively introduced as the Swedish public housing regime was built, starting from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

One of the first state initiatives was taken in 1904 when loans were given to low-income households to access homeownership. The Swedish housing standards were among the lowest in Europe at that time (Caldenby, 2019). The corporatist representation in the Swedish rental sector started when the National Union of Tenants was formed in 1923 (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). The same year, in Stockholm, the union founded HSB (*Hiresgästernas sparkasse - och byggnadsförening* or 'the Savings and Construction Association of the Tenants'). This was the first cooperative organisation, and it became the main alternative to private developers

(Caldenby, 2019). Hence, **tenant-ownership** (also known as cooperative housing) was introduced as a tenure form based on a combination of households' savings, housing production and property management by the cooperative (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). Tenant-ownership is the dominant form of cooperative housing in Sweden (Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2018). In the Swedish context, a housing cooperative is:

‘...an economic society in a cooperative form (...). Housing societies or cooperatives own one or more buildings and are hence building owners, whilst the residents are building owners only in the sense of being a member, authorised to take part in the decision-making in the collective organisation.’ (Anund Vogel et al., 2016, p. 429).

Accordingly, the residents have the right to use a share of the cooperative (i.e., a housing unit) and to live in a membership-owned housing association (Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2018). While the cooperative is responsible for maintenance, investment and collective services, the members are responsible for investment in their dwellings (Anund Vogel et al., 2016). Housing cooperatives are no longer founded by their members but, most of the time, by a developer who also creates the board of the cooperative (ibid). Tenant-ownership was institutionalised through the Tenant-Ownership Cooperative Act in 1929 (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013).

The first Social-Democratic government was installed in 1933 (Gullberg & Kaijser, 2004) and started developing a social-democratic housing model, related to the peoples' home ideology (*Folkhemmet*) and the labour movement (Grundström & Molina, 2016). As part of this model, the **municipal housing companies** (MHC) were introduced in 1935 with the duty of providing subsidised housing for large families with a low income (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). In the 1940s, **rent regulation** and tenure security were both introduced. Due to the tremendous housing shortage after WWII (Gullberg & Kaijser, 2004), the MHC received their universal role to provide ‘**housing for all**’. The Housing Provision Act of 1947 gave them this assignment, which was driven by the anti-speculation rationale of the Social-Democratic government (Caldenby, 2019). The municipalities' planning monopoly (see next section) was made legal the same year and has been in effect ever since (Hedin et al., 2012). Subsidies to housing production improved the quality and size of housing dwellings (Hall & Vidén, 2005).

### **The Million Homes Programme and its consequences**

The Swedish housing regime cannot be depicted without providing some background on the Million Homes Programme (MHP - *Miljonprogrammet*), which was launched by the Social Democrats in the early 1960s, as Sweden was still facing a significant housing shortage (Gullberg & Kaijser, 2004; Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). The programme was translated into state support to housing development – through regulations and subsidies – mainly in multi-family

blocks of different tenure types, with the ambition of building one million dwellings over the period 1965 - 1974 (ibid). The MHP was launched concomitantly to a 'Sanitation Programme', consisting of large-scale demolition of old working-class districts in order for their inhabitants to move to the newly-built suburbs (Caldenby, 2019). Stockholm became unique in Europe as regards to its high proportion of multi-family housing (Gullberg & Kaijser, 2004). This housing model was later acknowledged as very effective, given the exponential increase of high-quality housing over the period 1930-1960s (Grundström & Molina, 2016).

The MHP contributed to institutionalising further the MHC, cooperatives, tenants unions and construction companies (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). The Social Democrats encouraged a structuration of the labour market in large companies and trade unions, including in the construction industry (Interviewee STO-I4). They also provided state-housing loans to housing developers using standardisation and prefabrication on large housing developments (Grundström & Molina, 2016; Hall & Vidén, 2005; Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). The construction industry was built on a capitalistic logic and received extensive state support via subsidies, financing and facilitated land provision (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013).

The development of the Swedish functionalist architecture was another outcome of the MHP. Developing large-scale housing estates in distant suburbs, with over thousand dwellings in similar buildings and one owner for the whole, was seen as the solution to deliver affordable, good quality housing (Hall & Vidén, 2005). Such architecture and urban designs were heavily criticised for enhancing segregation, given tenure and socio-economic differences between neighbourhoods (Grundström & Molina, 2016). These differences were physically marked in the buildings and neighbourhoods' typologies; high-rise rental housing for the working class, against lower-density tenant-owned cooperatives for the upper-middle-class (ibid). Over time, the suburban high-rise estates became poorer and started concentrating immigrants (Roger Andersson & Turner, 2014). To some housing policy experts, the Social Democrats segregated the working class deliberately, to a certain extent, in order to maintain their power, confirming that housing has been a particularly political issue in Sweden for a long time:

*'They wanted to segregate people! They didn't want the working class to become 'bourgeoisie'. They wanted the working class to be a class for themselves because they were the power that helped the Social Democratic party as their main source of power in Sweden. So, if the working class had become more of a middle class, they could have voted to the right instead of the left.'*  
[Interviewee STO-I4; emphasis added]

On the cooperative side (tenant-ownership), the price-setting was regulated, including in the case of transfer, but post-war inflation challenged this regulation (Caldenby, 2019). The cooperative housing regulation was reformed in 1968 (Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2018). Since then,

the tenant-owned dwellings are sold at market price and increasingly resemble traditional homeownership (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). This regulatory shift was the first step towards the commodification of the Swedish housing market (Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2018).

The housing estates developed in the early 1970s were seen as poor living environments leading to alienation and segregation (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). Nevertheless, the programme reduced the housing shortage and offered decent housing conditions ‘for all’ (Grundström & Molina, 2016). Housing production reached a peak in 1974 (110,000 new units produced in total in Sweden) before decelerating sharply, under economic decline and welfare state questioning (Grundström & Molina, 2016; Hedin et al., 2012). Subsequent changes to the rent regulation were enacted in the Rent negotiation act (1978), which made the tenants’ union responsible for negotiating rents for both public and private rental housing (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). Rent regulation was thus transferred from state authorities to the tenants’ union and the landlords (Grundström & Molina, 2016). Besides, financial support to homeowners was introduced, including interest subsidies and tax deductions (ibid).

### **Economic crisis and liberal shift**

Housing provision was state-subsidised until the economic crisis of 1991, which led to high unemployment in Stockholm (Roger Andersson & Bråmås, 2018). Cooperative housing prices fell by 35% between 1990 and 1993 (B. Turner, 1997). A conservative government replaced the Social Democrats and abolished state loans and housing subsidies in favour of housing policies based on supply and demand (Grundström & Molina, 2016; Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). Hence, Sweden became ‘one of the most liberal market-governed housing markets in the Western world’ (Lind and Lundström, 2007 in Christophers, 2013, p. 887).

The Social Democrats came back into power in 1994 but did not fully roll back from the neoliberal programme of the conservatives. Moreover, the MHC became allowed to sell their dwellings for conversion into cooperative housing, as part of a ‘right-to-buy’ policy inspired by a previous similar movement in the UK (Roger Andersson & Turner, 2014). Stockholm’s region played a leading role in this transition (ibid). As a result, Stockholm’s public rental housing stock and the overall housing affordability decreased (Roger Andersson & Bråmås, 2018). The tenure conversions were mainly operated in the inner city of Stockholm, where the proportion of residents living in public rental housing fell from 32% in 1990 to 7% in 2010 (Roger Andersson & Turner, 2014). The use-value system for rent regulation was also established during this period (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013).

In 2006, the conservatives entered the national government again, and public housing conversions regained a new impetus (Roger Andersson & Turner, 2014), especially in Stockholm's inner city (Interviewees STO-I1; I2). Housing subsidies were abolished once and for all, leading to exacerbated segregation and a deficit of affordable housing (Grundström & Molina, 2016). In 2008, a programme stimulating tenant-ownership for first-time buyers through credit guarantees was introduced (Hedin et al., 2012). Regular owner-occupation in new multi-family dwellings was also legalised in 2009 (*ibid*), but it has had little impact on the market so far (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). The succession of reforms throughout this decade worsened social inequalities<sup>39</sup> and polarisation (Hedin et al., 2012).

### **Housing commodification and inflexible provision leading to affordability and accessibility issues**

Housing commodification continued in the next decade. In 2011, EU competition laws – the country had become a member of the EU in 1995 (Hedin et al., 2012) – as well as pressure from Swedish property owners inclined the national government to request from the MHC to move on from a cost-based to a business-oriented model (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013). The Public Municipal Housing Companies Act hence required from the MHC to focus on profit (Grundström, 2018). These new goals entered into conflict with their public purpose, that is, their traditional role to provide housing for all (Elsinga & Lind, 2013; B. Turner, 1997) and conferred them a 'hybrid' profile. The MHC choices are now based on 'what the market would do', reflecting trust in market decisions (Interviewee STO-I4; I12; I16). Such changes justify why they are considered third-sector organisations – similarly to the Dutch housing associations - in this thesis. Besides, tenant ownership has become the dominant form of tenure in Stockholm, at the expense of both private and public rental housing. The housing stock includes 51% condominiums (i.e., tenant-owned apartments or cooperative dwellings) against 15% public rental housing, 25% private rental housing and 9% 'regular' homeownership (Stockholms stad, 2018). Moreover, tenant-owned dwellings are mostly produced by developers, whereas they were initially delivered by cooperatives such as HSB (see earlier in this section).

As in Amsterdam, rental contracts are, by default, unlimited timewise. Both public and private rental units are allocated according to time spent in a queue (Lind, 2017). After the queuing time, the primary selection criterion is the amount of money left to live after the rent is paid (Interviewee STO-I8), based on the candidate's revenue or social allowance. From there, it is possible to sublet an apartment, legally (first-hand rental contract) or to buy a rental contract

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<sup>39</sup> Stockholm gini coefficient rose from 0,226 in 1991 to 0,294 in 2000 (Hedin et al., 2012).

illegally (second-hand rental contract). There are two exceptions to the general system. Firstly, young adults under 26 have the right to rent (shortlisted) apartments for five years, but without tenure protection (Interviewee STO-I22). ‘Friend’ contracts, similar in concept to those available in Amsterdam (see section 1.1.2), do also exist in the old stock (Interviewee STO-I8). Secondly, student housing is also time-limited and accessible to all students registered at University. In Stockholm, student housing is mostly provided by SSSB (Student housing Stockholm – *StockholmSStudentBostäder*) and by some MHCs. SSSB considers itself that student housing is close to social housing (Interviewee STO-I6). Apart from these two exceptions, the rental sector is relatively inflexible (e.g., Interviewee STO-I9) and, thus, difficult to access. Housing developments for young professionals thus build on unusual rental contracts – including the five-year contract – that play with exceptions (see Chapter 5, section 2.3).

Rent regulation applies to both private and public rental housing and draws on a utility-value system, based on a set of criteria that are questioned today (e.g., Wilhelmsson et al., 2011). In the existing stock, the rent is mostly determined by the year of construction (Lind, 2017), whereas construction costs and location largely determine the rent for new construction. The rent regulation system has been criticised for creating long queues<sup>40</sup> for centrally-located old apartments, with rents far below market prices (Lind, 2017). This situation creates ‘Welfare loss’, namely higher willingness to pay than the marginal production costs (Wilhelmsson et al., 2011). Conversely, new housing production delivers unaffordable dwellings due to high land prices and construction costs. These costs are justified by high wages in the construction industry (Interviewee STO-I16) and, most importantly, high-quality standards<sup>41</sup> (e.g., Interviewees STO-I1). For example, in small dwellings, the bathrooms are disproportionate because they must be accessible to disabled people (e.g., Interviewee STO-I8). Anyhow, only a small share of the population can afford the high-priced tenant-owned newly-built dwellings.

Based on the above, housing affordability and accessibility may be conceptually seen as equally concerning in Sweden and even more in Stockholm. The rent regulation system and the ‘housing for all’ rationale have created lock-in effects and a climate of tense debate, politically polarised between the Social Democrats and the conservatives (Interviewee STO-I20), and with taboo topics, such as social housing (Interviewee STO-I1). There seems to be an ambivalence between the persistent discourse of building ‘housing for all’ and the legitimisation of high-end housing provision. Sweden’s ‘self-image’ that it offers fair standard housing (Interviewee STO-I12) is

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<sup>40</sup> Up to 21 years in Gamla Stan, the city historical core (Christophers, 2013).

<sup>41</sup> Quality standards are defined in the national building regulation by The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket).

misinformed due to a lack of data on housing needs. A state inquiry was yet introduced in 2018 to assess the number and types of households in housing need (Interviewees STO-I4; I19; I24). Either way, housing affordability is jeopardised because all new developments deliver high-priced dwellings and high rents, and this results in a mismatch between demand and supply (e.g., Interviewee STO-I14). The only way to build cheaper is to develop smaller and further away from the city centre (Interviewees STO-I4; I5). Besides, housing accessibility is problematic in all market segments as well. On the rental market, the long waiting times for affordable and well-located units make them inaccessible to poorer households, who cannot afford to wait that long (Lind, 2017). Outsiders are also left behind so that ‘rent control is most effective at protecting those who have housing already’ (Levine, 1990 in Christophers, 2013). Those who secure a dwelling are not willing to resign their contracts, which leads to invisible vacancy (Interviewees STO-I9; I13; I22). On the purchase market, the conditions to obtain a mortgage were revised to require higher resources from future buyers (Grundström & Molina, 2016).

Skyrocketing housing prices for the last 20 years (see Figure 24 for Sweden as a whole) have led to the saturation of the high-end housing market and further market downturn. Housing prices more than tripled in Stockholm between 1995 and 2010 (Wind & Hedman, 2018), and doubled again during the last decade (Interviewee STO-I22). Speculation was observed after immediate reselling was made legally possible (Interviewee STO-I23). However, a downturn was observed in the cooperative market in 2019 as a consequence of new credit regulations and restrictions (CBRE Research, 2020). Housing supply is also constrained by the urban planning process and production costs, among other barriers (Granath Hansson, 2017b).

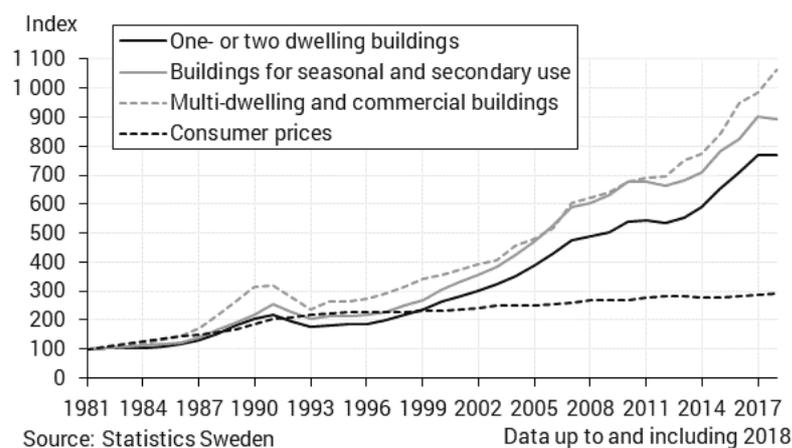


Figure 24: Real estate price index in Sweden between 1981 and 2017 (Statistics Sweden, 2020)

### Housing pressure affecting dwelling size and shared facilities

Small housing and high-density living are booming under housing pressure. Apartment downsizing was reported recurrently during the exploratory phase and related to the market ‘sensitivity’ to size (Interviewee STO-I19), the need to produce ‘space-efficient’ apartments (Interviewee STO-I16) and to ‘press’ all functions into a delimited space (Interviewees STO-I7). Interviewee STO-I14 said about the pressure on size: ‘many developers measure you as an architect depending on *how small* you can design an apartment’. Small housing production was further incentivised following the revision of housing standards (2014), allowing lower quality (e.g., in terms of daylight) for apartments under 35 m<sup>2</sup> (Grundström & Molina, 2016). Although this relaxation mainly applies to youth housing, it has led to the development of more profitable and lower-quality housing (ibid). Besides, a construction subsidy for small, affordable housing for young adults was approved in 2020 (Boverket, 2020). The long-term decrease in average apartment size was reported in all largest Swedish cities, in particular in the cooperative housing sector (Engerstam et al., 2020). As a result, over half of Stockholm housing stock consists of studios and one-bedroom apartments (City of Stockholm, 2018).

In Stockholm, small housing does not necessarily mean shared housing. Very few concepts offering shared spaces for tenants are developed, probably due to the pressure on space, which makes ‘free’ square meters a luxury (see Chapter 5, section 3.3). This is surprising given past collective housing developments (*kollektivhus*) in Sweden, which were nevertheless related to the socialist ideology (Caldenby, 2019). In Stockholm, the first examples of the 1930s were large developments (up to 280 apartments) aimed at specific groups such as single women and notably equipped with restaurants and day-care (ibid). Combining work and households’ tasks was a fundamental reason to move into these collective properties, which can be seen as the roots of live-work development at the building level in Stockholm.

Despite other iconic collective-housing projects<sup>42</sup> developed in Stockholm in the post-war period, co-housing remained an ‘outsider’ in the highly organised and institutionalised Swedish housing system (ibid). Shared laundries and leisure spaces were traditionally included in mainstream cooperative housing as well (Sørvoll & Bengtsson, 2018). Nowadays, any space left that could be turned into an apartment is privatised, and even the tradition to build common laundries is disappearing (Interviewees I2; I5; I6; I8; I12; I14). Moreover, the developers of

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<sup>42</sup> For example, the Hässelby hotel (1955) consisted of four connected towers in a newly-built suburb, providing over 300 rental apartments equipped with restaurants, laundries, shops and day-care (Caldenby, 2019). In the early 1990s, the Färdknäppen project was completed in central Stockholm, by a MHC, for elderly people who would cook together and share 350 m<sup>2</sup> of common spaces, including a kitchen, a laundry and leisure spaces (ibid).

cooperative housing have total control over the agenda and decision-making process (they create the cooperative themselves), and they no longer involve future tenants in the design and production phases (Anund Vogel et al., 2016).

No community-led housing was recently completed in Stockholm's municipality, from the empirical investigations. This can be explained by housing commodification, the tradition to build large-scale projects (Interviewee STO-I3) and the absence of public financial support to community initiatives. Cooperatives such as SKB (*Stockholms Kooperativa Bostadsförening*, Stockholm Cooperative Housing Association), however, received such support upon their foundation:

‘The tricky part is the *financing* of these projects. Because, basically, you don't have any money to start with. That's what happened, I can show you: when we started in 1916, the city of Stockholm and also some listed companies (...), what they did, they helped SKB to finance the first project. And this is how you... Normally, this is the challenge for the ones that start now. You need to do it with someone else *supporting* you. (...) So, when I meet these youngsters - I meet them once in a while - that actually want to start maybe a new cooperative, they always face the problem of financing. Because they don't have any previous profits, and their disposal is too small to get the whole project started. We were lucky in 1916 when we could manage to put, to attract the city and some of the listed companies to help us.’ (Interviewee STO-I18, emphasis added)

The new comprehensive plan mentions support to self-building, but for some, it is wishful thinking (interviewee STO-I3).

### **3.1.3 Municipal planning monopoly and extensive use of planning instruments**

#### **Land annexations, municipal planning monopoly and infrastructure development**

Stockholm was described as ‘one of the most “planned” cities in the world’ (Zakhour & Metzger, 2018, p. 50). Like Amsterdam, its planning regime was marked by ‘active’ land acquisitions (Gullberg & Kaijser, 2004). However, Stockholm's spatial planning has many specificities, including the municipal planning monopoly, the heritage of ABC towns, the land allocation system and the use of the detailed development plan. All of them are here introduced. Sweden's planning regime is based on a **municipal planning monopoly**, which means that the municipalities control land use, integrate housing supply goals to urban development and influence housing policies through planning (Lundström et al., 2013). Mobility and public transportation are regional competences, which require a dialectic relationship between regions and municipalities. This mutual dependence relies on the functionalist planning principles introduced in the post-war era.

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Stockholm's territory was able to grow by annexing neighbouring areas through estates' purchase (Gullberg & Kaijser, 2004; Blücher in Lundström et al., 2013).

The city actively used this land purchasing strategy, far beyond its borders, and managed to retain land through lease holding (Zakhour & Metzger, 2018). The Town Planning Act of 1907 formally introduced municipal planning monopoly and required from landowners to contribute to urban-development costs (Blücher in Lundström et al., 2013). The Act was reformed in 1931 to detail building regulations and empower cities in front of landowners (Blücher in Lundström et al., 2013). However, new settlements were developed without being supplied with roads and infrastructure, creating mobility issues (ibid).

In order to overcome the mobility issue in Stockholm, an underground network was started in the 1940s (Gullberg & Kaijser, 2004). The underground high construction costs motivated the decision to coordinate infrastructure and new housing developments in coordinated plans for the new suburbs (ibid). The new Building Act of 1947 strengthened municipalities by allowing them to develop land through master planning (Blücher in Lundström et al., 2013). The national government only approved plans, and this responsibility was later transferred to the Counties (i.e., the Swedish regions - ibid). The municipalities became, thus, key planning actors (Roger Andersson & Bråmås, 2018). The '**ABC suburbs**' were major developments of this decade (Gullberg & Kaijser, 2004). The ABC concept consisted of developing workplaces (*Arbete*), housing (*Bostäder*) and amenities (*Centrum*) within the same place (Roger Andersson & Bråmås, 2018). Each town was developed around an underground station and equipped with a commercial centre, a school, recreation space and different typologies of housing, hence providing the inhabitants with a 'healthy' built environment (Gullberg & Kaijser, 2004). The public stakeholders owned most of the land, but the construction of these towns was undertaken by private actors (ibid).

In the 1960s, the MHC became allowed to develop housing in neighbouring municipalities, and Stockholm city expanded further towards suburban municipalities (ibid). During this decade, master planning 'died' to the benefit of massive housing construction programmes (Blücher in Lundström et al., 2013). These programmes relied on leasehold and land acquisition loans (Zakhour & Metzger, 2018) and led to 'unprecedented urban growth, managed by municipalities by using big developers and secured through state financing' (Engström & Car in Lundström et al., 2013, p. 14). During this period, planning resources were strengthened (ibid), and the Stockholm's Planning Office consolidated its international reputation (Zakhour & Metzger, 2018). This was the era of Stockholm's 'planning-led urban development regime' (ibid).

### Key-planning instruments and shift towards the market

The new Planning and Building Act (1987) strengthened individual property rights and formalised the obligation for municipalities to establish a comprehensive plan (see next section) and detailed development plans (Blücher in Lundström et al., 2013). During the 1990s crisis, state subsidies to housing were withdrawn, and housing became a source of income for the state (Zakhour & Metzger, 2018). It was decided to sale land plots aimed for tenant-owned housing and maintain the leasehold system only for rental housing. Housing supply was left to the market with the new political approach that ‘the market knows best’ (Engström & Cars in Lundström et al., 2013, p. 16). Active, regulatory planning rolled back in favour of ‘contract planning’ (see Chapter 2, section 4.2.2) as the urban plans were increasingly the results of prior land negotiations with private developers (Zakhour & Metzger, 2018). The shift towards the market was further exacerbated in 2006 when tenant ownership became the political priority, which brought short-term financial gains (from land sales) to Stockholm city (ibid). Nowadays, leasehold is only used in Stockholm and its closest municipalities (Interviewee STO-I6).

Private interests were even more supported in the revised Planning and Building Act (2011). Current urban planning emphasises public-private partnerships, sustainability, density and mixed-use (Grundström & Molina, 2016). Nevertheless, mixing functions within the same building seems to remain uncommon in Stockholm, especially in joint ownership, since the real estate market is segregated by function (Interviewee STO-I5; I13; I23). Joint-ownership arrangements are possible in case of housing with a commercial ground floor, but this is not systematic either (Interviewee STO-I10). Contrary to the Dutch housing associations who can no longer develop commercial activities (see section 1.1.2), the Swedish MHC can keep commercial units in their portfolio (Interviewee STO-I7).

The functions and density allowed in new developments are regulated in the **detailed development plan** (*detaljplan*), a legally-binding instrument regulating all development projects in urban areas (Hedström & Lundström in Lundström et al., 2013). Each plan includes recommendations, which often draw on preliminary negotiations between the municipality and the developer interested in the area (ibid). During the planning process, the detailed plan goes through a consultation procedure that private real estate actors generally dislike (e.g., Interviewees STO-I7; I8; I14). The planning process takes place after **land allocation**, which favours project-based planning instead of long-term comprehensive planning (Zakhour & Metzger, 2018). Reducing the importance of the detailed plan in favour of the comprehensive plan was envisaged in response to this issue (Granath Hansson, 2017b). During the detailed development planning process, the Development Office (*Exploateringskontoret*) is responsible for

steering land development from land allocation to completion. In practice, market interests are dominant in this process:

‘What the building company itself sees as *desirable*, or what is possible to be built, what they think is good to be built, we listen quite much to that. And sometimes, we have of course a strong meaning of what is desirable, but if the building constructor says that it is not something that it will be able to sell or rent, then it’s not going to *happen*, so it needs to be in a dialogue.’ [Interviewee STO-10, emphasis added]

This interview excerpt illustrates well Stockholm’s current ‘development-led’ or market-led planning regime (Zakhour & Metzger, 2018).

### **Economic boom, land scarcity and the lack of transparency influencing urban development**

Land scarcity and high land prices are critical planning issues that partly explain today’s lower construction pace (Caesar & Kopsch, 2018). However, until the 2019 downturn, real estate developers knew they could sell high-priced tenant-owned dwellings (Christophers, 2013). The land allocation system influences prices, as municipalities try to maximise their profit on land sales for tenant-ownership (Interviewee STO-I23). Amid various ways to allocate land, private developers can apply for a plot or the municipality can highlight available locations (Caesar, 2016). The willingness to pay is a primary criterion, which tends to favour the financially most robust developers and, in the absence of other clear criteria, lacks transparency (*ibid*). Rarely are tenders used for land allocation, for example (Interviewee STO-I1; I2; I19). The municipality is further perceived as a ‘market maker’ acting in a ‘close world’ (Interviewee STO-I19) with only a few large construction companies<sup>43</sup>, in a ‘cartel-like’ situation (Interviewee STO-I1).

Current planning challenges are also related to the path-dependent structure of the labour market. Sweden has a well-anchored engineering tradition, of which one of the most famous examples is Ericsson (Interviewee STO-I9). In the immediate post-war period, reconstruction and industry were drivers for urban growth (Lundström et al., 2013) but after the 1990s financial crisis, the Swedish economy focused on knowledge-intensive sectors (Engström & Cars in Lundström et al., 2013). Today, the economy is booming, and the labour shortage – in sectors such as ICT (Interviewee STO-I9) – inclines international companies to recruit people abroad. Housing and labour shortages go hand in hand and are addressed with polycentric urban development, both to facilitate economic growth and enhance residential attractiveness in new urban cores (Engström & Cars in Lundström et al., 2013). The next section returns to the city urban development goals through the analysis of the urban and regional development plans.

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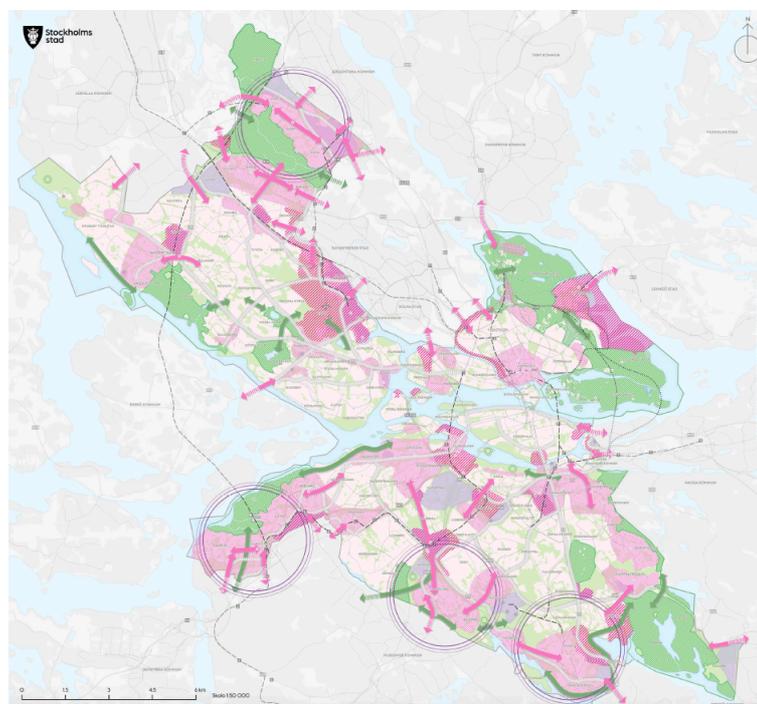
<sup>43</sup> The ‘big four’ being Skanska, NCC, PEAB and JM (Interviewee STO-I21).



The new plan focuses on urban growth through the definition of focus areas, strategic connections and densification and expansion areas (Figure 26). The focus areas promote places to be developed despite being currently less attractive for the market (Interviewee STO-I10). In the four focus areas identified in the plan, investments and resources should be concentrated to enhance housing supply and urban development, including amenities, services and workplaces. Live-work mix is, thus, an objective – at least at the area level. The document also defines housing supply goals<sup>44</sup>, which are explicitly justified for their role in economic growth and attractiveness. The plan states indeed that employees must be able to find accommodation on a ‘fully functioning housing market’ (City of Stockholm, 2018). As in Brussels, industrial areas are opened to mixed-use development in the plan, after strategic analysis of the need for industry, logistics and technical services (ibid). Also, like in Amsterdam, commercial ground floors are requested in mixed-use areas. The comprehensive plan is explicit about market involvement as well:

‘It is important that the city *embraces* good initiatives from market actors and *facilitates* infill projects that contribute towards the city’s overall goals and create new value.’ (City of Stockholm, 2018, p. 35; emphasis added).

Land-use policy is acknowledged as a mean to implement the plan, and collaboration with property owners is encouraged in areas where the city does not own land.



**Figure 26: Comprehensive plan. Focus areas (circles), strategic connections (arrows), expansion and densification areas (hatched areas) (City of Stockholm, 2018)**

<sup>44</sup> The plan aims at delivering 140 000 new dwellings by 2030 (City of Stockholm, 2018).

The regional development plan (RUF 2050 - *Regionala utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen*) is also a strategic, not legally-binding document, which is relatively ‘weak’ according to civil servants from the region (Interviewee STO-I24). Only Stockholm region (previously referred to as Stockholm county) has a regional plan in Sweden. The regional development plan draws upon urban polycentric development and defines ‘urban cores’ (Figure 27), which should offer a mix of housing, workplaces, services and amenities (Rader Olsson & Cars, 2011). For each urban core, infrastructure investment is planned as well as facilities that help attract new residents, especially ‘highly educated professionals that tend to demand urban amenities and diversity’ (Rader Olsson & Cars, 2011, p. 165). The municipalities are requested to build within the cores determined by the regional plan. The urban cores are often segregated areas where infrastructure is planned to ‘bring other kinds of people’ (Interviewee STO-I11), which might induce state-led gentrification (see Chapter 2, section 2.1). The mutual dependence between housing and infrastructure provision creates tensions between municipalities and a ‘negotiation game’ between the region and the municipalities (Interviewees STO-I24; I26). The regional plan also sets quantitative targets for housing supply, although it is the municipalities’ responsibility to develop housing. These targets must be seen as quantitative goals to reach for the municipalities. The recommendations formulated on housing are political and come from an assignment that the region received in 2012 about housing supply (Interviewee STO-I11).

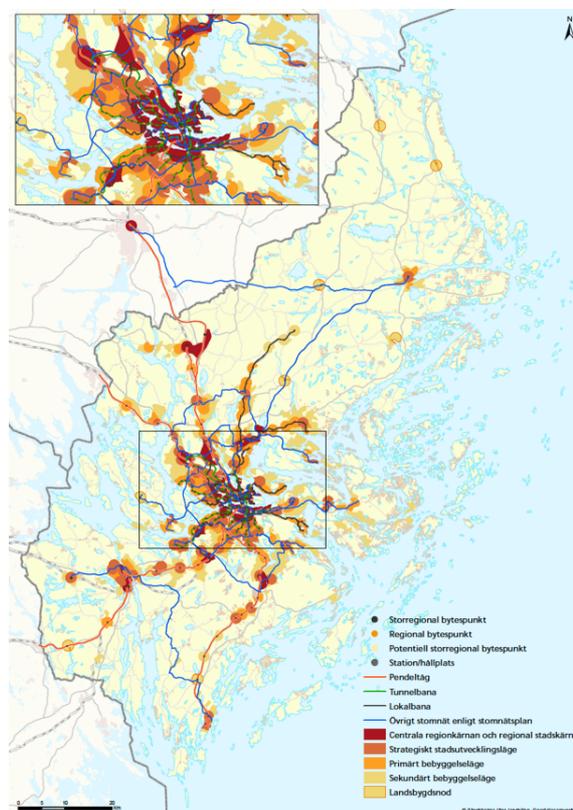


Figure 27: Regional plan. Urban cores and connections (Region Stockholm, 2018)

### 3.2.2 Housing supply: locked in standardisation and commodification?

Today's housing situation is critical for various household groups (see section 3.1.1). The current blockage relies on heavy path dependency of the housing regime, in particular, the social-democratic ideology of 'housing for all' and its translation in the institutionalisation of the construction industry and massive standardisation of housing production (see section 3.1.2). The Swedish situation is a striking example of *lock-in effect* in that the institutional path blocks the debate on housing supply strategies. In particular, the introduction of social housing is a highly-polarised topic, with opponents being against the introduction of *means-tested* housing (i.e., housing for target groups delineated based on their income). Accordingly, the Swedish housing regime was referred to as 'monstrous hybrid' (Christophers, 2013). This blockage could lead to a dualist practice of political denying and introduction of means-tested housing (i.e., based on an income threshold) at the municipal level (Bengtsson in Lundström et al., 2013).

The exploratory interviews allowed to grasp the position of different actors on strategies for affordable housing supply. The tenants' union and SABO (Public Housing Sweden - *Sveriges Allmännyttä*, i.e., the interest organisation representing MHCs), are against social housing and argue for housing allowances (i.e., support to individuals – Interviewees STO-I1; I2). Social housing is a susceptible political question:

'No one in Sweden is really prepared to have a certain type of house for a certain type of people with a certain type of income: this is still taboo.' [Interviewee STO-I1]

Social housing evokes large-scale, segregated housing estates and threatens the 'housing for all' doctrine (interviewee STO-I4; I22). However, municipal companies such as *SHIS Bostäder*, deliver housing to people who cannot enter the housing market and somehow develop social housing without naming it as such (Interviewee STO-I8).

A national housing policy addressing affordability issues was still pending during the fieldwork period (March-May 2019). Nevertheless, the national government's proposal for financial support to the development of affordable, small housing for young people in cities and university towns (Granath Hansson, 2017a) entered into force in February 2020. The policy sets rules for all new developments (above ten units), which should deliver at least 10% one-room apartments and 12,5% dwellings rented out with five-year 'social contracts' for young adults or people with a social allowance (Boverket, 2020). This policy is the first step towards social housing in Sweden, although concrete outcomes were not observed yet. Besides, at the local level, the municipality is more likely to sell than lease land, so that it continues to support tenant ownership indirectly:

‘There is also another side of the coin, let’s say. It’s like, the city wants to have a good income, a good high price for the land, and the more things you... The harder you try to regulate them with, like, lower prices, more affordable housing, high qualities, the less you’re going to get for the land. And the incomes from land sales are needed for different investments in, it could be in a school, or day-care, roads and parks. So, there is a need to have a quite good revenue.’ [Interviewee STO-I10]

As a result, new developments in transformation and expansion areas are more likely to deliver unaffordable and hardly accessible housing (see Chapter 5, section 3.3).

Before the new housing policy was released, several housing providers elaborated solutions to develop more affordable and flexible housing. Hence, a concept of temporary housing for young adults was developed by the young tenants’ union together with a MHC (see Chapter 5, section 2.3). To the researcher’s knowledge, this is the only third-sector response realised so far, which tackles specifically the housing shortage for young adults in Stockholm, apart from student housing. Other similar responses were developed for non-defined recipients. In Stockholm, the MHCs developed the ‘*Stockholmshusen*’ (Stockholm’s houses), a permanent but standardised housing product allowing to speed up the planning and building processes, in response to the municipality requirements to increase the housing supply (Interviewee STO-I19). The municipality does not demand from the MHCs to build affordable housing, however:

‘We have demands from the city on *how much* we should *produce*. And a lot of various goals for our business. And of course, one of the main things is that we should produce rather many new houses. (...) Actually, we don’t have any *demand* to provide the market with *affordable* housing. We try to produce houses to the price that is set by negotiations with the Tenants’ Union. And so, the rent level in our houses is about the same as anybody else. So, there aren’t any special demands that we should produce anything that is more or less affordable than anyone else. We don’t have any subsidies; we have to produce our houses in the same way as *anybody* else, with the same conditions.’ [Interviewee STO-I7, emphasis added]

Similarly, SABO developed the ‘*Kombobus*’ (Combo house) idea. The three concepts have in common to be standardised products, in line with the tradition introduced during the MHP. Standardisation is also used by private developers and contractors to reduce construction costs and develop more affordable products.

During the exploratory interviews, ‘standardisation’, ‘reproducibility’, ‘modularisation’ and ‘repetitiveness’ were recurrent words in the discourse. This observation can be interpreted as the continuation of a Fordist, intensive mode of (mass) housing consumption (R. L. Florida & Feldman, 1988; Kesteloot, 1988), in which housing is yet commodified and reduced to a consumer good. The fact that many actors of the construction industry have backgrounds unrelated to architecture and urban planning (e.g., chemical engineering, marketing and sales) strengthened this interpretation. Such a perception of housing production might indicate late, yet more vigorous commodification of housing, compared to Amsterdam and Brussels.

### 3.2.3 Economic growth: branding, branding and branding

Attractiveness is a key-stone of both the comprehensive and the regional development plans, and it implies enhancing amenities and efficient connection by public transportation (Grundström, 2018). Stockholm has been internationally branded as ‘the Capital of Scandinavia’. The comprehensive plan describes the city attractiveness as follows:

‘Stockholm is a small capital city that punches above its weight. In international rankings, Stockholm is among the top scorers on quality of life, safety and trust, as well as democracy, gender equality and innovation. Many people move to the region for precisely this reason.’ (City of Stockholm, 2018)

The country did not feel the 2008 crisis (Interviewee STO-I21), and today, the number of jobs available is substantial. Most jobs are located in the inner city and well-connected locations to the north, which creates significant daily commuting (City of Stockholm, 2018). As previously mentioned, the housing shortage for employees hired from abroad is seen as a barrier to economic growth (Interviewee STO-I12; I18; I19) and a threat to the city competitiveness.

The overemphasis on the city competitiveness was criticised for reproducing a neoliberal ideology and contributing to the current housing crisis (Interviewee STO-I24). Stockholm region accounts for almost one-third of the country GDP (Region Stockholm, 2018). The regional plan aims at developing research and innovation sectors as well as ICT clusters in areas such as Kista (in the north of the municipality) and the Arlanda International airport. The plan also ambitions to have over half of the region employees working in knowledge-intensive sectors (ibid). The region further supports entrepreneurship and new start-ups (Interviewee STO-I11). The regional plan positions Stockholm as ‘the’ most attractive European metropolitan region (Region Stockholm, 2018).

Furthermore, the detailed plans and segregated markets leave little room for competition between the office and housing markets. However, it can be difficult for small companies to find workshops (Interviewee STO-I11). For example, *Hammarby Sjöstad*, a former industrial area was converted in the 1990-2000s into a mixed-use, sustainable neighbourhood, which appeared to be primarily residential, with no industrial workshops left (ibid). Contrary to Brussels, there does not seem to be a political will to keep industrial activities in the inner city, so that old industries tend to be chased away. This is at least what a former civil servant from the permit division of the municipality answered when asked about the preservation of industry in Stockholm:

‘I don’t think that’s the idea from the politicians (sic). Maybe from the planners’ idea in the office, but for the last five or perhaps ten years, the only priority has been to build more – for the politicians – has been to build more housing, and apartments. And we have a lot of these areas,

like *Slakthusområdet*, this one, but they are trying to convert to housing. And it's a big issue, I think. You change it completely without keeping the old structure or character from the history of the place. And it's also a question, perhaps for the politicians, where, in the city, this smaller kind of industries, or these smaller businesses, that can't afford to be in the centre of the city (...). They are moving out further away, like in *Slakthusområdet*; it used to be a lot of small butchers and sausage makers, and so on. But I think everyone is going to move out. [Planner STO-T1]

When it comes to offices, developments mixing housing and offices on the same plot are scarce (Interviewees STO-I5; I8; I19) despite some joint, 3D property arrangements in newly built areas (Interviewee STO-I23). Intertwined live-work development does not seem to be common practice in Stockholm.

### 3.2.4 Ontologies of live-work mix threatened by incompatible ideologies

In Stockholm, live-work development seems to suffer from conflicting visions. On the one hand, the housing crisis collides with a persisting mass consumption mode of housing, inherited from the MHP, in a context of commodification. The same context has made old *Kollektivhus* models progressively disappear. On the other hand, workplaces are organised in thematic clusters and knowledge hubs, as part of the competitiveness strategy. In such a business performance-oriented perspective, the housing crisis is not seen as a problem per se, but as a threat to economic growth. Although housing supply is essential for economic development, the search for competitiveness and performance might disrupt the pursuit of inclusive and comprehensive live-work solutions. Furthermore, the thoroughly developed transportation network and long-standing polycentric development principles contribute to explaining the more limited interest for live-work development at the building scale – beyond requirements for commercial amenities – compared to the other case-study cities.

## 3.3 HIGHLIGHTS

Stockholm is a fast-growing city which has experienced substantial demographic growth and where vulnerable groups face difficulties to enter the housing market. It has even become difficult to accommodate expatriate knowledge workers in the city. Nevertheless, attracting and retaining specific demographics is a central goal for the local government.

The Swedish housing regime draws on social-democratic housing provision built on five pillars: a universally-oriented housing policy, a public rental sector, an integrated rental market, a corporatist system and a large cooperative sector. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, only loans were given to low-income households. In the 1920s, the tenants' union and the first cooperative were formed. Tenant-ownership was introduced and institutionalised in 1929. Then, the Social Democrats developed the peoples' home model (*Folkhemmet*) and created the MHC. In the 1940s, rent regulation and tenure security were developed and, after WWII, the MHC started

providing 'housing for all'. The MHP was launched in the 1960s to address the housing shortage. The programme was translated into state support to the construction of large-scale, multi-family housing in new suburbs. Besides, cooperative housing was deregulated in 1968 and support to tenant-owners was later introduced. Housing production started declining in the mid-1970s, under welfare state restructuring.

The severe economic and political crisis of the 1990s triggered a radical change in housing provision. The conservative government abolished housing subsidies and endorsed a right-to-buy policy, leading to the decline of public rental housing in inner Stockholm. On the contrary, tenant ownership was stimulated. Housing commodification continued in the 2010s when MHCs were demanded to act like the market. In Stockholm, tenant ownership is now the dominant tenure form, while rental housing is hardly accessible due to long queuing times, strict tenure regulations and a complex rent setting system. As a result, housing affordability and accessibility issues are pressing, but politically polarised. Housing affordability is jeopardised by high land and property prices, and housing accessibility is reduced both on the rental and purchase markets. After 20 years of tremendous price increases, the housing market showed stagnation in 2019. Still, high market pressure has led to smaller dwelling size and a withdrawal from sharing spaces. While Sweden had a tradition of collective housing, current trends are to the privatisation of space and absence of support to community-led initiatives in Stockholm.

The specificities of Sweden's planning regime are the municipal planning monopoly, the heritage of the ABC towns, the land allocation system and the use of the detailed development plan. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Stockholm actively purchased land to expand its territory and started practising leasehold. The municipal planning monopoly was soon introduced (1907) and later empowered municipalities (1931). The New Building Act (1947) further reinforced the position of municipalities as key planning actors. Underground infrastructure and housing development were coordinated in the new ABC suburbs, which combined housing, workplaces and amenities. During the 1960s, Stockholm urban growth continued through major housing construction programmes: this was the era of the planning-led urban development regime. The principal planning instruments still in use today were introduced in the 1980s. The 1990s crisis made active, regulatory planning move on to contract planning. The prioritisation of tenant ownership in the 2000s allowed short-term financial gains for the municipality and confirmed the new market-led planning regime, whereby mixed-use development is encouraged. The evolution of the labour market has impacted planning by encouraging polycentric urban development.

Urban development strategies are formalised at different levels, each with its instrument. At the municipal level, the comprehensive plan sets long-term ambitions. The new city plan aims at

urban growth through densification and defines housing supply goals as well as focus areas in which to concentrate housing supply and the provision of amenities, services and workplaces. At the regional level, only the Stockholm region has a development plan. The latter uses polycentric urban development principles and defines mixed-use urban cores in which housing development should be concentrated.

The housing agenda is perturbed by debates and hampered by the path-dependent housing institutional pattern. Introducing social housing is a sensitive topic, and tenant ownership is still heavily supported. In early 2020, a new policy introduced the requirement to develop a particular share of housing aimed at specific groups. On the housing market, different actors have elaborated standardised housing solutions to respond to affordability concerns. Such solutions reflect the continuation of mass consumption under new circumstances of housing commodification, reducing housing to a consumer good. This might indicate late yet more vigorous commodification of housing, compared to Amsterdam and Brussels.

As part of its economic growth strategy, Stockholm brands itself as the Capital of Scandinavia and sees the housing shortage as a barrier to economic growth. Various sectors are strategically stimulated (e.g., research, innovation, ICT), and entrepreneurship is encouraged. Overall, Stockholm's ontologies of live-work mix suffer from incompatible visions: the housing crisis collides with the heritage of the MHP in a commodification context, and the market hegemony jeopardises collective housing principles and inclusive live-work mix.

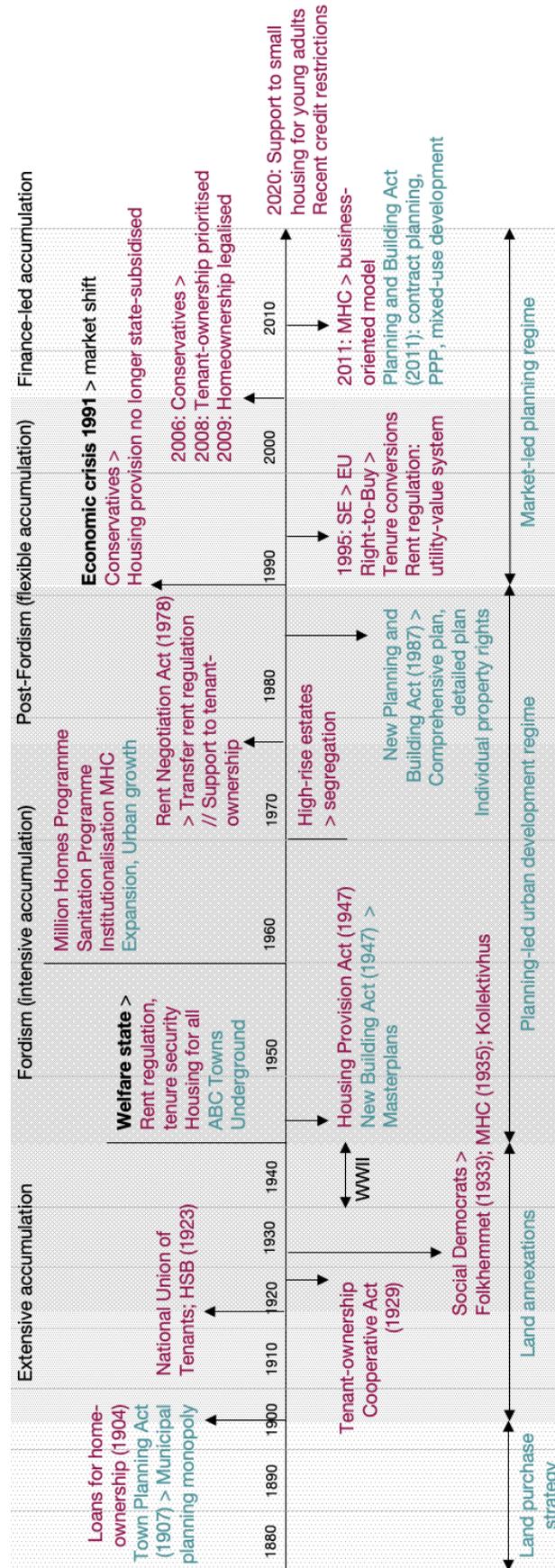


Figure 28: Evolution of housing and planning regimes (respectively purple and turquoise) in Stockholm, under changes in accumulation modes and welfare services (diagram: author)

## 4 ONTOLOGIES OF LIVE-WORK MIX

The study of local housing and planning regimes and live-work mix strategies in each context makes it possible to highlight path dependencies and current issues. Examining current strategies in light of past developments allows understanding the role of live-work mix in urban development and underlying ontologies of live-work mix. In this section, the three cities' housing and planning regimes are compared before discussing the main path dependencies identified and related ontologies. Current issues conditioning live-work development are then underlined before a concluding reflection on the opportunities and limits of the path dependency approach to address the research questions. The reader should be aware that some arguments are connected with the results of the empirical investigations regarding the implementation of live-work mix (see Chapter 5), since this section bounds the above policy analysis to the next chapter.

### 4.1 A COMPARISON OF HOUSING AND PLANNING REGIMES

The comparison of housing and planning regimes is represented in Figure 29, and the essential characteristics of each city are summarised in Table 5. The timelines start from the period following the Great Depression of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The transition from competitive to extensive accumulation is slightly different in each country. Extensive housing provision and active spatial planning were early observed in Amsterdam through *contingent occurrences*: municipal land-lease was formalised in 1896 and the first housing associations were institutionalised in 1901. Brussels' housing act was enacted earlier (1889) and already encouraged homeownership. Suburbanisation and Haussmannisation policies were observed contingently. In Stockholm, although universal housing provision policies were not established yet, the city used an active land purchase strategy and, most importantly, the municipal planning monopoly (1907). These planning directions (suburbanisation as opposed to active expansion) remained for several decades in the three contexts and generated *increasing returns*. They also confirm that early land-development control in little urbanised countries is likely to have different outcomes than countries urbanised ahead of planning (Sorensen, 2015).

While WWI was a *critical juncture* for Brussels, it had more limited effects in Amsterdam. The Netherlands were indeed neutral during the war and did not suffer from many physical destructions (P. J. Terhorst & Van de Ven, 1997). Nevertheless, changes in the immediate afterwar confirmed the mass development of social housing for workers in the Netherlands. Belgium, on the contrary, was heavily affected by the war, which led to reforms such as the

creation of the national social housing agency and the construction-grant instrument. In Stockholm, the 1920s were critical years of contingent occurrences as the tenants' union and cooperative housing were created. The Great Crisis of the 1930s was the first limit to extensive accumulation (Kesteloot, 1988). This decade was crucial for Stockholm because the Social Democrats took power (1933) and launched universal housing provision policies (peoples' homes, collective housing, municipal housing companies). In Amsterdam, the general extension plan was launched but stopped by the second war.

