AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN AN URBAN COMMONS

The Community Land Trust as an alternative model for housing development in Rotterdam

P5 REPORT
TU DELFT

STIJN WENDERS
4729323

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Stijn Wenders
slhwenders@student.tudelft.nl
stijnwenders@gmail.com
4729323

First mentor
Dr. Arie Romein, Spatial Planning & Strategy

Second mentor
Dr. Reinout Kleinhans, Urban Studies

MSc Graduation
AR3U013

Delft University of Technology
Faculty of Architecture
MSc Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences
MSc track Urbanism

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Abstract
Trends of neoliberalisation and globalisation have led to the financialisation of housing on a global scale. This has led to the increasing deployment of state-led gentrification as a strategy for urban development, as cities aim to strengthen their position as nodes in the global economy. In the Netherlands, these trends have led to the marginalisation of social housing. As the city of Rotterdam develops ambitious plans to restructure its old city harbours into dense mixed-use districts, residents of the adjoining neighbourhood Tweebos protest the forced demolition of their social housing units in the midst of a national housing crisis. These dwellings have to make way in favour of new privately owned homes for middle-income residents as part of the municipality's plans for city-wide socio-economic diversification.

This thesis proposes an alternative development strategy for Tweebos based in the right to the city. By establishing a Community Land Trust in Tweebos, residents will be able to regain control over the development of their neighbourhood. The CLT holds the land in perpetuity, controlling rents and resale prices democratically through the neighbourhood and thus ensuring affordability. The CLT provides Tweebos residents an instrument to elevate the use value of urban space above its exchange value, a platform to participate in the production of urban space and a mechanism to fund those developments. This thesis argues that by doing so, the CLT protects the urban commons and institutionalises the right to the city. The principles of the CLT can thus help strengthen the right to the city in the Dutch system of housing development, and can provide a starting point for a stronger public housing sector in the Netherlands.

key words: *tweebos; state-led gentrification; right to the city; urban commons; community land trust*

CONTENTS

1.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

At the end of his term in 2017, Dutch minister for Housing Stef Blok proudly exclaimed that he had become the first lawmaker to dismantle an entire ministry (Cats, 2017). After years of reforms aimed at decreasing government interference, housing in the Netherlands had now been fixed and the market would solve all remaining problems. At the same time, however, an increasing shortage of affordable housing was growing in Dutch cities, a pressure which has only intensified since (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 2019). As of 2021, there is a national shortage of 300.000 dwellings (Van der Molen, 2021), housing prices and rents have subsequently skyrocketed, waiting lists are long and supply is low, especially when it comes to affordable dwellings (Priemus, 2020). Governments at all levels have taken measures to increase housing construction, but production remains low and municipalities struggle to carry out the decentralised responsibilities for the housing effort with limited funds (Monster, 2021). Moreover, despite political calls to boost housing construction, experts warn that simply building more dwellings will not solve the housing crisis (Vastgoedmarkt, 2021). There is an increasing divide between insiders and outsiders in the housing market: those who own homes, and see their equity increase as the value of their property rises, and those who do not, but must pay high rents that undermine their capacity to build up savings nonetheless (Martens et al., 2019). Recently, this has led to the largest Dutch housing protest since the 1980s (Remie, 2021). These developments have put an enormous pressure on cities to construct housing for an increasingly diverse group of people with different socioeconomic characteristics, but also with different costs and gains for the city.

The housing crisis in the Netherlands has sometimes been described as a problem caused by the government itself (Hulsman, 2020), not only through inaction, but by actively making policy aimed at increasing private homeownership and rising housing values (Rolnik, 2019). Despite this, political solutions to the crisis seem to be locked inside the same paradigm of 'homeownership capitalism'. This thesis aims to explore how a contrasting paradigm to housing can be constructed through the framework of the right to the city, which will in turn lead to an exploration of the model of the Community Land Trust. The case of Tweebos, a social housing neighbourhood in Rotterdam facing demolition in favour of gentrifying developments, will be used as an example of the consequences of the current paradigm, and subsequently as an illustration of the urban opportunities of the new perspective.

PROBLEM FIELD: HOUSING IN THE NETHERLANDS

Following a series of crises in the previous decade, global economic policy since the 1980s has emphasised growth and reduction of state expenses. These policies, which included the privatisation of state enterprises, the dismantling of welfare systems and the deregulation of finance, are generically named 'neoliberalism' (Stedman Jones, 2012). As a part of this paradigm, public housing in many countries has seen its funding cut and part of its housing stock sold, or even privatised entirely. At the same time, deregulation of the financial sector has expanded the reach of global capital's quest for profit (Harvey, 2012). The promotion of private homeownership and easy access to credit, coupled with the ever greater entanglement of national systems of mortgage provision and international financial markets, connected low- and middle-incomes to this global financial system. For many households, homeownership now is as much an investment as a method for housing provision (Ryan-Collins, 2017). These developments have led to the deconstruction of housing as a public good and its transformation into a commodity and financial asset (Rolnik, 2019).

Simultaneously, the globalisation of capital shifted Western economies from manufacturing towards service and knowledge industries. On one hand this has led to a deindustrialisation of cities, on the other it has led to a centralisation of service and knowledge-based economies in a selected amount of 'global cities' (Sassen, 1991). In this new globalised economy, cities compete with one another to attract employment and investment. They aim to provide a good 'business climate' in order to attract the most profitable businesses and most well-paying jobs, and the past decades have seen an increasing demand for urban housing as a result. With the decline of manufacturing and the rise of the service economy thus also came large-scale restructuring projects to transform former industrial sites into cultural and residential hotspots for the new urban elite (Knox & Pinch, 2010). These two developments, the financialisation of housing and the increasing demand for urban living, are global trends with local variations.

Social housing in the Netherlands

These variations depend on the initial composition of the local institutional frameworks that were influenced by neoliberalisation and globalisation. The Netherlands have a long history of social housing provision, beginning in the late 19th century when the first housing associations were established in order to provide homes to the poor (Van der Schaar, 1987). These associations were often rooted in civil society and were established by progressive notables who wanted to improve the living conditions of the working class, first in Amsterdam but quickly followed in other cities around the country. Moreover,

their nature as associations meant that tenants were members of the organisation who had the right to democratically elect the board, and thus had a certain degree of participation. However, large-scale housing construction for lower and middle income families only really took off after the passing of the Woningwet (Housing Act) of 1901, which regulated housing and institutionalized housing associations by granting them financial support. As a result, housing associations came under greater government control, and many municipal governments even established their own housing associations. Around a million dwellings were constructed by these associations between 1900 and 1940. Housing provision thus came to depend on two core pillars: a public sector for low to middle income families, and a private sector for middle to upper income households (Beekers, 2012).

During the post-war period the Netherlands struggled with an enormous housing shortage as a result of the Second World War. Housing associations were used by the Dutch government as vehicles to provide new, modern homes for the growing population. The government subsidised and planned these new neighbourhoods through the housing associations, essentially incorporating them into the state machinery (Van Fulpen, 1985). In the following decades the public housing sector's mission came to encompass society as a whole as their target group, instead of only the working class. The associations transformed into more formal organisations with a customer base instead of members (Smeets, 2010). From the 1970s on, regulations for housing associations were increasingly levelled to equal treatment with private investors and make them more responsive to market forces. This resulted in their privatisation in the 1990s, as subsidies were halted and a the associations were transformed into social enterprises (Heerma, 1989). A series of institutions was set up to ensure access to affordable capital as well as to monitor the sector. The purpose of housing associations was reinterpreted as not only supplying housing but also in retaining and increasing liveability in neighbourhoods, giving them a prominent role in urban renewal projects and broadening their field of activity to both market and non-residential projects.

This new mission opened the gates for a series of affairs of fraud and risky investments by housing associations, which led to new regulations of the social housing sector. As of 2013, housing associations are required to pay a 'landlord tax' (verhuurderheffing), which has been facilitated by rising rents and a decline in investment. The aim of this tax was twofold: housing associations would be forced to sell off part of their housing stock in order to provide an influx of affordable homes in the housing market and reduce 'inefficiencies', and the state could access the considerable amount of equity owned

by housing associations as a means to finance budget deficits during the recession (Lijzenga et al., 2020). During the aftermath of the financial crisis and the resulting recession, housing development in the Netherlands slowed down considerably and many projects were shelved. The 2015 revision of the Woningwet set out the core purpose of housing associations as the provision of dwellings for the lowest incomes, severely limiting their options for development. Housing associations now operate as heavily regulated market parties with a public assignment, a limited field of work and an expansive social challenge (Conijn, 2019).

Post-industrial urban restructuring

As in other western countries, the globalisation of capital has largely shifted production activities to low-cost locations outside the EU, leading to the deindustrialisation of Dutch cities. Spatial policy has since emphasised the development of logistic corridors and knowledge-based business clusters through the establishment of a set of 'mainports' (Rli, 2016). A mainport is defined as a national multimodal logistics hub and economic anchor with an important function for a regional urban agglomeration. In practice this either refers to Schiphol Amsterdam airport or the port of Rotterdam, although in recent years clusters of knowledge-based industries have developed in multiple parts of the country. These new nodes in the globalised economy have attracted both businesses and residents to their respective cities, giving rise to a new economic elite in search of an urban lifestyle (Meershoek, 2015). In order to remain competitive, cities are continually looking to attract and bind this demographic of young urban professionals to their territories. This pushes them to provide more spaces where this socio-economic group can be housed, which is often achieved by strategies of deliberate gentrification either by transforming existing residential areas or by restructuring non-residential areas into dense mixed-use neighbourhoods (Nabielek et al., 2012).

It is, however, not only successful young urban professionals who are pulled towards the cities. The new elite also requires a broad collection of consumer services such as shops, restaurants and cleaners, creating employment opportunities for low-paid workers (Knox & Pinch, 201). As such the demand for urban housing has risen in the most economically successful Dutch cities, whereas peripheral areas are dealing with a shrinking population. Municipal governments in urban agglomerations eagerly play into this demand for housing as a way to boost ambitious urban restructuring projects and thus attract high-end workers to their cities. In Amsterdam this is most apparent in the development of Zuidas, a cluster of high-end offices and financial services directly connected to Schiphol airport by rail. Rotterdam, a city which has

traditionally had a large working class population due to its large port, sees these developments as a chance to diversify the income distribution of its population by attracting high-end workers. The expansion and subsequent relocation of the port to the west freed up the old city harbours for redevelopment into a dense mixed-use district and cultural hotspot (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016a). The reinvigorated Wilhelminapier, with its collection of skyscrapers by internationally renowned starchitects, has since become one of the city's most recognisable vistas.

However, the combination of the increasing demand for dwellings in urban centres, the financialisation of housing and the marginalisation of the social rental sector is driving up housing prices at record speeds in the Netherlands. The decrease in investment and recalibration on the lowest incomes as the primary target group has left the social housing sector unable to deal with the growing shortage of affordable housing (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2020). Marginalisation of the public housing sector and skyrocketing rents in the private rental sector have created an affordability gap in the supply side of the Dutch housing market which puts the entire system under pressure and is increasingly segregating access to housing (Priemus, 2020). The current housing crisis in the Netherlands thus fits into a global trend of rising housing prices and growing economic inequality caused by policies of neoliberalisation and the resulting financialisation of housing. As homeowning families see the value of their homes increase year after year, access to urban housing is increasingly diminishing not only for the lowest-paid workers, but also for middle-income starters (Hochstenbach & Van Gent, 2019). This development is increasingly pushing these groups to peripheral areas of urban agglomerations, creating a segregation between haves and have-nots: homeowners and high earners on one hand and young people and low incomes on the other. In Rotterdam especially, the municipality's housing policy has prompted ever louder protests against urban development aimed at socio-economic diversification, which sitting low-income residents have come to perceive as being aimed at replacing them with more affluent households (Hamidi, 2020). Most recently, the municipality's housing policy has drawn heavy criticism from the UN, which labelled Rotterdam's housing policy as being in violation of the right to adequate housing (Special Rapporteur for Adequate Housing, 2021). The report cited the restructuring of Tweebos, a neighbourhood not far from Wilhelminapier whose residents have been protesting the demolition of hundreds of social rental dwellings, in particular.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The ongoing financialisation of the housing sector since the 1980s has created a system built on capital accumulation through rent extraction: public housing provision has been rolled back, whereas housing prices and rents have skyrocketed. This is a global trend with local variations. In the Netherlands, municipalities struggle to tackle the demand for affordable housing and even actively pursue gentrification as a development strategy, as is the case in Rotterdam. In order to diversify low-income neighbourhoods, social housing units in Rotterdam are sold or demolished to make way for middle-income residents. A segregation is now forming between those who can afford to live in the city and those who are forced into the peripheries. The neighbourhood of Tweebos, a group of social housing blocks which must make way for new privately-owned homes for middle-income households, has become illustrative of this development as residents protest the demolition of their homes.

Figure 1: test

2.

METHODOLOGY

AIM AND OUTCOMES

The aim of this thesis is to construct a model for the provision of inclusive and affordable housing in Tweebos, Rotterdam. The larger aim is to explore and reconsider the values that underly the Dutch system for housing development within the projected conditions of a changing socio-economic context. Through this reconsideration, the thesis will aim to explore the implementation and operability of a new model of endogenous housing development in Tweebos, Rotterdam.

In the research process towards this aim, two important distinctions have to be made. The first distinction is that between the theories and ideology behind policy and the empirical reality that they create. Policies do not exist in an objective vacuum. They are embedded with the ideological values of their writers, and ideology always elevates certain interests above others based on these values. This is not inherently wrong, nor is it surmountable, but it does mean that an examination and, perhaps, a correction of these ideological values can be necessary in order to create effective policies. The second distinction is then that between the current approach towards housing provision that requires re-examination, and the potential future approach that is to be designed. It is one thing to criticise the current approach, but it is quite another matter to draft a new one. This is where an aspect of design comes in. By distilling a matrix out of these two approaches, we can start to set up a framework to structure the research aim.

Cross (1982) posits that there are three 'ways of knowing': the sciences (which study the natural world), the humanities (which study the human experience) and design (which studies the man-made world). Each has its own characteristics and methods. In translating the 'now' to the 'future', there also is a translation from the humanities to design. In order to shape this translation, this methodology chapter will end with the introduction of the Housing Values model (De Argumentenfabriek, 2021) as a design tool.

The thesis thus aims to provide several outcomes:
- An alternative approach to the urban role of affordable housing and its provision based in the right to the city, which can provide a critical perspective to the leading neoliberal paradigm;
- A map of areas at risk of gentrification in Rotterdam;
- An analysis of the role played by institutional actors and government policy in this process in Tweebos;
- An exploration of the model of the Community Land Trust in a Dutch institutional context;
- A strategy for the establishment of a Community Land Trust in Tweebos.

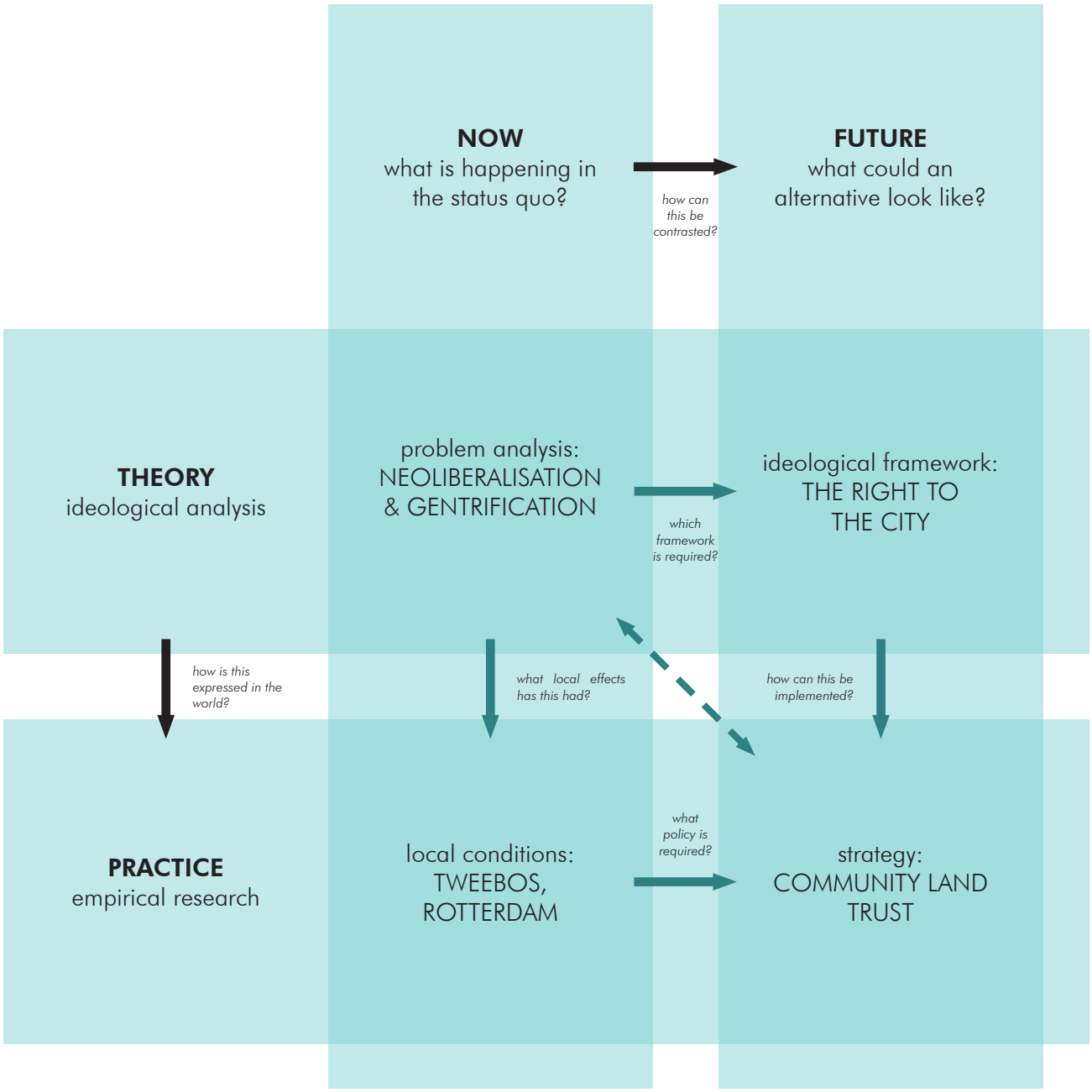


Figure 1: Research approach.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The central research question of this thesis is:

How can the Dutch model of housing associations as a base for affordable housing in Rotterdam be transformed to break away from the neoliberal paradigm of development in order to fulfil the right to the city?

This question will be explored in the four sections that have been defined in the research approach. The problem fields have already provided an exploration of neoliberalisation and globalisation, and its influences on public housing and urban development in the Netherlands. This provides a theoretical framework for the subsequent research questions.