The direct aftermath of WWII and the establishment of the welfare state were essential steps for the three cities. Indeed, the second world war led many countries to adapt their planning framework to accommodate rapid urban and economic growth (Sorensen, 2015). Amsterdam and Stockholm both pursued urban growth policies and developed respectively new towns and ABC suburbs. Housing production was central in this process, and social-democratic governments issued housing policies in both countries. In Stockholm, universal housing provision was confirmed and reinforced, and critical steps were reached, including the duty for the MHCs to build housing for all. Massive suburbanisation continued and intensified around Brussels, and homeownership was promoted in the De Taeye Act (1948), in the continuity of the early-20<sup>th</sup> century liberal policies of the Catholic party. During the two following decades, urban development in Amsterdam and Stockholm mainly took place through master planning. Two planning instruments were formally introduced in Amsterdam (structural plan and land-use plan), while Stockholm's post-war housing policies reached their apogee with the MHP. Brussels' massive transformation was related to the 1958 World Exhibition and the arrival of EU institutions. A planning framework was only set up in the 1960s in Belgium (1962 Planning Act): before that, spatial planning occurred in a legal void (Ryckewaert, 2013).

The 1970s economic crisis brought the first signs of market orientation and flexibilisation. During this period, Amsterdam issued planning policies based on urban renewal, compactness and mixed-use development, which influenced today's live-work development. The city was a pioneer in mixed-use and urban renewal policies. In Brussels, the regionalisation of spatial planning led to the creation of new institutions (regional development company, social housing company) and instruments, including subsidised homeownership, which is increasingly used nowadays in live-work projects. Housing provision restructuring was observed in Stockholm as well (rent regulation, tenant-ownership) and two essential planning instruments were established.

Nevertheless, it is during the 1990s that Stockholm experienced its most explicit critical juncture. Sweden was hit by a major economic crisis, which provoked a radical shift in housing

provision and spatial planning. State subsidies to housing provision were withdrawn, policies qualified as ‘neoliberal’ were issued (e.g., right to buy policy) and tenant-ownership was advocated. In that sense, the market shift – and related commodification of housing – operated in Stockholm occurred later, yet stronger and faster than in Amsterdam. The latter city still experienced policies with similar agendas (e.g., social housing sales, homeownership promotion, financial independence of housing associations) following the turning point of the 1989 housing memorandum. In Brussels, there was not such a shift because market involvement in housing production was always substantial. Besides, this period was also fundamental for Brussels because the creation of the BCR (1989) was followed by the creation of two central planning instruments: the regional land-use plan and the regional development plan.

In Amsterdam, the 2008 crisis constituted another critical juncture, leading to planning decentralisation and flexibilisation. The housing regime was affected by such policies as ‘right to buy’, restrictions for housing associations and the flexibilisation of tenure regulations. Flexibility was enhanced in Brussels’ tenure regulations as well. The region also started promoting mixed-use development in former industrial areas. In Stockholm, tenant ownership continued to be prioritised before recent credit restrictions impacted the housing market negatively. The MHCs are now business-oriented, and contract planning and public-private partnerships have arisen, confirming the market-led regime. Planning strategies have integrated mixed-use principles. Tenure regulations are still inflexible and difficult to reform, as a result of the *lock-in effect* of the universal-housing-provision institutional path. Nevertheless, a first policy requiring small housing for specific groups was passed in 2020.

Overall, significant patterns of path dependency do exist in the three contexts as regards to housing provision and urban development. Those are particularly evident in Brussels (homeownership, suburbanisation) and Stockholm (housing for all, urban growth). Amsterdam’s institutional path seems to have *reacted* sooner to external changes (e.g., Dutch housing associations financially independent in the 1990s against Swedish MHC business-oriented in the 2010s). The concept of *lock-in effect* is undoubtedly illustrated the best in Stockholm, which faces difficulties to adapt its institutional framework to the current housing crisis. At the same time, it is in Stockholm that the strongest *reaction* to the 1990s crisis was observed, after decades of reproduction. Anyhow, the institutional paths compared in this section show substantial *divergences* that inform today’s live-work mix strategies, the governance arrangements used to implement live-work goals and the nature of the live-work mix delivered, as show the next sections and chapters.

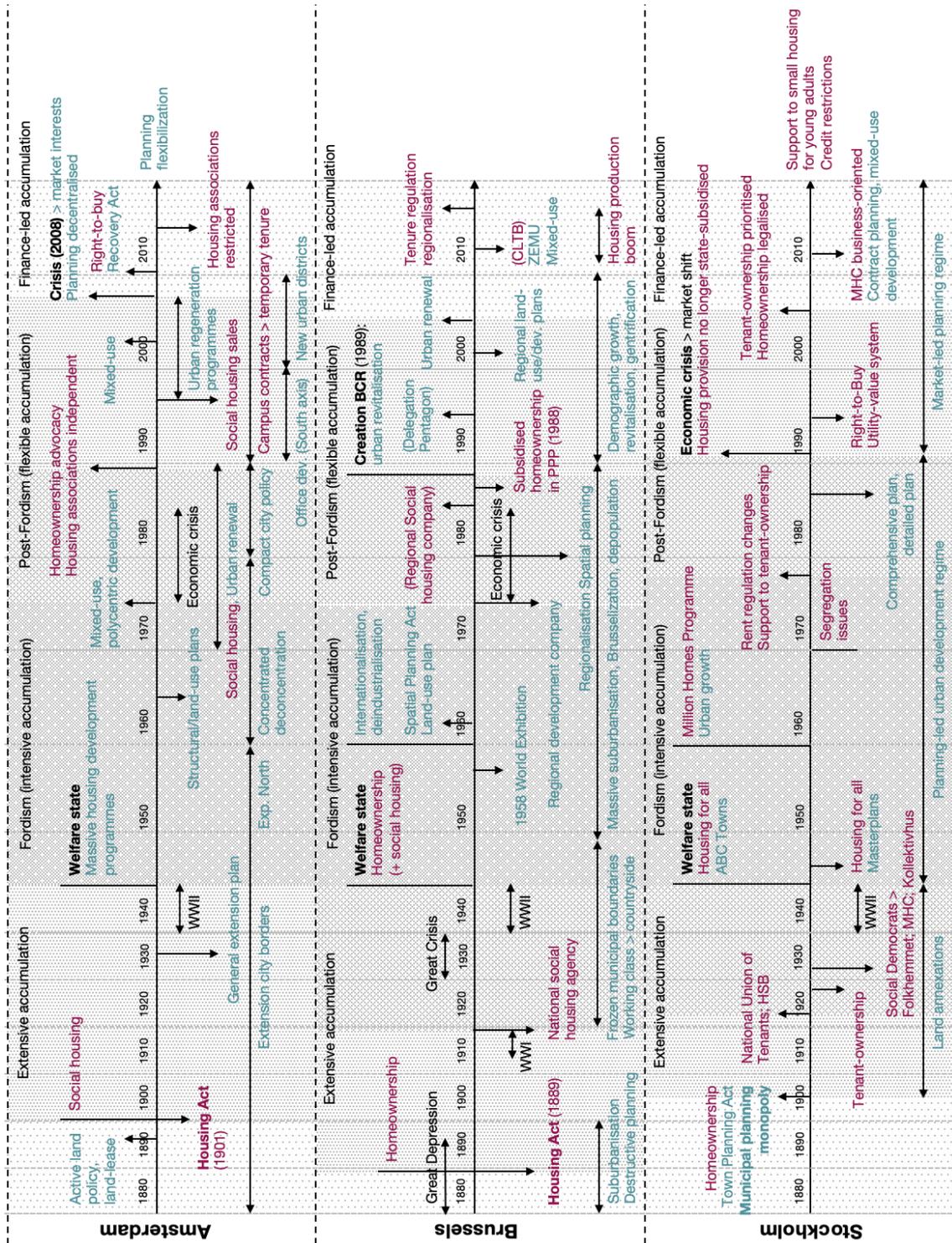


Figure 29: Housing and planning regimes compared between Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm (diagram: author)

Amsterdam	Brussels	Stockholm
Housing regime		
<p>Mix of social-democratic and corporatist housing provision</p> <p><i>Fordism:</i> Social housing, unitary rental system</p> <p><i>Post-Fordism:</i> Homeownership</p> <p><i>Today:</i> PRS 'revival'</p>	<p>Mix of liberal and corporatist housing provision</p> <p><i>Fordism:</i> Homeownership, dualist rental system</p> <p><i>Post-Fordism:</i> (subsidised) homeownership</p> <p><i>Today:</i> PRS, homeownership</p>	<p>Shift from social-democratic to liberal housing provision</p> <p><i>Fordism:</i> Public rental housing, unitary rental system</p> <p><i>Post-Fordism:</i> deregulation tenant ownership, market shift</p> <p><i>Today:</i> tenant-ownership</p>
Planning regime		
<p>Active spatial planning &gt; relaxation, flexibilisation, contract planning</p> <p>Urban and economic growth &gt; city expansion</p> <p>Land leasehold</p> <p>Structural plan, land-use plan</p>	<p>Absence of spatial planning &gt; new actors and instruments, incremental planning</p> <p>Urban and economic growth &gt; suburbanisation</p> <p>Individual property rights</p> <p>Regional land-use plan, regional development plan</p>	<p>Active, regulatory spatial planning &gt; market shift, contract planning</p> <p>Urban and economic growth &gt; city expansion</p> <p>Land allocation</p> <p>Comprehensive plan, detailed plan</p>
Housing stock		
<p><b>41%</b> Social housing</p> <p>30% Homeownership</p> <p>29% Private rental housing</p>	<p><b>45%</b> Homeownership</p> <p><b>45%</b> Private rental housing</p> <p>10% Public housing</p>	<p><b>51%</b> Tenant-ownership (cooperative housing)</p> <p>25% Private rental housing</p> <p>15% Public rental housing</p> <p>9% Regular ownership</p>

**Table 5: Comparison of housing and planning regimes as well as housing stocks**

## **4.2 PATH DEPENDENCIES INFLUENCING LIVE-WORK GOALS**

In the continuity of the comparison of housing and planning regimes, this section presents four elements of path dependency that have influenced the definition of live-work goals. The section concludes with a recap of the three cities' live-work mix strategies.

Firstly, the actors of live-work mix (see Table 6 closing the chapter) depend on the evolution of housing provision and vary in each city, despite some similarities under globalisation trends:

- In Amsterdam, housing production is shared between private and third-sector actors. Accordingly, live-work projects are developed by private developers and investors, possibly in partnership with housing associations, when social housing is included.
- In Brussels, the historical promotion of homeownership directly influences the tenure mix in live-work projects. Live-work developments involve private developers and investors, in some cases in partnership with the regional development company. Rarely are social housing providers involved in that kind of projects.
- In Stockholm, live-work projects are developed either by private developers, cooperative companies (HSB, SKB) or MHCs. However, few partnerships between the different types of actors are observed, which is in part related to the large scale of housing companies and institutions.

Still, the growing role of institutional investors was reported in the three cities, following global patterns of housing financialisation (see Chapter 2, section 2.2).

Secondly, the scale of real estate developments – including live-work projects – is influenced by the local planning regime and the structure of housing provision. Brussels is the city where real estate operations are the smallest, whereas large-scale projects are developed both in Amsterdam and Stockholm. This divergence in scale can be related to the structure of the housing stock in Brussels, with multiple small landlords. This situation derives from many factors, including the emphasis on property rights, the late formalisation of spatial planning (1962) and a territory bounded to its borders. In contrast, Amsterdam and Stockholm both grew first by purchasing and annexing land or estates. The two cities developed massive housing programmes and kept a substantial share of public land. However, the planning system was centralised for a long time in the Netherlands, whereas Sweden soon enacted the municipal planning monopoly. Also, Sweden went one step further with the MHP, which influenced the whole structuration of the construction industry (see section 3.1.3) and encouraged large-scale developments. Today, global trends to densification influence live-work development in Amsterdam and Stockholm.

In Belgium, however, sprawled urbanisation has led to low-density built environments and reluctance to high density. As a result, high-rise operations are still scarce in Brussels and usually contested. No high-density, live-work projects were observed in Brussels (see Chapter 5).

Thirdly, the 'work' component of live-work mix depends on local economic drivers and their spatial integration. The economic activities targeted in live-work strategies are different in the three cities, although all influenced by the rise of the knowledge economy. The influence of past economic drivers is evident when comparing Brussels and Amsterdam. Brussels was industrialised earlier than Amsterdam, but it deindustrialised upon the arrival of EU institutions, which brought a 'natural' influx of highly-educated workers. Brussels' regional authorities are thus more concerned with local employment and light industry today (productive-city discourse, see section 2.2). Conversely, Amsterdam is more focused on knowledge-intensive sectors and start-up development (see section 1.2). This is also the case for Stockholm. The city has an extremely competitive mindset (e.g., 'the' capital of Scandinavia) in which the housing crisis is seen as an obstacle to growth. Besides, economic development has been integrated into spatial planning for a long time in Amsterdam and Stockholm, whereas Brussels' economic growth unwittingly served suburbanisation (out of the BCR) in the past.

However, in the three cities, housing development fosters economic growth. Live-work mix is a tool of the densification agenda, and residential and economic attractiveness mutually support each other (see Chapter 2, section 2.3). The critical role of housing development is the same in Amsterdam's 'living-working' areas, Brussels' canal area and priority sites, and Stockholm's focus areas. Throughout history, housing and planning were closely connected in the three cities. Nevertheless, in Amsterdam and Stockholm, post-war housing development led to the city expansion (new towns in Amsterdam and ABC suburbs in Stockholm), whereas in Belgium, housing policies fixed people in the countryside instead.

Fourthly, the implementation of live-work goals is conditioned to the governance capacity of planning authorities. In Brussels, institutional fragmentation and complexity have historically reduced the regional governance capacity. Nonetheless, new actors and instruments have arisen (see Chapter 5) and the new roles assigned to the urban development society is expected to improve urban governance, at least where the region acquired land. Contrariwise, Amsterdam and Stockholm were originally very 'planned' and regulated, with substantial internal resources within each municipality and negotiation power. However, their governance capacity was reduced under flexibilisation and market orientation. For instance, by favouring tenant-ownership, Stockholm lost much public land (which is sold for this tenure type). Local

governance capacities are decisive in the implementation of live-work mix, but happen not to be always where expected.

Directly influenced by the above, all cities' urban agendas include densification and mixed-use goals as well as areas with specific live-work goals. These zones are designated as 'living-working areas' (Amsterdam), 'priority sites' (Brussels) and 'focus areas' (Stockholm). The nature of the live-work mix in each city varies according to housing supply and economic growth agendas. Amsterdam prioritises mid-rental and youth housing together with knowledge and creative economic activities, whereas Brussels combines subsidised homeownership with light industry (although innovation sectors are also prioritised). In Stockholm's focus areas, tenant ownership and standardised housing products are coupled with thematic economic clusters. All in all, Amsterdam's ontology of live-work mix draws on the instrumentation of the concept to foster attractiveness. In Brussels, overlapping ontologies are observed despite a growing productive-city discourse. Stockholm's ontologies of live-work mix are affected by incompatible ideologies, between the housing crisis and economic competitiveness.

#### **4.3 CURRENT ISSUES CONDITIONING LIVE-WORK MIX**

The current issues that each city has to face inevitably interfere in the definition and implementation of live-work goals. This section focuses on the comparison of housing issues because their relationship with live-work mix is conspicuous.

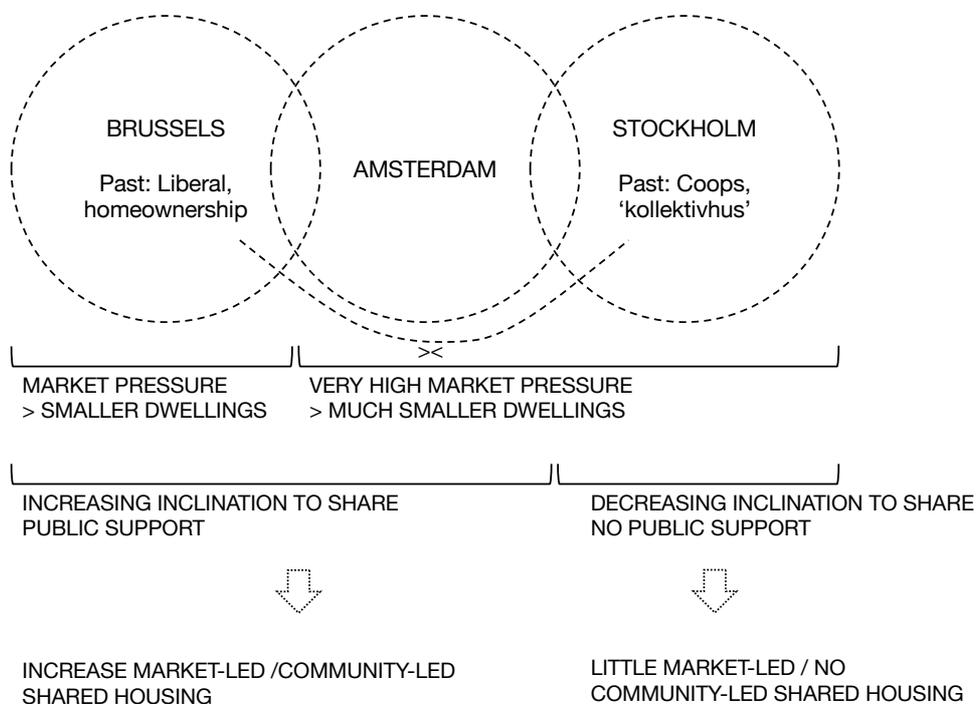
Firstly, each city supports live-work mix for specific target demographics:

- In Amsterdam, housing policies pay greater attention to young professionals and middle-income households by delivering new tenure forms (e.g., temporary contracts, mid-rental housing).
- In Brussels, middle-income households are the main target group for subsidised homeownership. Requests for mixing dwelling typologies suggest that the city tries to retain young families to the same extent as young professionals and older people.
- In Stockholm, young professionals, expatriates and highly-skilled workers are of interest to the local authorities. The city refuses to define means-tested groups, but indirectly favours insiders and high-income households on the housing market.

The three cities hardly address the housing needs of low-income households, given the shortage of affordable housing. In Amsterdam and Stockholm, significant differences also apply between insiders and outsiders on the housing market.

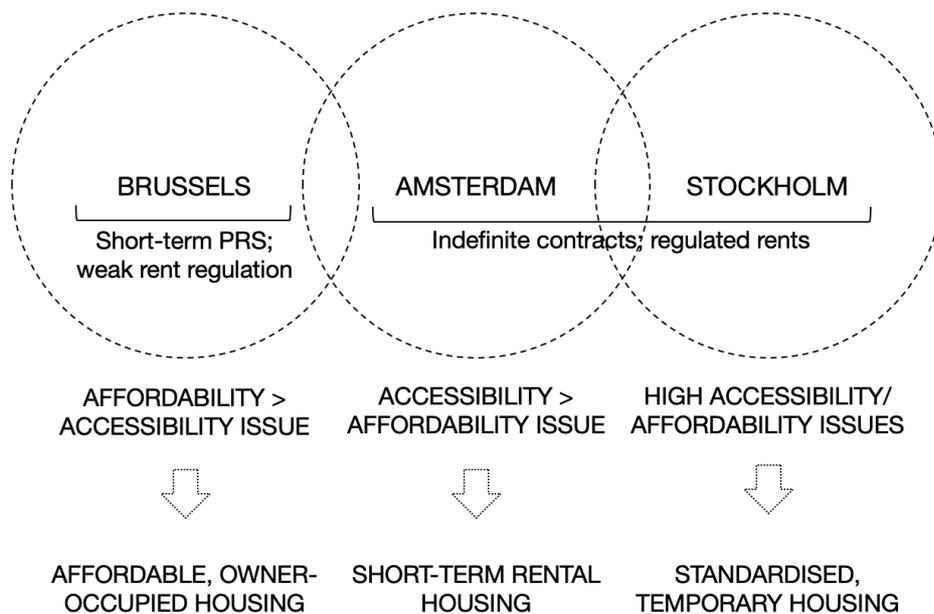
Secondly, growing pressure on the housing market has led to the emergence of live-work projects with small dwellings and shared spaces (Figure 30). Although the reduction in dwelling size is regulated differently in each city, it was reported in the three cities. As a result, large-scale, high-density developments delivering studios exclusively were observed in Amsterdam and Stockholm, but not in Brussels' new housing production (see Chapter 5). Several factors explain this difference: the variety in dwelling typologies demanded by local planning authorities, resistance from local authorities to densification, the informal division of buildings in the existing stock and lower market pressure. Also, the possibility to move to more affordable and larger accommodation in the outskirts and still be able to commute to work plays a role in these dynamics. Anyhow, rising housing prices have affected new housing production (dwelling types and density) in the three cities.

Furthermore, the inclination to share and the related development of shared spaces in live-work mix has evolved differently in each context. Shared spaces are increasingly developed in Amsterdam and emerging in Brussels, whereas the tradition to share spaces in Stockholm has gone. Although collective housing in Sweden was a political project, the tremendous market pressure has contributed to the privatisation of space. Community-led initiatives lack government support in Stockholm, while co-housing has been growing in Amsterdam and Brussels with the help of dedicated instruments (e.g., the Community Land Trust in Brussels).



**Figure 30: Impact of the current market pressure on dwelling size, shared spaces and community-led development in the three cities**

Thirdly, housing affordability and accessibility issues are prioritised differently, resulting in specific tenure forms. Affordability and accessibility issues can be conceptually seen as more or less pressing in each city, with one issue prevailing on the other (Figure 31). The responses in terms of tenure are accordingly different, including in live-work projects. Figure 32 summarises the spectrum of tenures encountered in each city. Hence, it can be abstractly considered that the affordability issue prevails in Brussels, whereas the accessibility issue is still dominant in Amsterdam, and both housing affordability and accessibility are jeopardised in Stockholm. In response to this situation, Brussels’ live-work developments are likely to include subsidised homeownership. At the same time, short-term contracts are increasingly developed for specific groups (e.g., young adults) in Amsterdam, and standardised housing is developed in Stockholm, in the absence of structural housing solution (until 2020). Both Amsterdam and Stockholm develop new flexible, temporary tenure forms in live-work projects purposed for young adults. Such a development is less apparent in Brussels’ new housing production because the mainstream rent regulation allows short-term arrangements and unregulated rents.



**Figure 31: Affordability and accessibility issues - housing flexibilisation in the three cities**

Comparing tenures between different contexts is relevant since tenure ‘goes to the heart of the ‘distinctive’ nature of housing in comparative research’ (Stephens, 2011, p. 344). However, this operation is sensitive, given the contingency of the tenure concept (ibid – see Chapter 2, section 4.2.2). If tenure has social and political effects, its use for analysis must be based on consistent hypotheses (ibid). For that reason, local variations and past influences were considered in the study: for instance, social housing in the Netherlands is not the counterpart of public rental housing in Sweden. Similarly, the PRS does not offer the same conditions (e.g., rent regulation,

duration of contracts) in the three cities. Notwithstanding these discrepancies, the above arguments confirm the role of tenure in the local development of live-work mix.

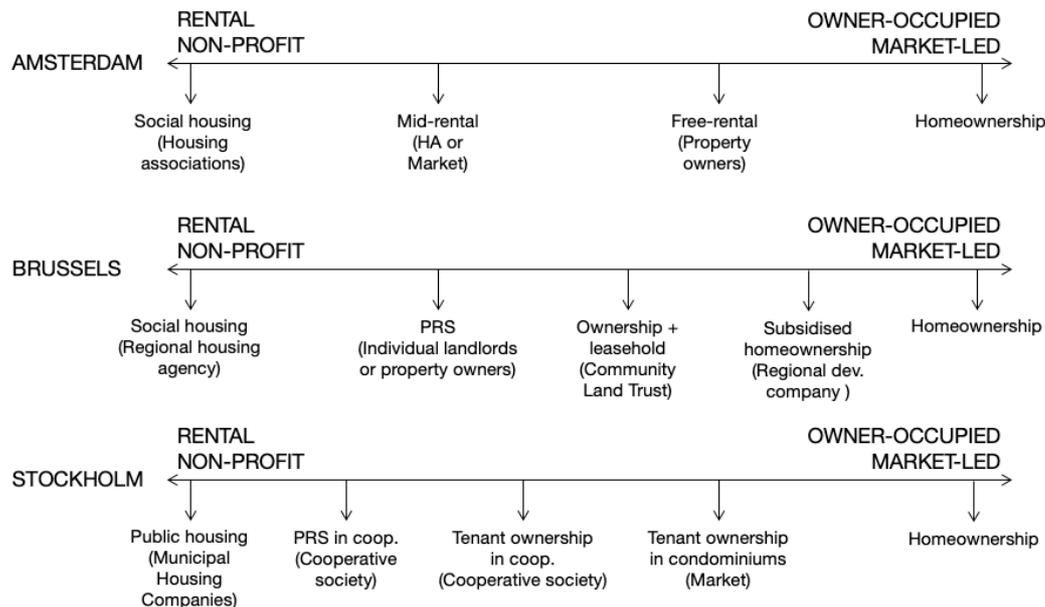


Figure 32: Tenure structure in the three cities: from rental to owner-occupied housing, and from non-profit to market-led housing

#### 4.4 SELF-REFLECTION ON THE RELEVANCE OF A NUANCED USE OF PATH DEPENDENCY

This chapter concludes with a brief self-reflection on the methodological choice of path dependency as an analytical framework. Path dependency was useful to understand better the construction of institutional paths (including reproduction and reaction patterns, critical junctures, lock-in effects) and relate them to differences in live-work goals and development. Several examples of such differences and their historical origins were provided in section 4.2. The rigorous examination of housing and planning regimes that the analytical framework required also permitted to appreciate divergences in local contexts which seemed convergent at first sight. For example, the researcher discovered early in the exploratory phase that Dutch social housing and Swedish public rental housing are definitely not the same. Hence, path dependency is highly relevant in the context of a comparative case study.

Of course, path dependency has drawbacks. The deterministic nature of institutional paths reaches some limits in this analysis, for example on the question of governance capacities. Indeed, Brussels' fragmented planning trajectory has not hindered the development of new actors and tools helping improve urban governance. In contrast, Amsterdam and Stockholm

have reduced their governance capacity over time, under flexible accumulation. This confirms the risk of this approach to overemphasise stability at the expense of change and decision-making in institutional paths (Kay, 2005). A certain level of autonomy in current urban agendas should not be downplayed.

Nevertheless, a *nuanced* use of path dependency allows understanding *why* similar strategies can be translated differently. Hence, urban agendas – and in particular, live-work mix strategies – show substantial similarities despite different institutional paths. As mentioned in section 4.2, the role of housing development in Amsterdam’s ‘living-working’ areas, Brussels’ canal area and Stockholm’s focus areas is similar. What is different, however, is the tenure forms and economic activities developed in priority in these areas. Moreover, the emphasis on mixed-use development and densification is present in the three cities’ strategies, which attests to the actual reproduction of urban models (see Chapter 2, section 2.3). In contrast, market practices of shared housing accommodation result in different declinations of the shared housing market locally (see Chapter 5, section 2). Therefore, the ontologies of live-work mix underlined in each city are at the same time very different and very similar. In sum, the sensitive use of path dependency proposed in this chapter was relevant and allowed making original contributions. To improve the understanding of housing and planning issues further, a fine-grained examination is also needed through the lens of the governance of live-work projects (see Chapter 5).

## **5 KEY CONTRIBUTIONS**

Housing and planning regimes compared:

- The planning directions observed in each city in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (e.g., active urban expansion in Amsterdam and Stockholm) remained for several decades.
- Each city experienced specific critical junctures (e.g., the 1990s crisis in Stockholm), but the establishment of the welfare state right after WWII was a turning point everywhere.
- After adopting predominantly social-democratic housing provision, Amsterdam and Stockholm both reacted with flexibilisation and commodification. In contrast, Brussels' liberal (-corporatist) housing regime has always promoted homeownership.
- Brussels and Stockholm have the strongest patterns of path dependency.

Path dependencies influencing live-work mix:

- Market interests prevail in Brussels and retain rising interest in Amsterdam/Stockholm.
- Real estate operations are of a lower density in Brussels than in Amsterdam and Stockholm, consistently with their post-war massive housing programmes.
- Each city emphasises the development of different economic sectors (production, knowledge). However, live-work mix is key to each city attractiveness and urban agenda.
- Brussels' planning has gained actors/instruments, improving its governance capacity.

Current issues conditioning live-work mix:

- Each city indicates low public support to low-income households and housing market's outsiders against an overemphasis on (upper-)middle classes and young professionals.
- High prices lead to smaller dwellings in the three cities. However, privatisation of space is observed in Stockholm, whereas shared spaces are increasingly developed in Amsterdam and Brussels.
- Affordability and accessibility issues are addressed with new flexible tenure forms in Amsterdam and Stockholm, while in Brussels, the PRS has always been little regulated.

Relevance of a nuanced use of path dependency:

- Path dependency is a useful analytical framework to understand institutional paths. However, the deterministic nature of this approach may reach limits on decision making.
- Despite convergent urban agendas, substantial divergences can be observed in their implementation.
- Path dependency is suitable for comparative case study research if used sensitively.

Amsterdam	Brussels	Stockholm
Housing and planning actors		
<p><i>Public:</i> Municipality</p> <p><i>Private:</i> Developers/investors</p> <p><i>Third sector:</i> Housing associations</p>	<p><i>Public:</i> Regional development company, regional planning office, municipalities, ...</p> <p><i>Private:</i> Developers/investors, individual landlords</p> <p><i>Third sector:</i> (Community Land Trust)</p>	<p><i>Public:</i> Municipality, Region</p> <p><i>Private:</i> Developers/investors, cooperative societies (HSB, SKB)</p> <p><i>Third sector:</i> Municipal housing companies</p>
Housing and planning instruments		
<p><i>Legally-binding, regulatory instruments:</i></p> <p>Crisis and recovery Act (2010), Building Decree (2012), Housing Act (2015), New Dutch renting law (2016) Environmental Planning Act (2022)</p> <p>Land-use plan, Land-lease contract</p> <p><i>Strategic instruments:</i></p> <p>Structural vision 2040, Amsterdam 2025 strategy, Housing agenda 2025, Office development strategy</p>	<p><i>Legally-binding, regulatory instruments:</i></p> <p>Regional building regulation (2019), Regional land-use plan (2013), Regionalised tenure regulation (2017)</p> <p>Specific land-use plan, Subdivision permit (see Ch. 5)</p> <p><i>Strategic instruments:</i></p> <p>Regional housing plan (2004), Housing alliance (2013), Regional innovation plan (2016), Regional development plan (2018)</p>	<p><i>Legally-binding, regulatory instruments:</i></p> <p>Rent negotiation Act (1978), Revised rental Act (2011), Planning and Building Act (2011), New tenure policy (2020)</p> <p>Detailed development plan</p> <p><i>Strategic instruments:</i></p> <p>Comprehensive plan (2018), Regional development plan (2019)</p>
Live-work mix agenda		
<p><i>Urban development:</i> densification, mixed-use and new sectors in living-working areas</p> <p><i>Housing supply:</i> mid-rental, youth housing</p> <p><i>Economic growth:</i> renewed office demand, knowledge economy</p> <p>Live-work mix as an instrument of attractiveness</p>	<p><i>Urban development:</i> densification, mixed-use and productive activities in priority areas</p> <p><i>Housing supply:</i> subsidised homeownership</p> <p><i>Economic growth:</i> innovation, production (light industry)</p> <p>Overlapping ontologies of live-work mix</p>	<p><i>Urban development:</i> urban growth through densification and expansion in focus areas</p> <p><i>Housing supply:</i> housing as a consumer good (standardisation)</p> <p><i>Economic growth:</i> branding, innovation, thematic clusters</p> <p>Live-work mix threatened by incompatible ideologies</p>

Table 6: Actors, instruments and live-work mix agenda in a nutshell



# CHAPTER 5: EMERGENCE AND GOVERNANCE OF LIVE-WORK MIX

*Government does not intervene in an autonomous private housing market. The state can more accurately be said to privilege some groups or classes over others. It can take a stronger or weaker position regarding particular residential issues. But it does not intervene in an essentially separate sphere. In a sense, all housing is public housing, in that all housing is shaped by public action and depends upon public authority – and indeed, many housing units have received tax benefits or some other form of direct or indirect public subsidy as well. None of this is to suggest that the state has unlimited legitimacy within the sphere of housing, or that state action cannot be criticized. Of course it can, and should. But calls for the state to get out of housing markets are incoherent. The housing system is inextricably tied to the state, law, and public authority. The question will always be how the state should act towards housing, not whether it should do so.*

(Madden & Marcuse, 2016, p. 142)

The above quotation is retrieved from the book of Marcuse and Madden (2016) entitled ‘In defense of housing’. The excerpt shows that the position of the state about housing is not straightforward. The authors argue that housing and the state are ‘inextricably’ related, no matter the nature and extent of state intervention. This chapter examines the governance of live-work mix, including the essential role of the state. More precisely, the results of the in-depth investigations conducted in Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm are presented, through the selection and analysis of three types of live-work projects. Examining concrete real estate operations allows to understand the governance arrangements behind live-work development better and to capture the influence of local housing and planning regimes on live-work mix. The main research question addressed in this chapter is: how is live-work mix implemented locally, and more specifically, what kind of governance arrangements make live-work mix possible?

The organisation of the chapter follows the typology of live-work mix identified in the first section. For each type examined, the analysis is structured per city first and then according to the analytical framework. The observations made in each city for a given type are compared in a discussion closing each section. A comprehensive discussion skims the structure the other way around (from governance to live-work typology) and includes a critique of the methodological choices to conclude the chapter.

## 1 OVERVIEW

### 1.1 TYPOLOGY AND OVERVIEW OF THE SELECTED PROJECTS

The emergence and development of live-work mix have been observed under different forms. Three of them were selected to create a typology of live-work mix. These types, considered as ‘embedded cases’ within the comparative case study approach, were studied in the three cities, the main cases (see Chapter 3, section 3). For each type in each city, the actors, instruments and outcomes (for completed projects) were examined, based on the analytical framework (see Chapter 2, section 4.2). Figure 33 gives an overview of the three types and selected projects that are presented next. In short, the types are the following:

- The *shared housing market* (Type 1 – T1) refers to large-scale developments delivering small housing units, equipped with shared spaces and services for the residents. These developments generally target students and young professionals and are mainly the initiative of market parties and third-sector actors.
- *Live-work developments in targeted areas* (Type 2 – T2) consist of mixed-use projects aiming at intertwining housing and economic activities, both at the building scale (joint, 3D-property) and the block or area level. These developments mostly take place in former industrial or office areas in redevelopment and for which local governments have live-work goals.
- *Live-work, co-housing* (Type 3 – T3) corresponds to community-led or ‘self-organised’ housing (Tummers, 2015) equipped with workspace for the residents or economic activities. Live-work mix is here observed from the dwelling to the building scale.



Figure 33: Overview of the selected live-work projects according to the live-work typology

## 1.2 PRE-SELECTION AND CHOICES

Chapter 3 introduced the criteria used for the definition of the above-listed types. As a reminder, these criteria were (i) the nature of the live-work programme and target groups, (ii) the coalitions of actors developing live-work mix, (iii) the scale of the development and (iv) the progress of the project. For each type, potential projects were pre-selected, and the final choice was mostly based on practical aspects, especially in Amsterdam and Stockholm, where the fieldwork period was limited to three months. In particular, two practical criteria were considered to help make the final choice of projects:

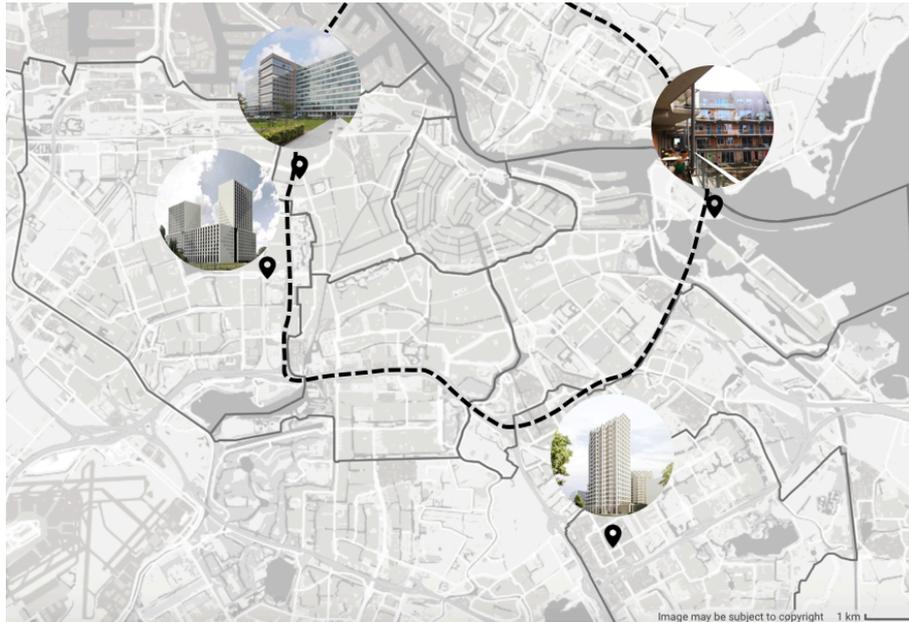
- *Background*: this criterion refers to the history of the building, which could be newly built or the result of a conversion from another function (office, fabric) into housing. At least one example of conversion was analysed in each city because it has implications on the development process and further governance of live-work mix.
- *Progress*: this criterion not only served the framing of the types but also the final selection of the projects. As a reminder, examining completed projects allowed discussing the outcomes of the projects, whereas studying on-going projects favoured the interviewees' memory of recent and on-going events of the governance process.

In what follows, a short overview of the selection process is provided for each city. The project programmes are summarised in Appendix 3.

NB: Appendix 3 also contains the list of interviewees, with their roles in the different projects (see section 2 of the appendix).

### 1.2.1 Amsterdam

In total, four live-work projects were selected in Amsterdam (Figure 34): two projects belonging to the shared housing market in the west of the city (project AMS-T1.1; project AMS-T1.2), one live-work development in the south-east (project AMS-T2) and one co-housing project in the northeast (project AMS-T3). Interestingly, the four projects are located along or beyond the inner-city borders, marked by the A10-ring road. Such locations are consistent with the city desire to enhance economic development in these areas (see Chapter 4, section 1.2.1). Furthermore, this selection fulfils the 'background' criterion, since project AMS-T1.1 is a conversion of offices into housing.



**Figure 34: Four selected projects in Amsterdam, all located along or beyond the A10 ring road (dashed line) (source: [www.maps.amsterdam.nl](http://www.maps.amsterdam.nl); diagram: author)**

Regarding the selection process, in Amsterdam, the *shared housing market* (T1) is still an emerging, yet already growing housing segment, which has notably delivered mixed tenures including social housing, private-rented housing and homeownership. The pre-selected projects all included services and shared spaces, although they were not run as *co-living* projects (see Chapter 2, section 1). The city has a co-living offer, which is, nevertheless, based on specific regulations (short stay) that do not fit in the type defined. Moreover, co-living is mostly initiated by specialised institutional investors who are not representative of the actors involved in the shared housing market. Other projects responded to the criteria of the shared housing market but were rejected, for example, because they were not completed yet (progress criterion) or did not include a shared working space (live-work programme criterion).

Projects AMS-T1.1 and AMS-T1.2 were eventually selected because being both joint initiatives between the market (institutional investor or developer) and the third sector (housing association). Project AMS-T1.1 consists of the conversion of an office building into housing while Project AMS-T1.2 is a newly built housing development in a densification area of the structural vision. The two projects illustrate the desire of the municipality to enhance densification and mixed-use development. In particular, Project AMS-T1.1 was chosen as a pioneering development with a tenure mix, scale and dwelling size unusual for the time. By comparison, Project AMS-T1.2 is an example of evolution towards shared housing, with additional shared spaces and services for the residents, but comparable development scale. The

offset in timelines (Project AMS-T1.2 started much later than Project AMS-T1.1) illustrates the evolution of the shared housing market, impacted by its institutional and economic contexts.

For the type *Live-work development in targeted areas (T2)*, the level of analysis was extended to the building-block scale to examine the actors involved and the planning instruments used in the development process. Amsterdam post-war office areas are located on the edges of the city, and the municipality aims at redeveloping them with mixed-use goals, implying the development of housing and amenities (see Chapter 4, section 1.2.1). The existing situation of these areas has significant implications for the governance of live-work mix. Former industrial areas were not studied here because most projects in these zones were predominantly residential at the time of the investigations. Besides, the ‘progress’ criterion drove the final selection of the project since many pre-selected developments were too early in the planning process. Hence, project AMS-T2 (2020) consists of the transformation of two office blocks in Amstel III (Amsterdam South-East) and was chosen for its unusual situation, with existing leasehold making traditional planning instruments unsuitable.

Finally, within the municipality of Amsterdam, only two *live-work, co-housing projects (T3)* responded both to the actors’ criterion (developed by the future residents) and live-work programme criterion (including working spaces or economic activities). The same architect designed both projects, and the most recent one was retained for analysis. Project AMS-T3 (2016) involved 42 families and is located on a former industrial island.

## 1.2.2 Brussels

Four projects were selected in Brussels (Figure 35): one project belonging to the shared housing market and situated in Brussels’ north-eastern outskirts (project BXL-T1), two live-work developments in the canal area, on the edges of the first ring (project BXL-T2.1; project BXL-T2.2), and one co-housing project in the northern part of the first ring (project BXL-T3). Apart from project BXL-T1, the other projects are located close to or within the canal area, the main redevelopment area in the BCR (see Chapter 4, section 2.2.1).



**Figure 35: Four selected projects in Brussels, three of them located along the canal (dotted line) –Pentagon/first ring in dashed lines (source: [www.urbisonline.brussels](http://www.urbisonline.brussels); diagram: author)**

At first sight, *the Shared housing market (T1)* seems less developed in Brussels than in Amsterdam. A few projects were pre-selected, but the ‘live-work programme’ and ‘progress’ criteria were not respected (lack of shared spaces, on-going developments). Project BXL-T1 was chosen because developed by an institutional investor and equipped with various shared spaces and services, including workspaces. As in Amsterdam, Brussels’ co-living market differs from the shared housing market, here because co-living projects are either small-scale investments in the existing housing stock or large-scale housing estates exclusively for students.

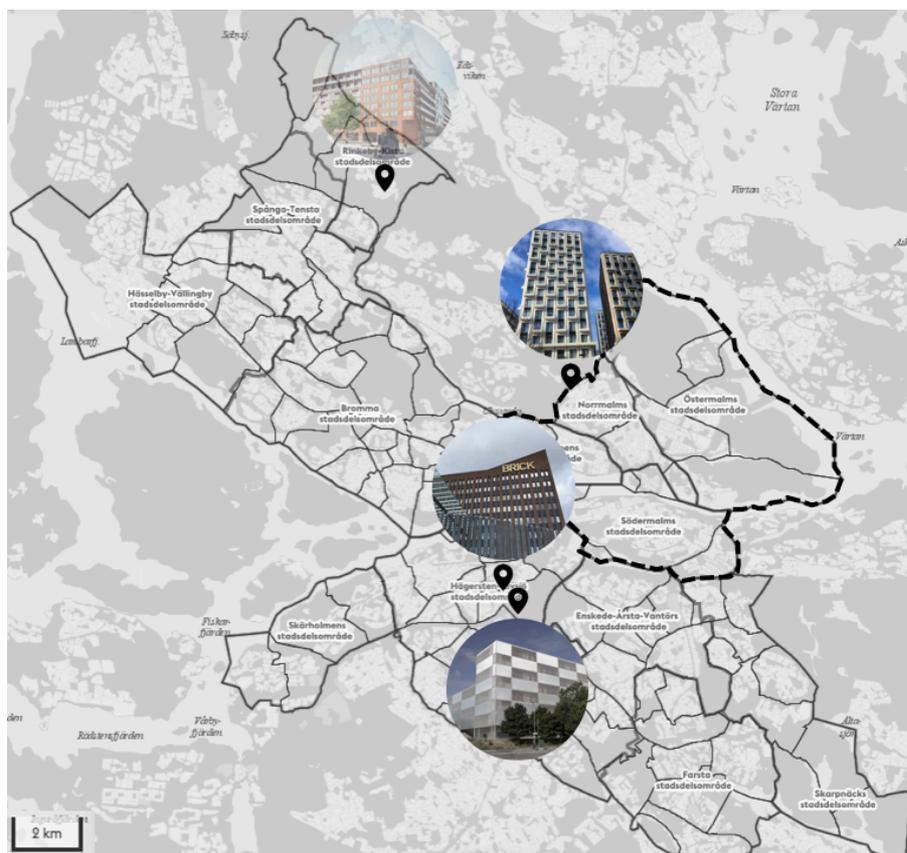
For the type *Live-work development in targeted areas (T2)*, projects BXL-T2.1 and BXL-T2.2 were selected in the canal zone and studied at the block and area levels. The other pre-selected projects were rejected for calendar constraints or because they did not match the programme criterion (lack of intertwined mix). The two chosen projects are pilot programmes, with a close mix of housing and productive activities in project BXL-T2.1, and a multi-purpose building in project BXL-T2.2.

As for *live-work, co-housing (T3)*, project BXL-T3 was chosen because it consists of the conversion of a former mattress factory into housing for creative workers and artists, equipped with economic activities on the lower floors. This project is easily comparable with project AMS-T3

as regards to its scale (around 50 households) and target group. Compared to the other case-study cities, co-housing – and related initiatives such as the Community Land Trust – is further developed in Brussels. Other projects were examined but, again, not selected because lacking live-work mix or not being completed yet.

### 1.2.3 Stockholm

Four projects were chosen in Stockholm (Figure 36), but one of them could not be investigated to the end. Apart from one project belonging to the shared housing market (project STO-T1), the three other projects are live-work developments in targeted areas. While the rejected project is situated in Kista, a distant northern suburb, the other projects are located relatively close to the inner-city limits, or even on the inner-city border (project STO-T2.2). Also, all projects are part of urban development areas of the city plan, created either by ‘addition’ or ‘transformation’ (see Chapter 4, section 3.2.1).



**Figure 36: Four selected projects in Stockholm, three of them investigated – inner-city marked with a dashed line (source: vaxer.stockholm; diagram: author)**

The selection process was challenging in this city. Firstly, the *Shared housing market (T1)* seems to be quite different in Stockholm, compared to Amsterdam and Brussels. Similar projects to the ones investigated in the other cities were identified but did not respond to the ‘progress’

criterion, indicating that this market segment has emerged later on in Stockholm. Instead, project STO-T1 is a temporary building that was jointly developed by a municipal housing company and the young tenants' union. The target demographic (students and young adults) is also in line with the criterion. However, the 'live-work programme' is little developed. Again, co-living accommodations could not be selected because being mostly found in the existing housing stock and small-scale settings.

For the type *Live-work development in targeted areas (T2)*, the projects STO-T2.1 and STO-T2.2 were investigated. The third project was rejected because it was impossible to interview both the developer and the architect. From complementary media investigations, the developer happened to be in financial troubles and obliged to stop on-going projects (Cornucopia, 2018; Hellekant, 2018). It was discovered later on that the developer had released the building in its current form. This decision illustrates well the use of 'rent-gaps' by market parties and may be seen as a result per se. The other rejected projects were systematically too early in the planning process or too residential. Project STO-T2.1 consists of the conversion of the former headquarters of an ICT company in the south of Stockholm, and it was mainly chosen for its live-work programme. It could have been classified as part of the shared housing market, had the focus been on the conversion of the listed building belonging to the site. Project STO-T2.1 is, thus, a hybrid case with a shared housing building, embedded in a live-work development in an urban development area. Located on the northern borders of the inner city, project STO-T2.2 consists of high-density living mixed with a life science cluster. It was chosen as an extreme case to analyse the utilisation of density and mixed-use as ways to foster urban redevelopment.

Thirdly, despite the presence of old, emblematic collective housing estates in Stockholm, no *live-work, co-housing project (T3)* was found in the recent housing production (see Chapter 4, section 3.1.2 for a possible explanation of this observation). The ancient co-housing communities present in Stockholm did not match the criteria on target groups (mostly retired people) and progress (e.g., projects completed in the 1980s). Cooperative projects developed by the oldest cooperative organisations – HSB and SKB – were also considered, but they were too little mixed or not equipped with shared spaces.

## 2 THE SHARED HOUSING MARKET

*In London's co-living communities, you'd be more likely to order a Deliveroo meal from one of the capital's dark kitchens, exhausted from the sensory overload of a day in an open-plan office. The "co" prefix is a misnomer: these are spaces for living selfishly. The radical promise of co-housing has been co-opted with nauseating capitalist buzzwords like "rentysomethings". The logic at play is peak tech bro: like replacing public transport with ride-sharing apps, corporate co-housing offers a private-sector fix that merely scrapes the surface of a problem that the market first created.*

(Block, 2019)

The above quotation is retrieved from an online contribution about co-living. The shared housing market is more conventional than co-living. Yet, the market logic that the author describes is also true for this housing segment which consists of 'living alone together' (Druta & Ronald, 2020), with 'sharing' being sometimes more an illusion than a reality. The present section addresses the emergence and governance of the shared housing market. The latter was conceptualised as large-scale developments delivering a substantial number of small housing units (up to 900 units starting from 25m<sup>2</sup> in this study), equipped with shared spaces and services (e.g., libraries, working spaces) for the residents. The analysis pays particular attention to the role of the market (or third-sector parties having to behave like the market) in repurposing sharing to meet students and young professionals' perceived needs (Pfeiffer et al., 2019). The 'work' component materialises in (semi-)private spaces used to work (e.g., a meeting room) or in public spaces with economic activities (e.g., a co-working space).