The first research question will set up a theoretical framework by exploring how neoliberalisation has led to strategies of state-led gentrification, and how such strategies are applied in the Netherlands. It will then explore the concept of the right to the city as a contrasting approach to housing through both an economic and a social dimension. This results in a focus on the Community Land Trust as both an alternative model for affordable housing development and an instrument to further explore the institutional context of housing development in the Netherlands in light of the right to the city.

In the second research question, the theoretical context will be used as a framework for an analysis of housing and gentrification in Rotterdam. It explores how government policy and institutional actors adopt strategies of state-led gentrification for urban development, and how this is transforming the city. A single neighbourhood in which these developments are particularly visible, Tweebos, will be explored in more detail.

The third research question will investigate the Community Land Trust model, what characterises it and what challenges it faces. These challenges are explored through a diverse set of cooperative reference projects in the Netherlands, which will be synthesised into a set of building blocks for a CLT in the Netherlands.

Finally, the fourth research question will explore how these building blocks can be operationalised into a CLT strategy for Tweebos in order to institutionalise residents' right to the city and to provide a counterforce to gentrification. It will do so by designing a strategy proposal for a CLT and a set of interventions that illustrate how such a CLT can spatially transform the neighbourhood.

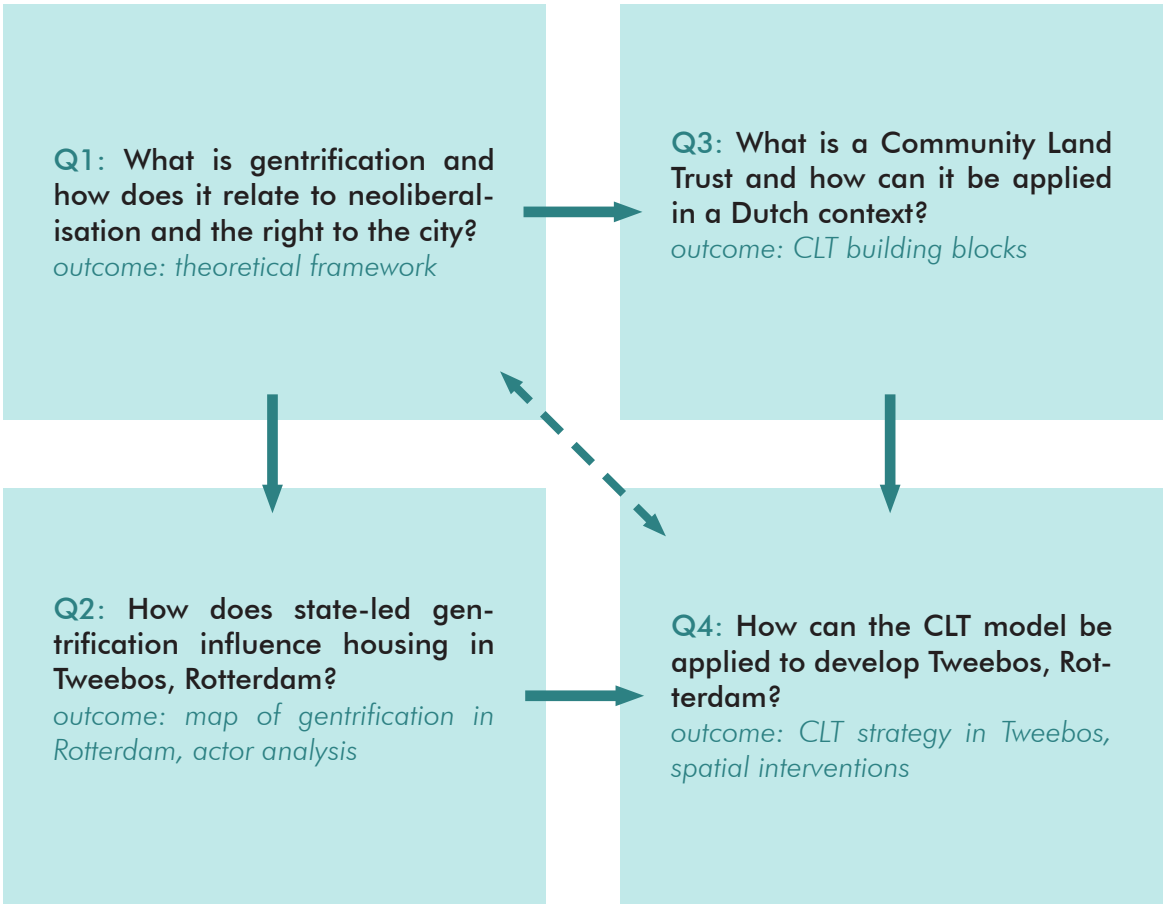


Figure 2: Research questions.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Each subquestion will be explored in a dedicated chapter, each with its own research methods. The problem field has already explored the theme of housing in the Netherlands and how it has been influenced by neoliberalisation and globalisation. A qualitative analysis of relevant literature provides the substance required to link these concepts together. Neoliberalisation and the financialisation of housing have been introduced through Harvey (2012), Ryan-Collins et al. (2017) and Rolnik (2019). Globalisation and its effect on cities have been introduced through Sassen (1991) and Knox & Pinch (2010). Housing in the Netherlands has subsequently been explored by reviewing Van der Schaar (1987), Beekers (2012) and Conijn (2019). This theoretical base will open up two directions of research for the thesis: one into an alternative theoretical framework to the described neoliberal approach to housing, and one into the local expression of neoliberalisation and gentrification in Rotterdam.

1. Literature analysis

The first subquestion constructs a theoretical framework for the thesis by first investigating further how neoliberalisation has led to the employment of state-led gentrification as an urban development strategy. It will do this by exploring the values of neoliberalism as informed by Slobodian (2020), and will go on to illustrate how these have led to the financialisation of housing through Rolnik (2019) and Knox & Pinch (2010). Knox & Pinch (2010) then lead into the phenomenon of gentrification, which is elaborated upon by Metaal (2007). This is brought back to the context of housing in the Netherlands by the concept of state-led gentrification as theorised by Uitermarkt et al. (2007).

The second section then aims to create a theoretical framework for housing development that is in contrast with neoliberalisation and can combat gentrification. This framework can also inform criticism of housing in the Netherlands from a new perspective. Lefebvre's (1968) concept of the right to the city will provide the basis for this approach, as its Marxist roots position it explicitly as opposing capital accumulation through urban development, and thus state-led gentrification. The right to the city will be further explored in two ways: through an economic perspective, informed by the concept of economic rent as defined by Ryan-Collins et al. (2017), and through a social perspective, informed through the concept of the commons by Harvey (2012) and Ostrom (1990). These two perspectives will be brought together in Raworth's (2017) embedded economy.

2. Policy analysis

The concepts of neoliberalisation and state-led gentrification will be explored in the local context of Rotterdam in the second subquestion. The first half of the chapter will explore state-led gentrification in Rotterdam. A historical analysis of Rotterdam will be used to provide context to the specific way in which gentrification is expressed in this city. A policy analysis through the Housing Values model (De Argumentenfabriek, 2021) will then study the municipal *Woonvisie* that has been established in order to develop the city's ambitions.

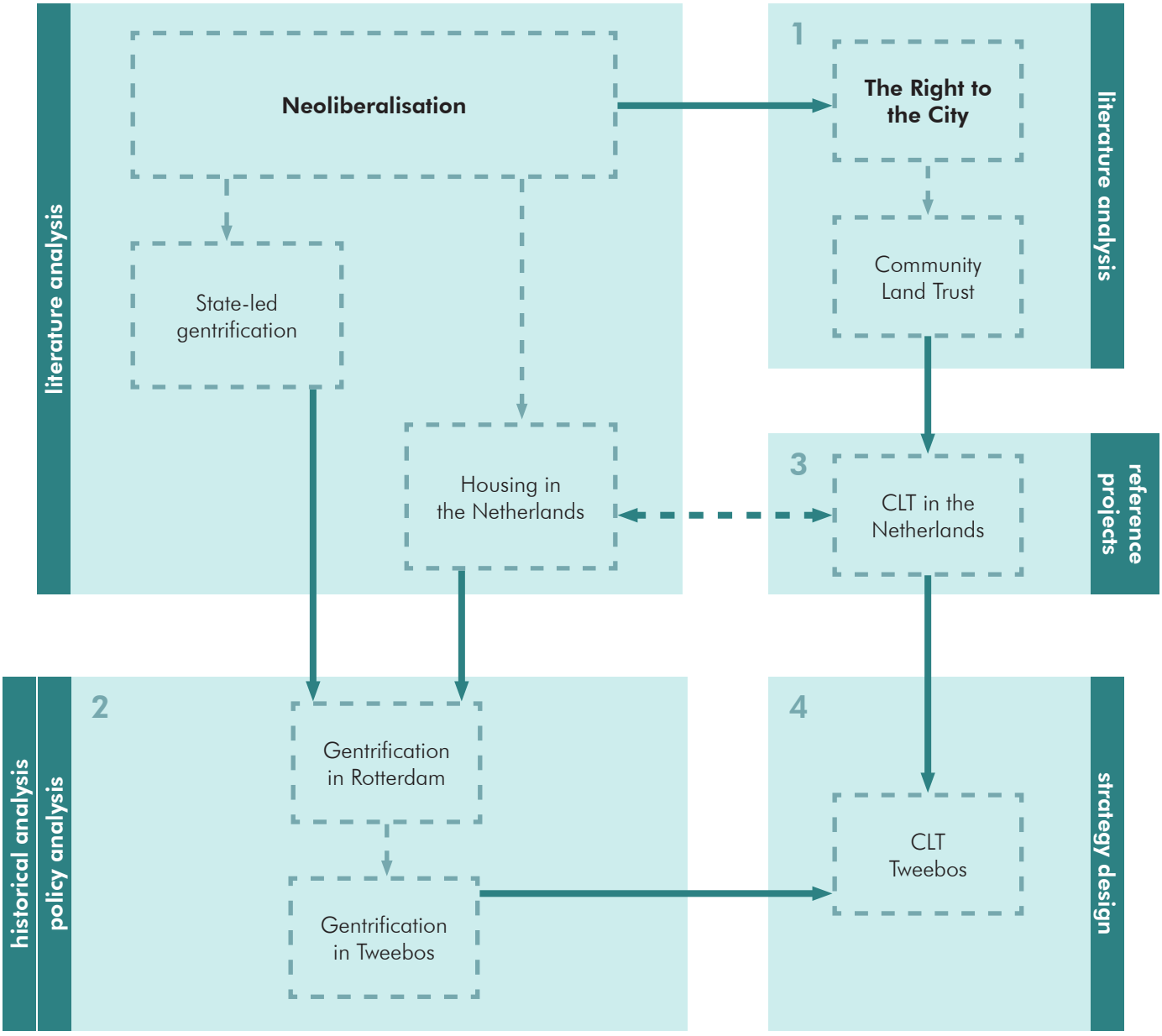


Figure 3: Research methods.

Gentrification in Rotterdam is subsequently mapped by comparing data on municipal encouragement of private housing development and social deprivation per neighbourhood.

The second part of the chapter will zoom in on one of these neighbourhoods: Tweebos in Afrikaanderwijk. This neighbourhood has been selected because, in addition to its mapping in the first part of the chapter, it is an area in which many of the consequences of neoliberalisation (marginalisation of public housing, state-led gentrification, austerity policies) come together and which has become illustrative of the municipality's housing policy in the public debate. Like before, a historical analysis will provide context to the developments in Afrikaanderwijk as well as to the spatial makeup of the district. Policy analysis will focus on the *Nationaal Programma Rotterdam-Zuid*, and specifically on its plans for Afrikaanderwijk. These policies, as well as the aims of Tweebos residents, will be analysed through the Housing Values model. The chapter will conclude by connecting the situation in Tweebos to the right to the city and the urban commons. Multiple visits to Tweebos have been conducted during the thesis period.

3. Literature analysis & reference projects

The third subquestion will focus on the model of the Community Land Trust, by first investigating how it fulfils the requirements of the right to the city and the urban commons through Davis (2020). This will result in a set of three CLT challenges focusing on land, community and organisation that are explored through Ryan-Collins et al. (2017), Kruger et al. (2019) and Engelsman et al. (2016) respectively. The aims and values of the CLT model are mapped through the Housing Values model as well.

A series of reference projects and policies will then illustrate the practical strategies that have been developed to handle these challenges in a Dutch context, or in a context that is valuable to a Dutch perspective. References illustrating the acquisition of land have been selected through talks with Landelijk Samenwerkingsverband Actieve bewoners (LSA), the Dutch national organisation of residents' initiatives, many of which are experienced in acquiring and financing land and housing in cooperative developments. Development of the CLT organisation will be illustrated by analysing Dutch and Belgian CLT-initiatives, which are relatively recent and thus offer a limited selection of projects. Finally, the element of community development will be explored through studying initiatives by Dutch housing associations in fostering community and social mobility in their neighbourhoods. The exact selection of these projects has been informed by personal experience, literature references and informal

conversations with relevant organisations or individuals. Information on these projects has been collected by researching relevant publications and by talks with participants. The aims of the CLT model as mapped through the Housing Values model will structure the information that is to be collected through this analysis. Finally, the aims and values of the actors from the previous chapter can be re-evaluated from the perspective of a CLT through these findings.

4. Strategy design

These findings will be used to inform a base strategy for CLT development in the final subquestion. The remaining part of the main research question will be answered through a design proposal for a development strategy that aims to establish a CLT in Tweebos in order to strengthen residents' right to the city, combat gentrification and support the local community. The base strategy will be embedded in the local context of Afrikaanderwijk, thereby acting as both a case study towards a CLT in the Netherlands and as an illustration of an alternative development strategy for Tweebos that puts residents' interests first. The main research question can then be answered by viewing the CLT model as an institutionalisation of the right to the city, based on the findings in the previous chapter and the spatial design.

HOUSING VALUES

The Housing Values model (*Waarden van Wonen*) is a design tool developed by De Argumentenfabriek (2021). It is generally used as a tool to guide conversations about housing policy, in order to reveal the values underlying certain assumptions or proposals. In this thesis, the model will be used to map the values and aims of several actors who have a hand in the situation in Tweebos, Rotterdam. These aims will subsequently provide a framework for analysing a set of reference projects, which allows for the collection of the right information to shape the eventual strategy design in the last chapter.

The model is based on the values as defined in moral foundations theory by Haidt (2012), in which he defines morality in six foundational moral value clusters. Three of these are ideal value clusters: liberty, fairness and purity. Three are social value clusters: loyalty, care and hierarchy. De Argumentenfabriek has defined an additional category, as based on their extensive experience with guiding conversations on housing values they found that many people identify a subject such as housing in practical values as well. This type of expansion is in accordance with Haidt's model, who leaves open possibilities for expansion. Thus, three additional practical value clusters have been defined as continuity, quality and utility. These nine clusters contain a set of values which De Argumentenfabriek considers exhaustive. However, per value there can be multiple underlying opinions. The Housing Values model invites participants to connect policy goals to values and so compare different policies based on these clusters. Because of this, the model is a useful tool for the design of a policy strategy for Tweebos, Rotterdam.

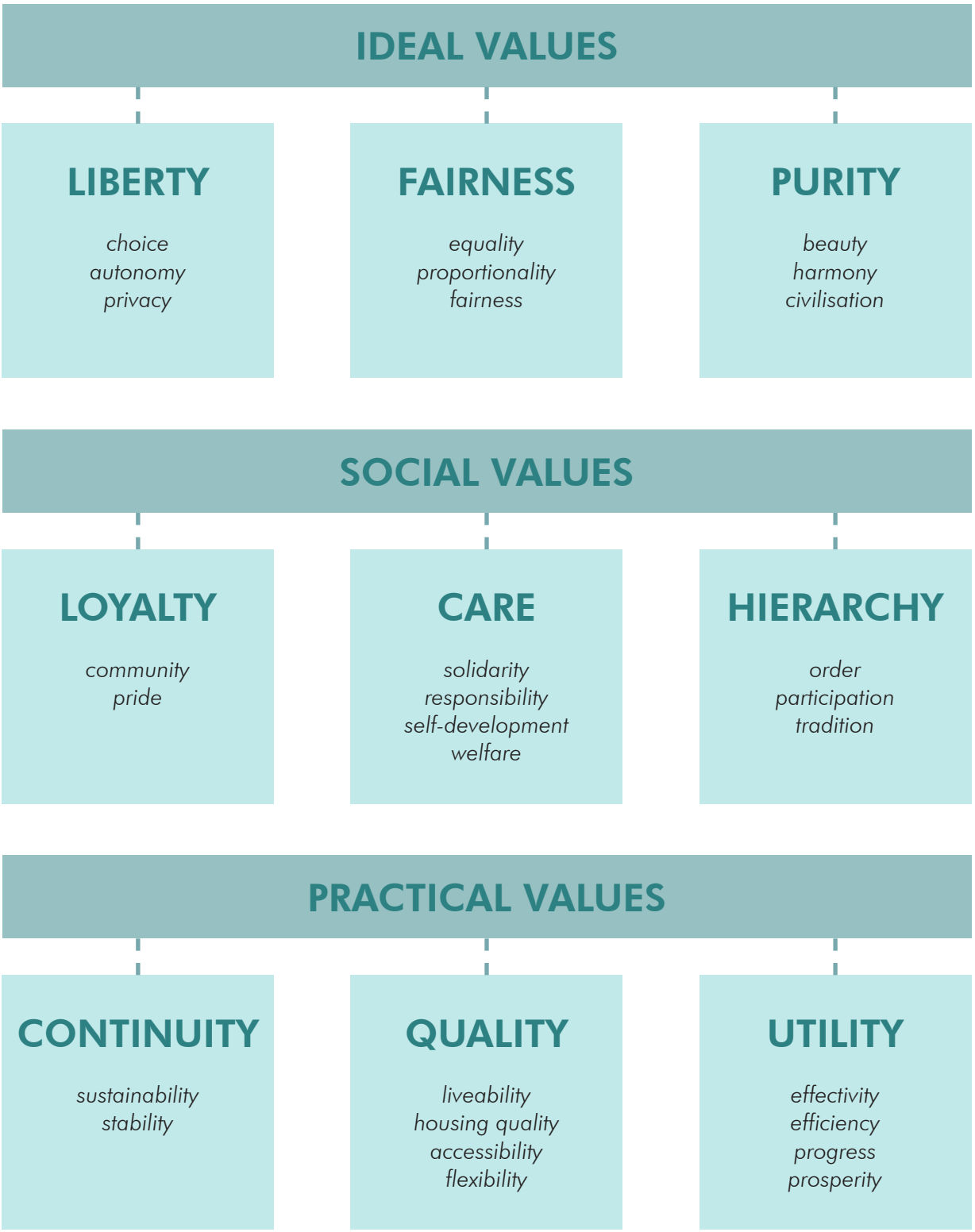


Figure 4: The Housing Values model (De Argumentenfabriek, 2021).

3.