As introduced in Chapter 2, the analytical framework draws on an institutionalist approach (Healey & González, 2005) to understand the roles of the actors and the instruments they use to implement live-work goals. The outcomes are examined as well in terms of the balance between shared facilities and small housing, the live-work mix achieved and housing affordability and accessibility issues. Hence, the questions are:

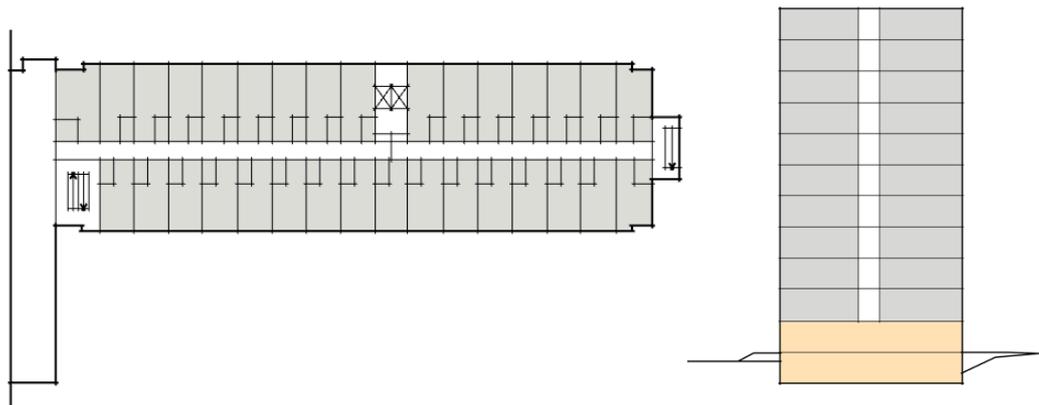
- Which coalitions of actors develop shared housing projects?
- What instruments are used in this process?
- What kind of outcomes can be expected in a global context of on-going commodification of housing?

The results are presented per city, using a systematic structure: (i) reconstruction of facts, (ii) actors, (iii) instruments and (iv) outcomes. The shared housing market is first presented in Amsterdam.

## 2.1 SHARED HOUSING FOR STUDENTS AND YOUNG PROFESSIONALS IN AMSTERDAM<sup>45</sup>

### 2.1.1 Reconstruction of facts

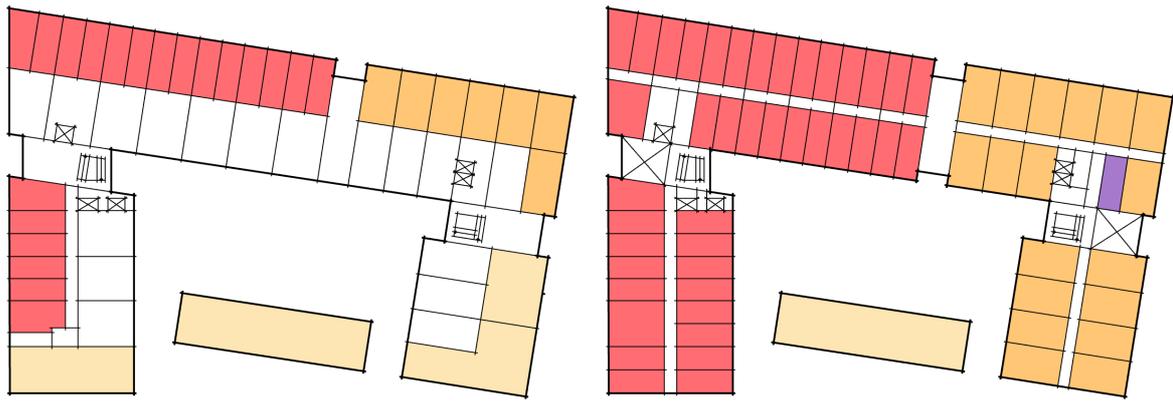
Project AMS-T1.1 (651 dwellings of 25-47 m<sup>2</sup>, 40,000 m<sup>2</sup> in total) is a conversion of large-scale offices into housing, with a mix of social housing for students (266 units) and privately-owned studios (385 units) for young professionals. The north wing (2013 - Figure 37) includes a co-working space, a restaurant and a laundrette on the lower floors. Project AMS-T1.2 (869 dwellings, 45,000 m<sup>2</sup>) is a new construction, with a mix of social housing for students (590 units, 24m<sup>2</sup>) and temporary private-rented studios (279 units, 41m<sup>2</sup>) for young professionals (Figure 38). The ground floor is partly commercial and shared spaces (e.g., libraries, meeting rooms), as well as services, were promised, specifically for the young professionals, during the commercialisation phase, but still being furnished in spring 2018. Both projects are located on the western edge of the inner city, with project AMS-T1.2 being located next to a large railway station. The development process for each project is described in what follows.



**Figure 37: Project AMS-T1.1. Left panel: typical floorplan in the north wing, with studios (grey) separated by a central corridor (white) – Right panel: section showing the co-working space (orange) on the two lower floors (diagram: author)**

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<sup>45</sup>This section is mostly based on Uyttebrouck, C., van Bueren, E., & Teller, J. (2020). Shared housing for students and young professionals: evolution of a market in need of regulation. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-020-09778-w>



**Figure 38: Project AMS-T1.2. Ground floor (left panel) and typical floor plan (right panel): studios for students (red), starters (orange), commercial units (yellow), shared spaces (purple), corridors, storage and bicycle parking (white) (diagram: author)**

### Project AMS-T1.1

(Phase 1: *Acquisition, 2003–2008*). The developer bought the office building and formed a partnership with a housing association. Because the building was listed as a historic monument, they could not demolish it and were advised to reinvest in offices. (Phase 2: *North wing, 2008–2013*). The project was then put on hold due to the financial crisis. To reduce risks and release funds, the developing team decided to split the property development and to re-establish a land-lease with the municipality for the north wing. The latter was the first part to be transformed. The housing association decided to buy studios, pre-sale, for student housing. All studios were rapidly sold or rented out. (Phase 3: *South wing, 2014–2015*). The success of the north wing confirmed the demand for studios on the housing purchase market. The transformation of the south wing started next. In contrast to the north wing, this included no commercial space and a greater proportion of owner-occupied dwellings. The studios were also more expensive in comparison. In the same period, the co-working space opened in the north wing; all business units were soon occupied. (Phase 4: *Middle part, 2015–2018*). The middle part was sold to another investor, who, at the time of the data collection in 2018, was reported to have redeveloped it into housing and a short-stay hotel (Architect AMS-T1.1).

### Project AMS-T1.2

(Phase 1: *Previous project, before 2014*). Before project AMS-T1.2, a high standing hotel and housing were planned on the plot, but these plans were withdrawn because of the real estate crisis resulting from the 2008 crisis. The investor, specialising in student housing, decided to work in partnership with a housing association with a similar focus. (Phase 2: *Negotiations and building permit, 2014–2015*). The investor negotiated the student housing project with the municipality, who needed to get a financial return on investment for the plot after the other plans were

cancelled (Project Manager AMS-T1.2). For the municipality, this large-scale development was also an opportunity to increase social control around the railway station, reported as unsafe, notably by Architect AMS-T1.2. Both the local alderman and the architectural review committee, for different reasons, unconnected to the shared housing programme, were not in favour of the project (Project Manager - PM AMS-T1.2). Nevertheless, the municipality allowed the project to start and made a development contract with the investor. (*Phase 3: Construction and concept for young professionals, 2016–2017*). Construction started when the real estate sector was recovering. The investor decided to also appeal to young professionals concomitantly with the introduction of new tenure regulations. During building construction, storage rooms were transformed into shared spaces. The marketing phase was an immediate success (Investor AMS-T1.2), and the student units were allocated within two days.

### 2.1.2 Actors

#### Interdependence of market and third-sector parties

The key actors in both projects were traditionally involved in residential developments. However, their collaboration generated interdependencies, especially between the market and the third sector, who had to align their agendas and resources. During the projects, economic developments (financial crisis) and legal changes, resulting among others from the political debate on the key tasks of housing associations, constrained their ability to invest, which obliged them to collaborate with private parties. In project AMS-T1.1, all decisions were reported to be made by the partners together (Developer AMS-T1.1). Developer AMS-T1.1 needed to mitigate their risks through pre-sales. Those risks were important given the heritage status constraining technical and programmatic choices, the long development period and the uncommon housing product. At the time, the housing association was still (before 2015) able to develop commercial activities (here, the co-working space) and accepted to buy dwellings for student housing (given the shortage for this group) after a compromise was found on the programme. The following quotes illustrate the actors' agreement on the programme and their common interest in mitigating development risks by combining their complementary abilities.

'We agreed upon the programme. We really believed in building smaller units for the residents, and there was no discussion about architecture, so... And [Housing association [HA] AMS-T1.1] had also another role, because they were, as an institutional housing company, also buyer. And we were only developer.' [Developer AMS-T1.1]

'We have decided to look if it is possible to make small housing for students. But it was only possible 'cause [Developer AMS-T1.1] is a commercial party, and we are social housing, so [Developer AMS-T1.1] doesn't want to start without selling any parts of this building.' [HA AMS-T1.1]

Nevertheless, after the success of the first phase, Developer AMS-T1.1 decided to make the second phase purely residential and with less social housing, which increased the company's profit.

In project AMS-T1.2, the housing association involved was specialised in student housing and had already collaborated with investor AMS-T1.2 on previous student housing projects. However, it was in an uncomfortable position as it was not directly involved in the design and was, unusually, not the owner of the property, by lack of financial means (HA AMS-T1.2). For this project, Investor AMS-T1.2 had a clear interest in attracting internationals and young professionals, hence selecting candidates aged between 20 and 34, with an employment contract and a certain income. Inspired by the creative-class discourse, the company used formulations such as 'The Millennials Life Cycle' or 'Young Professional Living' on the project's website, as well as pictures with groups of young people taking 'selfies', going to parties and practising sports, which further enhanced this narrative.

'Let me say, we have a mix of people living here, and that was our philosophy, we want a mix of different people. Dutch nationals but also internationals. (...) Let's see if we can attract those employees to the building, but in the same time, let's see if *we can attract also the creative sector, young entrepreneurs*. So, then, we have a great mix of people, and also bankers and lawyers, and whatever.'  
[Investor AMS-T1.2; emphasis added]

The collaborative partnerships observed in the two projects thus offered a combination of the financial means to invest and the ability to provide subsidised student housing, as well as an acceptable risk balance.

### **State playing an entrepreneurial role**

The municipality actively supported both developments through the strategic use of planning instruments (see section 2.1.3). The city not only urgently needed a financial return on land investment in the crisis context, but also considered that these projects were the 'right thing to do on the right place' (as reported a civil servant who was aware of the project during the feedback workshop – see Chapter 3, section 4). The municipality was indeed preoccupied with the housing shortage for students and young professionals, whom the city also designates as 'starters', 'urban nomads', 'millennials', or 'young urban adults' (De Boer, 2020). The municipality was also worried about the areas concerned. Having a vacant building at the core of a neighbourhood with renewal goals was not positive for the city (Planner AMS-T1.1), nor was an empty plot on hold in an area already perceived as unsafe (Project Manager AMS-T1.2). This illustrates the broader interest of local planning authorities in real estate projects that are perceived as essential to redevelop neighbourhoods (Pfeiffer et al., 2019).

‘They had a presentation about it, and, yeah, in the municipality, it was like: ‘Well, this is actually what we need, the programme at least with the big amount of people, who are also going to move there with the station area, to hopefully make the station, make it feel more safety (sic)...’ [Project Manager AMS-T1.2]

‘This was ok from the beginning, even though it was a large programme of housing, but (...) at that moment, there was not a lot of student housing in this whole area. (...) And there were no studios. And nowadays, there is a policy within Amsterdam because now they were made so many studios after this project, everywhere. And now we put up more effort in making more...*Ja, differentiatie* [Yes, differentiation] and other types of housing. But at that time, this was one of the first buildings where that was...’ [Planner AMS-T1.1]

Both conspicuous (e.g., housing shortage) and underlying (e.g., attracting the target demographic or improving the area) interests, thus, encouraged the municipality to play an *entrepreneurial* role and support the *creation* of this market.

### 2.1.3 Instruments

The land-lease and development contracts were the main planning instruments used by the municipality to support the projects. In particular, the land-lease contract, which is specific to the Netherlands and extensively used in Amsterdam (OECD, 2017), was strategically used to reduce the risks for the market actors involved. For instance, re-establishing a land-lease contract, after the municipality had bought a part of the land back, allowed releasing funds for the developing team in project AMS-T1.1.

‘The municipality of Amsterdam also wanted this project to succeed, ‘cause they saw this as a monument, they wanted to keep it. And they also wanted to give this area of Amsterdam a boost. (...) They made the possibility to make a land-lease contract, which made the project possible. So, there was a big effort done by the municipality to make this project work. (...) They really wanted to help us out, and to make the area better. And this was the way to do it.’ [Developer AMS-T1.1]

Similarly, negotiating a lower leasehold price and flexible quality requirements in a development contract, a ‘one-to-one agreement’ (Project Manager AMS-T1.2), facilitated the implementation of project AMS-T1.2. Planning could be used to incorporate specific demands (Revington et al., 2018) regarding, for example, unit size or the quality of shared spaces. However, the analysis of the outcomes (see below) shows that, in the crisis context, planning instruments were more used to make real estate projects happen than to enhance quality requirements.

Furthermore, in project AMS-T1.2, the investor opportunistically used the recent regulatory changes allowing temporary contracts (July 2016) to develop a new housing product, exclusively based on non-extendable short-term rental contracts. Given the housing shortage for young adults, the municipality supported this programme and let the market capture this regulation. Hence, while project AMS-T1.1, through its mix of student housing and studios for purchase, offers a spectrum of progress towards homeownership to young adults (Arundel & Ronald,

2016), project AMS-T1.2 offers less security. Indeed, the PRS, especially if temporary, is seen as delivering less security to tenants (Hoolachan et al., 2017). Since the Amsterdam temporary housing regulation entered into force in July 2016, the long-term effects remain unknown.

#### **2.1.4 Outcomes**

In both projects, the ‘product’ delivered is a large-scale building with small housing, shared facilities and tenure mix, including temporary rent. Such a product responded to young adults’ interest in having their own place, even though small (Verhetsel et al., 2017). Small housing was legitimised in both projects, but with different arguments, including the housing shortage and the presumed tenants’ profile.

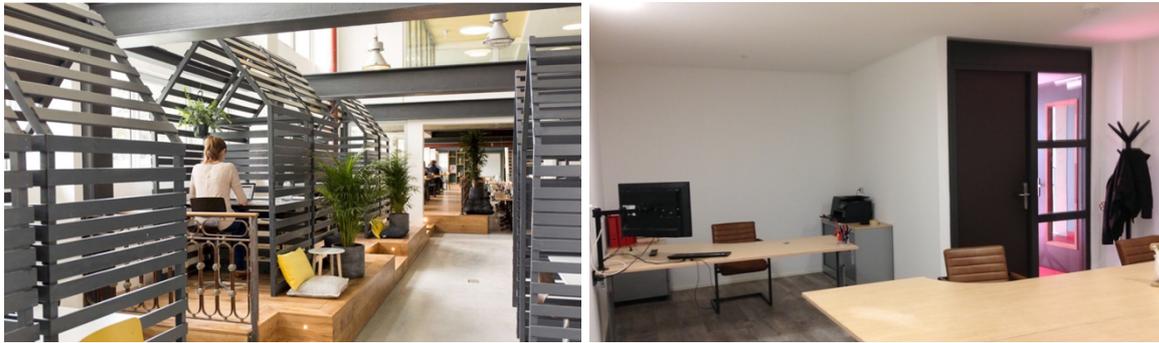
‘The market for housing changed also a lot. People started to accept smaller flats than before. You know, to have a flat is more important than to have a big flat. (...) Younger people don’t have much stuff anymore, they don’t own books, because they read on the internet. So, the whole lifestyle was very important. I think people with, let’s say, a lifestyle of 2005 would not have survived these flats. But people with a lifestyle of 2012, they did.’ [Architect AMS-T1.1]

In project AMS-T1.1, the numerous expressions of interest and rapid sales, with almost half of the buyers younger than 35 (Developer AMS-T1.1), attest to the success of these projects for the target group. Older age cohorts, including retired people, bought studios as well, but as an investment rather than a place to live (Co-working founder AMS-T1.1; Developer AMS-T1.1).

The shared spaces (Figure 39) and services were key to the development of small housing dwellings, to balance the inconvenience of tiny living. In project AMS-T1.1, a co-working space was delivered, which was uncommon at the time and fostered live-work mix. The facilities were planned from the start to enhance mixed-use and respond to the residents’ needs. Given their business model and expertise in new ways of working, co-working companies get increasingly involved in new developments (Co-working founder AMS-T1.1) and might become key players in future developments. In contrast, the shared spaces developed in project AMS-T1.2 were inappropriate for their use (e.g., no daylight). These spaces were added during construction and seem to have merely served as a lately developed marketing concept for young professionals. The lack of quality of the shared spaces is not surprising since they were originally designed as storage spaces (Architect AMS-T1.2). Fair-quality shared spaces, however, would have encouraged live-work mix and would have helped compensate for limited space within the dwellings.

‘When I saw it [the shared working room] for the first time, it made me really disappointed about it. Because I think, for sure if they had windows, I would make more use of it. (...) Most of the time, I just work here in my room. (...) Especially on those days [when his girlfriend is also working from home], it’s a downside that there’s not a second room. Because then you can imagine that if you are sitting here the whole day, or if you were sitting with your boyfriend and

you have to work the whole day in the same room, that can be, after all, a bit annoying.’ [Resident AMS-T1.2-1]



**Figure 39: Co-working space in project AMS-T1.1 (source anonymised - left panel) - Shared working room in project AMS-T1.2 (credit: author - right panel)**

Growing housing pressure was observed in the projects studied and might threaten the affordability of the dwellings over time. Although both projects delivered a significant amount of social housing, the weak position of the housing associations in both partnerships attests to their progressive retreat under market pressure (Nieboer & Gruis, 2016). Furthermore, in project AMS-T1.1, the overall affordability of the dwellings decreased rapidly. The apartments to buy were originally affordable, but vacancies and subletting were reported by several interviewees.

‘You also see that a lot of the apartments that are owned by people...Like I think half of the people are not here, they AirBnB it, or they live outside of the city and they only use it a couple of days. (...) It’s quite flexible how it’s being used, I find.’ [Co-working founder AMS-T1.1]

Moreover, the second phase of development delivered apartments that were more expensive, and a rapid increase in sale prices was observed, for example, with €170,000 for a studio in spring 2018 (online platform) against €80,000 in 2013 (Developer AMS-T1.1). Some young professionals who bought a studio expected such a short-term added value and had an active role in this process.

‘Another part of the market was young professionals, people who just graduated, had their first job in and around Amsterdam, but were not yet sure if they want to stay in Amsterdam for the rest of their career. Most of them were single. Imagine flight attendants, young lawyers, designers, people like that. (...) All of them were convinced they would be able to sell it for a better price and that’s actually the case. Those flats are sold for more than double right now.’ [Architect AMS-T1.1]

While the social units have regulated rents, these observations raise concerns about speculation and further risk of gentrification (N. Smith, 2005), especially in this location on the edges of the inner city as has been observed in cities like London (Theurillat et al., 2015). Young people often

anticipate neighbourhood change and are pioneers in locations that allow them to access official, stable housing sectors (Hochstenbach & Boterman, 2015).

Finally, accessibility issues were illustrated in Project AMS-T1.2. The process of selecting young professionals, based on an expanding range of criteria, for the apartments in the PRS component was directly handled by Investor AMS-T1.2, who is also the property manager. Investor AMS-T1.2 may have seen the overall process as virtuous in providing young people with housing in the context of a housing shortage, but was not wholly comfortable with having to make this selection in line with his ‘commercial point of view’ (Investor AMS-T1.2). Selecting tenants based on various criteria, in a non-regulated housing segment, also potentially raises discrimination and privacy issues (Maalsen, 2020). In addition, this process suggests an exclusive target group and emphasises new forms of housing, which promote ‘housing as a form of distinction’ (Grundström & Molina, 2016).

## **2.2 EXCLUSIVE, SHARED HOUSING IN BRUSSELS**

### **2.2.1 Reconstruction of facts**

Project BXL-T1 (160 dwellings and 6 guestrooms of 32-83m<sup>2</sup>, 11,000 m<sup>2</sup> in total) is located on the edges of the BCR, in Woluwé-Saint-Lambert (WSL), a municipality situated in the north-eastern part of Brussels. The project consists of the conversion of a former office building into housing. The apartments are a mix of studios and one- and two-bedroom apartments, all privately rented by an institutional investor, purposed for both young professionals and ‘55+’ (Figure 40). The project is part of a four-building office estate, of which all buildings were converted separately by different real estate actors. Project BXL-T1 was the second building to be converted. The building includes several shared spaces on each floor (e.g., cinema room), a meeting room on the ground floor and a leisure room – ‘sky lounge’ – on the top floor (Figure 41). The residents are provided with various (paid) services, including six guestrooms, a laundrette and the possibility to have a furnished apartment. One shared room was reallocated to a hairdresser in 2019, making the ground floor partly accessible to the public. The development process is described in what follows.

*(Phase 1: Design and building permit, 2012–2014).* The design started in 2012, in a context of office vacancy and transformation of the area into a mixed-use neighbourhood. During the investigation period, most redevelopments were predominantly residential, however. The investor acquired the building, which was empty for a few years (councillor BXL-T1), under the condition of obtaining planning permission (Investor BXL-T1). The investor and the architect

met both the planning authority and the planning councillor of the municipality several times before introducing the permit request. The latter was submitted in 2013 and delivered the next year. (*Phase 2: Construction and delivery, 2014–2016*). The conversion started in 2014 and was completed in summer 2016. In early 2017, over 70% of the dwellings were allocated (Architect BXL-T1). (*Phase 3: Property management and adaptations, 2016–2019*). In 2019, the investor decided to operate a few adjustments to the operation of the building, especially on the ground floor.



Figure 40: Image retrieved from the commercial brochure illustrating the target demographics for the project: young professionals and retired couples (source anonymised)

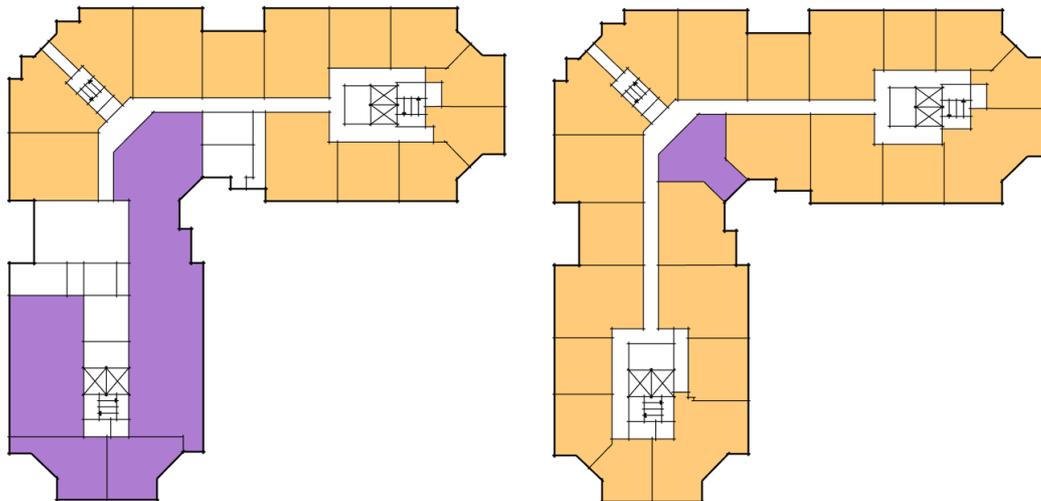


Figure 41: Project BXL-T1 - Ground floor and floor plan: dwellings (orange), shared spaces (purple) and corridors (white) (diagram: author)

## **2.2.2 Actors**

### **State facilitating role driven by interests for housing supply and cross-generational mix**

The municipal planning authority reported being seduced by the project (Planner BXL-T1). Its vision for the area was to enhance housing development to respond to the prescriptions of the regional development plan addressing demographic growth (see Chapter 4, section 2.2.1). The municipality was also eager to support a presumably ‘cross-generational’ concept – perceived as ‘innovative’ – before the shared housing concept. The project was seen as an opportunity to bring older people back to the BCR after they had left for the suburbs to raise a family.

‘This project soon seduced us. It was still not delivered when I was interviewed by journalists on exemplary projects, and I cited that one in [Newspaper]. So, frankly, it is a project, through its innovative nature, cross-generational character, creating shared, convivial spaces...’ [Councillor BXL-T1; author’s translation]

However, both politics and the planning authority were wary of short-term living and its consequences on tax revenues<sup>46</sup>. From the politics’ perspective, short-term living would have meant a loss of potential voters as well.

‘We want to avoid people passing by, who don’t give a shit and do not settle down well in the municipality.’ [Planner BXL-T1; author’s translation]

‘We didn’t want it to simply become a kind of flat hotel (...). That was our concern for matters of disturbance, tax revenues, ...’ [Councillor BXL-T1; author’s translation]

Nevertheless, the municipality was keen on attracting EU expatriates, who do not contribute to tax revenues as Belgian nationals but can vote at the municipal level, provided they have a housing contract.

Furthermore, the municipality encouraged the rapid conversion of the empty building to enhance the urban renewal of the neighbourhood. Previous conversions in the area emerged primarily from changing market dynamics: the office market had started declining in the neighbourhood, because of limited accessibility by public transportation and the proximity to the business area of the nearby airport (Zaventem). Although the local authorities accepted the project rapidly during the planning permission process, one cannot consider here that WSL municipality (which was not assisted here by the region) played an entrepreneurial role. Since no specific arrangements or instruments were used, the municipality seems to have instead played a facilitating role.

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<sup>46</sup> Municipal taxes include a percentage on the personal income tax as well as property taxes, and are important sources of income for local governments (Coppens et al., 2018).

### **Investor strategically branding innovation towards a well-defined target group**

Investor BXL-T1, an institutional investor, claimed its unique position on the housing market during the interview. Although the presence of this type of actor has increased in Brussels, institutional investors continue to focus on the office market rather than housing (Romainville, 2017). This observation is related to the structure of the housing stock with multiple small landlords (see Chapter 4, section 2.1.2). However, real estate companies are well represented in the second-ring municipalities of the BCR, including WSL (Dessouroux & Romainville, 2011).

In this project, investor BXL-T1 defined housing affordability and quality as core values enhancing long-term profit. The investor also defined target demographics, including young professionals, expatriates and retired people.

‘Brussels has a housing market rather large for the private-rented sector, also thanks to European institutions, NATO, all the embassies, and so forth.’ [Investor BXL-1; author’s translation]

‘You’re a hard-working young professional (...) you’re retired, active and young in mind.’ [Commercial brochure – English version]

The shared housing concept was strategically branded towards these groups as an innovation on the housing market – despite space sharing is anything but new (Tummers, 2016) – as shows the wording used on the residence’s website: ‘the *new* way of living in a *smart* use of space’. The investor thus used the new lifestyle idea as a marketing strategy.

### **2.2.3 Instruments**

The project’s location made consensus: the investor saw it as attractive for the future tenants, and the municipality wanted it to be quickly redeveloped. Planning permission was the only instrument used for this project. The negotiations were held during meetings, including with the urban planning councillor (political level), ahead of the planning request introduction. Urban development goals were left to politicians as the planning department of the municipality had no strategic division at the time of the project. The close involvement of the local political level illustrates the old tendency to political parochialism in Brussels (Baeten, 2001). The permit report acknowledged the consensus reached on the cross-generational concept and the balance between shared spaces and smaller apartments. In particular, the generous proportion of shared spaces (around 30% of the total area) was seen as bringing flexibility and making the higher proportion of small dwellings more acceptable (39% studios of 32-56m<sup>2</sup>, which is uncommon to Brussels’ new housing production – see Chapter 4, section 2.1.2).

Although very few instruments were used during the planning process of project BXL-T1, a nearby development was the object of a specific land-use plan. The evolution over time of this plan is exemplary of the changing vision of the municipality on live-work mix. While the 1990s

plan was based on large-scale office development, based on the good accessibility of the area by car (Dessouroux, 2010), the 2000s plan demanded a 50-50 mix of offices and housing, and the subsequent version focused on residential development with amenities (Councillor; Planner BXL-T1). Besides, in order to facilitate conversions into housing, the regional planning authorities allowed land-use change to housing before the revision of the regional land-use plan during the same period (Planner BXL-T1 – see Chapter 4, section 2.2.1). These evolutions in the direct surroundings of project BXL-T1 stress the shifting focus from offices to housing within a few-year period, under demographic pressure.

#### **2.2.4 Outcomes**

The concept proved to be attractive to singles and couples, who were either young professionals, international students or expatriates working in the nearby airport business area or for the University hospital (Investor BXL-T1). The elders expected were much less present, however. Furthermore, the slower allocation pace of the apartments, compared to Amsterdam and Stockholm (a few months v. a few days), indicates lower pressure on the Brussels' housing market (see Chapter 4, section 4.3). Investor BXL-T1 still reported a higher turnover, compared to its usual projects, that he explained with the presence of 'mobile workers' among the residents.

The planning permission acknowledged that the fair proportion of shared spaces and the guestroom service legitimised smaller dwellings than what is usually accepted in Brussels. Without the shared spaces, a higher proportion of larger apartments would have been required.

*'This is not good practice; there must be a higher mix. We are not in favour of having plenty of studios and such things, but...As I said, having common spaces and the possibility to benefit from a guestroom when the family is visiting, since there is the possibility to rent out extra rooms temporarily, when one needs to have two rooms, well this made the project acceptable.'*  
[Councillor BXL-T1; author's translation]

The apartments were designed to be strictly compliant to the regional building regulation, as it is often the case in market-led developments. The small dwellings and shared spaces were partly driven by the configuration of the existing deep building, with residual spaces inappropriate for housing.

*'The building was quite big and deep. So, it was very difficult to make apartments. Either it was very small apartments of very big ones. Because it was difficult to cross, actually, as a conventional apartment: one living room and on the other side, two bedrooms. It was very difficult because the building was too large and also, it is a corner, so there were lost spaces. So, it is also one of the reasons why we said "ok, we would like better having smaller apartments facing one façade, not transversal, but towards one façade.'* [Investor BXL-T1; author's translation]

Multiple-purpose shared spaces reflect an inclination to a 'liquid daily life', made of intertwined place and activity, which may be indicative of exclusive housing in certain conditions

(Grundström, 2018). Besides, from the researcher's observations on-site and two interviews with residents, the common areas are used both to work and socialise.

The residents also value the services (e.g., home delivery, beauty salon), which make them feel that they have 'nothing to worry about' (Investor BXL-T1). However, such services – which are only opened to residents with similar lifestyles – can contribute to the 'residents' disaffiliation from society' (Grundström, 2018, p. 105). Also, not all spaces and services meet the same success. The free spaces are more successful than paid services. For example, the meeting room is seldom rented, while the residents are likely to work (for free) in the sky lounge (Figure 42). Consequently, the investor – and property owner – started adapting certain spaces in 2019, to improve profitability, especially on the ground floor (e.g., shared room transformed into a hairdresser salon, meeting room to be transformed into a co-working space). These changes are not meaningless in terms of live-work mix. The project was initially planned without any amenities or commercial units, making the 'live' component of the project prevalent. These modifications, although driven by profitability, should improve live-work mix and contribute to enhancing the attractiveness of the area.



**Figure 42: Photographs taken during a weekday in the 'sky lounge': one resident working at a table (left panel) - people having a meeting outside (right panel) (credits: author)**

Furthermore, the project is illustrative of what can be seen as an exclusive market in a high-priced municipality. All dwellings are private-rented because this tenure form was argued to be the most suitable for such a flexible concept (Investor BXL-T1). However, this also means that the rents are unregulated. Since WSL is part of the BCR municipalities with higher housing prices (Dessouroux et al., 2016), the dwellings may be not affordable for all, although the location has the 'critical mass' (see the investor's discourse below) for the building's standing. The website of the residence shows rents ranging between €720-1,010 for studios and €1,230-1,370 for two-bedroom apartments (charges included). The investor had to consider the 'loss' on shared spaces in the rent setting.

‘We have perhaps a rent slightly more expensive per square meter for the small spaces but, well, it compensates our loss of rent. It does not compensate for everything because when you see, for example, the sky lounge, these are high-quality spaces that we provide. (...) You also need to have a market. Here, the expats, they want... Well, we do not charge rent for the common spaces, but the charges are still a bit more expensive, so, in certain municipalities, there is not the critical mass for that kind of things, maybe.’ [Investor BXL-T1, translation; author]

Still, the municipality considered the dwellings affordable and perceived the project as fostering social sustainability.

‘In this project, we truly create social interaction. We work with different people. It also made it possible for young or older people to find cheaper accommodation in the municipality. So, there are lots of strengths in this project. We are always looking for innovative projects.’ [Councillor BXL-T1, translation; author]

From the residents’ perspective, there seems to be a willingness to pay more for smaller private space, yet of a certain standing and with access to ‘well-furnished’ common areas (Resident BXL-T1.2). The quiet, green and affluent surroundings were valued as well despite the on-going transformation of the office area (Resident BXL-T1.1). Interestingly, both residents interviewed came from Brussels’ close suburbs. Somehow, project BXL-T1 succeeded in bringing them back to the BCR.

Finally, two elements suggested selective housing accessibility, namely the precisely-defined target group and the residents’ mania for security. On the one hand, the future tenants were formally selected with the only criterion of the ability to pay, based on income evidence. This selection process is compliant with the regulation, which allows asking the *level* of income but not its *origin*, following the idea that one can select but not discriminate (Verstraete & Moris, 2019). On the other hand, the researcher noticed an obsession with security in the actors’ discourse, a theme that they all raised spontaneously.

‘What is important is to *preserve the security* of the current residents.’ [Investor BXL-T1; translation: author; emphasis added]

‘They have made a special entrance for clients coming from outside [referring to the hairdresser] (...) We still need to have little security, well little, no, *we need security*. Full Stop!’ [Resident BXL-T1.1; translation: author; emphasis added]

‘I want to *feel safe* where I live. So, it plays an important role as well (...) I don’t feel well when the doors [referring to broken garage doors], when it looks like ‘open doors’ to everyone, everyone comes in...’ [Resident BXL-T1.2; translation: author; emphasis added]

Such a focus on security, together with the reluctance to lose privacy following the arrival of the hairdresser salon in a context of entirely private shared spaces, may enhance to self-segregation and exclusive housing (Bergan et al., 2020; Grundström, 2018).

## 2.3 TEMPORARY HOUSING FOR YOUNG ADULTS IN STOCKHOLM

### 2.3.1 Reconstruction of facts

Project STO-T1 (280 dwellings, round 10,000m<sup>2</sup>) consists of temporary housing for young adults (under 30). The development did not require a detailed development plan and was based instead on temporary planning permission<sup>47</sup>. The building is located in the south of Stockholm, in an industrial area separated from an ‘up & coming’ mixed-use area by a high-traffic highway and woods (Figure 43). The plot is also close to a public rental housing estate. The concept is owned by the young tenants’ union (*jagvillhabostad.nu* – meaning ‘I want housing now’) and was financed and developed by a third-sector housing provider, that is, a Municipal Housing Company (MHC). The development includes three wings of prefabricated modules inserted in concrete frames (Figure 44). Except for two larger apartments (77-78 m<sup>2</sup>), the rest are studios (32 m<sup>2</sup>). All technical and storage rooms are located on the ground floor, together with bicycle parking, communal laundries and a shared leisure room. The development process is described in what follows.

*(Phase 1: Feasibility of the concept, 2009 – 2012).* The young tenants’ union started a feasibility study to find a fast housing solution to improve young adults’ entry on the housing market. Then, together with the MHC, they led an in-depth study in 2011-2012. The same year, Architect STO-T1 designed a first model of modular housing in partnership with Contractor STO-T1. Their concept was first implemented in a permanent, tenant-owned residential project in another municipality. *(Phase 2: Design and planning permission, 2013–2015).* In 2013, the MHC hired the partnership architect-contractor to start the design of project STO-T1. The MHC applied for temporary planning permission in 2014, which was delivered in spring 2015. *(Phase 3: Construction and delivery, 2015–2016).* The construction was completed in June 2016.



Figure 43: Project STO-T1. Photographs from the courtyard (a), towards the wooded and residential areas (b) and towards the industrial area (c, d) (credits: author)

<sup>47</sup> The planning permission is valid for a period of 10 years extendable to 15 years in total.

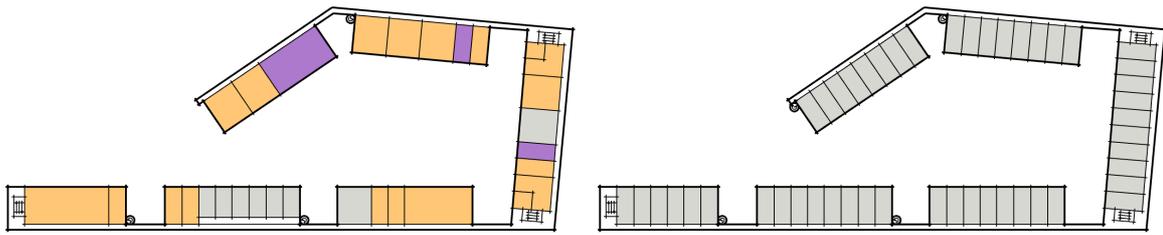


Figure 44: Project STO-T1. Ground floor (left) and typical floor plan (right), with dwellings (grey), shared spaces (purple), storage, technical spaces and bicycle parking (orange) (diagram: author)

### 2.3.2 Actors

#### Young tenants' union owning the concept, but relying on the MHC's steering capacity

The partnership between the young tenants' union and the MHC exemplifies the collaboration between two third-sector parties with complementary interests and means. The union was created to tackle the housing shortage for young adults and make the housing allocation process more fair and transparent, especially on the second-hand rental market (e.g., Lind, 2017). Their main interest was, thus, to offer a first affordable, temporary and transparent rental contract to young adults. After a first benchmark study, the union decided to opt for a temporary building solution to be developed on pending sites. The union then sought a partner (the MHC) with similar interests and the means to finance and develop a concept which yet remains the property of the union. Throughout the development, the union reported the demands of its members to the MHC and the architect. According to MHC STO-T1, these demands included a well-connected location, a community room and on-going queuing for permanent housing. The participation of the members was organised through thematic workshops to produce housing in line with young adults' expectations, rather than built upon presumed aspirations found in politicians' discourses.

'In Sweden, there has been for a long time this discourse that old white men were talking "this is what young people want" and none of what they said was true. So, the whole idea to actually bring in young people and... Yeah, it's not like everyone thinks this way, and that is not either what we were saying. But, by doing that, you can create – on quote – a "product" that young people actually want.' [Union STO-T1]

Today, the union hopes to develop the concept in other municipalities with other MHCs.

The MHC accepted to develop the project because of the company concern about the housing shortage for young adults, an issue that the MHC saw as the outcome of deficient housing supply. Before that project, the MHC only had experience with student housing, apart from its mainstream rental offer. Still, the company financed and steered the development, and it

collaborated with both the union and the team architect – contractor. The latter was assumed to be unique on the high-quality, temporary housing market and was selected based on a tender shaped for the company (Union STO-T1; MHC STO-T1). As a municipality-owned – yet market-based – company, the MHC contributed significantly to the *creation* of this temporary housing market in the municipality of Stockholm.

The local planning authorities had no choice but to approve the temporary-building permission as they received pressure to increase housing supply from the local government (Planner STO-T1). They still checked the suitability of the project for such permission to avoid an appeal. Besides, temporariness limited the municipality requirements on quality and aesthetics.

### **Architect and contractor developing the prefabricated modules together**

The architect and the contractor<sup>48</sup> teamed together to develop affordable housing. They aimed to reduce construction time and costs through prefabrication, standardisation, modular construction and large-scale production (Figure 45). The emphasis on standardisation is inherited from the Million Homes Programme (MHP). Besides, contractor STO-T1, the head of sales, has a background unrelated to the construction industry. These observations can be related again to the idea of housing as a consumer good (see Chapter 4, section 3.2.2).

‘I’m not from this business; I have been working with *consumer products* all my life. I’m not a constructor or an architect or something like that. I’m just head of sales here. So, I’ve been working with watches all my life (laughs). *Almost the same!* No, but why I was hired was because our owner wants to think another way, that it’s not really the construction, it’s how we build, and the easiness, and that *we could do it faster and then less expensive than the other ones.*’ [Contractor STO-T1; emphasis added]

The contractor’s profit relied on construction time, which was minimised on-site to optimise the development process.



**Figure 45: Full-scale sample of the housing module (credit: author)**

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<sup>48</sup> Contrary to what is often observed in Sweden, the contractor is not one of the big developers recurrently present in large-scale housing developments. The company is a start-up that aims to develop modular architecture and deliver affordable housing (Contractor STO-T1).

### **2.3.3 Instruments**

Temporary permission, the main instrument used during the planning process, strengthened the shared interests of the actors on four elements. The first collective interest was to tackle the housing shortage for young adults through a technical solution with reduced time and costs. However, the union had to negotiate throughout the process to lower the costs. Secondly, the location proposed by the MHC presented numerous advantages: it was empty, well-connected and, most importantly, not surrounded by neighbours (except for one property belonging to the same MHC). This situation reduced the risk of complaints during the planning process.

‘In the [Location] project, it was really a good place for this. You have the property that we are going to build on, here. This property is owned by...it’s our property. And then, you have industrial properties, like this. And roads between...So, this one was the [Location] project. The only one that can complain on the building permission process are the neighbours. So, in this case, we didn’t complain. The industrial properties and owners didn’t have any complaints. So, it was quite easy to do this project on this land.’ [MHC STO-T1]

The location was also attractive because close to a ‘trendy’ area with an art school (Architect STO-T1), although the highway is a significant barrier between both sites and the surrounding industry is constraining (noise, pollution). Thirdly, the actors agreed on the product to be delivered, that is, good quality (i.e., using the traditional standards) yet small and prefabricated housing. There was consensus on the role of the project to demonstrate that quality standards should not justify high-priced housing (see Chapter 4, section 3.1.2).

‘That was, in a way, a political stance for us. Because it was also one of our criteria. Because many times, politicians and representatives from companies were arguing back then - not that much today, but still kind of are today - that they should lower the quality and accessibility, and what not, and this and that costs a lot. But we, as an organisation, were always claiming: “yeah, it’s the land that costs a lot of money, and it’s the profit margins that will in the end cost a lot” [Union STO-T1]

Lastly, all actors saw project STO-T1 as a means to draw public attention to young adults’ housing careers in Stockholm and to put this issue higher on the political agenda.

Temporary planning permission allowed to bypass the normal planning process by using a fast-track process (ten weeks to obtain the permit), seen as essential for the project’s success. Hence, the detailed development plan, which required sports facilities on the plot, was not modified (Planner STO-T1). The accelerated procedure was conditioned to proving that the site was pending and that the urgent need for youth housing would not be fulfilled by concomitant projects (ibid). Before project STO-T1, temporary planning permission was used for other functions (e.g., schools) than housing, given the extensive number of regulations to respect. Temporary permission is theoretically not convertible into permanent planning permission, so the developing team had to prove that the project would be moved after fifteen years.

Nevertheless, as one might expect, the municipality fears the instrumentation of temporary planning permission by other developers to allow cheap and fast housing delivery.

### 2.3.4 Outcomes

The temporariness and spatial quality of the project were questioned during the interviews. Providing temporary housing compliant to regular housing standards was conditional to the success of the project, which received around 8000 applications upon delivery of the 280 dwellings. Contractor STO-T1 insisted on the distinction between temporary location and temporary building. However, Architect STO-T1 was sceptical about the long-term quality of the building, notwithstanding its design award for the project. Such a position is troubling when one knows that the first completed project based on the same concept (in another municipality), is permanent.

‘This architecture is a temporary architecture, it might age quite bad. It’s not built out of very expensive material, it’s quite cheap facades, cheap roofs, and maybe 15 years is enough, and then we need to move it, and then we can reuse the modules, but we maybe configure them in a different way, and so on. So, exactly what we’ll do in 15 years, it’s not decided yet.’ [Architect STO-T1]

The ambiguity about the temporariness of the building was present in the discourse of the other interviewees as well. Despite a clear legal framework, both the contractor and the MHC hinted their intention to keep the building on site:

‘I think it’s quite hard, but we are going to try to ask the question and do what we can to have it on this location in [Location] because it’s a really good location, and it works really well, but... The legislation is like, temporary, and cannot be used for something that is going to be permanent. That’s one of the criteria to have it on temporary building permit.’ [MHC STO-T1]

Nevertheless, the municipality disapproves such behaviour, which would be seen as a roundabout way to bypass planning regulation. Beyond the temporary dimension, Planner STO-T1 insisted on the importance of not generalising small housing development to other groups, despite a potential demand.

*‘When you are a student, for 3 or 5 years, it’s possible to live under those conditions; you can manage to live in 15 m<sup>2</sup> [32 in this project]. So, it’s perhaps...not in any other time in your life would that be possible, I think. And it’s important that it’s a clear connection to a student organisation, or that its only purpose is for students or very young people. Otherwise, it’s difficult for the authorities to, or they don’t have any say at all if you just have small cheap apartments, and you may perhaps serve it to elderly people and social, yeah, poor people and so on. (...) And it would be a very bad thing if very, very poor people, or elderly people are forced by their economies to go to these small apartments, this kind of small apartments.’* [Planner STO-T1: emphasis added]

One can wonder why small living space would be more bearable for young adults than for others? Both residents interviewed considered the dwelling size as fair in the current market conditions, confirming the results of previous research on young adults’ residential preferences

for having their own space, even though small (e.g., Verhetsel et al., 2017). However, it can be questioned to what extent ‘small’ is liveable. Moreover, the housing policy passed in February 2020 (after the fieldwork period) moves to the direction that Planner STO-T1 wished to avoid since the policy supports small housing production for young adults and people with a social allowance (see Chapter 4, section 3.2.2). From the residents’ interview and the satisfaction survey conducted by the MHC, the residents value the apartments’ design but dislike the outdoor corridors – another heritage of the MHP – giving access to the dwellings (Figure 46).



**Figure 46: Outdoor corridor giving access to the dwellings (credit: author)**

Furthermore, the project did not use the opportunity to create live-work mix. Only laundries and a community room were included in the project, on request of the union’s members (Union STO-T1). If leisure was the first purpose of the community room, one free-lancer was using it for its professional activity during the investigations (Figure 47).

‘Our common room, where we are right now, it’s very good. I call it my office nowadays...Even though everyone can be here and have it as their office. Not many use it, but I do.’ [Resident STO-T1.2]

Still, the project is predominantly residential. Some commercial units were initially planned on the ground floor, but no interests were found for temporary occupation (Contractor STO-T1). However, economic activities and amenities might have helped improve social control in the area, as they do in mixed-use developments (Cozens, 2008).



**Figure 47: Community room. Free-lancer working (left panel) - leisure area (right panel) (credits: author)**

The affordability of the project led certain actors to consider it as the first Stockholm case of social housing – a highly sensitive topic in Sweden (see Chapter 4, section 3.2.2).

'In Sweden, the word Social housing is almost forbidden. Like, we don't have social housing. (...). And now, I would say, [Project STO-T1], many people said that [Project STO-T1] is obviously the first social housing programme. But since social housing is a forbidden word, we don't call it social housing, but it is of course, a kind of social housing. It has very, it has social ambitions, it has low rents, it has...You can be in the queue while you're, for a permanent apartment meanwhile, like...If this is not social housing, what is then social housing? But in Sweden, we call it something else.' [Architect STO-T1]

Nevertheless, this statement can be discussed. According to Granath Hansson & Lundgren (2018), social housing is conditioned to (i) a target group with limited financial resources, provided with long-term housing and (ii) below-market rents, following public or private subsidy. Although project STO-T1 is aimed at young adults, who potentially lack resources, the target demographic is primarily defined by age and is offered a temporary solution. Moreover, the affordable rents (SEK4,900/month, i.e., between €450-490) are not the result of a subsidy, but well of a technical solution. Project STO-T1 is, thus, affordable and constitutes a practical response to the housing crisis, but it is not social housing. Besides, it is an *emergency* solution, not a structural solution (Union STO-T1), in that temporariness reduces tenure security (Hoolachan et al., 2017).

Finally, the accessibility of the project might be questioned for favouring Stockholm's insiders. The MHC selected tenants of each age between 18 and 30 to avoid the concentration of 30-year-old adults if following the regular queuing rules. The two residents interviewed were still insiders, who left the parental home. They both reported that outsiders have more difficulties in getting housing.

'Usually a lot of people, they move to Stockholm University and study from somewhere else. It's about...So I kind of have a, like a competitive age, because I was born here, so I have more queue time than those people. When they come to have a student apartment, there are a lot of people who move there when they start studying, and they don't have a queue time, so they need to find another solution. So, I have two or three more years than other people that apply.' [Resident STO-T1.1]

Nevertheless, the housing regulation specifies that anyone aged 18 or older who has a Swedish personal identity can register on the housing queue, no matter the candidate's current residential location. Moreover, the inequality between insiders and outsiders – both perceived and actual – is more likely due to the rent regulation system (Ellingsen, 2003 in Roland Andersson & Söderberg, 2012) than specific to this project.

## 2.4 DISCUSSION

The shared housing market can be seen as a product of the concentration of young singles in cities with a commodifying housing market, competition for highly-skilled workers and expansion of their housing supply through densification. These observations increasingly apply – with nuances – to Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm. From the empirical study of four shared housing developments, one can conclude that the shared housing market has developed in these cities under different forms and stages of development. In each city, this market targets primarily young adults, although Brussels' actors try to retain older people as well. Also, the shared housing market is further advanced in Amsterdam than in Brussels and Stockholm, at least in terms of development scale (e.g., over 900 units in Amsterdam against less than 200 in Brussels), which can be related to the path dependency of local housing and planning regimes (see Chapter 4, section 4.2).

Nonetheless, the shared housing market similarly emerges in specific locations and is more likely to develop during a crisis. In Amsterdam, several projects of this kind were initiated in the aftermath of the real estate crisis, quickly delivering a large number of small apartments (see Chapter 4, section 1.2.2). With the first projects completed and the growth of this market, the municipality started becoming aware of the potential drawbacks, notwithstanding evident benefits. The next paragraphs compare the actors and instruments of the shared housing market in each city (see Table 7 for an overview), before returning to the outcomes of the studied developments. These elements provide insights for the regulation of the shared housing market and opportunities for generalisation, exposed in conclusion to the section.

In all cities, the actors developing shared housing for specific target groups receive the support of local governments – which play facilitating to entrepreneurial roles – especially in times of economic downturn. However, the coalitions of actors involved in these developments vary locally. In Amsterdam, such coalitions can involve third-sector housing providers (housing associations) and market parties (developers and investors), while the latter act alone in Brussels. The Stockholm case illustrates the possibility of another kind of partnership involving two third-sector bodies (MHC and Union). In that case, the MHC steers the development and behaves like a market party. The potential collaboration between different types of actors relies on shared interests and aligned means. For instance, in the Amsterdam cases, mixed tenure and target groups justified the actors' combination of complementary abilities and investment capacities.

Using (new) regulatory instruments is also essential to implement these developments. In particular, state support is translated into the strategic use of planning tools, such as land-lease

and development contracts in Amsterdam. Most importantly, the initiators of the projects benefit from new uses of planning instruments (e.g., the temporary planning permission in Stockholm) and (new) flexible tenure regulations (e.g., the PRS in Brussels, temporary tenancy in Amsterdam) to develop more flexible yet less secure shared housing projects.