GENTRIFICATION & THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

INTRODUCTION

The first part of this chapter will explore how neoliberalisation has led to the financialisation of housing, and how subsequently gentrification has been used as a deliberate strategy for urban development under the new global economic paradigm. Gentrification, a process with specific characteristics linked to land value, then becomes an institutionalised force for municipal urban development policies. In order to construct a theoretical framework to counter gentrification and protect housing affordability, the second section of this chapter will explore Lefebvre's (1968) right to the city as a contrasting perspective to housing as a commodity. This analysis will call for a further investigation into the economics of land and the concept of the urban commons, provided by the theories of Ryan-Collins et al. (2017) and Harvey (2012) respectively. Raworth's (2017) embedded economy binds these concepts together and leads into the model of the Community Land Trust as detailed by Davis (2020), which will be explored in the next chapter.

NEOLIBERALISATION & GENTRIFICATION

Neoliberalism is often conflated with laissez-faire free-market capitalism, yet although they share a free market-based perspective, there are important differences. The origin of neoliberal thought is usually pinpointed as the meetings of the Mont Pèlerin Society, founded by Austrian economist Friedrich Hayek in 1947 (Ebenstein, 2001). In contrast to a laissez-faire approach wherein any form of government intervention in the market is opposed, neoliberals see a need for the state to actively ensure that markets function to their theoretical potential. Slobodian (2020) writes that "the focus of both German ordoliberalism and Austrian economics is not on the economy as such but on the institutions creating a space for the economy" (p.6). Neoliberalism transposes this idea to a global scale. Democracy's capacity to destroy itself was a puzzle that haunted post-war Europe, and has led to the establishment of global institution that still shape the world today. At the same time, growing decolonisation efforts throughout the empires of western countries meant that the existing global world order was changing. New states were emerging, which often dipped their toes into independent democracy for the first time. Slobodian (2020) notes of this that neoliberals believe in "the need for a set of institutional safeguards and legal constraints to prevent nation-states from transgressing their commitments to the world economic order" (p.15). Neoliberalism is thus strongly connected to the phenomenon of globalisation. It is this global institutional system ensuring the proper functioning of markets, rather than free markets itself, which is neoliberalism's project.

However, it was not until the late 1970s that neoliberalism emerged as a clear and mainstream policy influence in western countries after election of the conservative governments of Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Reagan in the US (Solomon, 1994). They championed neoliberal economic policies, characterized by deregulation of markets, privatisation of state enterprises and a focus on 'individual responsibility', as the answer to the economic turmoil of the previous decade. The power of trade unions was weakened as well, as they were seen as an obstacle to growth (Stedman Jones, 2012). These policies were a radical break with the preceding economic paradigm and set an example for market reforms on a global scale. It is important to note here, however, that neoliberalism is not monolithic. Rolnik (2019) writes:

"*Despite being a general tendency, neoliberal restructuring strategies are applied to specific institutional configurations. […] In general terms, there is a move to dismantle social and public housing policies, destabilise security of tenure – including rental arrangements – and convert the home into a financial asset. However, this process is path-dependent: the institutional scenarios inherited by each country are fundamental for the construction of the emergent*

neoliberal strategies. Neoliberal policies must be understood as an amalgam between these two moments: it is a process of partial destruction of what exists and of trend creation of new structures." (p.19)

In other words, neoliberal policies take on different forms in different countries, dependent on the institutional and ideological predecessors that it builds upon. Rolnik characterises this as a process of *neoliberalisation*. Knox & Pinch (2010) echo this when they note that "all this is part of a continuous process of political-economic change, not simply a set of policy outcomes" (p.90). In general, there is a trend to restructure local institutional frameworks to fit within the global economy with as little barriers to the free movement of capital as possible, as well as to redirect (social) responsibilities from the state to the individual or the market. Privatisation of state enterprises, the expanded influence of global finance, the aim of creating a 'good business environment' and austerity policies all fit within this framework.

The financialisation of housing

It is important to understand the background of these developments and the character of neoliberalisation as a process, as cities were no exception to the influence of the new economic paradigm. Over the decades that followed financial markets and access to mortgages were deregulated ever further while funding for social or public housing provision was restricted (Angel, Mayo et al., 1993). Social housing in particular became "deliberately marginalised and residualised, […] the place of the weak, those depending on social handouts" (Rolnik, 2019, p.39). According to Rolnik, by doing so neoliberalisation has degraded housing into financial assets first and dwellings only second. This has made them objects of speculation not only on the global financial markets, where they are required to provide ever greater returns, but also for their owner-occupiers, who expect their homes to increase in value to provide collateral for loans or savings for retirement (Ryan-Collins et al., 2017). Rolnik (2019) notes that these developments resulted in a housing system that behaves as "a neoliberal 'fantastic ballet', in which assets leap from hand to hand through fast and constant transactions" (p.18). This trend culminated in a housing bubble that led to the financial crisis and recession of 2008. Although measures were since taken on a global scale to contain the perceived causes of this crisis, structural change was not realised nor deemed necessary, as "among the measures taken after a crisis caused by the financialisation of housing, the most common response has been none other than increased finance for housing" (Rolnik, 2019, p.79).

Knox & Pinch (2010) note that neoliberal policies have become "ideological common sense" (p.90). Even among social-democrats, neoliberal economic policies became the conventional wisdom during the 1990s and 2000s. Moreover, they state that the ongoing process of neoliberalisation has hollowed out the capacity of central governments, while forcing municipal governments to increasingly engage in "civic entrepreneurialism in pursuit of jobs and revenues; […] and increasingly oriented to the kind of planning that keeps property values high" (p.90), which can be achieved through "the encouragement of gentrification and/or urban redevelopment projects designed to replace low-yielding slum dwellings with high-yielding office developments" (p.95) with the aim of enhancing their local tax base. Here we can recognise the transition into a 'global city' as described by Sassen (1991). Neoliberalisation thus facilitated two developments: the financialisation of housing and the erosion of the state, pushing both housing and urban development further into the market sphere and thus boosting their role as instruments for capital accumulation. Gentrification is then employed as a deliberate strategy for urban development by municipal governments in order to facilitate private financial returns, either directly through rising property values or indirectly through placemaking for businesses.

Gentrification

The definition of gentrification has been subject to debate, and many have been suggested in literature. Collectively these definitions all point out a process of "back to the city", "urban reinvestment", "urban revitalisation" and "neighbourhood renewal" (Levine, 2004). Gentrification is therefore sometimes seen as a reactionary development to suburbanisation (Fava & DeSena, 1984). Knox & Pinch (2010) define gentrification as "the renovation and renewal of run-down inner-city environments through an influx of more affluent persons such as middle-class professionals" (p.326). Metaal (2007) characterises gentrification as a process during which first an artistic class, then a young professional class and finally a wealthy upper class settle one after the other in an initially run-down neighbourhood, bringing along more luxurious amenities and rising housing prices. The neighbourhoods' original residents subsequently become vulnerable to exclusion or even displacement. Central to most definitions are elements of capital investment in relatively poor neighbourhoods and social displacement of their original residents.

Multiple explanations have been offered for this process. The theory of the global city focuses on the shift towards a service and knowledge economy, job sectors that often require a spatial proximity to semi-public spaces and other facilities (Sassen, 1991). Additionally, Featherstone (1991) posits that contem-

porary forms of consumption are simply primarily reflected in the city. Cafés, boutiques, cultural diversity and entertainment opportunities are all reflective of this culture, and require an urban setting. Fava & DeSena (1984) note that gentrifiers may actively seek out the emancipation of the city or desire an urban lifestyle, as well as require housing needs that are unavailable in the more traditional suburbs. From a more economic perspective, the rent gap theory states that there is a value gap between the potential value of certain inner-city neighbourhoods, mainly due to their central location, and the actual assigned value, which is often low due to the dilapidated state of real estate and the low quality of neighbourhood amenities (Smith, 1979). Investments will only become profitable once the assigned value drops low enough, which may then start a process of financial speculation. Smith (1979) thus posits that "gentrification is a back to the city movement all right, but of capital rather than people" (p.547). These explanations do not contradict one another, but are different aspects of the process of gentrification as it is observed in many cities. The essence is similar: attracted by the (reinvigorated) cultural and professional opportunities of the city, a new, wealthier class settles in a deprived urban area. This causes rents to rise and attracts more high-end amenities, facilitating greater capital returns at the expense of the displacement of the neighbourhood's original residents.

State-led gentrification

Generally, three different types of gentrification are acknowledged in literature, each a transformation of the one that came before. These are classified as classic gentrification, state-led gentrification and new-build gentrification (De Bode, 2020). Classic gentrification follows the process as described above. The term was first coined by British sociologist Ruth Glass in the 1960s when she observed members of the middle class - the 'urban gentry' - buying and renovating properties in working class districts in London, displacing their original residents and changing their social characters (Glass, 1964). State-led gentrification first appeared in the 1980s as governments started to attempt to promote gentrification in order to encourage the influx of middle-class residents into working-class districts (Uitermarkt et al., 2007). As the state increasingly privatised parts of the urban development process, governments focused on creating the right market conditions for private developers to invest in housing. The individual, bottom-up process of classic gentrification thus mutated into a deliberate strategy by local and national governments to gentrify certain areas, often through public-private partnerships with real estate developers against the backdrop of an expanding global financial system looking for returns on investment (Aalbers, 2009). Finally, new-build gentrification started appearing in the late nineties as a variation on state-led gen-

trification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Instead of aiming to gentrify existing neighbourhoods, this strategy moves its focus to the redevelopment of vacant land such as brownfields or urban fringe belts. Seeking spaces for large-scale urban densification, the local government, often aided by the national government, partners with private developers and financial institutions to develop this land into dense urban districts. Although direct displacement is of course less prevalent on vacant land, gentrification in all forms has the tendency to spread into neighbouring districts in search of more opportunities for capital gains (Peterson, 2001). Moreover, these top-down forms of gentrification are all the more characterised by their tight integration with the global financial system, resulting from the financialisation of housing (Lees et al., 2007).

Uitermarkt et al. (2007) note that, although the economic interpretation explains the aims of state-led gentrification to some capacity, an additional institutional dimension exists in the Netherlands in which governments and housing associations use state-led gentrification as a strategy to create social order in districts suffering from civil unrest. Dutch municipalities receive most of their funding from the state, and are thus not very dependent on the socioeconomic makeup of their tax base. Moreover, housing associations do generally not pursue profit. They remark that:

"*State actors and housing associations promote gentrification in areas that are currently least in demand. […] Instead, gentrification is a means through which governmental organisations and their partners lure the middle classes into disadvantaged areas with the purpose of civilising and controlling these neighbourhoods.*" (p.127)

In this interpretation, institutional actors conduct strategies of state-led gentrification as a means to maintain social order because they are unable to solve the social problems and marginalisation at the root of the expected civil unrest: "urban policy has turned into crisis management" (p.127). This reflects Knox & Pinch's (2010) remark that the capacity of the state has been hollowed out, not only from a purely administrative perspective but also as for the resulting inability to make effective social policy in a neoliberalised context. The aim of state-led gentrification in the Netherlands is then not the enhancement of a city's tax base, but, influenced by the stigmatisation of social housing, the only strategy governments see on how to deal with social degradation as "they began attributing incivilities that undermine liveability to the high share of social rented housing" (Uitermarkt et al., 2007, p.128). Moreover, institutional actors as well as residents have often come to accept and support strategies of state-led gentrification "as the only conceivable way

to improve conditions in the neighbourhood" (p.138), which echoes Knox & Pinch's (2010) observation that neoliberal policies have become the common sense approach in public discourse. An influx of wealthier home-owners is thus seen as the solution that will solve a neighbourhood's social problems. However, these homeowners do in fact not contribute to social cohesion but simply mind their own business more. This is successful in achieving the aims at increasing liveability but decreases social cohesion, often leading to calls for even *more* gentrification and an ever decreasing stock of social housing. Social problems are thus not solved but simple relocated, and low-income residents are marginalised as a result.

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY & THE URBAN COMMONS

However, over the last decade protests calling for affordable housing have intensified on a global scale (Rolnik, 2019). As the number of people marginalised by the global financialisation of housing rises, the housing crises also starts to bleed over class lines. It is no longer only low-income households who find their access to urban housing eroded. Now, middle-income households as well as young, higher-educated professionals increasingly struggle with a decreasing access to urban housing as both housing prices and rents rise to unprecedented levels (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2021). In the Netherlands, too, such calls for affordable housing are heard ever louder. In Rotterdam, for example, tenants' organisations, urban planners, academics as well as artists have joined forces against the municipality's gentrifying housing policy in the coalition *Recht op de Stad*, proclaiming their fundamental right to housing and the city (Haan, 2021).

The right to the city

The right to the city is a term coined by philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre. This right is more than merely a right to housing: it is a right to partake in the urban (Butler, 2012). For Lefebvre, a city is not merely a locus of production and capital accumulation, but rather is "more or less the oeuvre of its citizens" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 117), it is a work of art that is continuously being remade. Sennett (2018) writes of this that in the city "making [is] derived from dwelling" (p. 13): by inhabiting a place, we exert agency over it and transform it through our appropriation and use. The right to the city is thus a right to partake in the shaping of urban space. Additionally, the urban is a phenomenon of gathering and encounter, and of difference and diversity (Lefebvre, 1996). This makes the city a primary force of emancipation and collective action. Thus by shaping the city, man also transforms himself. The right to the city then becomes a right to self-exploration and self-development, which is perhaps the most fundamental right of all.

Lefebvre posits that inhabiting space requires two conditions: the right to appropriate space and the right to participate in the production of space. Appropriation of space elevates everyday use value over the exchange value of space. It is when inhabitants have incorporated the usage of a space in their daily routines, work practices and forms of play that they have appropriated it. Participation is concerned with the "right to be present in all circuits of decision making leading to the control and development of the organisation of social space" (Butler, 2012, p. 145). This is more than a simple process of consultation: it requires the power to shape space to be redistributed to or shared with those who inhabit the space. This means that inevitably conflicting interests over the use and thus the shape of a space will be resolved differently, which

makes it an inherently political process (Fainstein, 2011). Lefebvre therefore questions whether it is possible to institutionalize the right to the city: if participation is imposed from above, power dynamics are at play that prevent true self-management and "it becomes an ideology, and makes manipulation possible" (Lefebvre, 1976, p.120). Securing a right to self-management would require the support of state actors, which is at odds with the existence of urban struggles against those same state actors or interests.

The right to the city offers a framework to counter gentrification. Butler (2012) notes:

"At its most stark, the right to the city is a right not to be expelled from the metropolitan centre through enforced dispersal to the urban peripheries, with the daily hardships that afflict these areas. […] Lefebvre refers to both market-driven processes that accentuate social divisions and spatial polarisation within cities, and the enforced re-location of marginalised groups into ghettos by deliberate state policies pursuing agendas for urban regeneration. Indeed, these latter forms of segregation often intersect with the former – such as when priority is given to the exchange value of space by regimes of urban governance, which contributes to increased land speculation and higher housing costs." (p. 144)

Butler directly links the focus on the exchange value of space to land speculation and rising housing costs, which can lead to the displacement of marginalised groups from the city to urban peripheries. In fact, Butler even notes the role urban governance often plays in this process, contrasting the right to the city with strategies of state-led gentrification. Both Lefebvre's requirement of use value over exchange value of urban space and the role rising land values play in the gentrification process call for a deeper examination of the economic function of land.

Land and economic rent

In contemporary economics, land is generally approached as an ordinary commodity, tradeable under the laws of supply and demand. Ryan-Collins et al. (2017) posit that this interpretation of land misunderstands its specific characteristics, which they regard as a major weakness in contemporary economic thinking. In classical political economy land was considered to be the third factor of production, in addition to capital and labour (Salvadori et al., 2013). Land is here interpreted not simply as physical soil, but as locational space. It is essential for all economic - and non-economic - activity, as such its classification as a factor of production. Two characteristics differentiate

land from the other factors of production. First of all, land is immobile: land is space, and cannot be moved to another place as it would lose its specific locational properties. Secondly, land is eternal: its supply is inelastic to such a degree that it may even be considered fixed. These two properties make land into an unusual commodity, and bring it into conflict with the focus on supply and demand of neoclassical economic models. The supply of land cannot significantly be expanded to balance demand, and it cannot be relocated in the way capital and labour can be.

The value of land is often understood to reflect the uses a particular piece of land can be put to, such as agriculture, infrastructure, trade or, indeed, housing (Mankiw et al., 2017). However, such a use is not only determined by the land's physical properties such as size or fertility, but also (or even mostly) by its locational properties: is it located in a city or in the countryside? Is it near a train station? Any economic or non-economic use have a specific geographic relationship to the rest of the economy. This means the value of a specific piece of land is not only determined by the landowner's own investment, but by the wider economic activity in the area resulting from the collective investments of surrounding landowners, residents, passers-by and public actors. However, the land's increase in value generally only befalls the landowner, even if they have not invested anything at all. Moreover, the value of land is also determined by its potential future use: it can be used for financial speculation. This is the reason why holding land can sometimes be more profitable than developing it for current uses. Land is not merely a provider of consumption goods in the production process, but also an asset for storing value. The financialisation of land and housing, through financial deregulation since the 1980s, has advanced this use and thus the speculative properties of land.

Due to the specific locational properties and relative scarcity of land, "landowners can command returns from those who must use their land based purely on their ownership of it, unrelated to their costs of bringing it into production or any efforts they have expended" (Ryan-Collins et al., 2017, p. 11). Such unearned returns are known as 'economic rent', and Ryan-Collins et al. note that it is highly distortive to the economy, going as far as noting that "as the economy grows, landowners can increase the rent they charge non-owners to absorb all the additional value that their tenants generate" (p.12). This reinforces social inequalities as ever more wealth is concentrated in property and the affordability of housing comes under pressure. The perspective on economic rent from landownership as being disruptive to economic efficiency is not new. Adam Smith, often considered one of the founders of liberal economic thought, notes of this in The Wealth of Nations (1776):

"The rent of land, therefore, considered as the price paid for the use of the land, is naturally a monopoly price. It is not at all proportioned to what the landlord may have laid out upon the improvement of the land, or to what he can afford to take; but to what the farmer can afford to give." (Smith, 1977, p. 205)

Even Marx enjoyed the irony of quoting Smith's Wealth of Nations verbatim in his Paris Manuscripts (1932), writing that "as soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural produce" (Smith, 1977, p. 76). Later liberal thinkers echo Smith's sentiment. In Principles of Political Economy (1848), John Stuart Mill writes:

"The ordinary progress of a society which increases in wealth is at all times tending to augment the incomes of landlords; to give them both a greater amount and a greater proportion of the wealth of the community, independently of any trouble or outlay incurred by themselves. They grow richer, as it were, in their sleep, without working, risking, or economizing." (Mill, 2016, p. 630)

Henry George builds on this passage by Mill in Progress and Poverty (1879) with his proposal for a land tax, which inspired a large following during the 19th and 20th century, stating that "the tax upon land values is, therefore, the most just and equal of all taxes. [...] It is the taking by the community, for the use of the community, of that value which is the creation of the community" (George, 2006, p. 235). The taxation of land value is thus an idea that is rooted strongly in even liberal political thought. It is ironic, then, that neoliberalisation has as its main aim the proper institutionalisation and perseverance of markets, yet promotes a perspective on the economic function of land which undermines this entire system.