The discussion of each project outcomes emphasised that the shared housing market delivers products that respond to young adults' interest in having their own place while sharing spaces for social interaction. Somehow, this match gives *legitimacy* to flexible, temporary tenure forms as they appear not to be only politically supported, but also welcomed by both consumers and producers (Bengtsson & Ruonavaara, 2010). Empirical research further confirmed the tendency for this market to deliver small (or smaller) dwellings (as from 24m<sup>2</sup> in Amsterdam and 32m<sup>2</sup> in Brussels and Stockholm). What differs between the cities is the typology of dwellings proposed. In Brussels, a diversity of housing unit sizes is demanded in new developments, which is consistent with the higher variation in target groups and lower market pressure. The number of applications and allocation pace of the dwellings were used as indicators to estimate the 'success' of the products delivered (see Chapter 2, section 4.2.3). These markers also give fair indications of differences in market pressure (dwelling allocated in a few days in the Amsterdam and Stockholm projects v. a few months in the Brussels project). Anyhow, the tendency to smaller housing raises concerns as one can wonder to what extent small is liveable, no matter the nature of the demographic.

Shared spaces and services have the potential to enhance live-work mix and to balance the concentration of small housing dwellings, beyond serving marketing concepts. However, such compensation is compromised when shared spaces are designed in residual spaces that are unsuitable for housing, as it was observed in all studied projects. Besides, this market raises affordability and accessibility issues, even in developments including regulated housing segments (e.g., social housing), but these vary across cities according to the spectrum represented in Figure 48. While Stockholm's temporary housing for young adults is acknowledged as reasonably accessible and affordable<sup>49</sup>, Brussels' exclusive, shared housing market draws on a poorly regulated rental market and indicates patterns of self-segregation. Amsterdam's shared housing market for students and young professionals is positioned in between these two extremes. In this city, housing affordability, on the one hand, is affected by increasing market pressure, possibly inducing speculative behaviours and risk of gentrification.

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<sup>49</sup> In that respect, and given the strong involvement of the union's members in the development process, this project could almost be classified as 'live-work, co-housing' (Type T3). There are, thus, overlaps between the different types of live-work mix.

On the other hand, housing accessibility may be threatened by selective allocation processes, which can foster exclusive housing. Interestingly, this outcome is reached through different paths in Amsterdam and Brussels: specific selection criteria in the former against factual selection process in the latter.

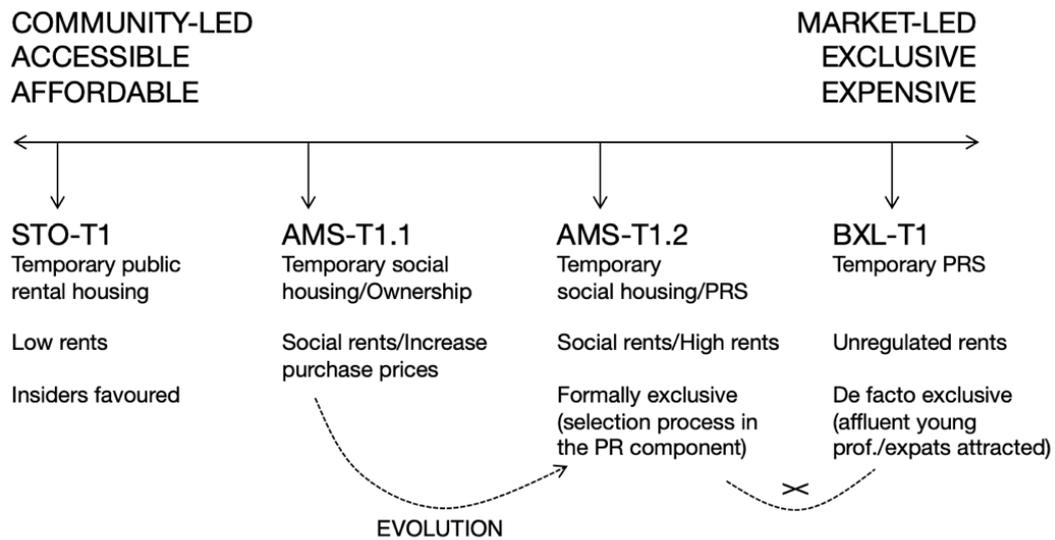


Figure 48: Spectrum of possibilities on the shared housing market (diagram: author)

The above reflections provide insights for the regulation of the shared housing market. Among governance instruments, focusing on regulation seems relevant in the three institutional frameworks, the effects of softer instruments being expected to be more limited and easily diverted, especially in a context of globalisation and commodification. In particular, the researcher advocates for the creation of specific standards for shared space design in building regulations. In the Dutch building decree, for example, shared spaces are not subject to explicit rules at present. The same goes for the other case-study cities. Regulatory interventions at the local and national levels might be the most effective and easiest to implement in a context of housing commodification.

Apart from regulation per se, new actors (e.g., co-working companies) and instruments could facilitate the operation of shared spaces, which would help reduce the implementation risks of shared housing developments. These measures could enhance the added value of shared spaces for the residents of small living space and avoid that shared facilities mostly serve the marketing of small housing and are marginalised when market pressure grows. Furthermore, given the above concerns about the affordability and accessibility of the shared housing market, further research on the long-term effects of this growing market segment and regulatory opportunities for improvement is needed.

Although the shared housing market may have grown more rapidly in Amsterdam, it is expected to develop in the other case-study cities as well. In particular, Stockholm is expected to show similar developments in the future, given the shift to market-led housing provision and new policy incentives to develop small housing for young adults (see Chapter 4, section 3.2.2). Brussels' liberal housing regime is also a favourable context to the expansion of the shared housing market. This market segment is further expected to develop in European cities facing housing commodification and a housing shortage for young adults. In the countries to which the studied cities belong, university cities and cities with a high housing demand will be probably confronted to this growing phenomenon, given their difficulties in accommodating similar target demographics (e.g., in the Netherlands - see Fang & van Liempt, 2020; Hochstenbach et al., 2020). In other countries, the shared housing market is more likely to grow in liberal regimes such as the UK, where higher rates of shared housing arrangements have been observed (Arundel & Ronald, 2016).

<b>Amsterdam</b> (Projects AMS-T1.1;2)	<b>Brussels</b> (Project BXL-T1)	<b>Stockholm</b> (Project STO-T1)
Actors (roles)		
<i>Planning:</i> Municipality (entrepreneurial) <i>Development:</i> market & third sector (strategic) <i>Design:</i> architect <i>Other:</i> co-working company	<i>Planning:</i> Municipality, (BCR) (facilitating) <i>Development:</i> Market (strategic) <i>Design:</i> architect	<i>Planning:</i> Municipality (facilitating) <i>Development:</i> two third-sector parties (steering) <i>Design:</i> architect & contractor (strategic)
Planning and regulatory instruments		
Land-lease contract Temporary tenancy	Planning permission	Temporary planning permission
Shared interests		
Location Small housing for young adults Temporary product Make the projects happen	Location Cross-generational mix Balanced product Enhance housing supply and attractiveness	Location Affordable housing for young people Standard-quality product Political role of the project
Outcomes		
Successful product Shared spaces and services balancing small living (AMS-T1.1) v. serving the marketing concept (AMS-T1.2) Regulated, social rents and homeownership (AMS-T1.1) v. market-priced rents (AMS-T1.2) Indications of exclusive housing (AMS-T1.2)	Mitigated success Shared spaces facilitating the acceptability of smaller dwellings Unregulated rents in a high-priced municipality Indications of self-segregation, exclusive housing	Successful product but temporariness and spatial quality discussed Shared spaces bringing added value but no live-work mix Affordable rents Stockholm's insiders favoured

**Table 7: Shared housing market - summary of the findings**

### 3 LIVE-WORK DEVELOPMENT IN TARGETED AREAS

*All over the world, spatial policy instruments have been used to turn mono-industrial land into mixed-use development areas, thereby instigating industrial gentrification and pulling the land of productive and industrial economic activities into the spectacular-speculative realm (De Boeck et al., 2017). This happens in a context of financial austerity and confronts us once more with the challenge of scale in relation to governance: property-led development, densification, and the initiation of gentrification processes through rezoning policies are often the only way in which municipalities can improve their precarious financial situation.*

(S. De Boeck, Bassens, & Ryckewaert, 2019, p. 74)

This section addresses the second type of live-work mix investigated, namely live-work development in targeted areas. The concept of ‘live-work development’ applies to mixed-use developments with live-work goals. Targeted areas refer to areas on which local urban development strategies focus. They mostly consist of former office or industrial areas in redevelopment. The ‘work’ component of these developments encompasses small-scale offices, light industry (in workshops) and commercial units. Mixed-use is observed either at the building level, implying joint, 3D-property (i.e., vertical division of ownership) or at the block level. Both small households and young families are of interest to the initiators of these projects, who are mostly developers and investors.

The analytical framework is here adapted to focus on the planning instruments used to implement live-work goals and the consensus-building process. Two research questions are, thus, addressed in this section:

- What is the impact of local institutional frameworks on live-work development? In particular, which actors and instruments make such developments possible?
- What are the primary shared interests in these developments, and how do the actors build consensus on these interests?

Again, the results are presented city by city, using the following structure: (i) reconstruction of facts, (ii) (new) actors and their roles, (iii) (new) instruments and conflicts and (iv) consensus-building process.

The findings<sup>50</sup> are first presented for Amsterdam, followed by Brussels and Stockholm. The results are compared in a final discussion.

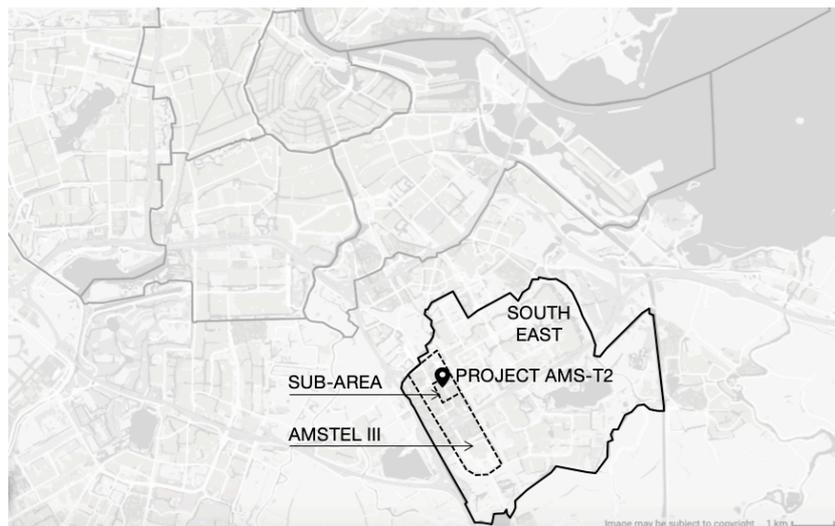
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<sup>50</sup> Amsterdam and Brussels’ content elaborates upon Uyttebrouck, C., Remøy, H., & Teller, J. (in press). The governance of live-work mix: actors and instruments in Amsterdam and Brussels development projects. *Cities*.

### **3.1 TRANSFORMING AN OFFICE AREA IN AMSTERDAM**

#### **3.1.1 Reconstruction of facts**

Project AMS-T2 (28,500 m<sup>2</sup>) is part of the transformation of two office blocks (sub-area studied) in the 1960s district Amstel III, Amsterdam South-East (Figure 49). Redeveloping this area was complex because of the existing leasehold, which made the usual planning instruments unsuitable. Hence, the public and private actors co-wrote a local vision for the neighbourhood to provide guidelines for the redevelopment. Then, the municipality issued a development strategy for Amstel III and a development contract for each project. Project AMS-T2 consists of the demolition of an office building and the construction of two residential towers (274 dwellings) with a common ground floor (Figure 50). After negotiations about the requirements of the '40/40/20' policy, the tenure mix included 60% mid-rental housing but only 10% social housing. Commercial/office units and parking facilities are located on the lower floors. The development process is described in what follows.



**Figure 49: Location of project AMS-T2, in Amstel III (dashed lined) - Amsterdam South East (solid line) (map: [www.maps.amsterdam.nl](http://www.maps.amsterdam.nl); diagram: author)**



**Figure 50: A rendering of project AMS-T2 (source anonymised) against the existing built environment (credit: author)**

*Phase 1: Design (2016 – 2017)*. The investor acquired the office building in 2016. The mid-rental housing programme had to be negotiated when the policy ‘40/40/20’ was issued. *Phase 2: Planning (2017)*. All parties involved decided to collaborate on a local vision, with the help of consultants. Both the government architect and the architectural review committee were consulted. The global development strategy for Amstel III was issued later on, and a development contract was established for each project. *Phase 3: First phase implementation (2018 – present)*. Both the building permit request and the land-use plan modification were introduced in 2018. A park was designed to enhance the area attractiveness, which is conditioned to the implementation of all projects.

### 3.1.2 (New) actors and their roles

*State support* for live-work mix was observed in project AMS-T2, but with limited governance capacity because the municipality’s steering capacity has decreased since the 1990s and even further after the real estate crisis that followed the 2008 financial crisis (Savini, 2016). The existing ownership structure further reduced this capacity, prompting the municipality to develop new roles to attract market parties and accelerate the transformation of the area. The municipality showed greater flexibility on certain requirements.

‘It’s very important to get started in this area, instead of thinking of all those features you have to take into place, because this area won’t be transformed if you put all the levels of things you have to comply to...that, it won’t happen over here. They [The municipality] realised it. Because they tried for ten years to make something else from this area and it never...*nothing happened*.’ [Investor AMS-T2; emphasis added]

These comments reflect the *stimulating* and *facilitating* roles the municipality assigned to itself in the strategic vision for Amstel III (see below). The municipality outlined this strategy but was reported as *behind market* in the definition of the local vision for the sub-area (PM AMS-T2). The municipality had to balance its long-term goals with the market’s willingness to fulfil them (Urban planner AMS-T2). A recent actor in Amsterdam’s spatial planning community, the government architect (*Supervisor architectuur en stedenbouw*), supervised the spatial quality of the developments during the design phase and paid special attention to density and mixed-use design (Supervisor AMS-T2). The government architect’s role goes beyond the usual regulatory role of planning authorities and emphasises design-oriented planning. The Government architect’s discourse illustrates the willingness to relax rules during the first phase of the area redevelopment.

‘They were one of the early adaptors, they are pioneers, and I would not be an advocate, in the sense now that, if you remove office space, and you just build housing, I would have a problem, I would like a kind of, *an equal investment in both housing and offices*. Otherwise, one takes over from the other, and then one becomes dominant, and the other one becomes weak, and the other one

dies. Let's say the office would die out. In this case, we have another large office development taking place, so I can compensate for that, in this case. In another case, I expect them to also build offices. In this particular case, it was unnecessary, because of the early... *they were early adaptors*. Do you understand?' [Supervisor AMS-T2; emphasis added]

The *market* was reluctant to adopt live-work mix and instead *opportunistically*<sup>51</sup> maximised residential density. The developers justified the high-density choice by regarding themselves as 'pioneers' in the area. Cost efficiency further influenced the market's decision to demolish as opposed to convert the existing office buildings. However, the recovery of the office market after the real estate crisis and the renewed demand for offices created competition between housing and offices. Despite a strong housing market, the impact of each function on land-lease prices disturbed market choices for the development programmes (Developer AMS-T2). Nevertheless, for the studied plot, the investor strategically focused on its core business activity (mid-rental housing), and he negotiated the possibility to upgrade the social units to mid-rental units after 15 years (Investor AMS-T2).

### **3.1.3 (New) instruments**

The *new instruments* used in the planning process were examined from the area to the plot level. The Development Strategy (*Ontwikkelstrategie Amstel III*, December 2017) sets goals for Amstel III. This legally binding document acknowledges the need for the municipality to collaborate closely with landlords, investors and developers without making new plans. The explicit mention of increased market responsibility illustrates the emphasis on market interests. The programmatic vision (included in the tool) offers a long-term framework and specifies that the municipality is alternately required to play *facilitating*, *stimulating* and *guiding* roles. This document also lists goals to densify the area through housing development and offer workplaces that are adapted to the 'urban knowledge economy' to transform Amstel III into an attractive living-working city district. Somewhat uncommonly, the local vision for the neighbourhood (*Buurtnvisie*, October 2017) was issued ahead of the development strategy. The vision formalised common goals and intentions for several topics, including the proportion of amenities and non-residential functions. The balance between guidelines and rules in the document was instrumental to the market's commitment.

'So, you could say it's a new way of master planning, it's not a master plan saying: 'Ok, everything is fixed.' No, you try to make a set of rules that make sure that you will not stop the energy of this market party that really wants to start. It's just ... What do you really need to fix, and what can be open for a market to fill?' [PM AMS-T2]

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<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 2, section 4.2.1 for the explanation of strategic and opportunistic market behaviour.

The local vision was the main consensus instrument. It is a non-legally binding political agreement (Savini, 2016) that was co-authored by public and private parties with the support of external consultants. The vision helped the municipality bind small- and large-scale instruments, namely development contracts and the subsequent development strategy. According to Developer AMS-T2, helping define the vision made him feel more committed to transforming the area. Nevertheless, the local vision turned out to be too flexible for the rigid land-lease system. Although the land-lease system originally made it difficult to change rights, the local vision lacked prescriptive rules to ensure the implementation of live-work goals. At the plot level, in the absence of a tendering process before the developments, the market and municipality entered into development contracts (*Kavelpasspoort*, 2018). Each contract consisted of a private mutual agreement about specific rules, including negotiations regarding the functions allowed. In the Netherlands, development contracts have been used increasingly in land-use change situations to enhance certainty, mitigate opportunistic behaviours and facilitate adaptability (Savini, 2016; van den Hurk & Taşan-Kok, 2020).

### 3.1.4 Consensus building: the ‘we need them, and they need us’ rationale

Despite the complex transformation process, there was consensus on mixed-use objectives. The situation brought all parties together in a new form of governance that different interviewees variously named ‘light urbanism’, ‘organic development’ or ‘co-creation’. In the literature, such governance is built on consensus, and the active involvement of the market is referred to as ‘entrepreneurial’ (Taşan-Kok, 2010), ‘collaborative’ (Healey, 1997) or ‘strategic’ (Albrechts, 2004). Similar ‘organic developments’ have been observed in other transformation areas in Amsterdam and face tension between flexibility and legal certainty alike (Dembski et al., 2020). Because the market parties were aware that they were needed to initiate the area’s transformation, they knew they were in a steering position. Two consultants helped the partners define their common vision by acting as intermediaries between the actors. The thoughts of a few actors were gathered to illustrate this collaborative effort.

‘We were searching together to get a certain output that could be sufficient enough for the market to move forward and wouldn’t be too strict for the municipality to not fit in their bigger structure.’  
[PM AMS-T2]

‘What we’re trying to do is to minimise the amount of rules, so we can still control things are going right. So, it’s always the balance: what kind of rules do we put up, and what kind of freedom do we give to the market? (...) Within the process, we are trying to *seduce* them, to make good plans together. (...) It’s always this balance, in our ambition: what we want, and what is still feasible out of the developer.’ [Urban planner AMS-T2]

‘We tried to, as in a pioneers’ phase, to really understand each other and to make a plan together, which has eventually become the *Buurtwisie*, in which we made spatial agreements or rules, and

also we talked about these topics, how to bring it further in the next phase, which we are actually in now.’ [Investor AMS-T2]

However, the consensus-building process was affected by the need to find a compromise between ensuring the pioneers’ commitment and preserving the long-term vision, which led the municipality to modify its goals.

‘In a way, we are happy with...that something is already happening there. And it’s a very good... the quality of the building is ok, the programme is ok, it’s not spectacular, it’s not very high on ambition, but what do you expect within this area for the first project?’ [Urban planner AMS-T2]

Hence, the tenure mix was negotiated for each development and formalised in the development contract. This enabled the market to target primarily young, middle-class and expatriate residents, and reduces the chances that the municipality will achieve its tenure mix goals, which was reported as a concern for the planning authorities.

‘The municipality said “we want to make it more diverse” and what we especially want is, within the big frame of the South-East, we said we have now the story that the railway and the metro line are the backbones of the whole area. And what the municipality is scared of, is that this will be a kind of yuppy and only for the creative people, and not for people on the other side of the railway track<sup>52</sup>.’ [Planner AMS-T2]

Similar patterns were indeed observed in Amsterdam in the past, in the context of tenure conversions into homeownership (e.g., Boterman & van Gent, 2014).

## **3.2 REGENERATING AN INDUSTRIAL AREA IN BRUSSELS**

### **3.2.1 Reconstruction of facts**

#### **Project BXL-T2.1**

Project BXL-T2.1 (39,300 m<sup>2</sup> for Phase 1) consists of the construction of a seven-block district along the canal in Anderlecht (Figure 51), a municipality of Brussels with an industrial past. The municipality started working on a local land-use plan for this area before regional land-use regulation opened the area to housing development. The first phase (Figure 52, left panel) combines elderly housing, 95 owner-occupied dwellings and business-to-business services. Before the local land-use plan was adopted, a thorough revision of the project was conducted to obtain planning permission. All remaining blocks were subject to a subdivision permit. The second phase (41,300 m<sup>2</sup>) includes subsidised housing (181 dwellings in total) and productive activities. The last four blocks should deliver more productive activities and public facilities. Public competitions were planned for these blocks, with the support of the government architect. The development process is described in what follows.

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<sup>52</sup> There are post-war social housing properties separated from Amstel III by the railway.

*Phase 1: First permit and masterplan (2010 – 2014).* The municipality started working on the local land-use plan in 2010 before the regional land-use regulation was revised. The developer (and owner of the land) submitted a master plan and a building permit request, which were both rejected for lacking functional mix. *Phase 2: Second permit and phase 1 (2014 – 2019).* The developer restarted phase 1 with two mixed-use blocks of higher density. The second permit was delivered before the adoption of the local land-use plan (2017). The apartments and business to business (B2B) services were allocated rapidly, whereas the productive workshops (light manufacturing workplaces) were still empty in winter 2019. *Phase 3: Next phase and subdivision permit (2016 – present).* All remaining blocks were subject to a subdivision permit (2018). The planning permission for phase 2 was delivered after negotiations, notably on the productive activities. Public competitions were planned for the next blocks, with the support of the government architect.

### **Project BXL-T2.2**

Project BXL-T2.2 (24,300 m<sup>2</sup>) is located in a highly mixed area near project BXL-T2.1. The development (Figure 52, right panel) is the result of an architectural competition organised by the regional development company, which had previously applied for a subdivision permit after acquiring the land. The development includes 103 subsidised housing units, various facilities and a multi-purpose building (*Bâtiment à Affectations Multiples* [BAM]). The latter building must include a certain proportion of productive activities, services and housing, the distribution of which can be adapted over time. The first scenario for the BAM was determined before the permit request, and the design was adapted accordingly. The development process is described in what follows.

*Phase 1: Masterplan and subdivision permit (2014 – 2016).* A private firm designed the masterplan in 2014 on behalf of the regional development company. The latter applied for a subdivision permit (2016) on this base. The municipality was involved in defining the volumes and proportions of functions. *Phase 2: Competition and design (2017 – 2019).* After the architectural competition took place (2017-2018), a first scenario was chosen for the BAM to introduce the permit request (2019), and the design was adapted accordingly. *Phase 3: Construction and delivery (2020 – 2022).* The project should be completed in 2022.

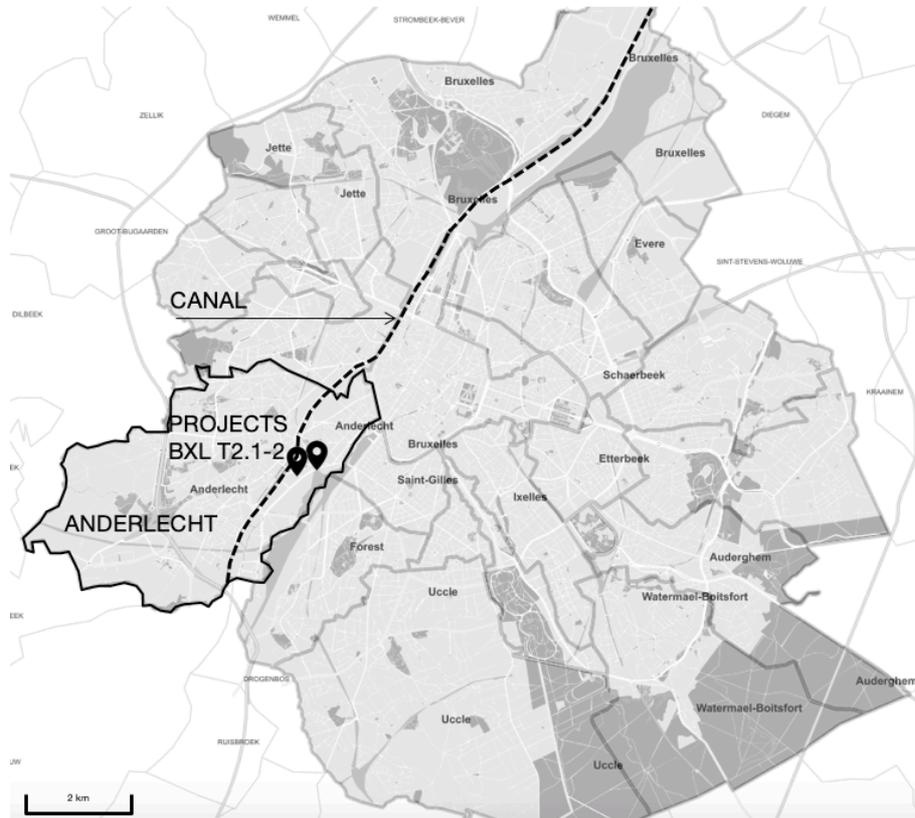


Figure 51: Location of projects BXL-T2.1;2 along the canal in Anderlecht (map: urbisonline.brussels; diagram: author).



Figure 52: View of Project BXL-T2.1, Phase 1 completed (left panel - credit: author) and rendering of project BXL-T2.2 (right panel - source anonymised)

### 3.2.2 (New) actors and their roles

In these two projects, *state support* for live-work mix was conspicuous in the active roles of new actors. The three key actors advocating for live-work mix were the regional development company, the canal team and the government architect, and they compensated for the Anderlecht municipality's weaknesses. Limited by institutional complexity and a lack of resources, the municipality had to use indirect value-capturing instruments and demand public facilities (e.g., a preschool in project BXL-T2.2) from the developers before the projects could

proceed. The municipality also supported owner-occupied housing and saw the existing, well-anchored industry in the area as a barrier to attracting potential homeowners (De Boeck et al., 2017). Although the municipality was behind the regional institutions in the process for project BXL-T2.1, it had a *steering* role in project BXL-T2.2. The regional development company played an *entrepreneurial* role in initiating the BAM concept (project BXL-T2.2), confirming its ability to innovate live-work concepts.

‘It’s a *pilot project* that we are developing here. So, we don’t really know if it is going to work and if it will bear fruit. Because, mixed-use, having a workshop close to housing, is it something that can exist? We tend to take for granted that it cannot exist, but well, it demands another reflection, as a matter of fact. It demands to design projects in another way.’ [Citydev BXL-T2.2; author’s translation; emphasis added]

The Canal team (second key actor) was created to implement the Canal plan and foster collaboration between regional institutions (De Boeck et al., 2017). In project BXL-T2.1 (Phase 2), the Canal team made it possible for all regional institutions to speak with one voice in front of the developer (Bouwmeester BXL-T2.1). The team also defended a certain vision for live-work mix that smoothly integrated productive activities. The government architect (*Bouwmeester*) is in the Canal team, but his main roles are to oversee the spatial quality of new developments (as in Amsterdam) and organise architectural competitions. The current government architect also emphasises the development of productive activities, such as fablabs and craftsmanship, based on a ‘productive-city’ discourse (De Boeck et al., 2017). For project BXL-T2.1, the government architect reviewed local planning instruments and the design of Phase 2. Nevertheless, this phase was adapted with only marginal changes. Again, the active role of the government architect in the design illustrates a case of design-oriented planning.

The *market* played an *opportunistic* role in the projects by focusing on its core business, at the expense of productive activities. The developers were hardly confident in the commercialisation of a kind of project in which they had little experience.

‘It is a challenge to commercialise housing above productive activities. We are going to have questions; we are only about to start. We are going to have questions on “yes, but, what are we going to have behind us, are we not going to have some”... It is clearly not as simple as if it was a small shop or if it was... You see, it’s not...it’s still a challenge.’ [Developer BXL-T2.1; author’s translation, emphasis added]

Nevertheless, developing subsidised housing dwellings with a standardised programme allowed for the derisking of the developments to a certain extent, especially since applications to purchase dwellings are held by the regional development company. The developers still negotiated the possibility of delivering relatively high-density housing. Moreover, in project BXL-T2.1, the new land-use regulation was captured by the market to develop housing and offices primarily (in Phase 1). Thus, productive activities were jeopardised because of

competition with other functions and uncertainty about the future property management of these spaces. Except for the subsidised dwellings, the developers had the authority to determine the target buyers (young couples and families) as long as they respected the municipality's request for mixed dwelling types.

'We do not interfere with the definition of the target group. Well, the target group...The developer, it is up to him to make calculations to know whom he has to, whom he will attract to be able to fill the dwellings. This is up to him. We just interfere with the number of bedrooms per dwelling.' [Urban planner BXL-T2.1; author's translation]

### **3.2.3 (New) instruments**

The only *new instrument* in both projects was the Canal plan (2013), which was made to assess the area, draw flexible guidelines and unite the actors (including the public sector actors) about these principles. This strategic instrument illustrates incremental planning based on case-by-case solutions and soft rules, that is, planning advocating incrementalism, mutual adjustment and negotiations in decision-making (Healey, 1997). Most importantly, the revision of land-use regulations and the strategic use of the local land-use plan (*Plan particulier d'affectation du sol*) made live-work mix possible in project BXL-T2.1. The local land-use plan was used to enhance the residential attractiveness of the area and provide for the development of productive activities. However, the time span between design and implementation (2010–2017) weakened the instrument. Finally, both projects used the subdivision permit, a mainstream regulatory instrument based on a masterplan defining functions, volumes and densities. In project BXL-T2.2, the subdivision permit (2016) framed the programme for the BAM and was used for the architectural competition (2017). This choice of instrument was criticised for being unsuitable for such a flexible and adaptive programme.

'It was not mandatory, but these are the regional authorities who imposed it to us, to do a subdivision permit. But it is one block, actually. One could wonder whether it was useful or not, to limit architectural creativity in one block (...). The problem of a subdivision permit is that we state in the requirements that the proposals must respect the framework of the permit. (...) Once I saw the proposals, I figured out that this inhibits architects' creativity, because I think they can come up with innovative solutions and the permit is a barrier, in this framework.' [Citydev BXL-T2.2; author's translation]

The subdivision permit (2018) for project BXL-T2.1 was conceived after the development of Phase 1 as a more precise complement to the local land-use plan.

*Conflicting uses* of instruments that created lock-in effects were also observed. For example, the municipal authorities considered Phase 1 in project BXL-T2.1 a 'failure' because planning permission was obtained before the local land-use plan was adopted. The municipal authorities felt 'trapped' (Urban Planner BXL-T2.1) by a process that they believed occurred too quickly

under pressure from the developer. Indeed, market pressure tends to impede Brussels' spatial planning (Romańczyk, 2012). In project BXL-T2.2, the inclusion of the BAM concept in the subdivision permit was hampered by inflexible building regulations. The building permit procedure requires that the initial scenario be both compliant to the subdivision permit and financially feasible. The scope of possibilities is thus limited by technical and regulatory issues. This is a barrier to the adaptability-over-time rationale and the flexibility goal, especially as another permit would be necessary to change the functions in the project.

### **3.2.4 Consensus building: an area of interest creating interdependencies**

*Consensus-building* was fostered by aspects of the projects that created interdependencies among the actors. The location was of interest to all actors because it was a large-scale, well-connected site that was available and affordable. These site characteristics attracted public and private investment, elicited greater acceptability of the projects from local authorities and created interdependencies between public and private actors, as well as within the public sector. In project BXL-T2.1, Phase 2, the Canal team led the collaborative process to improve communication between the planning authorities and the developer (Bouwmeester BXL-T2.1). Nevertheless, the institutional complexity of the public sector negatively impacted the decision-making processes in both projects, hindering clear communication of the actors' respective visions for the projects and creating tensions during the negotiations. For example, discrepancies among visions for the live-work mix were noticed. Such differences were assumed to be related to the actors' misperceptions about what constitutes productive activities. Developer BXL-T2.1 considered the emphasis on productive activities to be symptomatic of a nostalgic vision of the city, perhaps because he had an outdated vision of the urban industry.

'When it comes to mixed-use, we truly believe it's an added value. But it is perhaps more complicated with productive activities than originally imagined. Because originally, I think it is much more ambitious to really keep industry. And for this, well, we are more lukewarm. One cannot mix any type of industry with housing.' [Developer BXL-T2.1; author's translation]

A clearer definition of this function would have improved the consensus-building process.

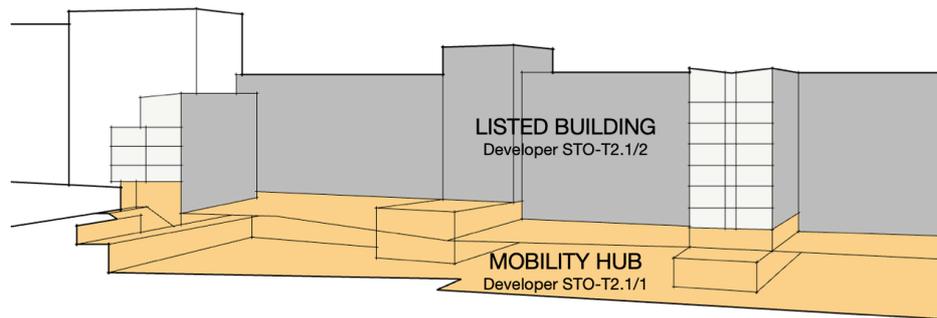
## **3.3 CONTRASTED LIVE-WORK DEVELOPMENT IN STOCKHOLM**

### **3.3.1 Reconstruction of facts**

#### **Project STO-T2.1**

Project STO-T2.1 (350 tenant-owned units of 33-77m<sup>2</sup>, 15,000m<sup>2</sup> estimated in total) consists of the conversion of an office building listed as cultural heritage into small dwellings for young professionals. This transformation takes part in the redevelopment (1000 units, 100,000 m<sup>2</sup>) of

the former headquarters of a large ICT company. The plot, initially mixing industry and offices, is located in a gentrifying area in the south of Stockholm (see Figure 54 closing this section). The converted building will be equipped with shared spaces (e.g., guestrooms), commercial units and ‘combo’ apartments (i.e., two-storey apartments combined with workshops). The mixed-use programme for the area includes small businesses, retail, pre-schools and a large basement with a mobility hub<sup>53</sup> (Figure 53). Two developers were involved in the project from the start: Developer STO-T2.1/1 (masterplan) and Developer STO-T2.1/2 (design of the buildings). The development process for the masterplan and heritage building is described in what follows.



**Figure 53: Ownership of the listed building divided between Developer STO-T2.1/1 (basement/mobility hub) and Developer STO-T2.1/2 (rest of the building) (diagram: author)**

*Phase 1: Before starting (until 2010).* Developer STO-T2.1/2 created his company in 2006. When the ICT company decided to move, the developer was soon interested in transforming the listed building into housing for young professionals (Architect STO-T2.1/2). *Phase 2: Acquisition and feasibility (2011 – 2013).* In 2011, Developer STO-T2.1/1 bought the property to a foreign owner and agreed on the transaction of the listed building with Developer STO-T2.1/2. The former started the overall planning process, while the latter focused on the feasibility of the conversion. *Phase 3: Design and planning (2014 – 2017).* When the ICT company left the building in 2014, the developers made a new agreement. The masterplan design (for the detailed plan) started next. The plan was approved in spring 2016, and the first developer handed over to the second. *Phase 4: Planning permission and conversion (2017 – 2019).* The new detailed plan entered into force in 2017, and the planning permission for the conversion was introduced. The transformation of the listed building started in 2019.

### **Project STO-T2.2**

Project STO-T2.2 consists of a high-rise development (276 tenant-owned units 50-112m<sup>2</sup>, 17,000 m<sup>2</sup>) including commercial units on the two lower floors and two pre-schools. The project is located in a ‘transformation area’ of the comprehensive plan. Three detailed plans cover the

<sup>53</sup> The basement occupies most of the underground on the plot.

whole site, which should become a life science cluster. An extensive infrastructure network runs through the area and marks the border between the municipalities of Stockholm and Solna (Figure 54). A decking was realised to cover all infrastructure and reduce the previously strong physical barrier. In total, the first detailed plan aims to deliver 3100 housing units, hotels and 300,000 m<sup>2</sup> of offices and retail. The studied building was the first residential project of this plan to be completed. The development process for this plot is described in what follows.

*Phase 1: Land allocation (until 2007).* The first negotiations between the municipality and market parties started in the 2000s, and they agreed on building a high-rise district over the highway. The winners of the 2007 land-allocation tender contributed to the definition of a vision for 2025, and each plot was allocated to four developers. *Phase 2: Detailed plan 1 and design (2008 – 2014).* The next year, Stockholm and Solna reached an agreement, and the first detailed plan was enacted in 2010. The building developments were delayed for several years due to the tremendous infrastructure work. In 2012, each plot was reallocated to one developer. Architect STO-T2.2 started the design of the project in 2013. *Phase 3: Construction and operation (2015 – 2017).* The construction of project STO-T2.2 could start when the infrastructure was almost completed. A new commuter-train station (2016) increased the attractiveness of the area (Co-work STO-T2.2). The first residents moved in the building in 2017.

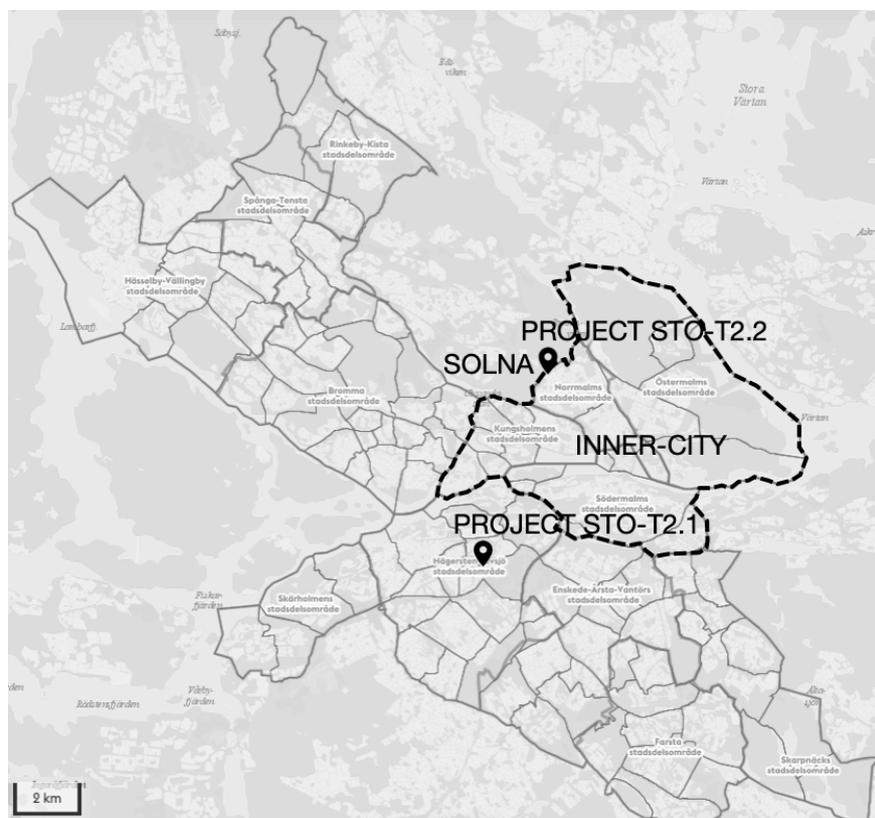


Figure 54: Location of projects STO-T2.1 (south) and project STO-T2.2 (north) on the edges of the inner city (dashed line) (map: vaxer.stockholm; diagram: author)

### 3.3.2 (New) actors and their roles

#### State: facilitating versus entrepreneurial roles

The projects highlight two contrasting roles for the municipality. In project STO-T2.1, the municipality had a *facilitating* role because its steering capacity was reduced in the context of private land. The planning office supported the project because it responded to the local government's desire to increase the housing supply, despite noise and pollution risks (proximity of the highway) and internal conflicts within the municipality.

'We have different responsibilities within the municipality. The city planning office is more focused on the building, and the use of the buildings, and when they have decided, let's say... They could have come up to the conclusion that this is not a good place for housing, it should continue to be working offices. And then [Developer STO-T2.1/2] had to rearrange their whole concept and do something else. We have a large lack of housing in Stockholm now, so *we have to push our limits* to create more buildings, housing. And so, I think this was partly a result of this.' [Planner STO-T2.1; emphasis added]

In the case of public land, additional demands could have been discussed ahead of the land allocation process, and the municipality would have been responsible for the masterplan that served as a basis for the new detailed plan. The municipality was still responsible for public space development and involved in the modification of the detailed plan.

Conversely, in project STO-T2.2, Stockholm city had an *entrepreneurial* role, given the scale and complexity of the redevelopment. The infrastructure development for the decking was a first-time experience with critical financial implications. Such an investment was influenced by the decision to sell land for tenant ownership during the 1990s<sup>54</sup> (Planner STO-T2.2). Hence, this tenure form was encouraged, and high-density living was planned. Creating a market for high-rise development would ensure the attractiveness of the mixed-use, life-science hub in-the-making. The proximity to the high-standard, inner-city district *Vasastan* influenced the prices of the tenant-owned apartments<sup>55</sup>. The municipality consciously permitted high-priced housing development, which generates more revenue for the city, in the absence of political support to affordable housing.

'We are not like doing this structure and this design for special groups of people, because we think they want to live there. It's just the prices of the apartments which lead to this. But when we make a project, it's still... If the city decides, and we don't sell those, we make rental apartments, cheaper rental apartments, *it's possible, it's a political decision*, it will... The consequences are that you make less money and the city already loses a lot of money' [Planner STO-T2.2; emphasis added]

<sup>54</sup> Since the 1990s, land allocation is different for tenant ownership (land sale) and rental housing (leasehold).

<sup>55</sup> For instance, a 51-m<sup>2</sup> apartment was sold (website of the broker) SEK4,350,000 – about €420,000 – that is, over €8,000 per square meter.

Nevertheless, the long period between the issue of the first detailed plan and its implementation weakened the municipality's governance capacity (Planner STO-T2.2).

The government architect was not evoked during the interviews (except once by Planner STO-T2.2). In Stockholm, this actor is mostly involved in iconic projects, often non-residential and located in the core-city or with heritage issues, as reported by the attendees of the feedback workshop (see Chapter 3, section 4). Further investigation on the role of this actor would have been relevant for the sake of comparison with the other cities.

### **Empowered market: steering and strategic roles**

Both projects illustrate empowered developers, free to define target demographics and commercial programmes, but with different roles. Project STO-T2.1, developed on private land, is the outcome of the overlapping actions of two small-sized companies specialising in conversions and in-fill development. Developer STO-T2.1/1 had a *steering* role during the master-planning phase and defined its core business as handling complex projects.

'I think that's one of our unique selling points as I said, and marketing, that we can handle this kind of quite complex situations, where you have a building that...We're doing the same in *Linköping* now actually, where you have a building that has a cultural heritage, you can't change it that much, and then you have to do complements to it, to make it work, and urban environment, or in this case with housing instead of offices and so on. (...) I think we have a quite good niche there because there are really large construction companies, and so on, they don't like this kind of projects, it's too complicated, they just want to build houses.' [Developer STO-T2.1/1]

This developer initiated the live-work redevelopment with creative economic activities in the mobility hub (e.g., bicycle workshop, pop up stores) and combo dwellings (i.e., housing and creative workshops combined for artists and creative start-ups).

However, Developer STO-T2.1/1 faced financial losses after restrictions on building heights, and he decided to concede most of the site to Developer STO-T2.1/2, who became responsible for steering and implementing the masterplan. Nevertheless, the company was already involved from the start in the conversion of the listed building into shared housing for young professionals<sup>56</sup>. Small, tenant-owned<sup>57</sup> apartments were planned for this building to optimise cost efficiency in the constraining framework (heritage, highway, scale). Also, since the basement remained the property of the first developer, joint property arrangements were made during the development process and slowed down the conversion.

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<sup>56</sup> In that respect, project STO-T2.1 could have been absorbed to the 'shared housing market' type, should the analysis be bounded to the listed building.

<sup>57</sup> Architect STO-T2.1/2 suspected the developer to change tenure to rental housing due to the market downturn.

In project STO-T2.2, as well as the other projects included in the redevelopment area, the market parties put pressure on the municipality to redistribute the plots to one developer per block, to improve cost-efficiency. Cost reduction also influenced the choice of prefabricated façades in most projects. Developer STO-T2.2 bought the on-going project from another company and *strategically* optimised the design (Architect STO-T2.2/1). The developer also revised the standard of the building downwards and asked for downsizing the housing units (Architect STO-T2.1/2). As a result, most floors include 90% one-bedroom units (starting from 34 m<sup>2</sup> – Architect STO-T2.2/2), indirectly targeted at young adults and affluent households.

‘They had ideas about what target group would be for these apartments. But it’s always the same target group, and it’s a central location, and that’s rich, young people who like to drink a lot of café latte (laughs).’ [Architect STO-T2.2/1]

‘When we looked at it, maybe around 70% is from the nearby area, so *Vasastan* and some people are also from *Östermalm*. So, they’re coming from places where the prices are around SEK90,000/m<sup>2</sup> [€9,000/m<sup>2</sup>]. (...) They are coming from another apartment where the prices are the same price category.’ [Developer STO-T2.2]

The redevelopment area is thus likely to offer similar standing as high-priced inner-city districts, for the same upper-middle-class groups.

### **3.3.1 (New) instruments**

The principal planning instrument used in the two projects was the detailed development plan, the mainstream legally-binding instrument required for any new development (see Chapter 4, section 3.1.3). This tool was strategically used to define mixed-use goals, together with housing and job supply targets. Although enhancing flexibility, these goals made the implementation of the plan uncertain. Other instruments were used in the planning process. However, those were outdated (e.g., the vision 2025 written in 2007 for project STO-T2.2) or not accessible (e.g., the transaction agreement between the developers in project STO-T2.1).

In project STO-T2.1, the developing team was responsible for the masterplan, which aimed at ‘activating’ public space with public ground floors (including retail, offices and pre-schools) and the basement. However, the detailed plan describes the mixed-use as an ‘option’ (Planner STO-T2.1), which compromises its implementation. Moreover, the plan is ambivalent regarding the live-work goals: it prioritises housing development while referring to the ‘walkable’ city.

In project STO-T2.2, the planning process was split into three detailed plans, and only the first one was implemented in 2019. The first plan emphasises ‘flexible planning’ and includes specifications on mixed-use and building heights to fulfil the densification and urban-renewal goals of the city. Beyond the development of inner-city functions and life science, the mixed-use goals encompass demands for non-residential functions (e.g., shops, pre-schools, small

offices) on each building's lower floors. The housing and office supply goals made the area very mixed on paper. The life science focus prevailed on the industrial past of the area and brought businesses and co-working companies specialised in this field (Co-Work STO-T2.2). The requirement for double-height commercial ground floors allowed the development of small-scale offices in some cases (Figure 55). However, housing and offices were overall separated in different plots to avoid joint, 3D property arrangements.



**Figure 55: Project STO-T2.2. Commercial ground floor: offices on the first floor (left panel) and double height shop (right panel) (credit: author)**

Variety and diversity were promoted in the detailed plans of both projects because the municipality wanted to avoid the developments to resemble those of the MHP (Architect STO-T2.2/1), especially in project STO-T2.2.

‘There was like, seven years ago, there was very important... In a lot of different kinds of projects, around, in different municipalities around Stockholm, variation was the most important thing. And they wanted high and low buildings, and mixed, which is not a Stockholm tradition, to build. And then, there were lots of discussions to have these small sites.’ [Developer STO-T2.2]

This concern partly explains the initial demand for four developers per plot.

### **3.3.2 Consensus building: various shared interests fostering collaboration**

Location was the main element of consensus in both projects. It conditioned attractiveness, together with thematic economic development and housing supply. Delivering high-density living was another shared interest, although it was the initiative of a developer in project STO-T2.1 and the municipality in project STO-T2.2, consistently with differences in land ownership.

In project STO-T2.1, the interviewees saw the well-connected and gentrifying location as attractive to young adults. All actors were further committed to giving an inner-city identity to the neighbourhood by creating ‘active’ ground floors.

‘It’s an attractive area, [name of the area], it is. And, of course, since it’s a creative hub in Stockholm, you have *Konstfack*, you have Hyper Island, and a lot of other creative businesses, this street here, *Tellusborgsvägen*, is connected to different restaurants, and also connecting over to

*Midsommarkransen*, and these are two really popular housing areas in general. What they don't have is this urban mixed-use, urban fabric, really.' [Architect STO-T2.1/1]

The actors also agreed on preserving the heritage value of the iconic building, for which the site constraints justified small housing units, and renewing its attractiveness. Developer STO-T2.1/2 used tricks to better sell the small apartments by marketing storage space as living space.

'You could have a room here, and you could furnish that as a bedroom, but it's not really, in the legal sense of the word, it's not light, because it's shed light through the corridor space. And the corridor space is internal, so we're not really able to call this a bedroom but, I mean, I suspect most people are gonna use that as a bedroom (...) I think that turned into how to sell in a way that you might get it. Then, we maybe used it better than previously, because how do you actually sell it?' [Architect STO-T2.1/2]

The developer also decided to include shared spaces in residual spaces inappropriate for housing, as it was observed in the shared housing market (see section 2).

In project STO-T2.2, the well-connected area, strategically positioned between the city centre and the airport, was attractive as well. There were, thus, shared interests to transform the site and build an inner-city identity. From the public side, it was an opportunity to address the housing shortage, refurbish the regional hospital and complete the ring road. For market parties, the proximity to the hospital and *Vasastan* were essential commercial arguments. The consensus-building process started with first negotiations, ahead of planning.

'In the beginning of 2000, I was working at a third company, a company called NCC. And then, we were a group sitting, like Skanska, NCC, OP, JM, and discussed with Stockholm if we could have some early, you know the word *Marketvisning* [Market view]? To have an early negotiation about, with Stockholm, to have, that we could build and do, take some care of the over decking' [Developer STO-T2.2]

Furthermore, building high-rise was mandatory for the municipality to get a return on tremendous financial investment in infrastructure.