If the commodification of land is understood as a domination of its trade value that infringes its use value, then an understanding of the economic role of land as more than a tradeable commodity is at the basis of strengthening the right to the city. Ryan-Collins et al. (2017) propose three solutions for the (partial) decommodification of land, each critical in supporting the other: the Georgist land tax for redistributing economic rents, greater public forms of ownership of land to mitigate speculative market forces and financial reform in order to make bank lending less dependent on land value appreciation. They note that the question of land bestows unto spatial planning a key strategic macroeconomic role, and that planners should take into account the interests of local communities rather than leaving this to private developers seeking to maxi-

mise profits. This requires a perspective on landed property that goes beyond the limited interpretation that neoclassical economic thought offers, in order to integrate the social inequalities that emerge from the commodification of land and housing into economic models.

The urban commons

Raworth (2016) aims to incorporate contemporary social and ecological issues into the economic phenomenon. Rather than seeing issues of inequality and climate change as externalities she aims to internalize these problems as effects of the system, bringing her to redraw the models of neoclassical economics. In this model there are two domains at the core of the economic production: business and households, which create value by exchanging labour and wages (Mankiw et al., 2017). Raworth regards these as incomplete and proposes two additional domains: the state and the commons. All four are means of production and distribution. Whereas the market and the household in the neoclassical interpretation are motivated by self-interest to produce value for internal benefit, the state and the commons in Raworth's model should be collective institutions which create value for a wider social benefit.

The commons are defined as "shareable resources of nature or society that people choose to use and govern through self-organising" (Raworth, 2017, p.82). The common is "continuously being produced" (Harvey, 2012), and it is produced "resulting from human-human and human-nature interactions" (Basu et al., 2017). Commons can be natural, such as forests and watersheds, cultural, such as language and heritage, or digital, like social networks and open-source knowledge. Their value is often personal and cannot easily be expressed in exchange value, precisely because this value lies in their inherently collective character: they cannot be traded or even privately owned. Commodification of the commons would therefore result in their destruction, which would see their creative potential go to waste for both market and household actors. In Raworth's model all four domains, business, state, household and commons, are mutually dependent and can only prosper collectively.

Housing takes on a key role in these domains. In a physical sense, it separates the privacy of the household from the collectivity of the city. The city in itself can be interpreted as a commons: cities are geographies of economic, social and cultural production. Lefebvre's interpretation of urbanity as being about encounter, difference, everyday life and play (Lees, 2010) emphasises its collective and social character. Hardt and Negri (2009) characterise the metropolis as a 'vast reservoir of common wealth'. They note:

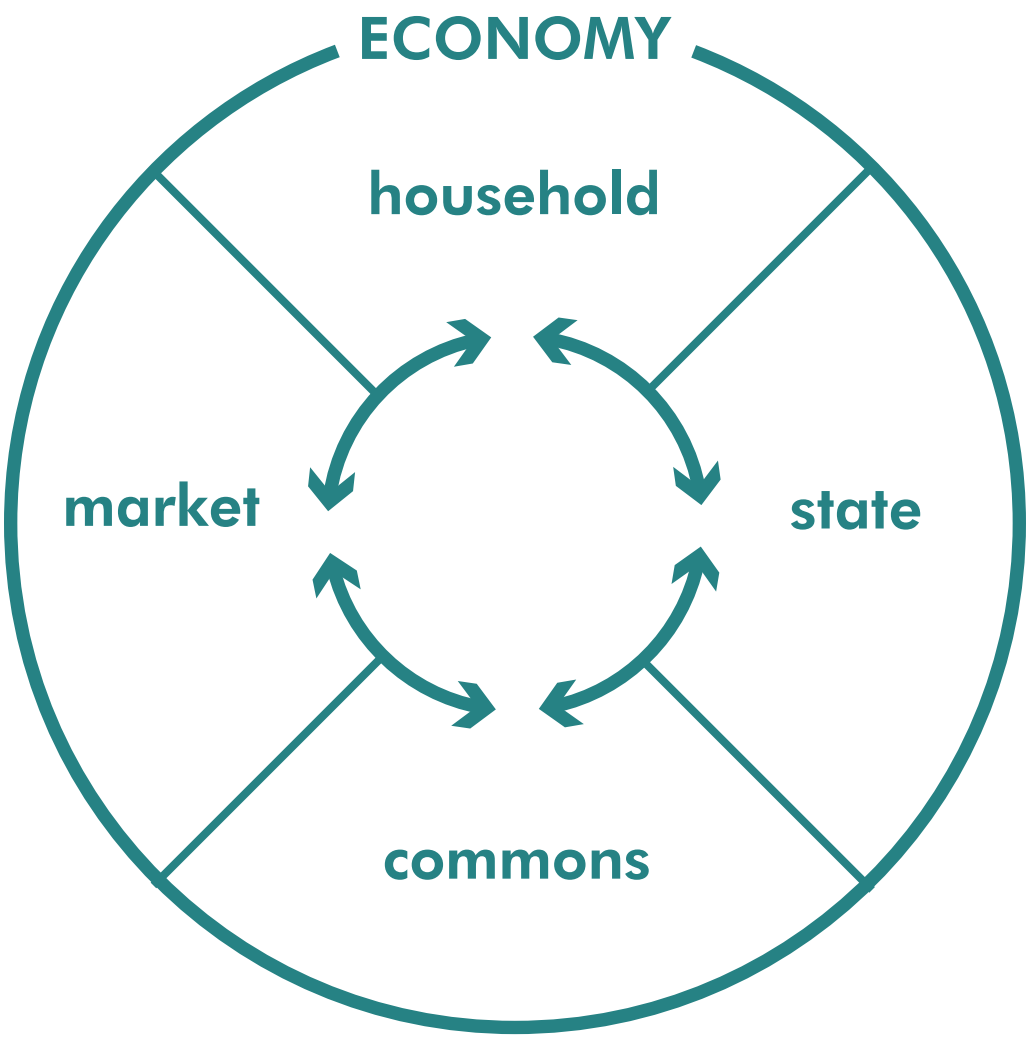


Figure 1: The embedded economy (Raworth, 2017)

"*The city, of course, is not just a built environment consisting of buildings and streets and subways and parks and waste systems and communications cables but also a living dynamic of cultural practices, intellectual circuits, affective networks, and social institutions. These elements of the common contained in the city are not only the prerequisite for biopolitical production but also its result; the city is the source of the common and the receptacle into which it flows.*" (p. 164)

'Housing' is then not only the physical shell of the household, but also the physical locus of individual households in the commons that is the city. As discussed in the first paragraph of this section, housing is a prerequisite for exercising the right to the city, that is, for appropriating space. The right to the city is thus also a right to an urban commons. It is through the commodification and financialisation of housing, then, that the right to the city is infringed and a corrosion of the urban commons takes place.

Hardin (1968) posits that this degradation of the commons is inevitable. Individual participants in such a commons would still strive to maximise their own gains without regard for the well-being of the collective resource, as none of them feel individually responsible for an asset that is not their private property. Hardin illustrates this with the metaphor of cattle on a common pasture: herdsmen would maximise individual gain by adding cattle, whereas the resulting depletion in the pasture's fertility is spread across the collective. Harvey (2012) counters to this that the problem lies not in the collective ownership of a resource, but in the unregulated private access to it. Ostrom (1999) shows that, under the right conditions, individuals often find ways to successfully manage common property for collective benefit. Rather than tragedy, a commons can find triumph when governed by a clearly defined community with collectively agreed rules and state protection from commodification. The same would then apply to an urban commons.

Harvey remarks that, paradoxically, although enclosure of a commons (and urban space alike) is often seen as problematic due to its use for privatisation and commodification, it is also generally the best way to preserve it. It will require state authority protection against profit-seeking interests that might deplete it (Raworth, 2017). The state also provides public goods that the quality of an urban commons is dependent on: paved streets, sanitation, and, indeed, affordable housing. However, Harvey notes that it takes political action on the part of citizens to appropriate these public goods and create from them a commons. He describes a process of *commoning*:

A commons is constructed as "*an unstable and malleable social relation between a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet-to-be-created social and/or physical environment deemed crucial to its life and livelihood. […] At the heart of the practice of commoning lies the principle that the relation between the social group and that aspect of the environment being treated as a common shall be both collective and non-commodified. […] Through their daily activities and struggles, individuals and social groups create the social world of the city, and thereby create something common as a framework within which all can dwell.*" (p.73)

He continues:

"*How commoning might work at the local neighborhood level is relatively clear. It involves some mix of individual and private initiative to organize and capture externality effects while putting some aspect of the environment outside of the market. The local state is involved through regulations, codes, standards, and public investments, along with informal and formal neighborhood organization.*" (p. 79)

In this, Harvey echoes Ostrom et al. (1990), who emphasises the importance of governance by clearly-defined, local communities who can set their own rules and punitive measures and are supported by outside authorities. More than private property or state ownership, this requires "that the collective laboring that is now productive of value must ground collective not individual property rights" (Harvey, 2012, p.77). Basu et al. (2017) emphasise the importance of communal rights as well. Ryan-Collins et al. (2017) provide an argument for such a greater focus on public forms of land ownership from an economic point of view. Ostrom's findings on what makes a successful commons thus mirror Lefebvre's requirements for exercising the right to the city: the urban commons requires appropriation of urban space by decommodification, that is elevating use value above exchange value through some form of collective ownership, and participation in its continued production by a self-organised community.