'The main reason was to make it possible financially. It was not a statement that the city should be better if you make it more dense. Because it was...So, the basic, to make this possible, they calculated that this part of the city needed to be twice as dense as the central city.' [Planner STO-T2.2]

The density of the area was criticised for jeopardising the spatial quality of public space, with insufficient daylight, public services and green space. In particular, the courtyards appeared to be too small, and the pre-schools were soon overcrowded (Architect STO-T2.2/2). More amenities were planned in the second phase of the detailed plan, as compensation (Planner STO-T2.2). Moreover, due to the market pressure, no shared spaces were included, except for guest apartments (paid service). Even laundries were turned into storage during the process.

'We tried very hard to get two, like, laundry rooms, even though they have a washing machine, like have also communal laundry rooms. And we had that for a long time, but then, *it turned into storage*. Because the developer wanted storage to be included in the apartments for things like...it can be a closet, but counted as storage. But then you realise that people also need storage, so at

some point, we started taking a lot of the extra space in the basement, and made them into rentable storage.’ [Architect STO-T2.2/2; emphasis added]

This scenario corresponds to what was identified as a risk in the discussion of the shared housing market (see section 2.4).

Collaborative governance was affected by technical challenges and tight schedules. The delays in the infrastructure work led the municipality to put financial pressure on the developers to finish on time (Architect STO-T2.2/2). Within the municipality itself, Planner STO-T2.2 reported internal pressure on the civil servants of the permit department. Moreover, the period between the delivery of the first detailed plan (2010) and its implementation (2015) reduced negotiations opportunities in this multi-stakeholder development, gathering powerful interests.

### 3.4 DISCUSSION

Live-work mix can both support economic development and enhance residential attractiveness. For that reason, it has been increasingly advocated in urban agendas. The empirical research presented in this section regarding live-work projects in targeted areas of Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm indicates that live-work development has taken different paths in the case-study cities (Figure 56 and Table 8). Such divergences reflect discrepancies in ontologies of live-work mix, and more specifically, in what the ‘live’ and ‘work’ components ought to be. Chapter 4 showed that Amsterdam promotes mid-rental housing and working-living milieus that rely on a knowledge-city discourse. Brussels emphasises subsidised homeownership and productive activities based on a productive-city discourse, and Stockholm indirectly supports high-priced tenant ownership in densification areas as part of an urban-growth discourse coupled with thematic economic development. Nevertheless, the analysis found similar governance arrangements that enabled the actors to manage complex situations throughout the planning process (e.g., joint-property arrangements in Brussels and Stockholm, existing leasehold in Amsterdam).

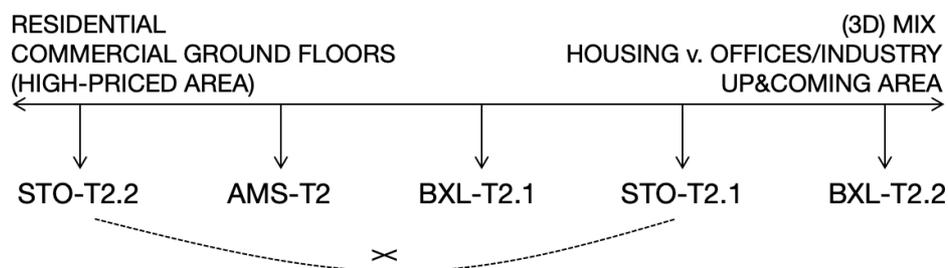


Figure 56: Comparison of the studied live-work developments according to the degree of mix and type of location (diagram: author)

*State* support is an essential component of live-work development. However, the types of actors involved and the roles they play vary between the cities. In the projects examined, the Amsterdam municipality assumed an unusually facilitating role, given its reduced steering capacity, and in Brussels, new actors were key to the developments. The Canal team improved the collective governance capacity of the regional institutions, while the regional development company played an entrepreneurial role. Stockholm exemplified contrasting roles for the municipality – facilitating and entrepreneurial – depending on land ownership and investments. Amsterdam and Brussels benefitted from an actor dedicated to spatial quality, the government architect, which confirms the need for design-oriented planning and the importance of high-quality design in live-work projects (Grant & Perrott, 2011). The government architect is also present in Stockholm, but it was not involved in the studied projects. The local variations in state roles illustrate discrepancies in planning regimes. Institutional fragmentation in Brussels required new government agencies to improve its governance capacity. In contrast, Amsterdam and Stockholm still centralise their resources, although they increasingly need to be assisted by external consultants. In most cases, the cities used new actors as ‘innovation intermediaries’ to facilitate interactions among mainstream actors (Nyström et al., 2014).

Conversely, the *market* remains reluctant to develop live-work mix because investors and developers are primarily interested in the ‘live’ component. Analysis of the projects showed strategic and even opportunistic markets. In Amsterdam and Stockholm, they were focused on cost efficiency and ‘easy’ target groups that are likely to settle in an area as pioneer residents (Hochstenbach & Boterman, 2015). In Brussels, the market was able to mitigate risks by developing subsidised housing and offices in addition to productive activities. Interestingly, no social housing providers (or municipal housing companies in Stockholm) were involved in any of the projects examined. This observation would require further research to understand to what extent the shared interest of the state and the market for demographics that they consider as ‘attractive’ (e.g., young, middle class) may have influenced the absence of collaboration with a social housing provider. Not collaborating with this type of actor might lead to overlooking lower-income households. Studying further the societal impact of such collaboration would thus be relevant.

The planning *instruments* used in the projects studied captured the difficult balance between strategy and regulation. Live-work goals are often constrained by traditional planning instruments and regulations. Hence, the actors established (and in some cases, co-authored) custom-made planning instruments consisting of local visions. They also used existing instruments strategically (e.g., the development contract in Amsterdam, the subdivision permit

in Brussels or the detailed development plan in Stockholm) to enhance both flexibility and predictability. The choice of these instruments illustrates variants of strategic planning in the three cities – contract planning in Amsterdam and Stockholm and incremental planning in Brussels – consistently with their respective planning systems. However, in Amsterdam and Brussels, these instruments conflicted with existing regulations (e.g., land-lease contract, planning permission), which constrained the implementation of the projects. In Stockholm, the detailed development plan – which somehow combines the functions of a land-use plan and a development contract – was strategically used. However, the long period between its design and implementation undermined the instrument.

Despite these planning issues, early-stage collaboration triggered *consensus-building* in live-work development. A shared interest in enhancing the residential attractiveness of the locations was observed (an obsolete office area in Amsterdam, an industrial deprived area in Brussels and both former office and industrial areas in Stockholm). This legitimised the focus of the market on delivering housing for middle-income households (Brussels and Amsterdam) to higher-income households (Stockholm), with tenure forms influenced by each city's housing regime. Such decisions, as well as higher-density living, were supported by the 'pioneer' nature of the projects in the redevelopment of these areas and generated interdependencies, such as the 'we need them, and they need us' discourse in Amsterdam.

However, discrepancies on the nature of live-work mix affected the planning process, with competition between functions in Amsterdam and misperceptions of the productive activities to be delivered in Brussels. In Stockholm, tenure forms and public space were more questioned than the functions planned. Despite similarities, specific collaborative arrangements were observed in the three cities, each with their limitations. These arrangements suffered from slowed implementation in Stockholm, the search for a balance between market commitment and state vision in Amsterdam and institutional complexity of the public sector in Brussels. Although previous research may have assumed that it is easier to balance public and private interests in the Netherlands than in Belgium (Taşan-Kok, 2010), the results show that this does not especially appear to be the case for live-work projects. All cities experienced specific difficulties that led to similar struggles in trying to balance market interests and achieve 'effective spatial planning' (Remøy & Street, 2018).

<p><b>Amsterdam</b> (Projects AMS-T2)</p>	<p><b>Brussels</b> (Project BXL-T2.1;2)</p>	<p><b>Stockholm</b> (Project STO-T2.1;2)</p>
<p>(New) actors and their roles</p>		
<p><i>Actors involved:</i> municipality, external consultants, government architect, developers and investor. <i>Roles:</i> facilitating state, opportunistic/steering market</p>	<p><i>Actors involved:</i> Canal team, government architect, regional development company, municipality, developers <i>Roles:</i> steering/entrepreneurial state, opportunistic/steering market</p>	<p><i>Actors involved:</i> municipality, developers (+many other actors at the macro level in project STO-T2.2) <i>Roles:</i> facilitating v. entrepreneurial state, strategic/steering market</p>
<p>(New) instruments and conflicts</p>		
<p><i>New instruments:</i> local vision <i>New uses:</i> development strategy, development contract <i>Conflicts:</i> existing leasehold v. local vision</p>	<p><i>New instruments:</i> Canal plan <i>New uses:</i> subdivision permit, land-use plans <i>Conflicts:</i> planning permission v. local land-use plan and subdivision permit</p>	<p><i>New instruments:</i> - <i>New uses:</i> detailed development plan <i>Conflicts:</i> design v. implementation detailed plan (+ other instruments: transaction agreement, local vision)</p>
<p>Consensus building process</p>		
<p><i>Shared interest:</i> enhancing the residential attractiveness of a specific location <i>Discrepancies on the nature of live-work mix:</i> competition housing-offices, market focus on housing <i>Collaboration:</i> ‘co-creation’ but market dominant; balance between action and vision</p>	<p><i>Shared interest:</i> enhancing the residential attractiveness of a specific location <i>Discrepancies on the nature of live-work mix:</i> definition of productive activities, market focus on housing <i>Collaboration:</i> enhanced by the Canal team, but institutional complexity; unclear visions</p>	<p><i>Shared interest:</i> enhancing the residential attractiveness of a specific location <i>Discrepancies on the nature of live-work mix:</i> not observed, but questioning of tenure forms and public space <i>Collaboration:</i> relying on land ownership or ahead of planning but affected by long implementation period</p>

**Table 8: Live-work development in targeted areas - summary of the findings**

## 4 LIVE-WORK, CO-HOUSING

*I had never realised that housing was a market. I always thought you build because people need to live somewhere and... Yeah, it was a very naïve thought, of course. Because, when I see how these buildings are promoted, how they make advertisements for it, how they name it a certain name, how they make the renderings with like the lifestyle things, it's amazing.'*

(Interviewee AMS-T3.1)

*When we said for the first time "Well, we are going to buy something", we went to the bank and I explained my situation to the bank-officer. And she said "Well, you can buy a garage in Molenbeek!"*

(Interviewee BXL-T3.2; translation: author)

The present section examines the third type of live-work mix investigated, that is, live-work, co-housing, or co-housing with live-work goals. The latter is understood as community-led or 'self-organised' housing drawing upon the co-housing movement of the 1970s, but much broader in its realisation (Tummers, 2015, 2016). Live-work, co-housing is equipped with either private workspaces, shared spaces used to work or economic activities (or the three of them). The purpose of analysing this type was to understand community interests in live-work mix better and to grasp which parts of the original co-housing models were repackaged on the shared housing market (see section 2). Accordingly, the analytical framework used for this type is similar to the one used in section 2 and based on the same questions:

- Which coalitions of actors develop live-work, co-housing projects?
- What instruments are used in this process?
- What kind of outcomes can be expected in a global context of on-going commodification of housing?

The results are presented for Amsterdam and Brussels, using a systematic structure: (i) reconstruction of facts, (ii) actors, (iii) instruments and (iv) outcomes. A short analysis of the absence of case in Stockholm follows, before the concluding discussion.

## 4.1 COLLECTIVE SELF-BUILDING IN A FORMER INDUSTRIAL AREA OF AMSTERDAM

### 4.1.1 Reconstruction of facts

Project AMS-T3 is a self-building project (43 dwellings of 69-158 m<sup>2</sup>) that an architect initiated together with 42 families. Each apartment was designed with two entrances<sup>58</sup> and workspace. The residents share a garden (Figure 57), a roof terrace, a theatre, an exhibition space and a library. Their community is organised around a board and several working groups. The building is located on a former industrial island, *Zeeburgereiland*, in the North-Eastern part of Amsterdam, close to the highway and progressively redeveloped into a mixed-use neighbourhood focused on housing and sports facilities. Together with *Ijburg*, these two islands form the main expansion area of Amsterdam (Savini et al., 2016). The development process is described in what follows.



**Figure 57: Shared garden and private outdoor balconies (credit: author)**

*Phase 1: First initiative (2004 – 2011).* The architect was looking for a plot available for self-building, and the municipality reserved him land for experimental owner-occupied social housing. A housing association joined the project and agreed on anti-speculative rules. The first group gathered young families and freelancers with limited means. The social-ownership framework was completed after seven years, but by then, the original group was dislocated and replaced by new members. *Phase 2: Design (2012 – 2014).* The housing association left the project in 2012. The community defined three pillars for the project: affordability, social interaction and sustainability. Despite affordability goals and negotiations with the contractor (extra building costs) and the municipality (leasehold price), some members left the project. *Phase 3: Construction (2015 – 2016).* The community supervised the construction with the help of a consultant because the architect was becoming too old (he passed away ahead of the building completion). Project AMS-T3 was one of the first developments completed on the island.

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<sup>58</sup> This allows to have a professional address for self-employed people in the Netherlands.

### 4.1.2 Actors

The community was the central actor of the project. It acted as a developer, a recipient of the project and a pioneer in the area. Community living arrangements typically involve individuals not previously known to each other who need to collaborate in a way that ensures the success of the project, making them both ‘co-residents’ and ‘collective owner-managers’ (Heath, 2020). In this project, the primary interest of the group was to find affordable family housing in Amsterdam. Affordable housing was already a central concern for the grassroots co-housing movements of the 1960-1970s (ibid). Given the crisis context, long waiting times for social housing, and difficulties to obtain a mortgage, all interviewees presented project AMS-T3 as their only opportunity to stay in Amsterdam, no matter the duration of the process and the location.

‘Most of us, we were renting a house in the city, we have lived there from ever since we were studying, but when we got children, these houses became too small of course. So, *people wanted to move, but there was nowhere to go to*. Because when you have such a low income, you cannot buy a house, you cannot rent another house, because there’s a lack of social housing. And still those houses are too small, so, yeah, there was actually nowhere we could go except from outside of the city. Which some of us also did, because it took quite a long time, and a lot of people decided to just leave Amsterdam because it was not possible for them to stay here.’ [Resident AMS-T3.1; emphasis added]

‘What really did not attract me was that *it was still one desert of sand*. (...) There was no city here, that was a new built that we... That was kind of unattractive because I thought that it was, that it became something like IJburg. You know IJburg, like, it’s all completely new, and not really the Amsterdam feel, for instance. You know that, like in East, it has all these kinds of parts of history: so, the 18th and 17th history, architecture, but also, the beginning of the 20th century, the buildings. So, you have this nice mix. And, to move to a completely new part of the city, which still had to be built was... I could not really imagine that I would like it, actually. [Resident AMS-T3.2; emphasis added]

For those also looking for a working place, the live-work concept was attractive. They all valued cultural life and were keen on sharing common spaces, which they decided to keep during construction, despite substantial extra costs. Overall, the mutual concern for housing affordability participated in strengthening the group.

‘I think the fact that he kept it low profile and cheap is really important because even within our project, people had to drop out because of the costs. But, if I compare it to other CPOs<sup>59</sup>, it’s, we are really one of the cheapest. Because most projects are still very expensive, and then, there is, I think, less motivation for people to really stick, because within our group, many people were completely dependent on this project.’ [Resident AMS-T3.3]

Nevertheless, the long and complex development process was a threat to the group cohesion (Resident AMS-T3.2).

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<sup>59</sup> CPO stands for ‘Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap’, i.e., literally, Collective private commissioning or collective self-building – see section 4.1.3 for more details.

Besides, the architect organised the whole development process and fostered consensus among future residents. The group trusted his expertise and valued his ideals and commitment to design affordable live-work places for low-income families, creative workers and artists. Through regular meetings and tailor-made design, the architect managed to build a strong community. Co-housing indeed requires architects practising ‘social architecture’ or consultants in group processes (Lang et al., 2020). In particular, collaborative design enhances architectural innovation and is critical to the commitment and satisfaction of the community (Lang et al., 2020; Tummers, 2015, 2016). Architectural design already had a crucial role in the first utopian visions of collective housing (Hayden, 1979 in Tummers, 2016).

As for the municipality, it played a *facilitating* role. At the area level, it aimed at creating social interaction and empowering the local community through communication tools (meet-ups, online platform). The city strategy for the island included live-work goals to attract residents. The area transformation started after the crisis recovery, with place-making projects followed by real estate operations (Field broker AMS-T3). Project AMS-T3 benefitted from the municipality’s self-building tool (CPO). However, the interviewees reported a lack of conservation of knowledge within the municipality and poor communication between the departments (Resident AMS-T3.3; Field broker AMS-T3). Also, the residents were disappointed by the support received from the city during the planning and implementation processes that they perceived as weak (Resident AMS-T3.1).

### **4.1.3 Instruments**

The main instrument allowing project AMS-T3 to take place was collective self-building (CPO - *Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap*), which allows groups of individuals to build multi-family housing by themselves, without a developer. Although CPO is an instrument of state support to co-housing, the interviewees saw it as more likely to support ‘fancy’ self-building projects (Resident AMS-T3.3) than affordable housing.

‘Some architects, especially in the crisis, they found it [CPO] as a way of doing business. So, there were no developers asking them, so they would become developers themselves, finding a group or getting a group together. But, these people who are the buyers of the houses, they would pay a pretty high cost (...) CPO is quite...this is a few projects (sic). And, most of these few projects are still very, like, very luxurious projects for people with money. Yeah, they do it to build their dream house, in a way.’ [Resident AMS-T3.1]

Furthermore, an anti-speculative agreement was initially planned but was withdrawn. The agreement was discussed with the housing association. It was meant to keep the dwellings affordable over time and avoid opportunistic reselling (Resident AMS-T3.1). However, the

agreement was not maintained after the housing association left the project. Instead, a development contract was established to formalise the concluded negotiations (heating network, land price) between the group and the municipality. In particular, the negotiations on the heating network led to heavy tensions between the two parties. According to the interviewees, the land price was lowered for the group given the ‘pilot’ character of the project. Beyond the use of planning instruments, the first investment of the members was an essential step of their commitment.

‘There was this turning point, I remember when we all had to pay 16.000 euros, because we needed to have some sort of a budget, to continue the project. And we were like: “OK, now we pay 16.000 euro to something, but we don’t know if it will ever be materialised.” It felt a bit like gambling, you know. It’s like: “Oh, my god!” If it works out, we’re lucky, but if it doesn’t, we just lose a lot of money. So, that was quite risky.’ [Resident AMS-T3.3]

All in all, these instruments formalised the group as an active stakeholder of the project.

#### 4.1.4 Outcomes

Despite clear live-work goals, the ‘work’ component turned out to be hardly present in practice. Only one apartment has a professional workspace on the street (Figure 58, left panel) because the other members who needed a professional workspace left the project. The ones who stayed had a too limited budget to keep a workspace in their dwelling (Resident AMS-T3.2). Nevertheless, some interviewees wished to create an informal co-working space in the exhibition room. Although little used to work, the shared spaces were central for the community. Indeed, designing shared spaces can contribute to a sense of community by encouraging social interaction (Tummers, 2016). The community structured itself around a board, thematic groups and informal support (e.g., collective childcare). The interviewees reported to organise several activities in the theatre (Figure 58, right panel) and exhibition spaces, including for the neighbourhood (e.g., yoga, film evenings, or ‘taal cafés’ for refugees).



**Figure 58: Project AMS-T3. Office space (left panel) - Theatre (right panel) (credits: author)**

The real estate crisis was an opportunity to develop affordable and accessible housing, evidencing the resilience of the community-led initiative. With the architect, the group managed – after tough negotiations – to deliver affordable family dwellings. The crisis probably helped

the group see the project through to the end, although mortgage conditions were harsh. The ‘usual suspects’ (i.e., big developers and investors) were waiting for the market to rebound so that self-building groups faced less competition.

‘There was this big meeting there, at the big table, and all the developers, they had these suits, and they knew each other (...). I was the only person, yeah, representing our project. But it was in the middle of the crisis, and we were going around the table, everybody would say like: “OK, I’m this and this person. We’re gonna build this and this on the island and we are here and here in a process.” And, all of them were saying: “Yeah, we have it on hold now, we are not building here right now because it’s crisis” and I was the only one who said: “*We are actually going to build.*” And, it was like, yeah, it’s a small world, it was very humiliating that they were not taking us seriously at all. But, in the end, we were the first building block that was realised.’ [Resident AMS-T3.1; emphasis added]

‘We started building in 2012, and everything was empty here, and the more formal investors, and the housing associations were not building, because they and the banks didn’t want to take any risk.’ [Resident AMS-T3.2]

In the aftermath of the GFC, co-housing models emerged as part of the ways to fight social exclusion (Lang et al., 2020). However, in the absence of an anti-speculative instrument, the interviewees were concerned about potential speculative effects in case of reselling. Sales could indeed bring new residents with higher financial means and a different mindset.

‘We bought it for 200.000 and we can sell it for 350.000, after one and a half year! I mean, it’s crazy. (...) Once one person starts to sell, then people come in, who do have 350.000 euros, so it’s a different type of people. And, then, you lose, I think you lose the original aim of the project.’ [Resident AMS-T3.3]

Airbnb renting had already started in the property during the investigations and was debated among the group, given its potential implications on housing prices (Aalbers, 2019).

## 4.2 COLLECTIVE PURCHASE OF A FORMER FACTORY IN BRUSSELS

### 4.2.1 Reconstruction of facts

Project BXL-T3 is a co-housing project resulting from the collective purchase<sup>60</sup> and conversion of a former mattress factory (50 dwellings 100-250m<sup>2</sup> and 10 workshops, 14,000m<sup>2</sup> in total). The municipality of Brussels City initiated the project through the city development delegation, the extension of the ‘Delegation for the Development of the Pentagon’ (DDP – *Délégation au Développement du Pentagone*). This agency was created in 1995 to enhance urban renewal, in a context of critical population decline and deprivation of Brussels’ city centre (see Chapter 4, section 2.1.3). The residents and the architect were both deeply involved in the development process. The group, including many artists, shares a garden (Figure 59), terraces and a covered

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<sup>60</sup> The collective purchase (*bourse d’achat collectif*) is the instrument that the city development delegation created to revitalise the city – see section 4.2.3 for more details.

courtyard. As for project AMS-T3, the community organised itself around a board and several working groups during the development. The project is located in a ‘popular’ district to the west of the canal, in Brussels City. The development process is described in what follows.



**Figure 59: View from the shared garden towards the apartments (credit: author)**

*Phase 1: Creation and extension of the delegation (1995 – 2002).* The local government decided to ‘revitalise’ the city centre and created the development delegation. This agency started organising collective purchases of empty industrial buildings, first in the ‘pentagon’ (core city), before extending to the whole municipality. *Phase 2: Collective purchase and planning (2002 – 2005).* The owner of the mattress factory approached the delegation to sell the building as a collective purchase. The delegation organised a visit and received 350 expressions of interests. However, only 18 people formally engaged in the project and launched an informal architectural competition, before commercialising the remaining units to complete the group. Two years were needed for the design and planning phases. *Phase 3: Conversion (2005 – 2007).* The conversion works started in 2005. After the delivery of the ‘blank’ dwellings (i.e., with structural works completed only), the residents took on the finishing of their apartment (Architect BXL-T3).

#### **4.2.2 Actors**

This project illustrates how an institutionally fragmented local government became entrepreneurial through the creation of an external development agency (the delegation to the city development). The 1990s economic downturn and population decline were the main concerns that led the municipality to create an external body (Planner BXL-T3). The latter should have the capacity to ‘revitalise’ the city centre, notably by facilitating real estate operations on vacant buildings. The recently-created BCR (1989) also used new creative and ‘innovative’ instruments to enhance the urban renewal of the city centre (Planner BXL-T3). However, the revitalisation policies were later criticised for emphasising gentrification (see Chapter 4, section 2.1.3).

The delegation still *created* a market for conversion from industrial heritage buildings into affordable, live-work buildings equipped with workshops. By using the collective purchase as a new planning tool, the delegation sought to avoid that developers demolished vacant buildings to develop high-priced housing (Planner BXL-T3). Hence, the delegation connected the owners of the empty buildings with potential individual buyers. In that respect, Brussels' city and the BCR – through the external development delegation – played *entrepreneurial* roles in launching conversions of industrial buildings into housing. For project BXL-T3, the delegation insisted on keeping economic lots on the ground floor, no matter the current demand, to preserve productive and economic activities.

‘This is a function [industry] which was disappearing from the city. So, when we got [Project BXL-T3] (...), the idea was to say: “attention, now we have already made plenty of collective purchases, and so for [Project BXL-T3], we demand that the whole ground floor be kept for workshops”. It’s the minimum area to be kept as working space.’ [Planner BXL-T3; author’s translation]

‘The city was inclined to mix functions, regardless of whether it was saleable or not. That was not their concern. They were quite dogmatic...Why not? But they said, “No, we want it, *even though it’s difficult to sell, one day, it will be saleable.*” They don’t want either mono-functional, full housing...So, that was a rather good idea, to force...I mean, if the place allowed to put economic functions, the work function must be kept in the city. So that is good, I think.’ [Architect BXL-T3; author’s translation, emphasis added]

As in Amsterdam, the primary interests of the community were affordable housing and units large enough to exercise professional and artistic activities. Nevertheless, contrary to most of the live-work projects explored in this chapter, the location was not a central interest. Several (foreign) artists, who had chosen to settle down in Brussels to find affordable, large-scale workshops, joined the projects because affordable places were becoming scarce. Also, it was difficult for them to take out a mortgage so that enrolling in project BXL-T3 was a unique opportunity.

‘We had been looking for something to buy for quite a while, but [he] is an artist, I work in tailoring, I make uniforms. It was a bit difficult, financially. In fact, we were many people to be in the same situation, so lots of artists and friends. Because the workshops were becoming untouchable, so we needed a solution. And so, when we heard of this project, we said “This is what we need, let’s do it!”’ [Resident BXL-T3.2; author’s translation]

From the start, the community organised in working groups based on peoples’ skills, with some members being more actively involved than others. The group also commercialised the remaining lots itself.

However, tensions affected the cohesion of the group. Those were related to the scale of the project and, most importantly, divergent views and financial means between the members.

‘During the planning, there were many different visions. There were people willing to make luxurious renovations, more loft-like, fancier. Others just wanted to make what was mandatory, keep the building raw, as much as possible, and pay less for the works.’ [Resident BXL-T3.3; author’s translation]

Some members with limited means were in favour of minimal transformations to reduce the conversion costs, while others had a comfortable budget. The tensions were very disappointing for Planner BXL-T3, who related those to the difficulty to manage such a large group.

Alongside the support of the delegation throughout the planning process, the architect steered the development and organised all meetings. Delegation and architect worked together to divide the building into lots and assign prices according to a spatial typology. The architect felt constrained by the heritage demands and the scale of the co-housing developments. Still, the interviewees acknowledged his capacity to deal with tensions in the group.

### 4.2.3 Instruments

The delegation used a new instrument, the collective purchase (*Bourse d’achat collectif*). This planning tool was initially created for the transformation of vacant industrial buildings into workshops. However, to respond to individuals’ housing demand, the instrument was adapted.

‘We thought “Yes, actually, we should try to distribute these factories, and try to see if we couldn’t allocate them to various users”, without saying that we would necessarily produce housing, we were thinking about workshops actually. And so, we organised an event to show all these available factories and put them on the market through collective means. (...) It’s true that the demand from people and from individuals, the strongest demand was for housing.’ [Planner BXL-T3; author’s translation]

The question of opening industrial land to housing (see Chapter 4, section 2.1.3) was already debated back in the 1990s. Before the first sales, the delegation created a typology of vacant buildings according to their heritage value, among other factors. For project BXL-T3, the delegation took the purchase option *vis-à-vis* the owner and agreed on the transaction with the future residents. The delegation first determined the purchase price, based on a diagnosis of the building, and handed over to the group, after completion of the purchase. This process allowed the group to spread financial investments over time.

Two more instruments were used during the planning process: the informal architectural competition organised by the future tenants (tailor-made instrument) and the planning permission. The latter was a mandatory yet tricky step because the architect had to make scenarios for the dwellings, delivered without interior finishing (blank).

‘We had to prove, for certain difficult lots, notably regarding daylight... We made a sort of plan that showed that, with four bedrooms, the dwelling was well enlightened and compliant to the building regulation.’ [Architect BXL-T3; author’s translation]

As in project AMS-T3, the first investment formalised group commitment. However, the absence of subdivision permit on the property prevented the municipality from developing a social housing project next to project AMS-T3 (Architect BXL-T3). The residents managed indeed to buy the plot of land – planned for social housing – which became an extension of their garden, and the municipality had not the right instruments to avoid that.

#### **4.2.4 Outcomes**

Little sharing was observed among the community. This was interpreted as an outcome of the initial demand for large private space (with dwellings around 100-250m<sup>2</sup>), limited financial means and internal conflicts (Architect BXL-T3). Some interviewees expressed their regrets about the absence of a community room.

‘I have to say, if something is missing in this project, it is a shared place, a shared room. There should have been a common room, with potentially a laundry, or just a small bar to have the possibility to meet and organise meetings, make parties, etc. There are often parties organised here, but they can be a threat to cohabitation.’ [Resident BXL-T3.1; author’s translation]

The architect also deplored the absence of proper indoor shared spaces. The divided community was differently perceived depending on the interviewees’ experience: some of them valued the solidarity between the residents (Resident BXL-T3.2), others considered that the community aspects had significantly decreased after the two first years of cohabitation (Resident BXL-T3.3).

Conversely, live-work mix was observed, although not where it was expected. Around ten lots were kept for economic activities in the project, primarily on the two first floors. Not only had the city imposed at least 10% economic space, but also these lots were not suitable for housing. Making these spaces compliant to housing regulations would have been too destructive from a heritage perspective.

‘At the beginning, I think there were six or seven economic lots, which were, in fact, the most difficult parts to convert into housing. Some health conditions had to be fulfilled, the possibility to create windows. Because, actually, the floors were huge, with few windows, and there were places difficult to arrange. And so those were meant to host economic activities, without defining which ones.’ [Resident BXL-T3.1; author’s translation]

‘We didn’t want to demolish the buildings and create conditions for housing to the detriment of heritage. So, we had to say “Ok, there are spaces which are not suitable for housing and the urban planning administration will not accept housing, because you will not be compliant to the daylight regulations. You will not get life quality, ventilation and so forth without demolishing”.’ [Planner BXL-T3; author’s translation]

The economic lots were meant to host creative activities but appeared to be used for services (e.g., computer shop) and artistic activities. Also, some of the lots were (informally) converted into housing, others were left vacant, used as storage, or used both to live and work.

‘Some people have changed them into housing. Actually, here on the first floor, it was supposed to be an economic lot, and it was bought by an artist who changed the use; its fifty-fifty.’ [Resident BXL-T3.2; author’s translation]

Live-work mix was also reported in some housing dwellings belonging to artists (Residents BXL-T3.2;3) or people from the creative economy. At least one housing dwelling was also used as an architecture office at the time of the interview (by resident BXL-T3.1, who is an architect).

Furthermore, the turnover in apartment sales and leases had speculative effects and jeopardised the community. The group did not make any anti-speculative agreement during the planning process, whereas other planning instruments did foresee this issue<sup>61</sup>. Because of the high turnover, only one-third of the original group still lived in the building in 2019 (Resident BXL-T3.1), and around 10% of the apartments were leased out (Resident BXL-T3.2). As a result, new residents with higher resources and a different mindset perturbed the community, already hanging by a thread. While the original group mostly included artists and so-called ‘boho’ (architect BXL-T3), the new residents were described as having a service-based mindset.

‘They were much more in consumer behaviour. They bought more expensive and they want...They are much more in the mindset of a regular co-ownership, where everything is delegated to a trustee; cleaners, people who clean the trashes. But in our place, to avoid paying, we do all that by ourselves.’ [Resident BXL-T3.3; author’s translation]

*Resident BXL-T3.2-a:* This is really annoying because we have people who moved in, like James, who is a small banker but got a swelled head (laughs)! He thinks he lives in a luxurious apartment, but that is not the case! Firstly, in this neighbourhood, it’s not possible, there are no such luxurious apartments in the neighbourhood.

*Resident BXL-T3.2-b:* No, actually, what they want the most, when they got money, it’s services, so do not worry about anything, having their walls painted in the corridor yearly...Yeah, that’s the thing, service!’ [Residents BXL-T3.2; author’s translation]

The rising prices – still limited by the ‘popular’ neighbourhood – might induce a ‘back-to-the-market’ movement, and above all, gentrification. The residents still described the neighbourhood as socially and ethnically mixed and deprived. The potential impact of high-price sales highlights how essential the anti-speculative agreement would have been.

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<sup>61</sup> This was the case of the neighbourhood contracts (Planner BXL-T3). Today, subsidised housing initiated by the regional development company is also regulated in that sense.

### 4.3 ABSENCE OF CASE IN STOCKHOLM: WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

No recently-built co-housing project could be studied in Stockholm, despite its past collective housing developments (see Chapter 4, section 3.1.2). The withdrawal from sharing in Stockholm was theoretically discussed in Chapter 4 and related to housing commodification, large-scale planning and the lack of public support to community-led initiatives. The purpose of this short section is to acknowledge the absence of recent case as evidence supporting the argument elaborated in Chapter 4 and to reflect on what live-work, co-housing in Stockholm could have looked like, based on the researcher's three-month lived experience in this city.

For three months, the researcher lived at B.'s apartment. B. lives in Södermalm, in a housing estate that was built in 1987 by Svenska Bostäder, one of Stockholm's largest municipal housing companies. In the early 2000s, in the context of public housing sales, B. and the other tenants had the opportunity to buy their apartment. The property became a cooperative and has been managed since then by a well-established property manager and developer in Stockholm. The property is equipped with several shared spaces, including a gym, a laundry, a living room and a courtyard – under refurbishment in 2019 (Figure 60). Part of the ground floors is also dedicated to small shops and restaurants on one street, and a pre-school on the opposite street (Figure 61). In the neighbouring building to B.'s, still in the same cooperative, there is –the researcher realised it just before flying back to Belgium – a housing community (*kollektivhus*). According to B., the members of this community cook together and share many activities. B. could have asked to become a member, but she confessed that she did not want to cook for others.



Figure 60: Shared spaces in the cooperative with, from the left to the right: laundry, community room and courtyard (credits: author)



**Figure 61: Small restaurants on the main street side (left panel) and courtyard of the pre-school (right panel) (credits: author)**

This development from the 1980s had all the ‘ingredients’ of the live-work, co-housing projects investigated in Amsterdam and Brussels: commercial and economic activities on ground floors, shared spaces for the residents and an active community. However, in Stockholm, such property seems to illustrate times long past, before the market shift in housing provision.

#### **4.4 DISCUSSION**

Live-work, co-housing development (Table 9) requires either strong public support (project BXL-T3) or genuine commitment of a third actor steering the group, such as the architect (project AMS-T3). Public support is translated into specific instruments formalising the group as ‘collective owner-managers’ (Heath, 2020) and as a ‘developer’ (collective self-building in Amsterdam and collective purchase in Brussels – the latter tool ceased to exist, however). The cohesion and resilience of the community is also a critical success factor. Both projects were of interest to creative workers and artists in need of large and affordable housing. In Amsterdam, the community defined core values, including opportunities for social interaction in shared spaces, and fought to preserve them throughout the development process, notably by negotiating with the contractor and the municipality. The economic crisis did not affect the resilience of the group enough to stop the project. In Brussels, the community was divided, in part because of divergent views on how affordable the dwellings should be.

Furthermore, both projects missed the opportunity to make anti-speculative agreements. Consequently, the residents of the Amsterdam project fear speculation and community erosion upon first sales. This risk was verified in the Brussels’ project: the succession of sales and leases brought new residents with a different mindset, which jeopardised the community. The other outcomes are contrasted between the two projects. In Amsterdam, the community managed to keep the dwellings affordable and makes extensive use of the shared spaces. Notwithstanding these benefits, live-work mix appeared to be less present than initially planned, and the ‘live’

component turned out to be dominant. Nevertheless, the shared spaces were still evolving during investigations so they might fulfil this purpose in the future. Conversely, in Brussels, if little sharing was observed, live-work mix was well present, but not where it was expected. It was mostly found within the dwellings of artists and creative workers.

Is an upscaling of such projects possible with the same spatial quality and housing affordability? Making live-work, co-housing reproducible is tempting, especially in the context of a housing crisis in which different groups cannot find affordable housing in the PRS nor obtain a mortgage. However, not everyone is willing to share nor get involved in such a complex and long-lasting development process. Moreover, the success of these projects relies upon the leader of the group (here, the architect), the resilience of the community (Gibson-Graham, 2008) and public support, especially under high market pressure. Public support precisely may have been missing since the 1990s in Stockholm, resulting in co-housing rollback, whereas the city was probably the most suitable for co-housing development in the first place, compared to Brussels and Amsterdam.

Amsterdam (Projects AMS-T3)	Brussels (Project BXL-T3)
Actors	
<p><i>Entrepreneurial architect</i>: initiator of the project, consensus builder</p> <p><i>Community as developer</i>: cohesive group using skills to collaborate</p> <p><i>State as facilitator</i>: keeping leasehold affordable</p>	<p><i>Entrepreneurial state</i>: initiator of the project through the detached body of the city development delegation</p> <p><i>Community as developer</i>: divided group using skills throughout the development</p> <p><i>Steering architect</i>: steering the group once designated</p>
Instruments	
<p><i>Collective self-building</i>: tool for individuals to self-develop together, here with affordability goals</p> <p><i>Anti-speculative agreement</i>: initially planned but withdrawn</p> <p><i>Development contract</i>: formalising the concluded negotiations</p> <p><i>Consensus</i>: inclination to share, affordability goals</p>	<p><i>Collective purchase</i>: tool connecting individuals to property owners of vacant industrial buildings</p> <p><i>Anti-speculative agreement</i>: not established although discussed</p> <p><i>Informal architectural competition</i>: launched by the group to select an architect</p> <p><i>Consensus</i>: affordability goals but conflicts on resources, large dwellings</p>
Outcomes	
<p>Strong community but <i>live-work mix</i> hardly present</p> <p>Real estate crisis as an opportunity to develop <i>affordable and accessible housing</i></p>	<p>Demand for large private space and conflicting community leading to little <i>sharing</i></p> <p><i>Live-work mix</i> observed, but not where it was expected (mostly at the dwelling level)</p> <p>Turnover having speculative effects and jeopardising the <i>community</i></p>

**Table 9: Live-work, co-housing - summary of the findings**

## 5 OVERALL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present chapter sought to address governance arrangements enabling the emergence of diverse types of live-work mix in different institutional frameworks. This concluding discussion deconstructs the findings to discuss them according to the actors, instruments, consensus-building practices and outcomes that the governance arrangements observed entail.

Analysis of the *actors* of live-work mix revealed that *state* support is essential to enhance urban (re-)development and implement live-work goals, especially in times of economic downturn. In particular, *entrepreneurial* states allow new housing market segments to emerge. Although Amsterdam and Stockholm had strong governance capacities initially, they increasingly need the support of external consultants and intermediaries. Structural changes in their housing and planning regimes have weakened their *steering* capacity, especially in complex circumstances (e.g., existing leasehold in Amsterdam, private land in Stockholm). This can limit state intervention to a *facilitating role*. Brussels' fragmented institutional framework requires new actors (Canal team, regional development company) and external bodies (development delegation, government architect) to improve its governance capacity and behave as an *entrepreneurial* state.

Live-work development further illustrates the state's dependence on the *market*, which remains primarily focused on the 'live' component of live-work mix. Market behaviour appears to vary depending on the types of live-work mix: not involved in co-housing development, *strategically* collaborating with the third sector on the shared housing market, and possibly *opportunistic* in live-work developments in targeted areas. In the latter case, such behaviour is apparent in the market focus on easy target groups (i.e., demographics likely to settle in redevelopment areas) and de-risked tenure forms and functions (e.g., subsidised homeownership in Brussels). Except for the Brussels' case, the shared housing market illustrates *mutual dependences*, between market parties and the third sector in Amsterdam, and between different third-sector institutions (union, non-profit housing provider) in Stockholm. Such collaborations draw on aligned means (e.g., complementary abilities and investment capacities) and shared interests, in particular for target demographics. Although the diversity of residents may be broader in practice - because of an open selection process or informal subletting - the strong interest for young adults shared by state, market and third-sector actors is an essential element of the governance of the shared housing market.

The absence of collaboration with a social housing provider in the studied live-work developments in targeted areas would require further research, notably to understand more in-depth the social effects. Besides, only for co-housing development has the community an active

role – depending on the group size and cohesion – in the implementation process. State support is here combined with the commitment of a third actor and the formalisation of the community as a ‘developer’ steering the project, to fulfil the group’s interest in having (large) affordable housing combined with shared (work)spaces.

The implementation of live-work mix requires new planning *instruments* and strategic uses of existing instruments. In particular, the use of (new) regulatory tools (e.g., temporary tenancy in Amsterdam, flexible rent regulation in Brussels) as well as planning instruments (e.g., temporary planning permission in Stockholm) is essential in the shared housing market. At the area level, to balance strategy and regulation, the actors establish and co-author custom-made planning instruments (local visions and plans) and use existing tools (development contracts and permits) in a way that enhances flexibility and predictability. Each city exemplifies different variants of strategic planning, with contract planning in Amsterdam and Stockholm and incremental planning in Brussels. The involvement of the government architect further shows the need for design-oriented planning in live-work development. However, these instruments experience conflicts with existing regulations, especially in Amsterdam and Brussels, while Stockholm still centralises all planning arrangements in the only detailed development plan. In co-housing developments, specific instruments supporting the community initiative and formalising the group as a steering actor are mandatory. Similarly, anti-speculative agreements are needed to avoid speculation and the erosion of the community.

Analysing the actors and instruments of on-going live-work developments in targeted areas allows discussing *consensus-building* practices. In the three cities, both state and market aim at enhancing the residential and economic attractiveness of a specific location, although with distinctive agendas. This shared interest inclines them to target primarily middle- to higher-income groups, through different tenures, depending on local housing regimes. The ‘pioneer’ nature of the projects further facilitates higher-density living development. Nevertheless, discrepancies in local ontologies of live-work mix result in specific discourses: a knowledge-city discourse in Amsterdam, a productive-city discourse in Brussels and an urban-growth discourse emphasising thematic economic development in Stockholm. Moreover, disagreements on the nature of live-work mix or tenure forms can affect the consensus-building process, so that all cases show similar struggles to balance market interests and achieve effective planning.

The *outcomes* of the completed projects indicate that both the shared housing market and live-work, co-housing *a priori* seem to respond to the needs of their recipients: flexible, temporary housing for young adults and large, owner-occupied dwellings for families and artists, in all cases with opportunities for social interactions. Nevertheless, the expectations between the two types

of live-work mix differ at least as regards with size and flexibility. The shared housing market indeed delivers a higher density of smaller dwellings with local variations in typologies. Shared spaces and services have the potential to enhance live-work mix and balance the concentration of small houses. However, the delivered live-work balance tends to be in favour of the 'live' side, and insufficient, poor-quality shared spaces can make the ever-smaller dwellings hardly liveable. Under market pressure, there is a risk that shared spaces simply disappear to the benefit of more rentable functions, which is already happening in Stockholm. Moreover, this market segment delivers different levels of affordability and accessibility, with Stockholm and Brussels as two extremes and Amsterdam in between. Especially in Amsterdam and Brussels, 'housing as a service' does not especially mean accessible housing (see Chapter 2, section 2.2), which does not seem to answer young adults' primary housing needs. Besides, in co-housing developments, live-work mix can be not fully realised (or not as expected), and the place given to shared spaces is indicative of the community inclination to share.

Based on the above, recommendations and suggestions for the regulation and governance of live-work mix can be formulated. Firstly, systematising instruments such as anti-speculative agreements in co-housing developments could help avoid speculation and community erosion. Secondly, on the shared housing market, building regulations could include specific standards for shared spaces and additional requirements for heritage buildings under conversion, in which residual areas unsuitable for housing are likely to be used as shared spaces. Thirdly, new actors and instruments would be needed to handle the 'work' component of live-work mix, be it the operation of shared spaces or the allocation and management of productive workshops. Fourthly, from the 'live' side, the regulation of housing size – a controversial topic in the three contexts – could be challenged. Young adults suffer from the downsides of small housing for the sake of their 'temporary situation' and end up living in ever-smaller space for ever-longer periods (see Chapter 2). Other demographics, in particular families, cannot merely downsize in such dwellings. They could be redirected to an upscaled form of co-housing, provided that they are willing to share, receive public support, find a leader and a resilient community. Hence, this chapter confirms that live-work mix preferably targets young single professionals and may overlook other types of households.

The comprehensive comparison of the different types of live-work mix and their local declinations presented in this section provides insights to reflect on the framing of the typology and its relevance to addressing the research questions. As in any categorisation, the types of live-work mix do overlap, especially the two first ones since shared housing can be embedded in a live-work development covering an entire block or area. Besides, the shared housing market can

be seen as a market-led evolution of the original co-housing models. Within this market, cases with strong involvement of the third sector (e.g., the temporary housing project in Stockholm) show overlaps with current live-work, co-housing projects.

Nonetheless, the distinction between these types made it possible to focus on different aspects of the implementation of live-work goals. Moreover, the division in types allows highlighting the influence of global urban models (e.g., New Urbanism), persistent community-oriented models (e.g., the co-housing movements of the 1970s) and new niches (e.g., co-living) on local markets and urban developments. The comparison further stresses that certain issues are disregarded in some of the case-study cities despite being observed across contexts. For instance, youth and student housing are at the forefront of the political agenda in Amsterdam and Stockholm, whereas productive spaces are a more central preoccupation in Brussels. In that respect, the method chosen was useful to examine how similar issues are differently prioritised and addressed locally.

The comparative case study approach shows the expected local variations (e.g., tenure forms, declinations of strategic planning) and confirms the path dependencies previously identified and the idea that live-work mix deserves adapted answers. Nevertheless, the typology also highlights similar directions on particular aspects (e.g., target groups, dwelling size, utilisation of housing development) irrespective of the type of live-work mix. There, the typology perhaps reaches a limit in that the partitioning may hide these similarities at first sight. Still, with the path-dependent perspective in mind, the comparison of the findings, beyond enhancing knowledge on the actors and instruments of live-work mix, sheds light on unusual governance arrangements and unexpected governance capacities, ideally captured at the project-scale. Identifying these governance arrangements should be insightful for future research on live-work mix. From this perspective, the methodological choice of sampling projects is relevant.

## **6 KEY CONTRIBUTIONS**

Actors of live-work mix:

- Local governments support all types of live-work mix by playing facilitating to entrepreneurial roles.
- Market parties remain primarily focused on the ‘live’ component and may adopt strategic and opportunistic behaviours, depending on the type of live-work mix.
- Third-sector actors tend to collaborate with the market, revealing mutual dependences.
- When involved, the community needs to be formalised through specific instruments

Instruments of live-work mix:

- Live-work mix requires new instruments and strategic uses of existing tools.
- To balance strategy and regulation, the actors co-author custom-made planning instruments and use existing tools in a way that enhances flexibility and predictability.
- Specific instruments supporting/formalising community initiatives and anti-speculative agreements are mandatory to sustain co-housing development.

Consensus-building and outcomes:

- To enhance the attractiveness of a location, the actors target (upper-)middle classes.
- The actors may disagree on the nature of live-work mix.
- The delivered live-work balance tends to be in favour of the ‘live’ side, and insufficient or poor-quality shared spaces can make small living hardly liveable.
- On the shared housing market, affordability and accessibility vary across contexts.

Recommendations and suggestions:

1. Anti-speculative agreements could be systematised in co-housing developments.
2. Building regulations could include specific standards for shared spaces.
3. New actors/instruments are needed to handle the ‘work’ component of live-work mix.
4. Housing size regulations could be challenged in the three contexts (exclusion risk).

Opportunities and limits of the method:

- The typology presents overlaps but allows focusing on different aspects of live-work mix and highlighting the influence of global models/new niches on local developments.
- The comparison confirms the local variations and path dependencies identified before.
- The typology underlines similar directions across cities that may be hidden at first sight.
- The comparison sheds light on unusual governance arrangements and capacities.



# CHAPTER 6: COMPREHENSIVE DISCUSSION

*There is no general world and there are no general rules. Instead there are only specific and enacted overlaps between provisionally congealed realities that have to be crafted in a way that responds to and produces particular versions of the good that can only ever travel so far. The general, then, disappears, along with the universal. The idea of the universal transportability of universal knowledge was always a chimera. But if the universal disappears then so too does the local – for the local is a subset of the general. Instead we are left with situated enactments and sets of partial connections, and it is to those that we owe our heterogeneous responsibilities.*

(Law, 2004, p. 155)

With a vision in which both the universal and the local disappear, this chapter returns to the ‘situated enactments’ underlined in the three studied institutional frameworks and seeks to respond to the third research question:

*Q3. How do local institutional frameworks influence the nature and governance of live-work mix, and how to improve live-work mix?*

Section 1 reconnects empirical evidence (see Table 10 at the end of the chapter for an overview) to the conceptual dimensions of live-work mix and their theoretical underpinning: (i) new target groups, (ii) new housing forms and (iii) new governance in new locations. Such a reflection backwards allows going beyond the responses to the research questions and concluding on the relationship between institutional framework, ontologies and governance of live-work mix. These conclusions are nevertheless tributary of the path-dependent, institutionalist approach chosen for the comparison of specific cities and selected types of live-work mix. Then, based on the outputs of Chapter 5, section 2 reflects on opportunities for improving live-work mix.

## **1 LIVE-WORK MIX IN A GLOBALISED WORLD?**

### **1.1 NEW TARGET GROUPS**

Live-work mix is purposed for specific demographics – ‘young professionals’, ‘urban singles’, ‘creative workers’, ‘middle-income households’ and even ‘artists’ – who are the outcome of both political prioritisation and market opportunistic behaviour, as shown in this study. Hence, the interactions between local governments and market parties in live-work developments result in a consensus on these groups. In particular, the persistent emphasis on the creative-class narrative of the 2000s – despite research demonstrating its limited relevance and potentially

harmful effects (see Chapter 2, section 2.3) – was observed in the urban development strategies of the case-study cities, in particular in Amsterdam and Stockholm. Such a discourse is progressively changing, however, notably in cities like Brussels, with an industrial past and unemployment issues, which aim to make room for urban production in their strategies.

Anyhow, a consequence of the actors' shared interest for specific groups with presumed aspirations in live-work development is that other household types may be overlooked. The analysis of the shared housing market revealed that students and young single professionals could access – under more or less constraining conditions – small housing purposed for relatively short-term occupation, with different levels of affordability depending on the context. Whether they chose these flexible yet less secure types of accommodations or had no other opportunities is another question. The tenants interviewed for this market seemed to be more constrained to this type of housing in high-pressure cities (Amsterdam, Stockholm) than the ones who chose a shared housing option amid alternatives (Brussels)<sup>62</sup>. However, as previously mentioned, the smaller dwelling size, also observed in live-work developments in targeted areas, may exclude families. In particular, the focus on small dwellings for the affordable rental segments (social or mid-rental housing, public rental housing) is an additional barrier for lower-income families.

The ones who cannot afford or downsize in the two first types of live-work mix examined could turn to co-housing alternatives, as did the interviewees of this type of initiatives, who presented co-housing as their unique opportunity to stay in the city. Nevertheless, the empirical study indicated that getting involved in a co-housing development requires a deep commitment from the residents as well as resources and steering capacity. Accordingly, it is more likely to remain an alternative niche rather than a structural housing solution for all. Moreover, young adults and co-housing communities have different preferences as regards to dwelling size and flexibility. The first ones are ready to accept smaller dwellings for more flexibility, whereas the second ones seek large places for the long-term. Although the present research does not bring a straightforward, concrete solution to that issue, it points at the shared responsibility of the different types of actors involved in live-work development as well as the need to revise housing size regulations.

Questioning for whom new housing and urban production is intended is even more critical as new generations of 'hip' target profiles continue to emerge in market and governments' discourses and might contribute to further excluding other groups. Previous research reported

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<sup>62</sup> See the tension between groaners and grinners (Standing, 2011) in Chapter 2, section 1.

young adults to be shifting from ‘generation rent’ to ‘generation share’ (see Chapter 2, section 2.1). The shared housing market is a materialisation of the latter, in commodified housing markets. The next generation might be an upscaling of the so-called ‘digital nomads’. This ‘hypermobile, urban-based, creative class’ represents the apogee of labour flexibilisation (Bergan et al., 2020, p. 4). Part of the shared housing market seems to be already aimed at digital nomads as the facilities make it possible for the tenants to work anywhere at any time. It was particularly the case in the Brussels’ shared housing project, in which the extensive services were designed for the tenants to spend as much time as possible on working and leisure activities since they have ‘nothing to worry about’. An evolution of the shared housing market in that sense could make it increasingly resemble niches such as ‘co-living’. Beyond the question of exclusion, further investigations of the lived experience of digital nomads in shared housing arrangements, especially in a post-Covid world, would help continue to inform young adults’ housing pathways and their position in new housing production.

At the area level, middle-income households may be utilised to legitimise live-work development, as part of the potential political use of affordable housing to support real estate production (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). The research stressed that appealing to middle-income households through dedicated tenures forms (e.g., mid-rental housing in Amsterdam, subsidised homeownership in Brussels) is a recurrent concern in this type of live-work mix. Given the housing shortage for this group in large cities, delivering housing specifically for middle classes makes it notably more acceptable to introduce housing in non-residential areas. However, this strategy might stimulate gentrification. Additional research on the long-term effects of housing policies purposed for middle-income households would be useful to increase awareness of policymakers about the possible consequences of these policies.

## **1.2 NEW HOUSING FORMS**

The second dimension of live-work mix is the emergence of new housing forms, notably under the evolution of the role of housing in economic and urban development. Initially considered as a shelter, housing started playing a role in the reproduction of the labour force when extensive accumulation was introduced (see Chapter 2, section 2.2). Chapter 4 showed how new tenure forms were created in different institutional frameworks during the interwar period and became dominant later on. In the Fordist era, post-war housing played specific roles in urban development. In Belgium, the housing policies of the Catholic party encouraged massive suburbanisation, thus providing to housing development the role of fixing people in the countryside. In contrast, in both Sweden and the Netherlands, social-democratic housing

policies were used for territorial expansion. In Stockholm, however, the values associated with housing provision (universal housing) have utterly changed since then (market shift), illustrating a strong reaction in terms of path dependency. Stockholm's institutionalisation of housing providers during the MHP still makes flexibilisation of housing and live-work mix more challenging to implement. With the shift to the Post-Fordist regime and the emphasis on homeownership (or tenant-ownership in Sweden), housing was (re-)commodified and started playing a growing role in urban renewal. Following the 2008 crisis, financialised accumulation was accompanied by the PRS increase and the flexibilisation of tenure regulations. Nevertheless, flexible tenures remain less developed in highly regulated and institutionalised contexts such as Sweden, despite the country liberal shift.

These developments have transformed housing into a *commodified* service, far from the social vision of 'housing as a service' (see Chapter 2, section 2.2). The commodification of housing has also changed the role of housing providers, with, for example, the marketisation of third-sector actors in Amsterdam and Stockholm. Nowadays, housing development plays a central role in cities' attractiveness and, in particular, mitigates the risks of less demanded or more complex functions in mixed-use developments in areas in transformation.

The first type of live-work mix studied, the shared housing market, best illustrates the view of housing as a commodified service. From the present conceptualisation and empirical analysis, the shared housing market appears to be a commodified version of co-housing as regards to tenure and space. On the one hand, it draws on flexible and temporary housing, while co-housing is based on secure and long-term tenure. On the other hand, space is reduced to the minimum standards allowed in building regulations, and shared spaces and services are either marketised or privatised. The evolution of this market is further influenced by co-living models, as it was observed for the most recent Amsterdam project and the Brussels' project.

The shared housing market would not have emerged without entrepreneurial states creating the conditions for it, for instance, by using planning instruments strategically, as it happened in Amsterdam. Moreover, it inclines different types of actors to collaborate based on shared interests and aligned means. Further changes in regulatory and planning instruments facilitate the implementation of the shared housing market. Nonetheless, the researcher recommended in the previous chapter to define standards for shared spaces in building regulations, among other measures.

The de-risking role of housing has also brought about new housing forms in live-work areas. Beyond demands for commercial ground floors, some of the studied cases exemplified live-

work buildings with joint, 3D-property arrangements. Those include uses, such as creative and light-industrial workshops, that were not mixed with housing before. Such experiments were made possible because the nature of economic activities evolved towards uses more compatible with housing. Joint ownership is also the result of the collaboration of actors on mixed-use developments. In these live-work buildings, housing compensates for the uncertain functions (e.g., light industry) potentially demanded by planning authorities, in particular when entrepreneurial states provide tenure forms de-risked for the market (e.g., subsidised homeownership in Brussels). However, the operation of such live-work buildings remains a concern at the planning stage, generating uncertainty. Accordingly, the operation phase of these projects requires governance improvements.

Besides, the previous chapter underlined an inclination to higher density and smaller dwellings in both the shared housing market and housing in live-work areas in contexts of rising housing prices. This appeared to be particularly the case in institutional frameworks with strong planning traditions, institutionalised housing providers and past state interventions in massive housing programmes, such as Amsterdam and Stockholm. Further research on the liveability of high-density built environments would be relevant, especially after the Covid-19 pandemic.

### **1.3 NEW GOVERNANCE IN NEW LOCATIONS**

The examination of urban development strategies revealed that, beyond comprehensive live-work goals, priority areas where live-work mix should be enhanced were defined. These strategies rely on the introduction of mixed-use principles in planning agendas, which occurred especially early in highly planned cities like Amsterdam. New urban models (e.g., the walkable city, the polycentric region) inspire such changes in planning goals and are adapted depending on local governance capacities, economic contexts and planning regimes.

Despite similar models, live-work mix has been promoted on different types of land (e.g., office or industrial land) at different times and with different functions, which rely on context-related discourses (e.g., knowledge city, productive city). These specificities affect the nature of the ‘work’ component of live-work mix. Local economic paths (e.g., early industrialisation) and the extent of integration of the economy to spatial planning further influence the nature of working activities. Also, the planning directions inherited from the past (suburbanisation, expansion) still influence current urban agendas, despite similar inclinations (e.g., to higher-density for ‘pioneer developments’). For example, live-work mix takes part in the urban-growth strategy of Stockholm, and accordingly, different scales of live-work mix were observed in this city, in

comparison with Amsterdam and Brussels. Amsterdam nevertheless focuses on densification, whereas Brussels' position vis-à-vis densification is more ambivalent.

The analysis of governance in live-work projects confirmed that implementing live-work goals in specific locations leans on state governance capacity. Nevertheless, more robust planning and regulatory frameworks do not systematically have better capacity because they may have been weakened or may not be able to handle the flexibility inherent to live-work mix. Also, new governance capacities can be developed in more institutionally fragmented frameworks. Amsterdam first created (in the 1960s) the planning instruments used to define and apply live-work mix (structural and land-use plans), and Stockholm followed in the 1980s (comprehensive and detailed plans). Before that, both cities extensively used master plans for urban development. In contrast, Brussels' main instruments of live-work mix (subsidised homeownership, regional land-use and development plans) were enacted after the later creation of the BCR (1989). However, planning decentralisation and flexibilisation in Amsterdam required to develop new instruments for live-work development, while planning marketisation in Stockholm led to changing practices, although still with the same tools. These observations question taken-for-granted governance capacities and bring new perspectives on the institutionalist approach, through the understanding of the actors and instruments mobilised in live-work development and their connection to path-dependent housing and planning regimes. Furthermore, the results underlined a state-market shared interest to improve the residential and economic attractiveness of designated locations through live-work development. However, conflicting visions and difficulties to balance market interests were reported as affecting consensus-building. Moreover, the analysis confirmed that state and market roles overlap, including in case of reduced governance capacity for the local government (e.g., on private land in Amsterdam and Stockholm). Market roles can further overlap with third-sector interventions. Nevertheless, institutional frameworks with strong segregation between the actors of housing production are less favourable to partnerships between these two types of actors (e.g., collaboration market – third sector in Amsterdam against institutionally segregated housing providers in Stockholm). Anyhow, these overlapping roles lead to new governance arrangements, which can be formalised in custom-made, co-authored instruments and strategically used existing planning and regulatory tools. However, established regulations are likely to act as barriers to live-work development. Also, studying the choice of instruments in live-work developments allowed to identify different forms of strategic planning, such as contract planning, incremental planning or design-oriented planning, in the case-study cities, depending on their planning regime.

## **1.4 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS AND LIVE-WORK MIX**

The retrospective glance at the conceptual dimensions of live-work mix stressed the contributions of empirical research to understanding the relationship between institutional framework, ontologies and governance of live-work mix. Yet, the conception of this relationship relies on the cities and types of live-work mix selected as well as the social constructionist analytical approach. Hence, different views of the research problem applied to other contexts might deliver distinctive conclusions complementing the propositions below.

Institutional frameworks play on several variables of live-work mix. All together, these variables inform the nature of live-work mix and form local ontologies, consistently with the philosophical definition chosen in this thesis (see Chapter 2, section 3). The main elements of this relationship (Figure 62) are illustrated with six connections:

1. More advanced forms of finance-led housing regimes deliver more commodified tenure. Institutional changes in the roles of the third sector, for example, also influence tenure in live-work developments.
2. Higher density and smaller dwelling size are positively correlated with strong planning regimes and institutionalised housing providers.
3. The economic path and the integration of economic development to spatial planning affects the economic activities developed in live-work projects.
4. The changing roles and interests of states and markets (governance dimension of institutional frameworks) influence the definition of target groups in live-work mix.
5. Live-work developments with joint property rely on states' governance capacity and the conditions for actors' collaboration and risk-sharing.
6. State intervention affects the implementation of live-work goals in areas in redevelopment.

The above statements are certainly not exhaustive of the causal links between institutional frameworks and live-work mix. However, they confirm the decisive impact of the context on the ontologies and governance of live-work mix, even though global variables (see Chapter 2, section 2) are verified to be influencing factors as well. Three illustrative examples are provided:

- a. The rise of new urban models influences urban development strategies.
- b. The evolution of the nature of economic activities affects the functions developed in live-work projects and their intertwining with housing.
- c. Global trends to co-living and micro-living incentivise the development of high-densities of small dwellings.

Based on these connections, the choice of the case-study cities to address the research questions can be discussed. Two criticisms may be formulated with hindsight. Firstly, Amsterdam and Stockholm cluster on many aspects of their regimes, mirroring Brussels' singularities. However, this aspect was foreseen upon the selection of cases, which were still considered as a suitable combination of similarities and differences to explore live-work mix (see Chapter 3, section 3). Secondly, the institutionalisation characterising Stockholm makes it more constrained and, if not less suitable for live-work development, at least subject to different forms of live-work mix, despite a favourable framework on paper. Still, the researcher argues that the implications of the selection in terms of governance specificities (e.g., collaborations of actors) and unexpected observations (e.g., regarding governance capacities) brought about nuance and enriched the discussion and the research contribution.

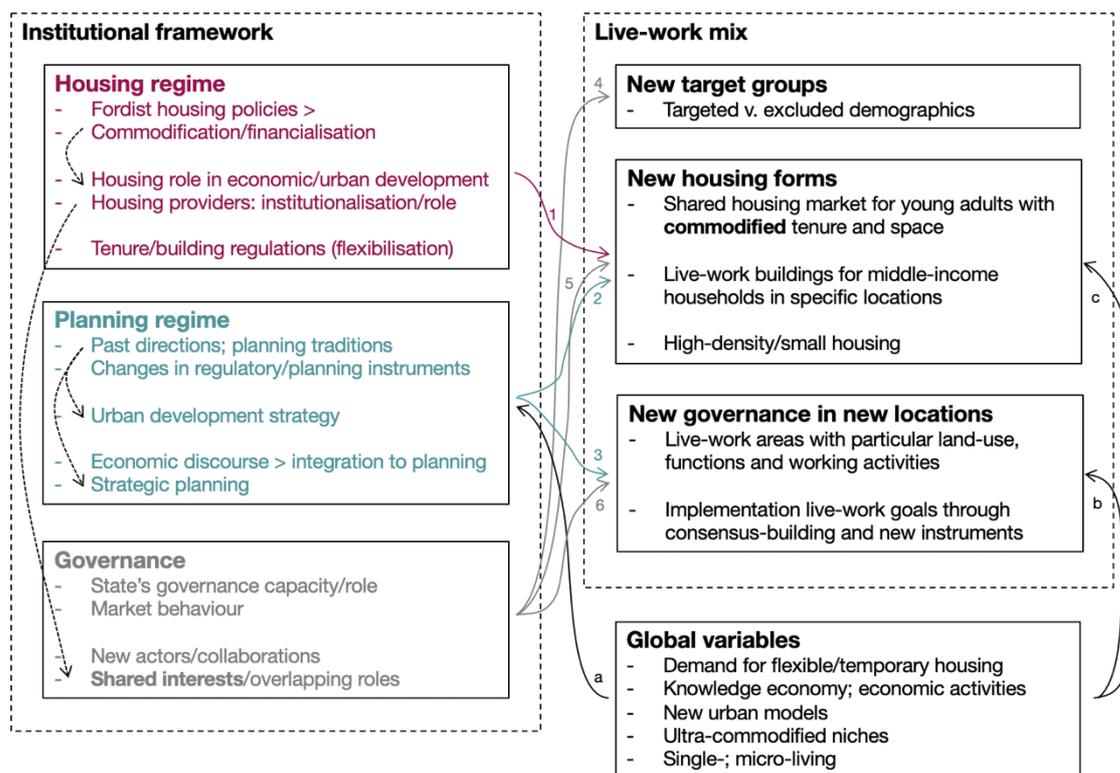


Figure 62: Relationship between institutional frameworks, ontologies and governance of live-work mix, based on empirical evidence

## 2 IMPROVING LIVE-WORK MIX

Potential outcomes of live-work mix identified in the theoretical background were confirmed to some extent by empirical research and related to governance and regulatory issues. In response to these concerns, Chapter 5 provided four elements of suggestions and recommendations, for the regulation and governance of live-work mix. Choices had to be made

amid opportunities for improvement since ‘the world could always be otherwise’ (Law, 2004, p. 152). Reflecting on improvements is especially challenging in situations involving uncertainty and complexity (Mitchell, 2009), as is the case for live-work mix. However, choosing to work with ontologies of live-work mix implies being concerned not only about *what there is* but also about *what there could be* (Law, 2004).

Hence, general advice would be to adopt complex and context-related strategies, given the close relationship between institutional frameworks and live-work mix underlined throughout the thesis. Then, the suggestions can be reorganised in three axes: (i) the diversity of target demographics, (ii) the provision of de-commodified live-work alternatives and (iii) the mitigation of density and attractiveness with liveability and inclusiveness. Firstly, revising housing size regulation and requirements for dwelling typologies might help broaden the diversity of demographics targeted in live-work developments. Secondly, reinforcing anti-speculative instruments for co-housing and changing the building and tenure regulations applying to the shared housing market could enhance the provision of de-commodified live-work alternatives. Involving non-profit housing providers more actively in live-work developments might be helpful as well. Thirdly, the revisions of building regulations in terms of standards for shared spaces would also help improve the spatial quality and added value of shared spaces in high-density living and hopefully enhance liveability. Reducing risks on the operation of complex and uncertain functions, through new actors and instruments, might further reduce the need for high density of ‘secure’ functions.

Nevertheless, improvement measures are sensitive because they may involve political positioning – housing is ‘always political by design’ (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020, p. 5) – and require the choice of appropriate variables. For example, improving affordability issues exclusively through the lens of tenure is misleading in that this variable is associated with other factors such as ‘dwelling form, production mode, political behaviour and social status’ (Barlow & Duncan, 1988, p. 221). Also, the discussion of tenure is context-related so that tenure categories cannot be associated with general political effects (*ibid*). Alternatively, Barlow and Duncan (1988) advise examining state intervention, housing production modes and dwelling characteristics. This is why the suggestions are in part related to the involvement of non-profit housing providers, building regulations and the diversity of dwelling types.

Finally, the above suggestions should be examined in light of the potential impact of future crises (and the current Covid-19 crisis). Indeed, crises create opportunities for institutional reforms in housing policies, but these reforms can, in turn, sow the seeds of new crises (W. Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019).

Amsterdam	Brussels	Stockholm
Institutional framework		
<p><i>Social housing</i>, but commodification</p> <p><i>Active planning</i>, but relaxation and flexibilisation; contract planning</p>	<p><i>Homeownership</i>; poor-quality PRS</p> <p><i>Long absence of planning</i>, but new capacities; incremental planning</p>	<p><i>Public housing</i>, but shift to tenant-ownership</p> <p><i>Active, regulatory planning</i>, but market shift and contract planning</p>
Live-work mix strategies		
<p><i>Living-working areas</i> enhancing knowledge and creative sectors</p> <p>Mid-rental and youth housing</p> <p>Ontology of live-work mix focused on attractiveness</p>	<p><i>Priority areas</i> mixing housing and productive activities</p> <p>Subsidised homeownership</p> <p>Overlapping ontologies of live-work mix, between innovation and production</p>	<p><i>Densification and expansion areas</i> with thematic economic development</p> <p>Standardised, tenant-ownership</p> <p>Incompatible ontologies of live-work mix, between competitiveness and housing crisis</p>
Governance arrangements		
<p><i>State</i>: strong governance capacity, both facilitating/entrepreneurial</p> <p><i>Market</i>: strategic/opportunistic; steering;</p> <p><i>Third sector</i>: collaborating with the market</p> <p><i>Community</i>: as a developer; steering</p> <p><i>Instruments</i>: temporary tenancy, new tools/contract planning</p>	<p><i>State</i>: institutional fragmentation, but facilitating/entrepreneurial</p> <p><i>Market</i>: strategic/opportunistic; steering</p> <p><i>Third sector</i>: -</p> <p><i>Community</i>: as a developer; steering</p> <p><i>Instruments</i>: new tools/incremental planning; conflicts with regulation</p>	<p><i>State</i>: strong governance capacity, both facilitating/entrepreneurial</p> <p><i>Market</i>: strategic; steering</p> <p><i>Third sector</i>: involved in the shared housing market (steering)</p> <p><i>Instruments</i>: temporary planning permission, strategic use of the detailed development plan</p>
Nature of live-work mix		
<p><i>High-density shared housing</i> for students/young professionals</p> <p><i>Knowledge-city</i> discourse in an office area</p> <p><i>Shared spaces</i> for families in co-housing</p>	<p><i>Exclusive, shared housing</i> with inter-generational goals</p> <p><i>Productive-city</i> discourse in an industrial area</p> <p><i>Live-work dwellings</i> for artists in co-housing</p>	<p><i>Temporary and standardised shared housing</i> for young adults</p> <p><i>Urban-growth</i> discourse with thematic economic development</p> <p>No live-work, co-housing</p>

**Table 10: Comprehensive summary of the institutional frameworks, ontologies and governance of live-work mix**

# CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

*There are multiple correct ways to parse our world, individuating a variety of objects and processes that reflect both causal structures and our interests. The view that there is only one true representation of the world exactly mapping onto its natural kinds is hubris.*

(Mitchell, 2009, p. 13)

Before delivering conclusions, the author would like, in line with the above quotation, to recall that the research contribution relates to a particular conceptualisation and analytical approach to a research object so that different representations could bring other conclusions complementing the present work. This thesis conceptualised and investigated the ‘live-work mix’, that is, the renewed intertwining of living and working activities in new housing production and urban development. The study aimed at (i) *conceptualising* live-work mix, (ii) *understanding* how local contexts influence the nature of this phenomenon and how live-work goals are implemented, and (iii) *inform* the actors to help them apprehend live-work development. Three concrete objectives were defined to achieve these aims: (i) identifying ontologies of live-work mix in contrasting institutional frameworks, (ii) understanding the governance of live-work mix in these contexts and (iii) understanding the influence of institutional frameworks on live-work mix and providing insights for the regulation and governance of live-work mix.

This concluding chapter first summarises the responses to the research questions, before highlighting the research contributions, practical recommendations and limitations of the thesis. The chapter closes with perspectives for future research.

## 1 RESPONSES TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND BEYOND

This section encapsulates the responses to the three overarching research questions as well as the findings that emerged from the empirical investigations and allowed going beyond the questions, consistently with the choice of an abductive explanatory process.

Prior to summarising the responses, the theoretical concepts and the analytical framework are recalled. Live-work mix is directly related to (i) new target groups (i.e., young urban single professionals and knowledge workers) who are assumed to live and work differently, (ii) the emergence of new housing forms based on the evolution of housing provision and (iii) new urban agendas. The evolution of housing provision was examined in terms of housing regimes. At the urban level, live-work mix was connected to mixed-use development, densification and competitiveness in a context of accelerated globalisation. The research questions were addressed

based on a twofold analytical framework, combining path dependency with an institutionalist approach to collaborative governance focused on actors and instruments. An embedded case-study comparative research was carried out in three cities in which three types of live-work mix were explored. The questions are re-examined in what follows.

*Q1. What are the different ontologies of live-work mix in contrasting institutional frameworks, and how are they influenced by housing and planning regimes, as well as current urban agendas?*

The cities of Amsterdam, Brussels and Stockholm were selected as ‘contrasting’ institutional frameworks. The city-scale was relevant for this research, given these cities’ competences in housing and planning. Despite different institutional paths, the three contexts were still sufficiently similar, notably in terms of population and live-work mix strategy.

To understand the ontologies of live-work mix in these frameworks, their housing and planning regimes were first examined, before analysing their live-work mix strategies. Amsterdam, despite social housing and active planning traditions, has experienced PRS expansion and planning relaxation and flexibilisation. The city urban agenda defines living-working areas, and mid-rental and youth housing supplies are a priority. Brussels has always promoted homeownership. It had no spatial planning policy until the 1960s, resulting in a *laissez-faire* planning regime emphasising individual property rights, and little instruments until the creation of the BCR. The regional plan defines priority areas, where subsidised homeownership is developed and productive activities are promoted. Stockholm’s housing provision was de-commodified during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and played a fundamental role in planning. Nonetheless, market-led tenant ownership is nowadays the dominant tenure form, and spatial planning has operated a market shift. The city plan defines densification and expansion areas with thematic economic development in which tenant-ownership is promoted. Accordingly, Amsterdam’s live-work mix ontologies are built upon attractiveness, while Brussels’ ones overlap between innovation and production, and Stockholm’s ontologies are torn between the housing crisis and competitiveness.

The comparison of housing and planning regimes confirmed that the planning directions taken in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century remained for several decades, although each city experienced specific critical junctures. Reaction patterns in housing provision (flexibilisation, commodification) and lock-in effects (i.e., difficulties to find policy solutions to current issues due to past decisions) were also underlined. Critical path dependencies for live-work mix were identified: the historical predominance of specific actors in each context, differences in scale and density of urban development, the focus of urban agendas on different economic sectors and divergences in

governance capacities. Besides, three issues conditioning live-work mix were acknowledged: an overemphasis on attractive demographics in live-work mix strategies, a tendency to develop smaller dwellings under market pressure and the emergence of flexible tenure forms.

A final self-reflection on the use of path dependency as an analytical framework acknowledged the usefulness of this approach to understanding institutional paths while recognising its limits related to decision-making and the influence of global models. Path dependency was still considered suitable for comparative case study research if used sensitively.

*Q2. How is live-work mix implemented locally, and more specifically, what kind of governance arrangements make live-work mix possible?*

This question was addressed based on a typology of live-work mix defined with similar criteria for the three cities. Three types of live-work projects were investigated: (i) the shared housing market, (ii) live-work development in targeted areas and (iii) live-work, co-housing. A sample of real estate operations belonging to these types was selected in each city. For each project, the governance arrangements (actors and instruments) established to implement live-work goals were examined. Irrespective of the type of live-work mix, local governments' intervention appeared to be central as states can play facilitating to entrepreneurial roles in live-work development. In contrast, market parties remain primarily focused on residential development and adopt strategic to opportunistic behaviours. Only in the shared housing market are third-sector actors involved, possibly in collaboration with market parties, revealing mutual dependences between these two types of actors. Live-work, co-housing development is the only studied type of live-work mix involving the tenants' community in the development process. The analysis of the instruments of live-work mix exemplified the need for new planning and regulatory instruments and strategic uses of existing tools. Custom-made, co-authored planning instruments enhancing flexibility and predictability can also balance strategy and regulation in complex and uncertain live-work developments.

Being also part of the governance of live-work mix, consensus building was analysed for ongoing live-work developments in targeted areas. Enhancing the attractiveness of a specific location was a primary shared interest which inclined the actors to target middle- to higher-income groups. However, collaborative governance was affected by conflicts about the nature of live-work mix, and achieving effective spatial planning was a challenge in the three cities.

The outcomes of the two other types of live-work mix were also discussed. The delivered live-work balance was in favour of the 'live' side in all projects. On the shared housing market, the liveability of the small dwellings was questioned, given the insufficient and, at times, poor-quality

shared spaces provided. Also, the levels of affordability and accessibility varied substantially depending on the context, which was related to the tenure forms available in each local housing regime. In response to the issues raised in the analysis, suggestions and recommendations were made, including regarding shared spaces and dwelling size.

Overall, the typology made it possible to focus on different aspects of live-work mix and highlight the influence of global developments locally. The comparison also confirmed the local variations and path dependencies identified and revealed unexpected governance capacities. However, the typology tended to hide the similar directions observed across cities, *prima facie*.

*Q3. How do local institutional frameworks influence the nature and governance of live-work mix, and how to improve live-work mix?*

To respond to the third question, the empirical findings were reconnected to the conceptual dimensions of live-work mix. Firstly, live-work mix is purposed for specific demographics. The actors' focus on these groups may result in overlooking other household types, in particular low-income families. The research pointed at the shared responsibility of the different kinds of actors involved in live-work development in that issue. The 'digital nomads' might become the next preferred target group, given the evolution of the shared housing market. Also, appealing to the middle class in live-work areas contributes to the acceptability of new developments, but requires further investigations of the long-term effects.

Secondly, live-work mix draws on the emergence of new housing forms. In particular, the shared housing market exemplifies the role of housing as a commodified service as it draws on commodified tenure and space. The de-risking role of housing in specific locations has also brought about live-work buildings with joint, 3D property. Besides, all types of live-work mix foster higher density and smaller housing production, especially in institutional frameworks with strong planning traditions, institutionalised housing providers and state intervention in housing.

Thirdly, live-work mix is planned in locations prioritised in mixed-use planning agendas, which depend on local governance capacities, economic contexts and planning regimes. The implementation of live-work goals is affected by shared interests and conflicting visions. Different overlaps in the actors' roles lead to specific instruments and strategic uses of tools, depending on the evolution of local planning regimes.

Based on these elements, the relationship between institutional frameworks and live-work mix was discussed, knowing that the validity of the connections drawn rely on the contexts and types selected and the analytical approach. Hence, it was concluded that institutional frameworks impact several variables of live-work mix, which all together inform the nature and further local

ontologies of live-work mix. In particular, the tenure categories, density, dwelling size, economic activities, target groups and property division of live-work projects are closely connected to the characteristics of institutional frameworks. Nevertheless, global developments do also influence live-work mix.

As for the possibilities of improving live-work mix, it was first acknowledged that discussing improvement opportunities is challenging in uncertain and complex situations such as live-work mix, but beneficial to enrich the discussion of ontologies as regards to ‘what there could be’. General advice was to adopt complex and context-related strategies. More concrete suggestions were summarised according to three axes (target households, de-commodified alternatives, liveability/inclusiveness). These measures included the revision of building and tenure regulations (with awareness to the context-sensitivity of tenure), the active involvement of non-profit housing providers and greater diversity of dwelling types in new housing production. These proposals should be framed in light of current and future crises, given their mutual dependence with institutional reforms.

## 2 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

This thesis makes research contributions at different levels. At the *conceptual* level, the original framing of the live-work mix concept in between new target groups, housing forms and urban agendas is a contribution per se. The *theoretical* contributions of the thesis are twofold. They first relate to the creation of knowledge about contrasting housing and planning regimes and their relationship to live-work mix. In particular, the nuanced use of path dependency allowed explaining divergences in the materialisation of live-work mix despite similar strategies. Secondly, the research contributes to increasing knowledge about collaborative governance in institutionalist approaches, by bringing new perspectives on the actors involved in urban development, the planning instruments they use, the way they collaborate and the governance capacities they develop.

The *methodological* contributions rely on two aspects of the research design. First, exploring cities rather than countries responds to a demand from housing researchers to conduct more comparative studies at this level, in a context of local institutional responses to global phenomena. The originality of the thesis approach further lies in the embeddedness of a typology of cases – and related sampling of projects – within three main cases. Despite overlaps, the typology highlighted both local variations and similar directions in live-work mix. Second, combining path dependency and collaborative governance within the institutionalist analytical

framework allowed confronting institutional paths to current governance arrangements and capacities.

Finally, the *practical* contributions consist of suggestions and recommendations for the regulation and governance of live-work mix. Hopefully, these outputs will inform decision-making about live-work mix. The analysis further draws their attention to emerging markets and practices that are likely to expand in the future under different forms. However, the applicability of the present findings to other contexts will be affected by institutional specificities among numerous considerations (Dąbrowski et al., 2018).

### 3 LIMITATIONS

The first limit of the research lies in the emerging nature of certain types of live-work mix, making it difficult to identify and quantify the phenomenon. Given the current development of live-work mix, fully assessing the outcomes of on-going and recently-completed live-work operations is challenging as well because both the actors and the researcher lack hindsight. The exploratory investigations revealed this problem and justified the choice of focusing primarily on the governance of live-work mix. More broadly, the struggle to grasp informal forms of live-work mix (i.e., resulting from residents' practices within the existing housing stock) soon led to delineate the research object around new housing production and urban development.

Related to the emerging nature of live-work mix, the methodological choices may have narrowed opportunities for generalisation. The double partitioning by city and by type and the low availability of cases resulted in a relatively limited sample of projects – yet carefully selected – for each type locally. Nevertheless, the findings showed promising similarities across cities and types as well as divergences explainable through local institutional frameworks and ontologies of live-work mix. A fine-grained typology may also hide commonalities across types. The researcher could have chosen to focus on one single type and examine a higher number of projects for this type in the three cities instead. However, the typology of live-work mix offered valuable opportunities to explore governance arrangements at different scales (building, block) and based on diverse combinations of actors and instruments.

Other methodological limits relate to the risk for path dependency to undermine reaction patterns in decision-making, for instance, when it comes to emerging governance capacities. This method still provided relevant interpretation tools to understand the similarities and differences between cities. The choice of the case-study cities might be criticised as well given the clustering observed between Amsterdam and Stockholm on many aspects of their housing

and planning regimes, and the singularity of Stockholm when it comes to institutionalisation and its influence on live-work development. The selection, nevertheless, allowed to nuance the findings with strong context-related specificities and enrich the discussion. Finally, the limited investigation of the residents' perspective offers little insight into their roles as actors of live-work mix and their actual needs, compared to the presumed aspirations of the target groups.

#### **4 PERSPECTIVES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

This thesis closes with perspectives for future research, in the light of the new questions raised during investigations. As an emerging housing segment, the shared housing market is probably the type of live-work mix that offers the most opportunities for additional research. Although this market is further advanced in Amsterdam, it is expected to grow, not only in Brussels and Stockholm but also in university cities and cities with high housing demand. Given the potential outcomes and risks underlined in this thesis, the researcher pleads for further investigations about the long-term effects of the shared housing market and regulatory opportunities for improvement. Besides, quantifying this growing phenomenon in large cities facing commodification issues would help inform more accurately its extent of development. Also, exploring the lived experience of tenants, including digital nomads, would allow improving knowledge of housing outcomes and young adults' housing pathways, especially in the aftermath of the Covid-19 crisis. Examining related forms of shared housing – in particular co-living – is essential as well given the fast diffusion of Anglo-Saxon co-living models across contexts, especially in large European cities.

Furthermore, urban studies could investigate more in-depth the tendency for live-work mix to be coupled with high-density living in areas with no housing, as well as the liveability of these densified urban districts in the making. High-densities of small dwellings could be questioned given concerns raised during the pandemic. Moreover, concrete governance solutions which allow reaching an effective balance of uses and tenures and avoiding the hegemony of the most attractive functions and target groups should be explored. In particular, investigating the long-term effects of housing policies purposed for middle-income households would be useful to confirm the risks underlined in the dissertation. Although this research focused on the governance of the implementation of live-work mix, investigating the property management of live-work buildings with joint, 3D ownership is needed, given the uncertainties observed on the operation of activities such as industrial workshops and semi-private co-working spaces.

Finally, an increasing number of voices consider that there will be a 'before' and an 'after' Covid-19. Without entering into this debate, one would expect that, just as after any 'transboundary crisis' (Boin, 2009), changing practices, exacerbated housing crisis and desire to change ways of planning cities lead to the emergence of new forms of live-work mix, which will, in turn, raise new research questions to be explored.

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# APPENDIX 1: KEY FACTS AND FIGURES

Amsterdam	Brussels	Stockholm
Population		
<p><i>Population:</i> 0,96 – 2,77 million inhabitants (city – urban region)</p> <p><i>Demographic growth:</i> + 23% expected between 2017-2040</p> <p><i>Young singles:</i> 50% singles; 1/3 households aged 20 to 34</p> <p><i>Incomes:</i> mean income per person with an income: €35,500 in 2017</p>	<p><i>Population:</i> 1,2 – 2,67 million inhabitants (city – urban region)</p> <p><i>Demographic growth:</i> + 25% between 2000-2018</p> <p><i>Young singles:</i> 46% singles, 37 y.o. mean age</p> <p><i>Incomes:</i> mean taxable income per capita: €13,831 in 2015</p>	<p><i>Population:</i> 0,95 – 2,31 million inhabitants (city – urban region)</p> <p><i>Demographic growth:</i> + 20% between 2005-2015; up to 1,3 million by 2040</p> <p><i>Young singles:</i> 44% singles, 39 y.o. mean age</p> <p><i>Incomes:</i> mean income, 20-64 y.o.: SEK 392,400 in 2016 (~€38,000)</p>
Housing		
<p><i>Housing regime:</i> (social-democratic/) corporatist, social housing tradition</p> <p><i>Housing stock:</i></p> <p><b>41%</b> Social housing; 30% Homeownership (HO); 29% PRS</p> <p><i>Housing accessibility:</i></p> <p>15-year waiting time for social housing</p> <p><i>Housing affordability:</i></p> <p>Increase from €200,000 in 2015 to €319,000 in 2018 (in average)</p> <p><i>Housing production:</i></p> <p>40% studios in 2016</p> <p><i>Housing supply targets:</i></p> <p>+ 50 000 housing units by 2025</p>	<p><i>Housing regime:</i> liberal (/corporatist), homeownership tradition</p> <p><i>Housing stock:</i></p> <p><b>45%</b> HO; <b>45%</b> PRS; 10% Public housing</p> <p><i>Housing accessibility:</i></p> <p>10-year waiting time for social housing for large families</p> <p><i>Housing affordability:</i></p> <p>1% housing stock affordable for 40% lower-income households</p> <p><i>Housing production:</i></p> <p>4% studios v. 49% two-bedroom units produced between 2009-2011</p> <p><i>Housing supply targets:</i></p> <p>+ 11 720 public housing units</p>	<p><i>Housing regime:</i> social-democratic, now liberal, public housing tradition</p> <p><i>Housing stock:</i></p> <p><b>51%</b> Tenant-ownership; 25% PRS; 15% Public housing; 9% HO</p> <p><i>Housing accessibility:</i></p> <p>Up to 21-year waiting time for public rental housing in the core city</p> <p><i>Housing affordability:</i></p> <p>Housing prices have tripled between 1995-2010, doubled again until 2019</p> <p><i>Housing production:</i></p> <p>1/3 one-bedroom units in new dev.</p> <p><i>Housing supply targets:</i></p> <p>+ 140 000 new dwellings by 2030</p>
Planning		
<p><i>Regime:</i> Active planning &gt; flexible/relaxed planning, 80% public land, leasehold</p> <p><i>Planning instruments:</i> structural vision, land-use plan</p> <p><i>Urban development strategy:</i> living-working areas</p>	<p><i>Regime:</i> Absence of spatial planning &gt; incremental planning, individual property rights</p> <p><i>Planning instruments:</i> development plan, land-use plan</p> <p><i>Urban development strategy:</i> priority areas</p>	<p><i>Regime:</i> Active, regulatory planning &gt; contract planning, 70% public land, land allocation</p> <p><i>Planning instruments:</i> city plan, detailed development plan</p> <p><i>Urban development strategy:</i> densification and expansion areas</p>
Economic sectors and office vacancy		
<p><i>Sectors:</i> creative industry, knowledge sectors (incl. Finance, ICT, B2B)</p> <p><i>Office vacancy:</i> 10% in 2018</p>	<p><i>Sectors:</i> EU Institutions, innovation, creative and cultural industry</p> <p><i>Office vacancy:</i> 7,5% in 2018</p>	<p><i>Sectors:</i> knowledge sectors (incl. ICT), engineering tradition</p> <p><i>Office vacancy:</i> 5,5% in 2019</p>

# APPENDIX 2: DATA COLLECTION FOR CHAPTER 4

## 1 INTERVIEW GRIDS

The interview grids listed below were indicative, i.e., the questions were not strictly followed. Additional questions were also asked depending on the profile and expertise of each interviewee. For the same reasons, not all the questions of the generic grid were asked to all interviewees.

### AMSTERDAM

Two different interview grids were used depending on the profile of the interviewee: one for academics, and the other for stakeholders.

#### Academics

What is the current **housing demand** in Amsterdam (and how has it evolved recently)?

- What are the general **trends** in terms of size, location and space w.r.t. housing in Amsterdam? To what extent are these trends related to the evolution of prices?
- Do you expect **demand** for **new functions**/facilities within or nearby housing dwellings?
- How should the housing market **evolve** to meet these demands?
- What may be the **impact of regulation** on those demands?

Have you heard of **mixed-use developments** at the block-level and/or **housing developments** including **co-working spaces** at the building level?

- If not, is it because the **regulatory framework** is too restrictive? What are the **current obstacles**?
- If so, which is the **scale** in these developments (number of dwellings, ...)?
- If including **shared spaces**, how were they **organised** between the occupiers (depending on their status)?
- **Where** are located these developments (at the metropolitan level)?
- What was the **target** in terms of dweller type, standing, location, and connections with other services?
- Which **stakeholders** were preferably involved?
- What are the **pros and cons** according to you?

What is the current **office demand** in Amsterdam in terms of **location, company size and field**?

- Which is the **most attractive** at the moment, between the housing and the office market?
- Have you heard of major **conversions** of office buildings into housing?
- What are the **market trends** apart from regulation?
- Do you think that the (potential) development of the **labour market in residential areas** will encourage more people to live in these neighbourhoods?

What is the impact of **regulations** on the (lack of) « **flexibilisation** » of housing in Amsterdam?

- Is **flexible housing** somehow supported by the municipality?
- Is there an evolution of dwelling size regulations?
- (What may be the impact of ICT and NWOW on housing regulation?)

#### Stakeholders

Could you briefly outline the **role** of your institution/organisation in the production and/or analysis of housing in Amsterdam?

- What is the **core business** of your company/institution?

- Are you more active on the **analysis/planning** or **production/maintenance** of housing?
- What are your **connections** with other institutions/organisations active in this field?
- What is your **specific/personal role** in this institution/organisation?

What is the current **housing demand** in Amsterdam (and how has it evolved in the most recent years)?

- What are the general **trends** in terms of size, location and space w.r.t. housing in Amsterdam? To what extent are these trends related to the evolution of prices?
- Do you expect **demand** for **new functions**/facilities within or nearby housing dwellings?
- How should the housing market **evolve** to meet these demands?
- What may be the **impact of regulation** on those demands?

Have you heard of **mixed-use developments** at the block-level and/or **housing developments** including **co-working spaces** at the building level?

- If not, is it because the **regulatory framework** is too restrictive? What are the **current obstacles**?
- If so, which is the **scale** in these developments (number of dwellings, ...)?
- If including **shared spaces**, how were they **organised** between the occupiers (depending on their status)?
- **Where** are located these developments (at the metropolitan level)?
- What was the **target** in terms of dweller type, standing, location, and connections with other services?
- What was your (potential) **role** in these developments?
- Which **stakeholders** were preferably involved?
- What are the **pros and cons** according to you?

What is the current **office demand** in Amsterdam in terms of **location, company size and field**?

- Which is the **most attractive** at the moment, between the housing and the office market?
- Have you heard of major **conversions** of office buildings into housing?
- What are the **market trends** apart from regulation?
- Do you think that the (potential) development of the **labour market in residential areas** will encourage more people to live in these neighbourhoods?

What is the impact of **regulations** on the (lack of) « **flexibilisation** » of housing in Amsterdam?

- Is **flexible housing** somehow supported by the municipality?
- Is there an evolution of dwelling size regulations?
- (What may be the impact of ICT and NWOW on housing regulation?)

## BRUSSELS

This grid was not applied to the unrecorded interviews (exploratory interviews and first experience of the research project). All interviews were conducted in French. The interview grid is provided in the original language.

Pourriez-vous brièvement décrire le **rôle** de votre institution/organisation dans la production et/ou l'analyse du logement à Bruxelles ?

- Quel est le **core business** de votre entreprise/institution ?
- Êtes-vous actif dans l'**analyse/planification** ou dans la **production/gestion** de logement ?
- Quels **liens** entretenez-vous avec d'autres institutions/organisations dans ce domaine ?
- Quel est votre **rôle spécifique/personnel** dans cette institution/organisation ?

Quelle est la **demande de logement** à Bruxelles actuellement (et comment cette demande a-t-elle évolué ces dernières années) ?

- Quelles sont les **tendances** générales en termes de taille, localisation, espace ? Dans quelle mesure ces tendances sont reliées à l'évolution des prix ?
- Vous attendez-vous à voir émerger une **demande** pour de **nouvelles fonctions** ou de nouveaux services dans ou à proximité d'ensembles de logements ?
- Comment devrait **évoluer** le marché du logement pour répondre à ces demandes ?
- Quel peut être l'impact de la **régulation** existante sur ces demandes ?

Avez-vous connaissance de **projets de logements** mixtes à l'échelle du l'ilot et/ou de projets de logements comprenant des services et/ou espaces de travail (e.g., co-working) à l'échelle du bâtiment ?

- Si ce n'est pas le cas, le **cadre réglementaire** est-il trop restrictif ? Quels sont les obstacles actuels ?
- Si oui, quelle est l'**échelle** de ces projets (nombre d'unités de logement, ...) ?
- Si ces projets comprennent des **espaces partagés** : comment ceux-ci sont-ils organisés entre occupants, quel est leur statut ?
- **Où** se situent ces projets ?
- Quelle étaient le **public cible** et les **objectifs** en termes de standing, localisation et provision de services ?
- Quel était votre **rôle** potentiel dans ces projets ?
- Quelles étaient les autres **parties prenantes** ?
- Quels sont les **avantages et inconvénients** de ce type de projets, selon vous ?

Quelle est la **demande de bureaux** à Bruxelles - **localisation, taille d'entreprise, domaine** ?

- Quel est le marché le plus tendu/le **plus attractif** en ce moment entre marché du logement et de bureaux ?
- Avez-vous de connaissance de grands projets de **reconversion** de bureaux en logement ?
- Quelles sont les **tendances** actuelles de ce marché ?

Quel est, selon vous, l'impact de la régulation sur le (manque de) flexibilisation du logement à Bruxelles ? La flexibilisation est-elle plutôt soutenue par la région bruxelloise ?

## STOCKHOLM

Two different interview grids were used depending on the profile of the interviewee: one for academics, and the other for stakeholders. The grid for stakeholders was subject to heavy modifications for some local experts to sharpen the questions.

### Academics

What is the current **housing demand** in Stockholm (and how has it evolved recently)?

- What are the general **trends** in terms of size, location and space w.r.t. housing in Stockholm? To what extent are these trends related to the evolution of prices?
- Do you expect **demand** for **new functions**/facilities within or nearby housing dwellings?
- How should the housing market **evolve** to meet these demands?
- What may be the **impact of regulation** on those demands?

Have you heard of **mixed developments** at the block-level and/or **housing developments** including **co-working spaces** at the building level?

- If not, is it because the **regulatory framework** is too restrictive? What are the **obstacles**?
- If so, which is the **scale** in these developments (number of dwellings, ...)?
- If including **shared spaces** > How were they **organized** between the occupiers (depending on their status)?
- **Where** are located these developments (at the metropolitan level)?
- What was the **target** in terms of dweller type, standing, location, connections with services?
- Which **stakeholders** were preferably involved?

- What are the **pros and cons** according to you?

What is the current **office demand** in Stockholm in terms of **location, company size and field**?

- Which is the **most attractive** at the moment, between the housing and the office market?
- Have you heard of major **conversions** of office buildings into housing?
- What are the **market trends** apart from regulation?
- Do you think that the (potential) development of the **labour market in residential areas** will encourage more people to live in these neighbourhoods?

What is the impact of **regulations** on the (lack of) « **flexibilization** » of housing in Stockholm?

- Is **flexible housing** somehow supported by municipalities?
- Is there an evolution of dwelling size regulations?
- (What may be the impact of ICT and NWOW on housing regulation?)
- In general, do you see more **flexibility in the design** of new projects?

### Stakeholders

Could you briefly outline the **role** of your institution/organization in the production and/or analysis of housing in Stockholm?

- What is the **core business** of your institution?
- What are your **connections** with other institutions/organizations active in this field?
- What is your **specific/personal role** in this institution?

What is the current **housing demand** in Stockholm (and how has it evolved in the most recent years)?

- What are the general **trends** in terms of size, location and space w.r.t. housing in Stockholm? To what extent are these trends related to the evolution of prices?
- Do you expect **demand** for **new functions**/facilities within or nearby housing dwellings?
- How should the housing market **evolve** to meet these demands?
- What may be the **impact of regulation** on those demands?
- Have you been working (together with other stakeholders) on recommendations and/or practical solutions to improve **housing affordability** for weaker households and/or solve the **housing shortage**?
- What are the objectives in terms of **housing production** in Stockholm?

Have you heard of **mixed-use developments** at the block-level and/or **housing developments** including **co-working spaces** at the building level?

- If not, is it because the **regulatory framework** is too restrictive? What are the **current obstacles**?
- If so, which is the **scale** in these developments (number of dwellings, ...)?
- If including **shared spaces** > How were they **organized** between the occupiers (depending on their status)?
- **Where** are located these developments (at the metropolitan level)?
- What was the **target** in terms of dweller type, standing, location, and connections with other services?
- Which **stakeholders** were preferably involved?
- What are the **pros and cons** according to you?

(What is the current **office demand** in Stockholm in terms of **location, company size and field**)?

What is the impact of **regulations** on the (lack of) « **flexibilization** » of housing in Stockholm?

- Is **flexible housing** somehow supported by municipalities?
- Is there an evolution of dwelling size regulations?
- (What may be the impact of ICT and NWOW on housing regulation?)

- In general, do you see more **flexibility in the design** of new projects?

## 2 LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

### Amsterdam

N°	Ideal type	Organisation	Position	Date meeting
AMS-I1	Third Sector	NRP – <i>Platform voor transformatieve en renovatie</i>	Member; Former head of a housing association	20/06/2017
AMS-I2	Third Sector	AFWC – <i>Amsterdamse Federatie voor Woningcorporaties</i>	Policy advisor research and information	21/06/2017
AMS-I3	State	Municipality of Amsterdam OIS – <i>Onderzoek, Informatie en Statistiek</i>	Head of research (I3.1) Senior researcher (I3.2)	18/01/2018
AMS-I4	State	Municipality of Amsterdam - Economic Affairs dept	Economic development advisor	19/06/2017
AMS-I5	State	Municipality of Amsterdam – Housing dept	Research and development coordinator	20/06/2017
AMS-I6	State	Municipality of Amsterdam - Land market department	Strategic advisor	22/06/2017
AMS-I7	State	Municipality of Amsterdam - Urban planning department	Chief Urban Planner	21/06/2017
AMS-I8	State	Municipality of Amsterdam - Office market monitoring ( <i>Kantorenloods</i> )	Office market advisor	18/01/2018
AMS-I9	Third Sector	de Alliantie (Housing association)	Local coordinator	19/01/2018
AMS-I10*,**	Community	Circulair Buiksloterham	Future inhabitant of the area	07/02/2018
AMS-I11	Market	The Spontaneous City International (Consultancy firm)	Project manager advising municipalities	16/01/2018
AMS-I12	Market	Pop Up City (Consultancy firm)	Co-founder	15/01/2018
AMS-I13	Market	MKA – Mark Khoeler Architects	Project manager of ‘superloft’ projects	07/02/2018
AMS-I14	Market	AM Vastgoed (BAM Group)	CEO an international real estate development company	02/02/2018
AMS-I15	Market	Wonam	Institutional investor - Director and founder, head of acquisitions	25/01/2018
AMS-I16	Market	Syntrus Achmea Real Estate & Finance	Institutional investor – Director Strategy & Research	21/06/2017
AMS-I17**	Academia	TU Delft	Professor of Housing systems	26/06/2017
AMS-I18**	Academia	TU Delft	Housing researcher specialised in affordable housing	23/06/2017
AMS-I19**	Academia	TU Delft	Professor of Housing management	26/06/2017
AMS-I20**	Academia	TU Delft	Assistant professor specialised in housing co-production	23/06/2017
AMS-I21	Academia	UVA	Professor of Urban geography	20/06/2017
AMS-I22**	Academia	TU Delft	Professor specialised in Housing regulation	12/01/2018
AMS-I23**	Academia	TU Delft	PhD Student	12/01/2018
AMS-I24*,**	Academia	TU Delft	Senior researcher specialised in Housing co-production	30/01/2018
AMS-I25**	Academia	TU Delft	Professor of Real Estate Management	13/02/2018

\*Skype meeting; \*\*Not recorded

## Brussels

N°	Ideal type	Organisation	Position	Date meeting
BXL-I1**	Third Sector	CLTB – Community Land Trust Brussels	Coordinator	12/04/2017
BXL-I2**	State	Housing cabinet	Agent	05/05/2017
BXL-I3**	State	Hub.brussels	Advisor	12/06/2017
BXL-I4**	State	Citydev	Economic development advisor (I4.1); Inventimmo advisor (I4.2)	08/02/2017
BXL-I5**	State	Citydev	Economic development advisor (I5.1); Head of the Urban development dept (I5.2)	27/03/2017
BXL-I6**	State	Fonds du logement	Head of the real estate dept	03/05/2017
BXL-I7	State	SLRB – Social housing	Deputy Director (I7.1); Project manager (I7.2)	09/10/2018
BXL-I8	State	SAU – <i>Société d'Aménagement Urbain</i>	Director	28/09/2018
BXL-I9**	State	Urban.brussels	Director	21/04/2017
BXL-I10**	State	Perspective.brussels – Office market and Housing permits monitoring	Project manager offices (I10.1) and housing (I10.2)	10/04/2017
BXL-I11**	State	Perspective.brussels	Deputy director, Housing referent	04/04/2017
BXL-I12	State	Perspective.brussels – Urban development strategy	Expert	20/09/2018
BXL-I13	Market	DDS+ architects	Partner	16/01/2019
BXL-I14**	Market	UPSI – <i>Union professionnelle du secteur immobilier</i>	Aministrator	25/04/2017
BXL-I15**	Market	Eaglestone (real estate development)	CCO, Member of the Executive Committee	25/04/2017
BXL-I16**	Market	Pargesy (real estate development)	Director	28/03/2017
BXL-I17**	Market	Codic (international real estate development)	General manager	25/04/2017
BXL-I18**	Academia	Sint Lukas	Professor specialised in housing policy	31/01/2017
BXL-I19**	Academia	Saint Louis	Professor specialised in housing law	02/03/2017
BXL-I20**	Academia	ULB	Senior researcher specialised in urban geography	08/05/2017
BXL-I21**	Academia	ULiège	Professor of land and property markets	07/06/2017
BXL-I22	Academia	Saint Louis	Senior researcher specialised in urban sociology	25/09/2018

\*\*Not recorded

## Stockholm

Nº	Ideal type	Organisation	Position	Date meeting
STO-I1	Third sector	Swedish Union of Tenants	Housing policy advisor (I1.1) Chief economist (I1.2)	07/03/2019
STO-I2	Third sector	SABO - Public Housing Sweden	Chief socio-politics (I2.1) Head of international affairs and sustainability (I2.2)	12/03/2019
STO-I3	Third sector	<i>Byggenheter</i> – association for community-led housing	Co-founder and practising architect	19/03/2019
STO-I4*	State	<i>Boverket</i> – National Board of Housing, Building and Planning	Expert in Swedish housing policy	19/03/2019
STO-I5	State	Municipality of Stockholm – City land development department	Project manager	10/04/2019
STO-I6	Third sector	SSSB – <i>Stockholmsstudentbostäder</i> (Stockholm's Student housing)	CEO	26/03/2019
STO-I7	Third sector	Svenska Bostäder, AB	CEO	27/03/2019
STO-I8	Third sector	Stockholmshem	Analyst, CEO's Unit	29/03/2019
STO-I9	State	Stockholm region (previously); Nordregio	Senior Research Fellow	04/03/2019
STO-I10	State	City Planning Administration	Urban strategist	18/03/2019
STO-I11	State	Stockholm region	Regional planners (I11.1; I11.2)	29/04/2019
STO-I12	State	Nordregio	Senior Research Fellow	21/11/2017
STO-I13	Market	Tyrens – Consultancy firm	Senior consultant	13/03/2019
STO-I14	Market	White architects	Practising architect	14/03/2019
STO-I15	Market	TechFarm – Co-living	Resident	08/04/2019
STO-I16	Market	HSB – Property develop and manager	CEO	21/03/2019
STO-I17	Market	Bonava	Marketing and Sales manager	15/03/2019
STO-I18	Market	SKB – Stockholm Cooperative Housing association	Vice-CEO, Head of economics and finance	28/03/2019
STO-I19	Academia	KTH	Professor, Real Estate Economist	01/03/2019
STO-I20	Academia	KTH	Professor of Urban and Regional Studies	24/04/2017
STO-I21**	Academia	KTH	Professor of Urban Planning and Urban Design	20/11/2017
STO-I22**	Academia	KTH	Professor of Real Estate Management (retired)	22/11/2017
STO-I23	Academia	KTH	Professor of Real Estate Economics	20/11/2017
STO-I24	Academia	Uppsala University	Professor of Sociology	24/11/2017
STO-I25	Academia	Uppsala University	Professor of Housing Economics	24/11/2017
STO-I26	Academia	KTH	Professor of Urban and Regional Studies	23/11/2017
STO-I27**	Academia	Stockholm University	PhD Student in Human Geography	21/11/2017

\*Skype meeting; \*\*Not recorded

### 3 DOCUMENTS RETAINED FOR ANALYSIS (UNEXHAUSTIVE LIST)

Amsterdam	Brussels	Stockholm
Drivers of live-work mix		
<p>AFWC's annual report 2018</p> <p>Building regulation (<i>Bouwbesluit 2012</i>)</p> <p>Magazine of the city planning department (<i>Plan Amsterdam</i>)</p> <p>National policy for infrastructure and spatial planning 2017</p> <p>Office conversions report (<i>Kantorenleegstand en transformatie</i>)</p> <p>Statistical yearbook 2017, 2019 and 2020 - other OIS/CBS statistics</p>	<p>Annual reports on housing permissions 2009, 2011, 2013, 2018 (<i>Observatoire des permis logement.</i>), productive activities (2017) (<i>Observatoire des activités productives</i>) and the office market (2016/2019) (<i>Observatoire des bureaux</i>)</p> <p>National demographic perspectives 2017 – 2070</p> <p>R.E. market outlook 2019</p> <p>Regional planning regulation (<i>Règlement Régional d'Urbanisme</i>)</p> <p>Statistical yearbook 2019</p>	<p>Developers' yearbooks</p> <p>National statistics on housing prices (2019)</p> <p>Publications from the Nordic council of Ministers</p> <p>Real Estate market outlooks 2019 and 2020</p> <p>Statistical yearbook 2018</p> <p>Stockholm Science City report on co-working in Stockholm</p>
Urban development strategies		
<p>Amsterdam Structural vision (<i>Structuurvisie Amsterdam 2040</i>)</p> <p>Amsterdam 2025 strategy (<i>Koers 2025</i>)</p> <p>Economic development strategy (<i>Ruimte voor de Economie van Morgen</i>)</p>	<p>Brussels Regional development plan (PRDD – <i>Plan Régional de Développement Durable</i>)</p> <p>Regional land-use plan (PRAS – <i>Plan Régional d'Affectation du Sol</i>)</p>	<p>Stockholm city plan or 'comprehensive' plan (<i>Översiktsplan</i>)</p> <p>Regional development plan (RUF5 2050 – <i>Regionala utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen</i>)</p>
Housing supply strategies		
<p>(Housing agenda in the city strategic 2025)</p> <p>Housing agenda 2025 – <i>Woonagenda 2025</i></p> <p>Amsterdam mid-rental housing platform documents (<i>PAM wonen</i>)</p>	<p>(Housing agenda in the regional plan)</p> <p>Urbanisation charges regulation (<i>Arrêté charges d'urbanisme</i>)</p> <p>Regional public housing plans (<i>Plan régional du logement; Alliance Habitat</i>)</p>	<p>(Housing agenda in the city plan)</p> <p>Housing policy for rental housing and student housing (<i>Stöd för hyresbostäder och bostäder för studerande</i>)</p> <p>SABO publications on the Combo houses (<i>Kombo Hus</i>)</p>
Economic growth strategies		
<p>(Economic vision in the strategic plan)</p> <p>Office development strategy (<i>Het juiste kantoor op de juiste plek.</i>)</p>	<p>(Economic vision in the regional plan)</p> <p>Publications of the Statistics' office</p>	<p>(Economic vision in the city plan and the regional development plan)</p> <p>Report on Stockholm's competitiveness by Growth Analysis</p>

# APPENDIX 3: DATA COLLECTION FOR CHAPTER 5

## 1 INTERVIEW GRIDS

The interview grids listed below were indicative, i.e., the questions were not strictly followed. Additional questions were also asked if factual information was missing, and depending on the information brought from previous interviewees or new questions raised during the investigation process. For the same reasons, not all the questions of the original grid were always asked.

NB: All interviewees were conducted in English in Amsterdam and Stockholm (except for Resident AMS-T1.2/2, in French) and in French in Brussels.

### 1.1 THE SHARED HOUSING MARKET

#### Amsterdam

##### Project AMS-T1.1

ALL

What is the core business of your company?

What was the role of the company in this project? What was your specific role in the project?

Who were the other **partners**? Who did you have to work with?

Could you tell me a bit more about the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?

PRIVATE DEVELOPER/HOUSING ASSOCIATION/ ARCHITECT

What was the initial **calendar** for the three phases (including the number and type of units/phase)?

What is the **new calendar** for the next phases?

Who was the **target public** for this project?

What makes the building and the apartments **flexible**?

Are there any **shared spaces** for the residents in the building? If so, what kind of activities can be held there? Is there any space designed for people to work or meet?

Can you tell me more about the **other functions** in the building present on the ground floor (commercial units and office spaces)? What did you do to ensure the cohabitation of the functions?

Is there only one **typology** of studios (difference between 28 – 35m<sup>2</sup>)?

What are the different **tenure types** (a priori, social housing and housing for sale)?

How was the **collaboration process** organised?

Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises**?

To what extent was the project influenced by the **end-users** involved (survey developer)?

Could you tell me a bit more about possible **land market** issues related to the fall in the office market?

Were there negotiations on the land price with the municipality?

What was the **biggest challenge** to developing this project?

What were the main **barriers to the implementation** of a functional and tenure mix?

Has the current **housing/spatial regulation** been constraining in this project? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?

In particular, did you have to negotiate the **apartments configuration** (e.g. size) or the provision of shared spaces and services with the municipality?

Did you have to consider **additional risks** for the commercialisation of the units? (not for the architect)

With hindsight, do you consider that the **context** of the crisis had an influence on the innovative character and success of this conversion?

+ IF PROPERTY MANAGER:

Is the daily use of the building following your **expectations** (use of spaces, services, ...)?

Are you facing any **difficulties** in the daily management of the building?

## MUNICIPALITY

Cf. grid developer + Specific questions:

How has this area evolved in the last decades? How was the plot previously occupied?

What is the vision/the ambitions of the municipality for this area (functions, housing type, ...)? Does this project match this vision?

Did you have to negotiate the apartments configuration (e.g. size) or the provision of shared spaces and services with the developing team?

What was the main issue specific to conversion (a priori façade)?

## RESIDENTS

What is your background (age, place of origin, work)?

How did you end up in Amsterdam, in the S\*\*\*?

What are you **looking for** in general when it comes to housing? What kind of **space** (size, number of rooms, equipment)? What kind of **amenities** in the neighbourhood? What kind of **location**/level of connectivity? What **price**? Which **criteria** are mandatory?

How did you **hear** of the S\*\*\*?

Why did you decide to **apply**? What was **attractive**?

Where were you living **before** (location, urban environment, unit type)?

Now that you've moved in, what do you particularly **like/dislike** in your apartment/building/neighbourhood?

Do you **work** from home on a regular basis? If so, do you use your **studio**? Do you also use a **M\*\*\* workplace** or the **Cafe** sometimes? Do you use other places in the **neighbourhood**?

Was it challenging to **secure** this apartment (how did you apply and how was it accepted)?

Are you thinking of **moving out** soon? What kind of accommodation are you looking for?

## CO-WORKING FOUNDER

What is your core business? What is the **role** of your place in this building? What is your specific role?

Who are your partners/landlord?

What's the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?

What are the **services/spaces** provided?

What are the **business** types (size, field, needs)?

What's **people** profile (age, job, place of residence)?

Is it used by **residents** of the building? Do they benefit of different conditions?

What was **attractive** in this building?

Why did you choose these workspace/room **typologies**? Why is it **organised** this way?

Collaboration with **S\*\*\*** > How does it work?

What was the biggest **challenge** to developing this concept? What were the commercial **risks**? Did you face special **issues**?

Which **workspace** is the most **successful**?

Do you organise **events**? If so, what kind of events?

Are you looking for a **new location**? What are your plans for the **future**?

## Project AMS-T1.2

### ALL

What is the core business of your company? What was the role of the company in this project? What was your specific role in the project?

Who were the other partners? Who did you have to work with?

Could you tell me a bit more about the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?

### INVESTOR/HOUSING ASSOCIATION

Who was the **target public** for this project?

What makes the building and the apartments **flexible**?

What was the purpose of designing **shared spaces**? What kind of activities did you want to be shared?

Is there any space designed for people to work or meet?

Was the design impacted by the provision of **services** for future residents? How?  
Are there **other functions** in the building, such as commercial ground floors or office spaces? What did you do to ensure the cohabitation of the different functions?  
What are the different **typologies** of apartments (size, rooms, etc)?  
What are the different **tenure types**?  
How was the **collaboration process** organised?  
What were the **pros and cons** of being involved in a project with such a (complex) partnership?  
Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises**?  
Did you face land market issues? Did you have to negotiate the land-use and/or land price with the municipality?  
What was the **biggest challenge** to developing this project?  
What were the main **barriers to the implementation** of the concept, and in particular of a functional and tenure mix?  
Has the current **housing/spatial regulation** been constraining in this project? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?  
In particular, did you have to negotiate the **apartments configuration** (e.g. size) or the provision of shared spaces and services with the municipality?  
Did you have to consider **additional risks** for the commercialisation of the units?  
Do you consider that the **context** of high market pressure had an influence on the innovative character of this project?  
+ IF PROPERTY MANAGER  
Is the daily use of the building following your **expectations** (use of spaces, services, ...)?  
Are you facing any **difficulties** in the daily management of the building?

#### ARCHITECT

Cf. Investor + specific questions:

What was the **first demand** when you were approached?  
**When** did the demand for **shared spaces** come into the process?  
When it comes to the **other functions** in the building (commercial ground floors), was it a demand from the municipality and/or the developer? (What did you do to ensure the cohabitation of the different functions?) With regard to the different **tenure types**, was the D<sup>\*\*\*</sup>/I<sup>\*\*\*</sup> net separation planned from the beginning?

#### MUNICIPALITY

Cf. Investor + specific questions:

How has this area **evolved** in the last decades? How was the plot previously occupied? A **Hotel** was initially planned... Could you tell me how, why, when it dropped out?  
What were **the vision/the ambitions** of the municipality for this area (functions, housing type)? Does this **project match** this vision?  
To what extent were you expecting for this project to have a “**place-making** role” for the transformation of L<sup>\*\*\*</sup>? If so, did it **succeed** in that role?  
In particular, did you have to negotiate the **apartments configuration** (e.g. size) or the provision of shared spaces and services with the developing team?  
On the ground level, there is a **car-parking instead of the garden** planned by the architects... Do you consider that this change had an impact on the **quality** of the building/the surroundings?

#### RESIDENTS

Cf. Project AMS-T1.1 + specific question: Have you been thinking of how you will use and organise the **common spaces** together with the other residents?

## Brussels

Project BXL-T1

For this project, the interview with the architect took place at a very early-stage of the research, which explains why the interview grid was limited. Additional questions were nevertheless asked during the interview.

## ARCHITECT

Projet BXL-T1: **Maître d'ouvrage**, type de marché, destinataires ? D'où émane la **demande** ? **Contraintes** de conception ? **Fonctionnement** (utilisation, coûts, gestion quotidienne) ?  
Autres projets : Espaces partagés ? Quels types ? Contraintes ? Gestion ? Demande venant de... ?  
Espaces de travail partagés: déjà reçu la demande ? Déjà vu sur d'autres projets ? Intégration fonction **travail** dans conception logements ? Espaces spécifiques dans projets **logements étudiants** ?  
Conversion bureaux/logements: contraintes ? Faisabilité en général ? Quel type de logements produits, pour quel public et quel MO ?

## DEVELOPER

Questions of the exploratory-interview grid + questions specific to the project:

Quel est le **core business** de votre entreprise ?  
Quel était le **rôle** de votre entreprise dans ce projet ?  
Quel était votre **rôle spécifique** dans ce projet ?  
Qui étaient les autres **partenaires** ? Avec qui avez-vous collaboré/échangé ?  
Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur le **déroulement** de ce projet ? Comment cela a commencé pour vous ?  
Qui était le **public cible** de ce projet ?  
Qu'est-ce qui rend le bâtiment et les appartements **flexibles** ?  
Quel était l'objectif des **espaces partagés** ? Quel type d'activités vouliez-vous rendre partagées ?  
La mise en place de **services** pour les habitants a-t-elle influencé la conception du projet ? Comment ?  
Le bâtiment comprend-t-il également d'autres **fonctions**, commerces ou bureaux ? Si oui, comment avez-vous réussi à faire cohabiter ces fonctions ?  
Quelles sont les différentes **typologies** d'appartements (taille, chambres, etc) ?  
Quel type de **bail** est proposé aux locataires ?  
Comment s'est organisée la **collaboration** avec les autres acteurs (commune, architecte, ...) ?  
Avez-vous dû mettre en place des **compromis** ?  
Avez-vous été confronté à des **difficultés** particulières au cours de la transformation ?  
Quelle a été le plus gros **défi** de ce développement ?  
Quelles ont été les **principales barrières** à la mise en œuvre de votre concept de logement ?  
Avez-vous été contraints par la **réglementation** actuelle ? Si oui, avez-vous dû **négocier** ou faire des compromis autour de points précis ?  
En particulier, avez-vous dû négocier la **configuration des appartements** (e.g. taille) ou la mise à disposition d'espaces partagés et services avec la commune ou la région ?  
Avez-vous dû prendre en compte des **risques** particuliers pour la commercialisation des appartements ?  
Considérez-vous que le **contexte économique** a eu une influence sur le caractère innovant de ce projet ?  
L'utilisation quotidienne du bâtiment par ses habitants suit-elle vos **attentes** (e.g., espaces communs) ?  
Etes-vous confrontés à des **difficultés** dans la gestion quotidienne de l'immeuble ?

## RESIDENT

Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur votre **parcours** (âge, lieu d'origine, profession) ?  
Comment avez-vous entendu parler de ce projet ? Comment cela a-t-il commencé pour vous ?  
Avant d'habiter à la résidence \*\*\*, que recherchiez-vous en général pour votre **logement** ? Quel type d'**espace** (taille, nombre de chambres, équipements) ? Quelles **facilités**/aménités dans le quartier (commerces, activités, horeca) ? Quel type de **localisation**/degré de connectivité ? Quel **prix** ? Lequel de ces critères n'était pas négociable ?  
Comment avez-vous entendu parler de cette résidence, et qu'est-ce qui vous a **attiré** dans ce projet ?  
Qu'est ce qui vous a **décidé à louer** un appartement dans la résidence ?  
Quel **type d'appartement** avez-vous choisi (studio, 1 chambre, 2 chambres) et pourquoi ?

Où résidiez-vous **auparavant** (environnement rural/urbain, type de logement) ? Était-ce déjà un logement avec des services et/ou des espaces partagés ?

Maintenant que vous habitez ici, quels sont les éléments que vous **appréciez particulièrement ou au contraire pas du tout**, au sein de votre logement, du bâtiment, du quartier ?

Quels sont les **espaces communs** et les **services** que vous utilisez le plus ? Y en a-t-il que vous n'utilisez jamais ? Pour quels types d'activités utilisez-vous ces espaces ?

Etes-vous impliqué dans l'organisation d'**événements** ou d'activités au sein de l'immeuble (copropriété, groupe de travail éventuel, etc) ?

**Travaillez**-vous régulièrement à domicile ? Quel **espace** utilisez-vous pour travailler (studio, lounge, espace du rez-de-chaussée,...) ? Travaillez-vous parfois depuis un café/espace de **co-working** ?

Avez-vous eu des difficultés à **obtenir** cet appartement (critères de sélection, autres candidats) ?

Pensez-vous à **déménager** prochainement ? Si oui, vers quel type de logement vous dirigerez-vous ?

#### MUNICIPALITY – COUNCILLOR

En tant qu'**échevin de l'urbanisme** à l'époque du projet, quels aspects du projet examiniez-vous systématiquement pour tout nouvel ensemble de logements dans votre commune ?

Avec qui avez vous **interagi** dans le cadre ce projet (AR, MO, etc) ?

Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur le **déroulement** de ce projet ? Comment cela a commencé pour vous ?

Comment a évolué le **quartier** où se situe le projet au cours des dernières décennies ?

L'immeuble préalablement occupé par des bureaux était-il **vacant** depuis longtemps ?

Quelles sont les **ambitions** de la commune pour ce quartier (fonctions, type de logement,...) ?

Ce projet rencontre-t-il ces ambitions ?

Comment s'est organisée la **collaboration** avec les autres acteurs (MO, architecte, ...) ?

Qui était le **public cible** de ce projet ?

Avez-vous dû **négoier** certains éléments en particulier avec l'équipe de conception (domiciliations) ?

En particulier, avez-vous dû négocier la **configuration des appartements** (e.g. taille, répartition des types de logements) ou la mise à disposition d'espaces partagés et de services ?

Quelle a été le plus gros **défi** de ce développement ?

Quelles ont été les **principales barrières** à la mise en œuvre du projet ?

Le projet dérogeait-il à des **aspects réglementaires** qui vous auraient amenés à faire des compromis ?

Quel acteur était en charge de l'**espace vert** compris entre les immeubles ?

Considérez-vous que le **contexte économique** a eu une influence sur le caractère innovant de ce projet ?

#### MUNICIPALITY – URBAN PLANNER

Cf. Councillor + specific questions:

Quel est votre **rôle** au sein de l'administration communale de Woluwe Saint-Lambert ?

Quel était votre **rôle spécifique** dans ce projet ?

A l'époque du projet, le **PPAS** prévoyait que chaque m<sup>2</sup> de logement produit devait être compensé par un m<sup>2</sup> de bureaux : cette règle a-t-elle été respectée dans d'autres projets ? Quels éléments ont finalement conduit à la modification du PPAS, supprimant cette règle ?

Recevez-vous aujourd'hui des **demandes de permis d'urbanisme** pour des projets présentant un concept similaire à celui du projet the horizon ?

La **commission de concertation** avait initialement rendu un avis défavorable sur le projet (manque de mixité). Qu'est-ce qui a permis d'aller outre cet avis négatif ?

#### Stockholm

##### Project STO-T1

#### YOUNG TENANTS' UNION/MUNICIPAL HOUSING COMPANY

What is the **core business** of your organization ?

What was the **role** of your organization in this project? What was your **specific role** in this project?

Who were the other **partners**? Who did you have to work with?

Could you tell me a bit more about the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?

Who was the **target public** for this project (young professionals but other criteria)?

What was the purpose of designing **common spaces**? What kind of **activities** were meant to be shared?  
 How are these spaces **used** in practice?  
 Are there **other functions** in the building/in the close surroundings? In particular, are there **working** places closeby (small-scale offices, coffee bars, co-working places)?  
 Given the **temporariness** of the building, were you allowed to follow different **requirements**?  
 Could you tell me a bit more about the **ownership protection** exception for these short-term contracts?  
 How/Why was this plot of **land selected** in particular for the project? How was the **land allocation** process organized?  
 How was the **collaboration process** organized?  
 What were the **pros and cons** of being involved in a project with such a partnership?  
 Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises**?  
 To what extent were the **members of the association involved** in the development process (workshops, ...)? What was the outcome of this participatory process?  
 How is the **selection process** of the tenants organized (criteria, ...)?  
 What do you think will happen **after the 15-year limit** of the permit is reached?  
 What was the **biggest challenge** to developing this project?  
 Has the current **housing/spatial regulation** been constraining in this project? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?  
 Did you have to negotiate the **apartments configuration**/ common spaces with the other parties?  
 What will be the **possibilities for the residents** when they leave the building?  
 Do you consider that the **context** of high market pressure had an influence on the innovative concept?  
 + MHC only: Could you tell me a bit more about how the **short-term contracts** work?

#### ARCHITECT/CONTRACTOR

What is the **core business** of your company (residential developments, etc)?  
 What was your **role** in this project? Who were the other **partners**? Who did you have to work with?  
 Could you tell me a bit more about the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?  
 Who was the **target public** for this project (young professionals but other criteria)?  
 What was the purpose of designing **common spaces** (studios for flexible use and events)? What kind of **activities** were meant to be shared? How are these spaces **used** in practice? (*only for the architect*)  
 Are there **other functions** in the building/in the close surroundings (industry, offices)? In particular, are there **working** places nearby (small-scale offices, coffee bars, co-working places)?  
 Given the **temporariness** of the building, were you allowed to follow different **requirements**?  
 Did you feel constrained by having to design a **prefabricated** and **temporary** building?  
 How did you manage to bring a certain **spatial quality** while keeping the project **cost-effective**?  
 How/Why was this plot of **land selected** in particular for this project? How was the **land allocation** process organized?  
 How was the **collaboration process** organized? What were the **pros and cons** of being involved in a project with such a partnership with a contractor? Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises**?  
 To what extent were the **members of the association involved** in the development process (workshops, ...)? What was the outcome of this participatory process?  
 What do you think will happen **after the 15-year limit** of the permit is reached?  
 What was the **biggest challenge** to developing this project?  
 Has the current **housing/spatial regulation** been constraining in this project? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?  
 Did you have to negotiate the **apartments configuration**/other spatial elements with the other parties?  
 Do you consider that the **context** of high market pressure had an influence on the innovative concept?  
 + ONLY CONTRACTOR:  
 Given the **temporariness** of the building, were you allowed to follow different **requirements** (housing size or other standards, ...)?  
 Did you have the possibility to offer some **flexibility** to the architect in its design, despite **prefabrication** and **temporariness**?

#### MUNICIPALITY

Cf. Union/MHC + specific questions:

What is the **vision**/the ambitions of the municipality for this area (functions, housing type, ...)?

Would it be conceivable for the municipality to build a similar project with a regular planning process (but still fast)?

RESIDENTS

Cf. projects AMS-T1.1;2

## **1.2 LIVE-WORK DEVELOPMENT IN TARGETED AREAS**

**Amsterdam**

Project AMS-T2

ALL

What is the core business of your company? What is the role of the company in this project?

What is your specific role in the project? Who are the other partners? Who do you have to work with?

Could you tell me a bit more about the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?

How is the **collaboration process** organised?

What have been the main **barriers to the implementation** of the concept, and in particular municipality's ambitions when it comes to functional and tenure mix?

Has the current **housing/spatial regulation** been constraining in this project? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?

Do you consider that the **context** of high market pressure influenced this innovative project?

MUNICIPALITY: URBAN DEVELOPMENT (DESIGN TEAM) /CITY ARCHITECT

How has this area evolved in the last decades?

How was the plot previously occupied?

What is the vision/the ambitions of the municipality for this area (functions, housing type, ...)?

Does this project match this vision?

What are the **pros and cons** of being involved in a project with such a (complex) partnership?

Do you have to set up peculiar **compromises**?

Did you have to negotiate the **land-use and/or land price** with the developing team?

What is the **biggest challenge** to developing this project?

Did you have to **negotiate** the shared spaces and services with the developing team?

+ Specific to urban development department:

Who is the **target public** for this project?

Could you tell me a bit more about the **concept, issues and discussions** with the municipality?

In which **context** was this area created? How was it **previously** occupied?

Which **functions** have been planned in the master plan?

What is your vision to transform this area into a **mixed-use** area?

Have you planned to mix different functions at the **building level** only (juxtaposition) or inside a building as well (commercial ground floors, ... )? Was it imposed by the land-use plans?

Are you involved in the **design of the parc**?

How is the **collaboration process** organised?

What are the **pros and cons** of being involved in a project with such a (complex) partnership?

Do you have to set up peculiar **compromises**?

What is the main **issue** specific to redeveloping a **former office area**?

ARCHITECT/DEVELOPER/INVESTOR

Who is the **target public** for this project?

Are there **other functions** in the building, such as commercial ground floors or office spaces? How will you do to ensure the cohabitation of the different functions?

What are the different **typologies** of apartments (size, rooms, etc)?

What are the different **tenure types**?

What are the **pros and cons** of being involved in a project with such a (complex) partnership?

Do you have to set up peculiar **compromises**?

+ ONLY DEVELOPER/INVESTOR:

What is the general **progress/timeline** of the development?  
 Was the document « buurtvisie » approved already? (specific question)  
 Concerning the **two office buildings** that you bought in this area, both transformations will be initiated in November 2018? What is the **calendar** for these buildings?  
 In particular, did you have to negotiate the **apartments configuration** (e.g. size) with the municipality?  
 Do you need to consider **additional risks** for the commercialisation of the units?  
 How do you deal with the current **tension** between housing and office markets? Is this project more **complex** to develop in this new economic climate?  
 What is the main **issue** specific to redeveloping a **former office area**?  
 If property manager: Will there be any **specificities** in the property management of the building?

## Brussels

### Project BXL-T2.1

ALL

Quel est votre **rôle** au sein de votre organisation/dans le projet ?  
 Avec quels **acteurs** avez-vous principalement interagi ?  
 Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur l'**histoire** de ce projet ? Comment cela a-t-il commencé pour vous ?  
 Comment le projet (toutes phases confondues) s'inscrit-il dans le **quartier** ? Dans quelle mesure, le projet va-t-il pouvoir donner une **nouvelle identité** au quartier ? Quelles sont les interactions prévues avec l'**environnement direct** ?  
 Comment s'est organisée la **collaboration** avec les autres acteurs jusqu'à présent ?  
 Quels sont les **avantages** et les **inconvenients** de ce type de projets mixtes ? Des échanges renforcés avec la commune et les instances régionales ?  
 Avez-vous vu dû mettre en place des **compromis** ?  
 Quel a été le plus gros **défi** de ce projet ?  
 Quelles sont les principales **barrières** à l'implémentation des ambitions de départ en matière de mixité et de développement urbain en général ?  
 Les **réglementations** actuelles en matière de logement et d'aménagement du territoire (RRU, PRAS, PPAS Biestebroek, ...) ont-elles été contraignantes dans ce projet ? Avez-vous dû négocier certains aspects de ces réglementations avec l'équipe de conception ?  
 La pression actuelle sur le logement ainsi que le contexte économique ont-ils eu une influence sur le concept/programme de ce projet ?

### DEVELOPER

Exploratory interview + specific questions on the project:

Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur l'évolution de la **phase 2** du projet (entre le premier projet pour Citydev et la révision du projet pour créer un « méga-îlot ») ? Quelles sont les prochaines étapes pour cette partie ?  
 Quels sont les différents **publics cibles** pour les logements libres des différentes phases ? Pour les lots économiques (type d'activités) ?  
 Vous a-t-on imposé certaines **fonctions** économiques en particulier pour cette phase ? De votre point de vue, quelles activités prendront probablement place **en réalité** ?  
 Quels sont les scénarios d'évolution possible de ces espaces ?  
 Avez-vous mis en place certaines mesures pour assurer la **cohabitation** des fonctions ? Avez-vous déjà envisagé de vendre tous ces espaces à un gestionnaire unique pour tout le volet économique ?

### ARCHITECT

Quel était le **public cible** pour ce projet ? Les nouveaux acquéreurs correspondent-ils à ce public cible ?  
 Quelles sont les différentes **fonctions** prévues au rez-de-chaussée et dans le bâtiment B ? Les activités prévues ont-elles été revues suite à l'avis de **Citydev** ? De votre point de vue, quelles activités prendront probablement place **en réalité** ? Quels sont les scénarios d'évolution possible de ces espaces ? Quelles sont les mesures mises en place pour assurer la **cohabitation** des différentes fonctions ?  
 Quelles sont les différentes **typologies d'appartements** (taille, nombre de chambres) ?

## MUNICIPALITY/CITY ARCHITECT

Comment a évolué le **quartier** où se situe le projet au cours des dernières décennies ?  
Quelles sont les **ambitions** pour ce quartier (fonctions, type de logement,...) ? Ce projet répond-il à ces ambitions ?  
Quel était le **public cible** pour ce projet ? Les nouveaux acquéreurs correspondent-ils à ce public cible ?  
Avez-vous balisé les **fonctions** prévues au rez-de-chaussée et dans le bâtiment B ? Les activités prévues ont-elles été revues suite à l'avis de **Citydev** ? De votre point de vue, quelles activités prendront probablement place **en réalité** ? Quels sont les scénarios d'évolution possible de ces espaces ? Avez-vous exigé la mise en place de certaines mesures pour assurer la **cohabitation** des différentes fonctions ?

+ Specific questions CITY ARCHITECT :

Avez-vous formulé une **contre-proposition** pour la première phase de ce projet ? Pour les phases suivantes ?

### Project BXLIT2.2

ALL

Quel est votre **rôle** au sein de votre organisation/dans le projet ?  
Avec quels **acteurs** avez-vous principalement interagi ?  
Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur l'**histoire** de ce projet ? Comment cela a-t-il commencé pour vous ?  
Comment a évolué le **quartier** où se situe le projet au cours des dernières décennies ?  
Quelles sont les **ambitions** de la RBC pour ce quartier (fonctions, type de logement,...) ?  
Qui est le **public cible** pour les logements du bâtiment à affectations multiples ?  
Comment s'est organisée la **collaboration** avec les autres acteurs jusqu'à présent ?  
Quels sont les **avantages** et les **inconvenients** de ce type de projets mixtes ? Des échanges renforcés avec la commune et les instances régionales ?  
Avez-vous vu dû mettre en place des **compromis** ?  
Quel va être le plus gros **défi** de ce projet ?  
Quelles sont les **principales barrières** à la mise en œuvre du projet ?  
Considérez-vous que le **contexte économique** actuel ait eu une influence sur ce projet innovant ?

CITYDEV

Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus par rapport au **concept** et aux interactions liées avec les autres acteurs ?  
Dans quel **contexte** le projet a-t-il été mis sur pied ? Quelle est l'**occupation** actuelle de cette zone ?  
Comment avez-vous réussi à décrire la **flexibilité** et la **mixité** désirées dans les documents tels que permis de lotir et cahier des charges ? Dans la conception (volumes, trames, etc) ?  
Comment allez-vous vous assurer de l'**implémentation** de cette flexibilité et de cette mixité en réalité ?  
Quelles mesures seront mises en place pour assurer la **cohabitation** des fonctions ?  
Comment sera gérée la **réglementation** liée aux différentes fonctions pour le permis d'urbanisme (incendie, surfaces, dimensionnement des techniques, etc) ?  
Avez-vous prévu un **accompagnement** des occupants une fois le bâtiment terminé ?

DEVELOPER/ARCHITECT

Quel type d'occupants allez-vous viser pour les **activités économiques** ? (Only develop)  
Quelles sont les différentes **fonctions** possibles dans le BAM ? Ces activités ont-elles été **balisées** par Citydev uniquement ? De votre point de vue, quelles activités prendront probablement place **en réalité** ?  
Quels sont les scénarios d'évolution possible de ces espaces ? Quelles sont les mesures mises en place pour assurer la **cohabitation** des différentes fonctions ? Comment allez-vous vous assurer la **flexibilité** et la **mixité** désirées sur le long terme ?  
Comment sera gérée la **réglementation** liée aux différentes fonctions pour le permis d'urbanisme ?  
Avez-vous prévu un **accompagnement** des occupants une fois le bâtiment terminé ?  
Comment le projet s'inscrit-il dans le **quartier** ? Dans quelle mesure, le projet va-t-il pouvoir redonner une **nouvelle identité** au quartier ? Quelles sont les interactions prévues avec l'**environnement direct** (via la rue piétonne et les places) ?

Les **réglementations** actuelles en matière de logement et d'aménagement du territoire (RRU, PRAS, Permis de lotir, ...) ont-elles été contraignantes dans ce projet ? Avez-vous dû négocier certains aspects de ces réglementations ?

## Stockholm

### Project STO T2.1

ALL

What is the role of your organisation? What is the role of your organisation in this project?  
 What is your specific role in the project? Who are the other partners? Who do you have to work with?  
 Could you tell me a bit more about the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?  
 Who is the **target public** for this project?  
 How was the **development process** organised? How was the **land allocation** process organised?  
 To what extent was the final project influenced by the “**co-created living**” process organised by A\*\* equity?  
 What is the **biggest challenge** to convert this building?  
 Has the current **housing/spatial regulation** been constraining in this project? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?  
 In particular, did you have to negotiate the **apartments configuration** (e.g. size) or the provision of certain functions and facilities with the municipality or the developer?  
 What have been the main **barriers** to the redevelopment of this area?  
 What are the main issues specific to the **conversion** of the former Ericsson's headquarters?  
 Do you consider that the **context** of high market pressure had an influence on this innovative project?

### EARLY-STAGE INVESTOR

What are the **typologies** (size, number of rooms) of apartments planned for the different buildings and for the Terra building (350 apartments) in particular?  
 What kind of **facilities** will be available for the residents in the Terra building?  
 The T\*\*\* building should be equipped with a **common space or a café** on the roof? Which **option** was eventually chosen? What kind of **activities** should be shared?  
 What **other functions** are planned in the area (350 workplaces + retail, schools,...)? In particular, where are exactly planned the **new offices** in relation to the residential part?  
 What kind of **tenures** will be found in the area (private rental, tenant ownership)?  
 Did you work in **partnership** with A\*\* Equity throughout the whole development process?  
 If so, what are the **pros and cons** of such a partnership?  
 Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises** with the municipality?

### MUNICIPALITY

How has this **area** evolved in the last decades? (How was the area previously occupied?)  
 What is the **vision**/the ambitions of the municipality for this area (functions, housing type, ...)? Does this project match this vision?  
 What **other functions** are planned in the area (350 workplaces + retail, schools,...)? In particular, where are exactly planned the **new offices** in relation to the residential part?  
 What kind of **tenures** will be found in the area (private rental, tenant ownership)?  
 Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises** with the developer, the property manager, the architects responsible for the masterplan?

### URBAN PLANNER

How has this **area** evolved in the last decades? (How was the area previously occupied?)  
 What is the **vision**/the ambitions of the municipality for this area (functions, housing type, ...)?  
 Which parts of the **original masterplan** were you willing to preserve in particular?  
 What are the **typologies** (size, number of rooms) of apartments planned for the different buildings and for the Terra building (350 apartments) in particular?  
 What kind of **facilities** will be available for the residents in the T\*\*\* building?  
 The T\* building should be equipped with **common space** on the roof, for which **activities**?

What **other functions** are planned in the area (350 workplaces + retail, schools,...)? In particular, where are exactly planned the **new offices** in relation to the residential part?  
(What kind of **tenures** will be found in the area (private rental, tenant ownership)?)  
Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises** with the municipality (e.g. on public space)?

#### ARCHITECT

**When** did you take over the design from W\*\*\*?  
What is the **calendar** for this project (next steps, sales, completion)?  
Which parts of the **original building** were you willing to preserve in particular?  
What are the **typologies** (size, number of rooms, TENURE) of apartments planned for the T\*\*\* building (350 apartments) in particular?  
What kind of **“product”** (standing, finishing, ...) were you asked to design?  
What kind of **facilities and commercial spaces** will be available for the residents in the T\*\*\* building (ground floor and basement)?  
The T\*\*\* building should be equipped with **common space** on the roof, which **activities** should be shared? Are there **other common spaces** planned in the building? Are there **services** planned?

#### Project STO T2.2

#### ALL

What is the role of your organisation? What is the role of your organisation in this project?  
What is your specific role in the project? Who are the other partners? Who do you have to work with?  
Could you tell me a bit more about the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?  
Who was the **target public** for this project?  
What are the different **typologies** of apartments?  
How was the **land allocation** process organised? How was the **collaboration process** organised?  
What was the **biggest challenge** to developing this project/area?  
Has the current **housing/spatial regulation** been constraining in this project? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?  
Did you have to negotiate the **apartments configuration**, the commercial ground floor arrangement, or the **height** of the building with the municipality?  
Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises** with the municipality/developing team?  
What have been the main **barriers** to the redevelopment of this area?  
Do you consider that the **context** of high market pressure had an influence on this project?

#### INVESTOR/PROPERTY MANAGER

Is the building equipped with **common spaces** for the residents? If so, what kind of **activities** are meant to be shared? How are these spaces used in practice?  
What **commercial functions** have taken place on the ground floor so far?  
Were the **final users** involved in the development process?

#### ARCHITECTS 1/2

Could you tell me a bit more about the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?  
How has this **area** evolved in the last decades?  
What attracted E\*\*\* M\*\*\* and the other **first developers** to this area, according to you?  
Could you notice more **confidence** from the market to invest once the station **Odenplan** was opened?  
Has it been more difficult over the last months for E\*\*\* M\*\*\* to **sell the last apartments** available in the building (mortgage conditions changes, slight market downturn)?  
What kind of **“product”** (standing, finishing, ...) were you asked to design?  
Is the building equipped with **common spaces** for the residents? If so, what **activities** are shared?  
Different **commercial functions** (café, shops, medical services) and **facilities** (pre-school) have taken place on the ground floor so far: Were they **determined** during the design phase? What were the **target functions** for these units? Was the possibility of a **co-working space** or **working café** ever discussed?  
Were you constrained by the fact that the **plan** to follow was rather **old** already?

#### MUNICIPALITY

How has this **area** evolved in the last decades?

What is the **vision**/the ambitions of the municipality for this area (functions, housing type, ...)? Does this project match this vision?

What **other functions** are planned in the area?

What kind of **tenures** are found in the area (private rental, tenant ownership)?

Did you receive a lot of **complaints** from the local population on the realisation of the first detailed plan, or is this new high-density part of the city well accepted?

What drove the choice of **high-density** apart from the infrastructure costs?

Would it be possible, for the next phases, that some projects switch from housing to **offices**?

What are the **pros and cons** of such multi-stakeholder processes?

CO-WORKING (NB: not the questions to all)

What is your **core business**? What is your specific **role**? Who are your **partners**/landlord?

What are your **interactions** with the **Stockholm region**?

What's the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?

What are the **services/spaces** provided?

What are the **business** types (size, field, needs)?

What's **people** profile (age, job, place of residence)?

Is it used by **residents** of the neighbourhood as well? Do they benefit of different conditions?

**Where** do most people come from (Stockholm, other municipalities)?

What was **attractive** in this neighbourhood for your company?

What are the **pros and cons** of being located just next to the new urban development Hagastaden?

How are **space** organised between the different companies and activities?

What was the biggest **challenge** to developing this concept? Did you face special **issues**?

Which **workspace** is the most **successful**?

Do you organise **events**? If so, what kind of events?

Are you looking for a **new location**? What are your plans for the **future**?

### 1.3 CO-HOUSING

#### Amsterdam

##### Project AMS-T3

ALL

What was your specific role in the project? Who were the other partners? Who did you have to work with? Could you tell me a bit more about the **story** of the project? How did it start for you?

MUNICIPALITY

How has this area **evolved** in the last decades? What are the projects for the future?

What's the **profile** of the Zeeburgereiland' inhabitants today?

What is the **vision/the ambitions** of the municipality for this area (functions, housing type, ...)?

What are the **functions** planned for this area? What about **working** places? How will this **mix** be implemented? Are there **mixed-use buildings** among the current and future developments taking place in the area? What are the **residents' wishes** in terms of functions and amenities?

Does N\*\*\* match the municipality's vision? Does the N\*\*\* **community/the common spaces** have a specific **role** in the neighbourhood?

How is the **collaboration process** organized? What are the **pros and cons** of this process?

Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises** (e.g. wishes of the residents, municipality ambitions)?

What are the main **barriers to the implementation** of the municipality's vision? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?

Has the current **housing/spatial regulation** been constraining in this project? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?

Do you consider that the **economic climate** has had an impact on the evolution of the neighbourhood?

RESIDENTS

What's your **background** (age, place of origin, job)? How did you get involved in the CPO?

Before getting involved in N\*\*\*, what were you **looking for** in general when it comes to housing? What kind of **space** (size, number of rooms, equipment)? What kind of **amenities** in the neighbourhood (shops, activities, restaurants)? What kind of **location**/level of connectivity? What **price**? > Which **criteria** were mandatory?

How did you hear of the CPO N\*\*\*, what did **attract** you first in this project?

Why did you decide to **get involved** in the project?

How did you hear of this building? What did **attract** you first?

Where were you living **before** (location, dwelling type)? Was it already community-based?

What makes the dwellings **flexible**?

What was the purpose of designing **shared spaces**? What kind of activities did you want to be shared?

Is there any space designed for people to work or meet?

To what extent was the possibility of **working from home** integrated to the design?

Are there different **typologies** of apartments (size, rooms, etc)?

How was the **collaboration process** organized? What were the **pros and cons** of self-building?

Did you have to set up peculiar **compromises**?

Could you tell me a bit more about **land market** issues and related negotiations with the municipality?

What was the **biggest challenge** to developing this project?

What were the main **barriers to the implementation** of the concept?

Has the current **housing/spatial regulation** been constraining in this project? Has it resulted in specific **negotiations** or compromises?

In particular, did you have to negotiate the **apartments configuration** (e.g. size) or the provision of shared spaces with the municipality?

Now that you've moved in, what do you particularly **like/dislike** in your dwelling/building/neighbourhood?

Are you involved in the **Board** and/or in a **working group**? If so, what's your role?

Do you **work** from home regularly? Do you use your **second room** or **shared space** to work? Do you sometimes work in a coffee bar or a **co-working** space in the neighbourhood?

If ZZP ≥ I've heard that you've organized a kind of **trade union** together with the other ZZP living in the building... Could you tell me a bit more about this? Did you also set up **childcare**?

How have been the **shared spaces** used so far? Have you planed further **investments**?

If part of the Board ≥ Is the daily use of the building following your **expectations** (use of spaces, working groups, ...)? Are you facing any **difficulties** in the day-to-day management of the building? What's the role of N\*\*\* in the **neighbourhood**?

Do you consider that the market **context** and evolution (crisis followed by growing pressure) had an influence on the innovative character of this project?

## Brussels

### Project BXL-T3

ALL

Pourriez-vous m'expliquer brièvement votre **rôle** dans le processus de développement de ce projet ?

Avec qui avez-vous **interagi** dans le cadre ce projet ?

Pouvez-vous m'en dire plus sur l'**histoire** de ce projet ? Comment cela a-t-il commencé pour vous ?

La possibilité de **travailler à domicile** a-t-elle été prise en compte dans la conception ?

Comment s'est organisée la **collaboration** avec les autres acteurs ?

Considérez-vous que le **climat économique** de l'époque a eu une influence sur le caractère innovant du projet ?

RESIDENTS

Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur votre **parcours** (âge, lieu d'origine, profession)?

Avant de vous retrouver impliqué dans le projet T\*\*\*, que recherchez-vous en général pour votre **logement** ? Quel type d'**espace** (taille, nombre de chambres, équipements)? Quelles **facilités**/aménités dans le quartier (commerces, activités, horeca)? Quel type de **localisation**/degré de connectivité? Quel **prix**? > Lequel de vos critères n'était pas négociable?

Comment avant-vous entendu parler du projet, et qu'est-ce qui vous a **attiré**?

Qu'est ce qui vous a décidé à vous **engager** dans ce projet ?  
 Où résidiez-vous **auparavant** (ville ou village, environnement urbain, type de logement) ? Était-ce déjà un logement à vocation communautaire ou avec des aspects collectivisés ?  
 Les logements présentent-ils une certaine **flexibilité** spatiale ? Si oui, qu'est-ce qui les rend flexibles ?  
 Avez-vous des **espaces partagés** ? Si oui, quel était l'objectif en concevant ces espaces ? Quels types d'activités sont partagées ? Y a-t-il des espaces prévus pour travailler ou pour favoriser la rencontre ?  
 Les **ateliers d'artiste** sont-ils toujours occupés ? Si oui, par des habitants ? Certains ateliers sont-ils occupés par d'autres fonctions ?  
 Y a-t-il différentes **typologies** d'appartements (taille, nombre de chambres, etc) ?  
 Quels ont été les **avantages et inconvénients** d'être impliqué dans un habitat groupé ?  
 Avez-vous du trouver des **compromis** ?  
 Quel est le profil des **autres habitants** ? Lesquels ont eu un **rôle prépondérant** dans le projet ?  
 Avez-vous dû mener des **négociations** particulières avec les autorités locales ?  
 Quel a été le **plus grand défi** pour mener ce projet à bien ?  
 Quelles étaient les principales **barrières à la mise en œuvre** du concept proposé ?  
 La **réglementation urbanistique et/ou spécifique au logement** ont-elle été contraignantes dans ce projet ? Avez-vous dû faire des compromis par rapport à cette réglementation ?  
 En particulier, avez-vous dû négocier la **configuration des appartements** (taille, nombre de chambres) ou la mise à disposition de certains locaux avec les autorités compétentes ?  
 Maintenant que vous habitez ici, quels sont les éléments que vous **appréciez particulièrement ou au contraire pas du tout**, au sein de votre logement, du bâtiment, du quartier ?  
 Êtes-vous impliqué dans la **gestion quotidienne** de l'immeuble (copropriété, groupe de travail) ?  
**Travaillez-vous** régulièrement à domicile ? Quel **espace** utilisez-vous pour travailler ? Travaillez-vous parfois depuis un café ou espace de **co-working** dans le quartier ?  
Si impliqué dans la gestion du bâtiment > L'usage quotidien du bâtiment suit-il vos **attentes** ?  
 Faites-vous face à des **difficultés** dans la gestion quotidienne de l'immeuble ?  
 Quel est le rôle du projet dans le **quartier** ?

#### URBAN PLANNER/ARCHITECT

Le concept CASCO a-t-il permis d'offrir une certaine **flexibilité** spatiale aux logements ?  
 Hormis le préau et le jardin commun, le projet ne comprend pas d'**espaces partagés**. Ce sujet avait-il été discuté à l'époque ?  
 Les artistes ayant besoin d'un atelier devaient-ils normalement utiliser un lot économique ?  
 A quel type d'activité les lots économiques étaient-ils initialement destinés ?  
 Comment a évolué le **quartier** où se situe le projet au cours des dernières décennies ?  
 Quelles étaient les **ambitions** de la commune/de la région pour ce quartier ?  
 Ce projet rencontre-t-il ces ambitions ?  
 Qui était le **public cible** de ce projet ?  
 Avez-vous dû **négocier** certains éléments en particulier avec l'équipe de conception ? En particulier, avez-vous dû négocier la **configuration des lots** (e.g. taille, fonction, caractère CASCO) ou la présence d'autres acteurs (**fonds du logement**) ?  
 Quelle a été le plus gros **défi** de ce projet ? Quelles ont été les **barrières** à la mise en œuvre du projet ?  
 Le projet dérogeait-il à certains **aspects réglementaires** nécessitant des compromis ?  
 De nombreuses personnes initialement impliquées dans le projet ont à présent **déménagé**, ce qui génère un effet spéculatif (augmentation des prix, public différent, etc). Pensez-vous qu'il aurait été possible de trouver un montage juridique pour atténuer ou retarder cet effet ? Cela avait-il été discuté avec le groupe d'achat à l'époque ?

#### + Specific questions ARCHITECT :

Comment s'est organisé le processus entre le groupe de **futurs habitants** ?  
 Avez-vous dû **négocier** certains éléments en particulier avec l'E\*\* ou l'Urbanisme ? En particulier, avez-vous dû négocier la **configuration des lots** (e.g. taille, fonction, caractère CASCO) ou la présence d'autres acteurs (**fonds du logement**) ?  
 A-t-il été complexe d'imaginer différentes **configurations** d'appartements pour la demande de **permis** ?  
 Quelles ont été les **principales barrières** à la mise en œuvre du projet ?

## 2 PROGRAMME AND EMPIRICAL MATERIAL

### 2.1 THE SHARED HOUSING MARKET

Project AMS-T1.1 [2003 – 2015]	Project AMS-T1.2 [2014 – 2017]	Project BXL-T1 [2013 – 2016]	Project STO-T1 [2009 – 2016]
Programme			
<p>Conversion of offices into housing</p> <p>Scale: 40,000 m<sup>2</sup>, 651 dwellings</p> <p>North wing (2013):</p> <p>150 social dwellings for students</p> <p>170 privately-owned studios, all around 25m<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Co-working space, restaurant, and laundrette</p> <p>South wing (2015):</p> <p>116 social dwellings for students</p> <p>215 privately-owned studios, up to 47 m<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Storage rooms and bicycle parking</p>	<p>New construction</p> <p>Scale: 45,000 m<sup>2</sup>, 869 dwellings</p> <p>Student housing:</p> <p>590 social dwellings, 24 m<sup>2</sup></p> <p>2 common atriums (used as communal spaces)</p> <p>Housing for young professionals:</p> <p>279 temporary rental studios, 41 m<sup>2</sup></p> <p>9 shared rooms, services</p> <p>Ground floor: one office, three commercial spaces</p>	<p>Conversion of offices into housing</p> <p>Scale: 11,000 m<sup>2</sup>, 166 dwellings (including 6 guestrooms)</p> <p><i>Private-rented apartments:</i></p> <p>64 Studios 32-56m<sup>2</sup>* (6 guestrooms)</p> <p>80 one-bedroom apartments 55-65m<sup>2</sup>*</p> <p>22 two-bedroom apartments 68-83m<sup>2</sup>*</p> <p><i>Shared spaces:</i> meeting room, 'sky lounge',...</p> <p><i>Services:</i> Guestrooms, rental bikes, laundrette,...</p> <p><i>Commercial unit:</i> hairdresser (since autumn 2019)</p> <p>*usable area</p>	<p>New construction, 15-year permit (temporary)</p> <p>Scale: 10,000 m<sup>2</sup> (estimated)</p> <p>280 dwellings</p> <p><i>Public rental studios for young people aged 18-30:</i></p> <p>278 studios 32 m<sup>2</sup></p> <p>2 two-bedroom apartments 77 – 78 m<sup>2</sup></p> <p><i>Shared spaces:</i> leisure room, laundries, bicycle parking, storage</p>
Documents			
<p>Building plans before/after transformation</p> <p>+ Land-use plan, 2011 property division plan, developer's annual report, marketing brochure (north wing)</p>	<p>Building plans</p> <p>+ Architect's website, property manager's website, terms and conditions, allocation process, FAQ, rental contract models</p>	<p>Plans after transformation</p> <p>+ Planning permission, brochure/commercial website</p>	<p>Building plans</p> <p>+ Brochure, commercial website, young tenants' association website, survey conducted with the residents</p>
Visits			
March and May 2018	February and March 2018	October and December 2018	April 2019

Project AMS-T1.1 [2003 – 2015]	Project AMS-T1.2 [2014 – 2017]	Project BXL-T1 [2013 – 2016]	Project STO-T1 [2009 – 2016]
Interviews			
<p>Period: February – May 2018</p> <p><i>Planner AMS-T1.1</i> – Municipal urban planner in the district</p> <p><i>Developer AMS-T1.1</i> – Private developer, project manager for the south wing</p> <p><i>HA AMS-T1.1</i> – Housing association, project manager and head of the company</p> <p><i>Resident AMS-T1.1</i> – Student who lives in a privately-owned studio, bought by his parents</p> <p><i>Co-work AMS-T1.1</i> – Founder of the co-working space</p> <p><i>Architect AMS-T1.1</i> – Architect responsible for the design</p>	<p>Period: February – March 2018</p> <p><i>PM AMS-T1.2</i> – (Former) municipal project manager in the district</p> <p><i>Investor AMS-T1.2</i> – Institutional investor and property manager of the young professionals' component</p> <p><i>HA AMS-T1.2</i> – Housing association specializing in student housing, head of the company</p> <p><i>Resident AMS-T1.2/1</i> – free-lancer from a starter studio</p> <p><i>Resident AMS-T1.2/2</i> – student from a student studio</p> <p><i>Architect AMS-T1.2</i> – Architect responsible for the design, head of the architecture firm</p>	<p>Period: April 2017 – January 2019</p> <p><i>Planner BXL-T1</i> – Head of planning permissions</p> <p><i>Councillor BXL-T1</i> – Former urban planning councillor</p> <p><i>Investor BXL-T1</i> – Investor and property manager (COO et employee)</p> <p><i>Resident BXL-T1.1</i> – Retired, 2-room apartment</p> <p><i>Resident BXL-T1.2</i> – Thirtyish, employee in an international company, studio</p> <p><i>Architect BXL-T1*</i> – Architect</p> <p>*not recorded</p>	<p>Period: April – May 2019</p> <p><i>Planner STO-T1</i>: Former civil servant of the planning permission office</p> <p><i>Union STO-T1</i>: Head of communication for the Young tenants' union who owns the concept</p> <p><i>MHC STO-T1</i>: Municipal housing company, project manager</p> <p><i>Architect STO-T1</i>: Head of the architecture firm, at the origin of the concept</p> <p><i>Contractor STO-T1</i>: Sales manager for the contractor, which imagined and executed the prefabricated concept</p> <p><i>Resident STO-T1.1</i>: Student who was a volunteer for an interview</p> <p><i>Resident STO-T1.2</i>: Young free-lancer who uses the common room to work</p>

## 2.2 LIVE-WORK DEVELOPMENT IN TARGETED AREAS

NB: Projects STO-T2.1;2 on the next page.

Project AMS-T2 [2016 – 2020]	Project BXL-T2.1 [2010 – 2019 (ph.1)]	Project BXL-T2.2 [2014 – 2022]
Programme		
<p>Two-block redevelopment <i>Studied plot:</i> Demolition and reconstruction 274 dwellings (40 – 80m<sup>2</sup>) 10% social; 60% mid-rental; 30% free-rental Commercial units Small-scale offices Scale: 28,510 m<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>Development in four phases <i>Phase 1 (completed):</i> 95 owner-occupied dwellings Elderly/service home B2B, workshops Scale: 39 312 m<sup>2</sup> <i>Phase 2 (in progress):</i> 181 subsidized and regular dwellings B2B, workshops Scale: 41,300 m<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>Mixed-use project with a multi-purpose building (BAM) 103 subsidised dwellings Pre-school Commercial space BAM (including workshops and private-rented dwellings) Scale: 24,300 m<sup>2</sup></p>
Instruments analysed		
Local vision, Development strategy Amstel III, plot contract	Canal plan, Local land-use plan, Subdivision permit, building permit	Canal plan, subdivision permit
Visits		
February 2018	February 2019	February 2019
Interviews		
<p>Period: February – March 2018 <i>Investor AMS-T2</i> – Institutional investor, project manager <i>Developer AMS-T2</i> – Developer (other plot), project manager <i>Urban planner AMS-T2</i> – Urban planner from the municipality <i>Supervisor AMS-T2</i> – Gov. architect <i>Architect AMS-T2</i> – Architect <i>Process manager (PM) AMS-T2</i> – Consultant for the local vision</p>	<p>Period: January – February 2019 <i>Developer BXL1</i> – Developer, International Executive Director <i>Urban planner BXL1</i> – Head of the urban development department at the municipality <i>Bouwwmeester BXL1</i> – Project manager in the government architect's team <i>Architect BXL1</i> – Architect responsible for Phase1</p>	<p>Period: January – February 2019 <i>Developer BXL2</i> – Developer, project manager <i>Citydev BXL2</i> – Citydev, project manager <i>Architect BXL2</i> – Leading architect, project manager  NB: Urban planner BXL1 providing information on project BXL2 as well</p>

Project STO-T2.1 [2011-2019]	Project STO-T2.2 [2008-2017]
Programme	
<p>Mixed-use conversion</p> <p><i>Listed building:</i></p> <p>350 tenant-owned units (35 – 77m<sup>2</sup>)</p> <p>Combo workshops</p> <p>Scale: 15,000 m<sup>2</sup> estimated</p> <p><i>Whole site:</i></p> <p>1000 dwellings</p> <p>Businesses, Shops; Pre-schools, Supermarket and Mobility hub</p> <p>Scale: 100,000m<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>High-rise project in transformation area</p> <p><i>Studied plot:</i></p> <p>276 tenant-owned units (50-112m<sup>2</sup>)</p> <p>Guestrooms, Commercial ground floor, 2 pre-schools</p> <p>Scale: 16, 642 m<sup>2</sup></p> <p><i>First detailed plan:</i></p> <p>Decking above the highway</p> <p>3100 housing units</p> <p>Hotels</p> <p>300,000 m<sup>2</sup> of offices and retail.</p>
Instruments analysed	
Detailed plan	Detailed plan
Visits	
May 2019	March and April 2019
Interviews	
<p>Period: April – May 2019</p> <p><i>Planner STO-T2.1/1:</i> City planner (dev. office)</p> <p><i>Developer STO-T2.1/1:</i> First developer (masterplan)</p> <p><i>(Developer STO-T2.1/2:</i> Second developer, not interviewed)</p> <p><i>Architect STO-T2.1/1:</i> Architect Masterplan</p> <p><i>Architect STO-T2.1/2:</i> Architect conversion</p>	<p>Period: April – May 2019</p> <p><i>Planner STO-T2.2:</i> City planner (planning office)</p> <p><i>Developer STO-T2.2:</i> Investor and property manager</p> <p><i>Architect STO-T2.2/1:</i> Architect responsible for the project</p> <p><i>Architect STO-T2.2/2:</i> Architect project manager</p> <p><i>Co-work STO-T2.2:</i> Communication manager for a co-working company in the area</p>

## 2.3 LIVE-WORK, CO-HOUSING

NB: no co-housing project analysed in Stockholm.

Project AMS-T3 [(2004 –) 2011 – 2016]	Project BXL-T3 [2002-2007]
Programme	
<p>New construction led by the future residents and the architect</p> <p>45 owner-occupied dwellings 69 - 158m<sup>2</sup> (including two for guests), all with a working room and two entrances</p> <p>Shared spaces: theater, exhibition space, garden</p>	<p>Conversion of a former industrial building into housing through a collective purchase by the future inhabitants</p> <p>50 owner-occupied dwellings 100-250m<sup>2</sup> (of which some are privately rented by the owners), 14,000 m<sup>2</sup> in total</p> <p>10 workshops/offices for artists/SME</p> <p>Shared garden and terraces</p>
Documents	
Plans, presentation of the project, media, municipality report	Plans after transformation, Rules of the collective purchase, brochures
Visits	
March 2018	November and December 2018
Interviews	
<p>Period: March 2018</p> <p><i>Resident AMS-T3.1</i> – Resident involved in the design</p> <p><i>Residents AMS-T3.2</i> – Resident involved in the construction follow-up</p> <p><i>Resident AMS-T3.3</i> – Resident involved in the organization of events, both for the community and the neighbourhood</p> <p><i>Field broker AMS-T3.1</i> – Consultant responsible for the social cohesion in the neighbourhood</p>	<p>Period: November 2018 – January 2019</p> <p><i>Resident BXL-T3.1</i> – Architect</p> <p><i>Resident BXL-T3.2</i> – Couple of artists</p> <p><i>Resident BXL-T3.3</i> – Artist</p> <p><i>Architect BXL-T3</i> – Architect responsible for the design</p> <p><i>Planner BXL-T3</i> – Urban planner responsible for the collective purchase</p> <p>NB: all the residents interviewed were involved in the project from the beginning</p>

# APPENDIX 4: MINUTES OF THE FEEDBACK WORKSHOPS

## 1 AMSTERDAM, JANUARY 2019

### Shared housing for students and starters

#### *Common discussion*

The attendance did not fully agree on the conclusions regarding affordability outcomes, since both projects involve housing associations. The latter delivered a significant amount of subsidised social housing for students, of which the rent is far below the market. It was nevertheless argued in return that there is a threat to affordability when looking at the position of housing associations in both partnerships. For project 1, the decreasing share of social dwellings from phase one to phase two, and trends to subletting are signs of a progressive commodification of this housing segment. For project 2, the housing association only rents the dwellings to the investor and was in a relatively weak position both during the negotiations and nowadays in the daily management. This situation was reported as quite uncomfortable by the housing association, who also complained about the quality delivered. To us, it testifies to the progressive retreat of social housing under market pressure (Nieboer and Gruis, 2016).

Moreover, it was advised to consider other similar projects where the community is much more involved and empowered, especially the projects of the housing association De Key. The latter has been developing a new understanding of the role of housing associations in building a community. De Key mainly uses temporary contracts in its recent developments, such as “Startblok Riekerhaven”. In this project, a community leader was selected and received small responsibilities related to the consolidation of the community. This building has been running for a couple of years now so it would be possible to retrieve lessons learned from the development. Much research has been carried out on this project, including an in-depth one-year research at TU Delft.

Furthermore, several participants agreed on the positive impact of temporary contracts on the housing path of young adults (students, starters, refugees, ...). Housing associations such as De Key make sure that people reaching the end of their housing contract will be able to move forward. Nonetheless, long-term effects are still difficult to identify since these temporary contracts entered into force quite recently (July 2016).

It was also reminded that, since the revision of the Housing Act in 2015, it is possible to create housing cooperatives in the Netherlands. However, it hasn't worked so far by lack of trust between actors, whereas it was a success in Germany. In that respect, there is a lack of systematic comparison.

Another clarification request concerned the definition of affordability regarding the group it targets. In response to this question, we explained that our main concerns regarding these two projects were, on the one hand, the risk of speculation, and on the other hand the application process and further risk of exclusivity. It was also important to indicate that such specific criteria on age and income are completely illegal in other contexts, including Belgium where it is not allowed to define a specific target public with measurable criteria (discrimination risk).

#### *Group 1*

The questions proposed for the debate were the following:

- Which quality standards should be developed for shared spaces?
- How to improve the expertise of stakeholders in shared spaces and services?

The group considers that affordability and **community** are two different concepts since affordability relies on regulating the market's housing production. The first aim of these projects was to deliver small

housing, not co-housing. Co-housing development implies that the community makes various decisions during the development, involving a lot of negotiations, which is completely different in a co-living development [Note: this is why these projects were presented in a separate type compared to the co-housing project]. It was suggested to further analyse the approach of the investors regarding the daily management: for instance, to what extent are the users involved in the maintenance of the common spaces? Also, the level of involvement and services somehow determines how long it is possible to stay without feeling the need to move somewhere else. Another participant underlined the importance of the project's scale and how it can be difficult to build a community. From its own experience, it is almost impossible to reach a strong community with more than thirty people. The group reached the conclusion that it is very complicated to create a community and that not everybody wants to be in a community. A co-housing project requires a strong commitment of the residents involving engagement and risks. In addition, some people want to use shared spaces but don't feel any need to be included in a community.

When it comes to **quality standards** for shared spaces, it's not because the spaces are there that they will be used. The group wasn't convinced of the relevancy to formulate a policy or legal recommendations. In their opinion, the mismatch between marketing and result in project 2 had more to do with a regulation on being ethical and honest with respect to the offered product. Some participants insisted on the fact that these projects are market products responding to a certain demand and using the framework of temporary contracts for their developments. Regarding the regulation of housing for students and starters, it was recognised that some investors use tricks to make a profit from the charges related to the shared spaces and services, making the dwellings overall quite expensive.

Moreover, two participants insisted on the difficulty to **guarantee quality** throughout the development: the contractor often reviews the design to lower costs, generating a loss in quality. Developers are used to adding shared spaces in parts of their development that are not suitable for housing, such as a basement. Also, the municipality is very demanding in tenders, but once the permit was accepted, it has little control over further modifications. The group also assumed that if there were no shared spaces at all in project 2, the overall quality would be considered as acceptable. For students, having its own place, even though small, is already a good thing. The project of container student houses in the North was given as another example of affordable project being very successful despite some drawbacks (small and lacking thermal comfort). About the fact that studios in project 2 are too small for a couple, the participants affirmed that couples don't have to live in places that are made for one person only.

Finally, with respect to **governance** aspects, it was suggested to have a look at projects being developed in Vienna. There, the public sector defines measurable indicators for all criteria in the tenders, obliging the contractors to meet these requirements.

#### *Group 2*

The questions proposed for the debate were the following:

- How to better include the community of users in a context of temporary occupation?
- How to make the application process less intrusive in case of temporary contracts?

Both projects were the **right thing to do in the right place** and were very successful. Their location is very specific because on the edges of the inner city. For project 1, if the same project had been developed in another location, it wouldn't be appropriate. Also, the period when it was developed much mattered: the developer took a lot of risks, it was one of the first projects of its kind, and one of the first to rebound during the crisis. If the same project was delivered today, it would be double the price since market pressure is much higher.

When it comes to **housing standards**, there is a lot of flexibility on the public side, considering that it is more important to reach a successful transformation than just being fully compliant. Housing standards are the same for social housing and private housing but differ between new construction and transformation or renovation. Normally additional requirements and regulation can be added to the land-lease contract, a key instrument. Nevertheless, there were probably fewer incentives for the municipality to be strict on these two projects.

The group questioned **community** aspects as well: how do you build a community? Do you want to build a community? What is expected from the residents to deliver to the community? What may be the

unfortunate consequences of that? How many people are willing to live in a community? Building communities in housing developments is a quite recent phenomenon, which wasn't so much developed in Amsterdam until now since people used to meet in public places. Such developments should be preferably developed in areas that are on the edges of the city where the built environment lacks urban lifestyle. However, there is a risk to build safe enclaves in bad neighbourhoods and further enhance self-segregation. Further questions were discussed on this topic: where do you want to build communities? Is a community an added value when buying a house? It was indeed recognised that building strong communities in urban areas has a positive role in social control and safety.

Regarding **live-work mix**, the idea of the city is to reach this ecosystem beyond the building. The group discussed the potential of a working space manager and of a social contract for working. Also, the group saw as necessary to open this working space to the public. People who use the working rooms may not be residents, and on the other way around, residents who need a working space would be free to choose to rent downstairs or somewhere else. The group also considered the possibility to start from a working place and offer housing additionally but concluded that it wouldn't work in Amsterdam for matters of profitability between both functions. Also, it was questioned whether community spaces should be social spaces or working spaces, whether it should be included in the building itself or in the neighbourhood. The participants concluded that there is a need for a business model for investment and management of shared spaces (e.g. private housing pays for all shared spaces). In project 1, there are no real shared spaces, but business spaces, which have a value for the developer. This is why shared spaces don't work in project 2, because their lacks a clear business model.

The group identified two main issues: the scale of the development and trust between the actors. A mismatch between the developer interest to increase profit and inappropriate scale delivered for building a community were further discussed. Finally, both projects target a specific group, for which there is a great housing shortage, which encourages the private sector to develop high-rise buildings.

### **Mixed-use development in a former office area**

#### *Common discussion*

First, some attendees wished to clarify the prescriptions of the policy 40-40-20. The latter does not apply on a unique building project but at the scale of a whole area [Note: the scale considered still seems fuzzy]. Nevertheless, project 3 will deliver a mix of 10% social housing, 60% mid-rental housing and 30% free rental housing. The social dwellings will be upgraded to mid-rental housing after 15 years, and the mid-rental units will be allowed to be sold after 25 years. Most participants agreed on the necessity to develop non-social housing in this area, given the existing social neighbourhood and former projects with housing for students and starters. Delivering affordable housing was maybe not the first aim for this specific project.

Second, another participant pointed at the highly debated character of the area. A former office location where most buildings were vacant, early conversion projects consisted of hotels. The office market is quite volatile there, with its ups and downs. The area still looks far for Amsterdam's inhabitants despite being very well connected. However, public space lacks quality and is not human friendly at the moment. One participant has already suggested in one of its own research to demand from the office developers to pay for public space, considering that people spend almost more time in their office than at home. In any case, mixing office and housing buildings will make the area more attractive. At a macro-scale, it could be already considered as a mixed-use area, but it is not experienced as such.

Furthermore, the renewed pressure on the office market is dangerous for the housing market, even more in such an area. Regulating housing there is making it less attractive than the office market, the latter being less regulated. In similar places in redevelopment (e.g. Houthaven), developers deal with competition between both markets by delivering office buildings easily transformable into housing in the future.

Further concern on the area studied in project 3 concerns the ambitions for the future mixed urban environment. This place is well connected but located on the edges of the city (almost suburban), and it's not sure whether people will be ready to settle long-term there. It is already well-connected but there is still much work to do to transform it into an urban neighbourhood. This is partly why the investors target expats for the first developments: there are less sensitive to the fact of living outside of the ring.

Owner-occupied housing is needed to ensure long-term settlement, but the policy 40/40/20 does not allow that. Unless the municipality is allowed to plan the production of more owner-occupied housing, the area will thus be mostly occupied by transient people. Still, bringing the first mass of people willing to live there is an improvement compared to what the area used to be. The current housing pressure is very good for the redevelopment of this type of areas.

*Group 1*

The questions proposed for the debate were the following:

- How to guarantee better stability of land-lease prices in case of function change?
- In such a process, what is the most suitable between supporting negotiations case-by-case and adapting legal instruments?

**Land prices** directly depend on market prices, which explains why there is a difference in the land price when changing function. Only social housing programmes get a low price. According to the municipality, market parties still make a profit even with higher land prices. Having to deal with uncertainty is part of developers' job. Even though they complain about high land prices, private developers are still willing to pay a generous option in tenders. This means that they can still make a profit, despite the construction costs' increase. So land prices will keep on increasing until the next crisis: "so they shouldn't talk but build". For architects, the problem with a price increase is that contractors ask for more revisions on the design, which lowers architectural quality. The participants also pointed at the very fast and significant increase in prices, which is uncommon, explaining some developers' reluctance. On the contractors' side, many workers are now freelancers who first increase their own prices, the latter having an impact on the overall price of new developments. Besides, the profit retrieved from higher land prices is reinvested by the municipality in other projects (infrastructure, etc).

What about the implementation of a **50/50 mix** between housing and offices if the private sector follows market dynamics in the definition of its programme? The area where project 3 is located still has much vacant space (car parking, etc) that will be used to densify and reach this mix (public land as well). However, for plots with an existing land-lease, the municipality needs the private sector as much as the latter needs the former. There is no solution but making a common deal with common ambitions.

Shall we understand that supporting a **negotiated process** is the best way to kick off transformation? It is, even though policies such as the policy 40/40/20 already give a direction for the developments. Being too restrictive will bring the risk that nothing happens whatsoever. Again, the vision is to densify the existing plots, which are only scarcely built right now.

How long will it take then to reach a **mixed-use neighbourhood** in this area? If a new crisis arises, this area will be the first where developments stop, whereas the current pressure leaves no choice for developers but to build there (cheaper area). Market pressure is thus a strong driver for the redevelopment of this area (where it's the first year that there is eventually housing pressure).

Are there **other redevelopments** of the same kind (common local vision)? Sloterdijk is comparable because it is also an office area with many opportunities for densification. Would it be possible to imagine a reproducibility of this process? Not really since each location has its peculiarities.

*Group 2*

The questions proposed for the debate were the following:

- To what extent is it possible to deliver quality without prescriptive rules?
- How to bring a critical mass of residents in a long-term transformation process?

**Quality** concerns all aspects necessary to create a place where people would like both to live and work. Research by design was carried out in Germany to change living standards according to scientific rules. It was the first time that architecture was seen in a more scientific way. They first tried to optimise and reproduce space in a massive way. They also looked for solutions to deliver quality without being too prescriptive. They realised that flexibility and adaptations by users were crucial and opted for temporary minimum units that can be adapted over time (cf. Martin Wagner, *The Growing House*).

Amsterdam's economic growth is very good at the moment, making it possible for the municipality to be more ambitious on **quality targets**. However, not being **prescriptive** allows the city to be more pragmatic, opportunistic, and more efficient. In Amsterdam, around 600 planners and project managers work on urban development, which gives lots of opportunities to influence developments without being prescriptive. Prescriptive rules are only relevant in a tender. This collaborative mindset further allows lifting requirements, especially in the current economic climate. Nevertheless, other stakeholders must be willing to collaborate, as well. Other areas, such as the Bijlmer are more based on norms.

About the **future of the area** where project 3 is located, the market is only starting to see opportunities in this part of the city, making it already possible to provide relatively affordable housing there. However, there is not a comprehensive vision of this area as an urban neighbourhood yet. The old modernist division between working and living is still present in some minds. There is thus a gap between regulation and operationalisation. From a regulation perspective, some participants remind that land-lease contracts are key-instruments through which housing is subsidised (lower land price).

The **strong housing market** tends to push all other functions out of residential neighbourhoods (it used to be hotels before). Moreover, housing and office regulations are not integrated into a unique regulation. Also, there lacks knowledge on the compatibility of functions and a structural assessment of mixed-use pilot projects. The housing shortage is well spread as a major issue in the media, but the progressive lack of workspace is not well known yet.

### **Co-housing in a former industrial area**

*Common discussion (no more time for parallel debates)*

It was surprising for the attendance that the group received a discount, and this information is to be verified with the interviewees. About the risk of speculation, the participants considered that the group should have defined conditions or specific anti-speculative rules from the start to avoid this. There is a misunderstanding between a CPO (collective self-building) and a community-led building. For some attendees, it looked normal that the residents involved in such project see their home as an asset as well and try to make some profit out of it. Conversely, for others, their perspective cannot be compared to the developer's rationale, co-housing being apart from delivering a product or a service. It was also suggested that financial incentives supporting this pioneering project make it hardly comparable to other co-housing projects. Furthermore, it was recalled that some people with more financial means might be more attracted to community aspects than people with fewer means, meaning that affordability and sense of community need to be differentiated here.

## **2 BRUSSELS, NOVEMBER 2019 (IN FRENCH)**

### **PerspectiveLab : premier débat avec l'ensemble des participants**

The minutes of the first debate are not included here, but may be provided by the author on request.

#### **Groupe 1**

*Marché du logement partagé*

A Amsterdam, ces projets comprennent des unités de logement très petites (25 à 40 m<sup>2</sup>) où les espaces partagés sont prévus en compensation de la réduction de l'espace privé. Les critères d'accessibilité sont très stricts et il y a un gros roulement dans les occupants, vu les conditions sur l'âge par exemple. Qu'en est-il à Bruxelles ?

La **taille de logement** est de plus en plus réduite pour améliorer l'accessibilité financière et des facilités sont ajoutées en compensation. Pour le neuf, la taille minimale est de 28 m<sup>2</sup>, mais les logements de cette échelle se retrouvent surtout dans le logement étudiant. La manière de concevoir le logement évolue également (différenciation entre zones plus intimes et zones partagées). Dans les outils de planification tels que le PAD, la typologie de logement n'est pas régulée. Dans le CRU ou dans les CQD, une taille moyenne est recommandée. Pour les logements en **CLT**, la typologie la plus demandée est celle permettant d'héberger des familles. Le CLT est sollicité par des groupes à la recherche d'un lieu pour monter un projet ensemble, sans promoteur. De manière plus générale, l'habitat groupé est une

alternative plus durable permettant de gagner de l'espace et dans laquelle des espaces partagés sont prévus (voir plus loin).

La **collocation** est un premier facteur explicatif de la différence d'offre en termes de petit logement avec espaces partagés entre les deux villes. La collocation prend en effet une part de plus en plus importante sur le marché, et capte une partie significative de la demande de petits logements sur Bruxelles.

Un deuxième facteur est la concentration du développement de petits logements pour les **étudiants**. Au sein du logement étudiant, de plus en plus d'espaces partagés sont prévus par les promoteurs, tout en respectant le RRU. Ce secteur présente toutefois des dérives, avec des logements parfois loués à un public précaire non-étudiant. Il n'y a pas de contrôle sur ce phénomène en dehors des plaintes. Le code du logement comprend pourtant un statut de petit logement qui contrôle entre autres le logement pour étudiants.

Un autre secteur dans lequel se développe le petit logement est la **division d'anciens immeubles**, souvent de manière peu qualitative et dans des secteurs précaires. Les pouvoirs publics ont du mal à refuser ce type de division, car elle répond à une demande. A Anderlecht, la commune refuse cependant de diviser les immeubles pour des logements étudiants.

Le développement du petit logement est aussi intimement lié à la **fragmentation territoriale** : le type de logements favorisés varie entre l'Ouest et l'Est de la région. Ainsi, la **discrimination** à travers la sélection d'un public cible se fait aussi à Bruxelles, mais de manière moins transparente qu'à Amsterdam. Les projets de co-living attirent clairement un certain public, et donc, favoriser ce type de projets favorise l'exclusion d'autres publics.

S'il fallait prévoir des **espaces partagés** dans les ensembles de logement 'classiques', perspective se verrait plus favorable à des espaces de vie plutôt que de travail, sauf pour des logements spécifiques destinés à des fonctionnaires de la commission européenne par exemple, ou à des étudiants, des artistes, ou des créatifs. Le logement devrait aussi permettre de faire évoluer les espaces dans le temps et en fonction des besoins de la famille.

A Bruxelles, on peut se permettre d'avoir un espace de travail qui ne soit pas nécessairement dans le même bâtiment que son logement... arrive alors la question du **co-working**, qui doit être confrontée aux pratiques de travail : il n'y aurait pas beaucoup de sens à faire venir des personnes à Bruxelles pour travailler dans un espace de co-working. Pour éviter de rentrer dans Bruxelles, de nombreux espaces de co-working se développent donc plutôt dans le Brabant wallon. L'idée de Bruxelles est d'ouvrir le co-working à des communautés plus larges et aussi pour certains métiers spécifiques. Cela touche au problème d'habiter et travailler à Bruxelles, et aux questions de mobilité.

#### *Projets mixtes dans des zones en redéveloppement*

Les membres du groupe ont pointé la nécessité d'un **matching entre candidats et espaces productifs**, ainsi que d'un acteur pour la gestion de ces espaces en phase d'exploitation. Sur les terrains de la SAU, le but sera de créer des emphytéoses et de créer des opportunités pour des activités productives, à travers le soutien d'un acteur proactif. **Citydev** fonctionne plus à l'opportunité actuellement et a des difficultés à trouver les acteurs dont on a réellement besoin au niveau des rez-de-chaussée pour créer la ville productive. Les PME ont du mal à prendre des risques, ce qui soulève aussi la question de l'occupation temporaire. Face à cela, il faudrait un facilitateur qui permette de gérer certains risques. La distinction a été faite durant le débat entre occupation transitoire et temporaire.

Le **CLT** développe du logement social acquisitif accessible et souhaite aussi intégrer des équipements mais n'a pas de subsides pour cela. Le CLT voudrait collaborer avec des acteurs à la recherche d'un lieu et créer une coopérative foncière pouvant intégrer ce type d'activité avec des logements, dans un esprit d'investissement citoyen. L'idée est aussi de permettre à des activités fragiles de trouver des espaces accessibles.

**Citydev** ne développe pas lui-même des équipements collectifs (sport, santé, écoles, ...). Il faudrait donc un matching entre propriété foncière (Citydev) et occupants (type fédération Wallonie Bruxelles), mais ce n'est pas évident. Citydev n'est pas gestionnaire : il a le parc immobilier en emphytéose mais la gestion est confiée aux locataires. Dans certains plans, les équipements ou activités économiques sont préconisées mais il n'y a pas de gestionnaire prévu alors que c'est la condition pour que cela fonctionne.

Il existe un comité de coordination économique (CCE) qui a une influence sur le **placement des entreprises**. En termes de temporalité, il faut jouer aussi sur l'encadrement pendant le développement (via la commune) et voir quelle activité sera utile plutôt que de raisonner par opportunité. Le CCE est une première réponse, mais il manque tout de même une planification économique, pour laquelle aucun acteur public n'est outillé.

En termes de flexibilité, les **outils de planification territoriale** permettent d'intégrer les fonctions faibles mais les projets mixtes étant toujours récents, on ne sait pas comment ces outils pourront être modifiés simplement et rapidement. La réussite du plan dépend de la coordination entre objectifs économiques et installation d'entreprises à Bruxelles. Un des problèmes actuels est le temps écoulé entre la conception du projet et sa réalisation, en particulier pour les équipements (crèches, écoles, infrastructures sportives) qui relèvent d'un financement de la FWB. Aujourd'hui certaines communes prennent en charge le portage intermédiaire du projet, entre la livraison et l'engagement du personnel sous contrat FWB, mais ce type de disposition n'est pas accessible à toutes les communes bruxelloises.

L'introduction d'un plan modificatif pour demander un changement d'affectation reste compliqué. Des acteurs institutionnels pourraient être dispensés du permis de changement d'affectation en cas d'emphytéose dans la mesure où le contrat de location leur donne déjà une forme de contrôle sur l'usage du bâtiment. Ceci permettrait d'alléger les procédures et d'offrir davantage de flexibilité. La réflexion est aussi de savoir ce qui est utile à la ville dans ce type d'immeubles. La flexibilité réelle et les coûts de développement de cette flexibilité ont également été discutés.

#### *Habitat groupé mixte*

Le CLT pourra assurer le rôle de **facilitateur** dans le cadre de projet porté par les futurs habitants, afin de bénéficier d'un logement social acquisitif, si la coopérative foncière se met en place. Le problème pour ces groupes est l'accès au foncier et le soutien dans le montage de projets. L'architecte peut organiser un fonds pour un projet d'habitat groupé, mais si le projet d'aboutit pas, l'argent reste bloqué chez l'architecte.

Par rapport aux espaces productifs, il ne faut pas se contenter de donner l'espace, mais aussi trouver un autre incitant pour permettre que les gens se **créent un travail**, surtout les personnes en situation précaire. Il y a un accord de gouvernement que vise à donner un statut d'employé aux chômeurs de longue durée dans un quartier lors du test d'une activité économique. Cet accord n'a pas encore été testé à Bruxelles même s'il y a une volonté de le faire sur certains territoires bien définis.

Le CLT trouve pertinent de créer des projets de logements avec activités économiques là où il y a un besoin. Le CLT peut alors jouer le **rôle de coordinateur et de gestionnaire**. Il faudra par contre donner priorité aux habitants du quartier, pour être sûrs que le public visé est celui réellement engagé. Il est difficile de faire correspondre les habitants des logements et les acteurs des activités économiques, mais c'est envisageable. Un projet pilote est en cours avec HUB.

Les interlocuteurs craignent enfin que la concentration d'initiatives de type CLT et Citydev dans le croissant ouest de Bruxelles ne fasse que renforcer la **ségrégation socio-spatiale** à l'échelle de l'agglomération. Cette crainte est d'autant plus forte que l'on constate une vraie difficulté à développer du logement social dans le croissant est, en ce y compris sur des terrains urbanisables prévus pour l'habitat. Les solutions innovantes adoptées pour répondre à la crise du logement mixte pourraient de ce fait contribuer à renforcer la division entre Est et Ouest.

## **Groupe 2**

### *Marché du logement partagé*

Mots clés du débat : taille des ménages ; ségrégation ; fluidité ; RRU ; propriété ; location ; coopérative ; évolutivité ; parcours résidentiel ; homogénéité ; perception ; prix ; résidence-services ; créativité ; risque.

En termes de **taille de logement**, la question de savoir si Bruxelles devait être comparée à d'autres métropoles a été discutée. Avoir un grand logement est culturellement ancré à Bruxelles, et il semble qu'il y ait un consensus politique pour ne pas remettre en cause cette tradition. Même si la surface des appartements diminue, on parle d'une réduction de 85 à 75 m<sup>2</sup>, en moyenne. Par rapport à la régulation, des chambres d'une superficie inférieure aux normes RRU sont autorisées dans les résidence-services, sous prétexte que les habitants ont accès à des espaces partagés... cela pourrait être appliqué pour des

logements classiques. Un minimum d'homogénéité entre les occupants des espaces partagés semble nécessaire dans tous les cas car les habitants doivent se retrouver dans les activités qui prennent place dans ces espaces. Un bâtiment mixant plusieurs types de publics pourrait ainsi être scindé en ailes propres aux différents publics (jeunes actifs, familles, ...).

Un des **enjeux** importants en termes de taille de logement est l'adaptabilité, notamment PMR, qui impacte la superficie. Des formules plus fluides de logements qui s'adaptent au parcours résidentiel des gens devraient exister. Actuellement, la mobilité résidentielle est notamment réduite par des incitants tels que les droits d'enregistrement (12% à Bruxelles contre 6% en Flandre). La question de la propriété versus location est soulevée mais la propriété reste un idéal pour une grande partie de la population. Les trajectoires sont par contre moins linéaires (plus d'aller-retours entre propriété et location), et plus évolutives. A ce titre, il existe des coopératives en Suisse qui permettent une modularité dans la configuration du logement avec un socle d'espaces partagés (exemples à Zurich).

Par rapport à l'**accessibilité** au logement, le public visé dans les projets avec espaces partagés a d'abord été discuté : à quel point existe-t-il une corrélation entre les activités économiques et le public cible ? Un enjeu relatif à l'accessibilité est la ré-augmentation de la taille des ménages, notamment sous l'influence des familles recomposées. Il y a de plus un risque de ségrégation dans les projets qui ne ciblent que les personnes seules. C'est pour cela qu'il est important d'envisager différentes typologies de logement au sein des projets.

Des enjeux majeurs, tels que l'évolution des logements en fonction du parcours de vie, offrent de vraies opportunités de **créativité** pour les porteurs de projets, mais cela demande des incitants et une évolution des pratiques du promoteur.

#### *Projets mixtes dans des zones en redéveloppement*

**Mots clés du débat** : public cible ; activités économiques ; risque ; commercialisation ; cohabitation ; attractivité ; mobilité ; PAD ; maîtrise foncière ; fonctionnement ; logement social ; travail ; espace public ; surcoût ; complexité.

La question de la classe créative comme **public cible** a été d'abord clarifiée, avant de discuter du public qui désire vivre et travailler à Bruxelles, et de savoir dans quelle mesure les projets mixtes répondent à la demande des travailleurs. A priori, le promoteur ne va pas chercher à viser un public cible trop précis car cela augmente son risque de ne pas vendre s'il ne trouve pas le public visé.

Au niveau des **instruments de planification**, il y a un manque de coordination entre urbanisation et transport dans le cadre des projets mixtes. Les nouvelles solutions de mobilité alternative ne permettent pas de palier à la lenteur du développement des infrastructures. La question de comment gérer la situation transitoire est complexe. Les schémas directeurs (PAD) devraient anticiper le développement des nouvelles infrastructures au niveau stratégique. Le dialogue entre la STIB, la région, et les communes reste difficile. La **mobilité** est centrale dans l'équilibre des fonctions, cet aspect pouvant être déterminant pour certaines personnes qui perdent énormément de temps à traverser Bruxelles. De ce point de vue, l'objectif de Citydev est de renforcer les centralités intermodales.

La **cohabitation** entre espaces productifs et logements sociaux a été ensuite remise en question. Les différences de rythme de vie entre activités productives et habitants potentiellement sans emploi ont été évoquées comme un élément menaçant la cohabitation des deux fonctions. Cela expliquerait en partie pourquoi le logement conventionné convient mieux *a priori*, d'autant plus que le subside de 30% permet de compenser le risque du promoteur. De manière générale, la cohabitation génère aussi des surcoûts pour éviter toutes nuisances sonores. Des aménités sont nécessaires pour renforcer la cohabitation et l'animation du quartier en continu, de même que des espaces publics de qualité, et des activités relevant de l'économie présentielle.

Pour certains, l'**attractivité de chaque fonction** doit être assurée indépendamment pour assurer le succès du projet mixte. Un élément difficile est alors la coordination des différents gestionnaires immobiliers, qui est une source supplémentaire de risques pour le promoteur. Plus généralement, c'est la nouveauté qui tend à être considérée comme un risque par les promoteurs. Par exemple, dans le projet ZIN, qui consiste en la reconversion de l'ancien bâtiment WTC dans le quartier Nord en logements avec hôtel, bureaux, la mixité de fonctions permet de compenser les risques des fonctions les moins fortes. Le public cible de ce type de projets peut toutefois être exclusif.

### *Habitat groupé mixte*

Mots clés du débat : proportion ; RRU ; co-création ; conviction ; politique foncière ; facilitateur ; gestionnaire ; vivre ensemble ; chez soi ; visions divergentes ; long terme ; partage ; taille critique ; espaces extérieurs ; sentiment d'appartenance ; échanges.

Ce secteur reste un **secteur de niche** avec environ 15 projets à Bruxelles. Parmi les nouveaux rôles permettant de soutenir ce type de projets, le groupe a pointé le rôle du 'concierge' comme facilitateur et gestionnaire du bâtiment. Les difficultés rencontrées par ces groupes témoignent par ailleurs de l'ampleur du travail du promoteur dans un projet plus classique. Le travail de co-construction du projet demande énormément de temps et d'énergie aux groupes qui se lancent dans l'habitat groupé, avec parfois des surcoût conséquents ; il y a donc beaucoup d'abandons. Le public de l'habitat groupé est ainsi très spécifique et s'engage plus par conviction que par besoin de logement.

Un des principes de l'habitat groupé est le '**vivre ensemble chacun chez soi**' : il y a donc un certain investissement dans les espaces privés, y compris en termes d'insonorisation. Les espaces partagés sont plus souvent des espaces extérieurs, qui permettent de renforcer le sentiment d'appartenance et les échanges entre habitants. La gestion des espaces communs est complexe et implique une taille critique pour les groupes. L'influence du contexte culturel porte plus sur 'quel espace privé' que sur le fait d'avoir son chez soi. L'équilibre entre espaces privés et partagés d'un point de vue normatif a été ré-évoqué pour ce type de logements.

## **3 STOCKHOLM, MAY 2020 (ONLINE)**

The first topic discussed was temporary **housing for students and young adults**. A new policy supporting small housing development for young adults entered into force in February 2020. The participants didn't have any specific comment on that policy and were not especially aware of it. From the participants involved in student or youth housing development and management, young adults are not especially interested in sharing spaces and prefer to live on their own. SSSB delivers student housing<sup>63</sup> exclusively and aims at developing affordable housing that responds to the students' needs. The company has more difficulties in finding tenants for shared properties, so its current housing production is focused on small studios with reduced construction costs. The company owned some temporary dwellings but demolished them to focus on permanent housing. Besides, Junior Living just completed its second *Snabba Hus* project, where first residents have just moved in. Svenska Bostäder provided them with feedback from the residents, including on the community areas which are popular for leisure but not that well used. The main residents' requests are related to the lack of storage.

Temporary housing for young adults is still very popular in Stockholm, given the housing shortage for this target public. For instance, for the 287 apartments developed by Junior Living in Räcksta, there were 6500 applications. The project was successful because delivering dwellings both small and affordable (33 m<sup>2</sup> for 5300 SEK/month). This market segment is supported by the municipality as soon as the developer or municipal housing company finds suitable land. The project in Väsberga could be built because Svenska Bostäder found a suitable plot, yet it is not easy to find available land, generally-speaking. The fast-track planning process can also be delayed by local inhabitants' complaints. Protests are often related to the concentration of young people in high-density settlements. In addition, these projects do not deliver public space accessible the local inhabitants, while such space could have fostered the acceptability of the projects.

The second topic debated was related to **mixed-use development** in transformation or expansion areas. There was no demand for office buildings in the Southern part of Stockholm until recently. Now, developers want to build office buildings mixed with housing. However, this trend comes from the market, not from the municipality requirements. Such projects do not impact the detailed development plan process. Land allocation - and in particular developers' application for land - plays an important role in the planning process that shouldn't be neglected. Innovative practices can further emerge when the municipality makes calls for ideas in unexploited areas. In that case, developers can develop a concept

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<sup>63</sup> Students can stay in student housing as long as there are registered in one Stockholm University, with a maximum of 10 years (in case of PhD), which is verified twice a year.

for a specific site with the help of consultants, such as Tyréns. When different companies compete for the same plot of land, the municipality compares the different proposals and sends a questionnaire to the developers as well as the land price.

The spatial quality of mixed-use developments is under the responsibility of the planning office of the municipality, which regularly works with the government architect and the aesthetics council. Nevertheless, the government architect is mostly involved in key projects – often non-residential – located in the core city and with heritage issues. Apart from these specific cases, all new developments must fit the municipality vision, which is formalised both in the comprehensive plan and in each detailed plan. In other Swedish municipalities, the city architect is more systematically involved in the early stage planning process of new developments, but not directly in the architecture of the developments.

Mixed-use buildings are still relatively scarce amid new developments, yet commercial ground floors are requested in most projects. Integrating offices in residential buildings is too difficult in terms of ownership and not economically viable. Also, the demands are different for these two functions, so it's easier to develop horizontal mix (in separate buildings). Still, there are some on-going reflections on how to use buildings more efficiently, but this is still an upcoming topic in Stockholm and only developed by a few small companies. One solution that is being discussed at the moment is building housing on office buildings' rooftops. Again, all this relies on market demands.

Finally, the third topic evoked was **co-housing** development. Some trials of co-living arrangements were observed by the participants in Botkyrka, but overall, this is quite rare. Moreover, the co-housing developments of the 1960s were very much driven by the left-wing. In the 1930s, the first co-housing developments for women allowed them to get work. Housing preferences also change over time, and with age cohorts. More individualistic solutions have been developed for the last 20 years. Tenant ownership is also one expression of this shift: with the emergence of the knowledge society, (right-wing) political entrepreneurs realised that they could change the ownership structure and get more individual ownership. Housing was a very high political priority until the end of the 1980s.

## APPENDIX 5: LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

### Peer-reviewed journal articles

Uyttebrouck, C., van Bueren, E., & Teller, J. (2020). Shared housing for students and young professionals: evolution of a market in need of regulation. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-020-09778-w>

Uyttebrouck, C., Remøy, H., & Teller, J. (in press). The governance of live-work mix: actors and instruments in Amsterdam and Brussels development projects. *Cities*.

Uyttebrouck, C., Wilmotte, P.-F., & Teller, J. Le télétravail à Bruxelles avant la crise du Covid-19. *Revue d'Economie Régionale et Urbaine*. [Under review]

### International conferences

Uyttebrouck, C., van Bueren, E., & Teller, J. (2019, August 29). *New ways of working, new ways of living...new housing issues?* Paper presented at ENHR Conference 2019, Athens, Greece.

Uyttebrouck, C., Remøy, H., & Teller, J. (2018, June 27). *Working – living mix: from urban development strategy to market initiatives*. Paper presented at ENHR Conference 2018, Uppsala, Sweden.

Uyttebrouck, C., & Teller, J. (2017, September 04). *Spatial hybridization and its implications on housing in Brussels and Amsterdam*. Paper presented at ENHR Conference 2017, Tirana, Albania.

### Doctoral seminars

Uyttebrouck, C. (2017, May 11). *Les lieux hybrides dans la ville : essai de cartographie*. Paper presented at Journée des doctorants en urbanisme-aménagement de l'Aperau, Aix-en-Provence, France.

Uyttebrouck, C., & Teller, J. (2017, April 27). *Hybrid places: a conceptual framework*. Poster presented at DS2BE, Liège, Belgium.

### Other

Uyttebrouck, C. (in press). Le logement partagé : une réponse aux aspirations des jeunes professionnels ? *Les Echos du Logement*.

Uyttebrouck, C. (2020, January 17). *La ville demain*. Public talk for the programme committee of Liège Créative, Liège, Belgium.

Uyttebrouck, C. (2019). *Mixité logement-travail à Bruxelles et à Amsterdam*. Public talk at PerspectiveLab, Brussels, Belgium.

Uyttebrouck, C., van Bueren, E., & Teller, J. (2018, May 18). *Mixing working and living spaces in buildings: implementation and upscaling*. Paper presented at the workshop 'Young urban singles and shared housing', Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Dethier, P., Quintart, A., Uyttebrouck, C., & Xhignesse, G. (2017). *Home Sweet Home : Quatre fenêtres ouvertes sur le logement*. Public talk at Doc'Café, Liège, Belgique.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFWC	Amsterdam Federation of Housing Associations ( <i>Amsterdamse Federatie van Woningcorporaties</i> )
AIS	Social real estate agencies ( <i>Agence immobilière sociale</i> )
BCR	Brussels Capital Region ( <i>Région de Bruxelles-Capitale</i> )
Boverket	The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning ( <i>Myndigheten för samhällsplanering, byggande och boende</i> )
B2B	Business to business
CPO	Collective self-building ( <i>Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap</i> )
DDP	Delegation for the Development of the Pentagon ( <i>Délégation au Développement du Pentagone</i> )
GFC	Global Financial Crisis
HSB	the Savings and Construction Association of the Tenants ( <i>Hyresgästernas sparkasse - och byggnadsförening</i> )
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
MHC	Municipal Housing Company ( <i>Allmännyttigt kommunal bostadsföretag</i> )
MHP	Million Homes Programme ( <i>Miljonprogrammet</i> )
PPAS	Local land-use plan ( <i>Plan Particulier d'Aménagement du Sol</i> )
PRAS	Regional land-use plan ( <i>Plan Régional d'Affectation du Sol</i> )
PRDD	Brussels' regional development plan ( <i>Plan Régional de Développement Durable</i> )
PRS	Private-rented sector
R&D	Research and Development
SKB	Stockholm Cooperative Housing Association ( <i>Stockholms Kooperativa Bostadsförening</i> )
SLRB	Regional housing society ( <i>Société du Logement de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale</i> )
SSSB	Student housing Stockholm ( <i>StockholmSStudentBostäder</i> )
WWI/II	World War I/II
ZEMU	Enterprise Area for Urban Development ( <i>Zone d'Entreprises en Milieu Urbain</i> )
ZEUS	Stimulated Urban Economy Area ( <i>Zone d'Economie Urbaine Stimulée</i> )