Conclusion

Under neoliberal politics, the liberalisation of financial and mortgage markets and the marginalisation of public housing have led to a financialisation of housing. Together with an erosion of state power this has led to an encouragement of state-led gentrification as a strategy for urban development in the Netherlands, both in order to restructure cities in accordance with the new global economy and to civilise neighbourhoods that suffer from marginalisa-

tion. As Dutch cities develop ambitious mixed-use districts in a bid to strengthen their positions in the global economy and housing prices rise, low-income residents' access to urban housing is thus increasingly eroded. The next chapter will explore how these forces shape the conflict for Tweebos, Rotterdam.

The right to the city can offer an alternative theoretical framework through which to view housing as a public good and counter gentrification. This requires a decommodified approach to urban space, which can be achieved through a form of collective ownership and self-management by a clearly defined community with a shared interest in the space. Such an approach essentially serves to institutionalise an urban commons: the city as a collective good of society, instead of as a node of capital accumulation. The commons does not need to replace the market in this perspective, rather, they exist next to one another and can mutually prosper through one another. It is up to the state to protect this balance. After the examination of state-led gentrification in Rotterdam, the subsequent chapter will explore how the model of the Community Land Trust can be regarded as an institutionalisation of the urban commons following from the right to the city.

4.

GENTRIFICATION IN ROTTERDAM

INTRODUCTION

The first part of this chapter examines the city of Rotterdam, the forces that currently shape its urban development and the policy that has been set out in the Woonvisie in order to guide this development. The aims of the Woonvisie will be mapped through the Housing Values model. The section concludes with an examination of gentrification in Rotterdam and the way it can be mapped in the city, by comparing data on socio-economic status and opportunities for spatial development per neighbourhood.

The second part of the chapter zooms in on Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam Zuid, by looking at the neighbourhoods' history, the resulting issues that it faces and the current approach to these issues through the NPRZ, and how this policy interacts with the Woonvisie. It follows up with a look at the plans for Tweebos, the resulting issues in the community and a short examination of several local actors. Both the aims of the NPRZ and the residents of Tweebos will be mapped through the Housing Values model as well, opening opportunities for a common framework.

Figure 1: Plans for Rijnhaven in Rotterdam-Zuid, part of the redevelopment of the district's ports.

ROTTERDAM

Rotterdam is booming. Over the last decade, the city has managed to shed its reputation as a concrete jungle full of social problems and taken on the identity of a vibrant and developing metropolis. However, this rapid urban transformation brings along a new set of social issues.

Shipbuilding and skyscrapers

Due to its' location along the river Nieuwe Maas, Rotterdam has historically always been an important port city on the trade routes from the North Sea towards Germany (Van den Bent & Spork, 2011). This position grew in the latter half of the 19th century, when the Nieuwe Waterweg ("New Waterway") allowed for larger ships and the construction of a new set of harbours, which attracted workers to the docks and shipyards from all over the country. In the early 20th century, Rotterdam is transforming into an internationally-oriented city with prestigious modern architecture. However, during the first days of the Second World War, German forces bomb Rotterdam's city center in order to pressure not just the city but the entire country to surrender. The entire historic city centre is destroyed in the attack and the resulting fires.

After the war, reconstruction of the city starts along the modernist principles of the Plan Van Traa. Innovative contemporary architecture arises and the city becomes a paragon of modernity. The rapid expansion of the city's harbours transform Rotterdam into the world's largest port in the 1960s. Modernist suburbs are constructed outside the city limits in order to quickly meet the post-war housing shortage, and the Netherlands' first metro line is opened to connect the southern districts to the city centre north of the river.

However, the 1973 oil crisis ends the economic prosperity of the post-war period. The modernist city centre is starting to show defects and gains a reputation as a bare concrete jungle. Housing in the historic expansion districts around the city centre has aged and no longer meets modern demands, and those wealthy enough to do so move away to the suburbs. Gastarbeiders (guest workers), mostly from Morocco, Turkey and Suriname, move into the city neighbourhoods to meet the growing need for workers and Rotterdam, especially the districts south of the river, gains a reputation as a multicultural city. Due to the lack of social and economic opportunities for the new migrant working class, these neighbourhoods start to develop a reputation for integration problems.

From the 1990s onwards Rotterdam starts development of highrise buildings as a 'Manhattan at the Maas'. New cultural initiatives are explored and architectural icons by Superdutch starchitects such as Rem Koolhaas, Ben van

Figure 2: The development of Rotterdam in four pictures: the old city (1939), after the bomdardment (1940), the modern Coolsingel (1976) and the redeveloped riverfront (2018).

Berkel and MVRDV give the city a new fresh and innovative image. Urban redevelopments around the city once again transform Rotterdam into the most modern city in the Netherlands.

Three relevant dynamics emerge from this history of Rotterdam: a) the city has an urgent need for urban renewal on a purely spatial level, as spatial quality is often low and many areas have low population densities; b) the city has a large working class population, often from immigrant descent, especially in the district south of the river; and c) the city is quickly gaining in popularity among middle-class families and young urban professionals, who are more wealthy than the currently existing population, and have different housing needs.

Woonvisie

Rotterdam is eager to capitalise on this newfound prestige. Urban development mostly concentrates on restructuring of the city center, to increase population density and spatial quality, and redevelopment of the old harbours at Kop van Zuid ('South's Head') where the southern districts meet the river. These areas have mostly lost their function as harbours to the larger and more modern ports outside the city limits, and will be redeveloped into prestigious urban districts. Through these developments the city aims to transform into an impressive modern metropolis in order to attract wealthy middle class families and young urban professionals that can balance Rotterdam's relatively poor population.

The Woonvisie (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016) is a policy document describing the municipality's strategy to housing until 2030, in response to Rotterdam's increasing popularity with upper- and middle class households. The strategy's main aim is to diversify the city's housing supply along socio-economic terms. 44% of Rotterdam's inhabitants are eligible for social housing and housing allowances, which is higher than the national average (32%) and the highest percentage of the four largest cities in the Netherlands. Due to Rotterdam's history as a port city, many of these low-income households are clustered in 'large concentrations of weak housing areas' (Woonvisie 2030, pg. 11). A socio-economic diversification of residents thus means the municipality wants to create more space for 'households with a modal or higher income' (Woonvisie 2030, pg. 13). By 'binding more 'strong shoulders' to the city' (Woonvisie 2030, pg. 19), the municipality hopes to increase social cohesion by breaking up low-income districts. Moreover, high- and middle income workers are considered necessary in the ongoing post-industrial transformation of port city to creative service economy.

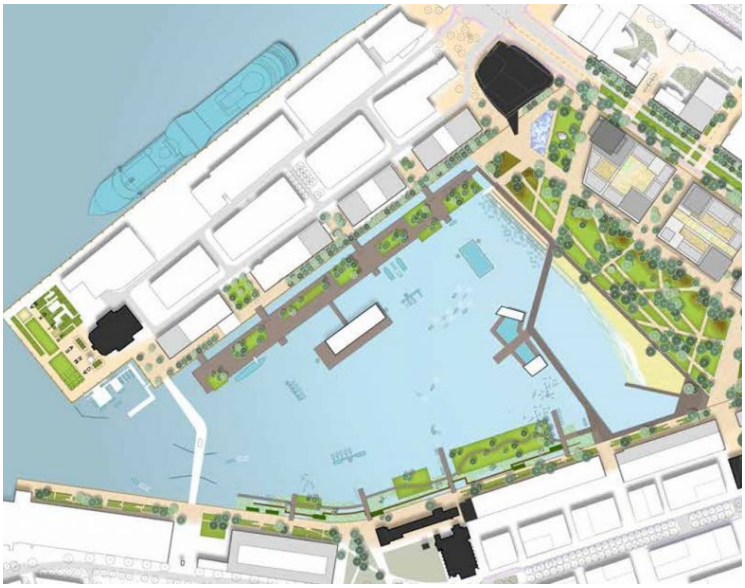


Figure 3: Some of the proposals for Kop van Zuid (left) and Feyenoord City (right) at the edges of the poorer southern part of Rotterdam.

Thus, in addition to making Rotterdam more green and sustainable and densifying the city centre, the Woonvisie aims to remove 20.000 affordable dwellings in favour of 36.000 homes for more wealthy households (Baeten, Liukku et al, 2016), many in Rotterdam Zuid. Half of these dwellings will be renovated for higher rents, and 15.000 will be demolished in favour of 26.000 more expensive dwellings and 10.000 new affordable homes. The Woonvisie describes a set of spatial strategies that are to accommodate and assist these developments, by defining seven different types of residential environments (fig. 4) that are to be developed in different parts of the municipality. Although these typologies are only loosely described, the language and mapping used to describe them can be used to distil certain common qualitative indicators. Both the compact city centre and the creative mixed neighbourhoods, indicated as the core city on the map, as well as the vital urban neighbourhoods appeal to concepts of cosmopolitan values and a new (creative) middle class. 'Market opportunities' and an invitation towards market-based development are also mentioned in the two core city categories, as well as for the riverbank area and the luxury green areas. Ground-based family homes are explicitly mentioned for the luxury green and green areas, as well as the appeal to spaciousness, urban nature and tranquillity. These indicators correspond to the aim to attract (young) urban professionals, market-based development and middle-income families respectively, which imply a strategy of state-led gentrification. Housing associations are only mentioned in the creative mixed neighbourhoods category, in the context of a projected decreasing influence of social housing providers.

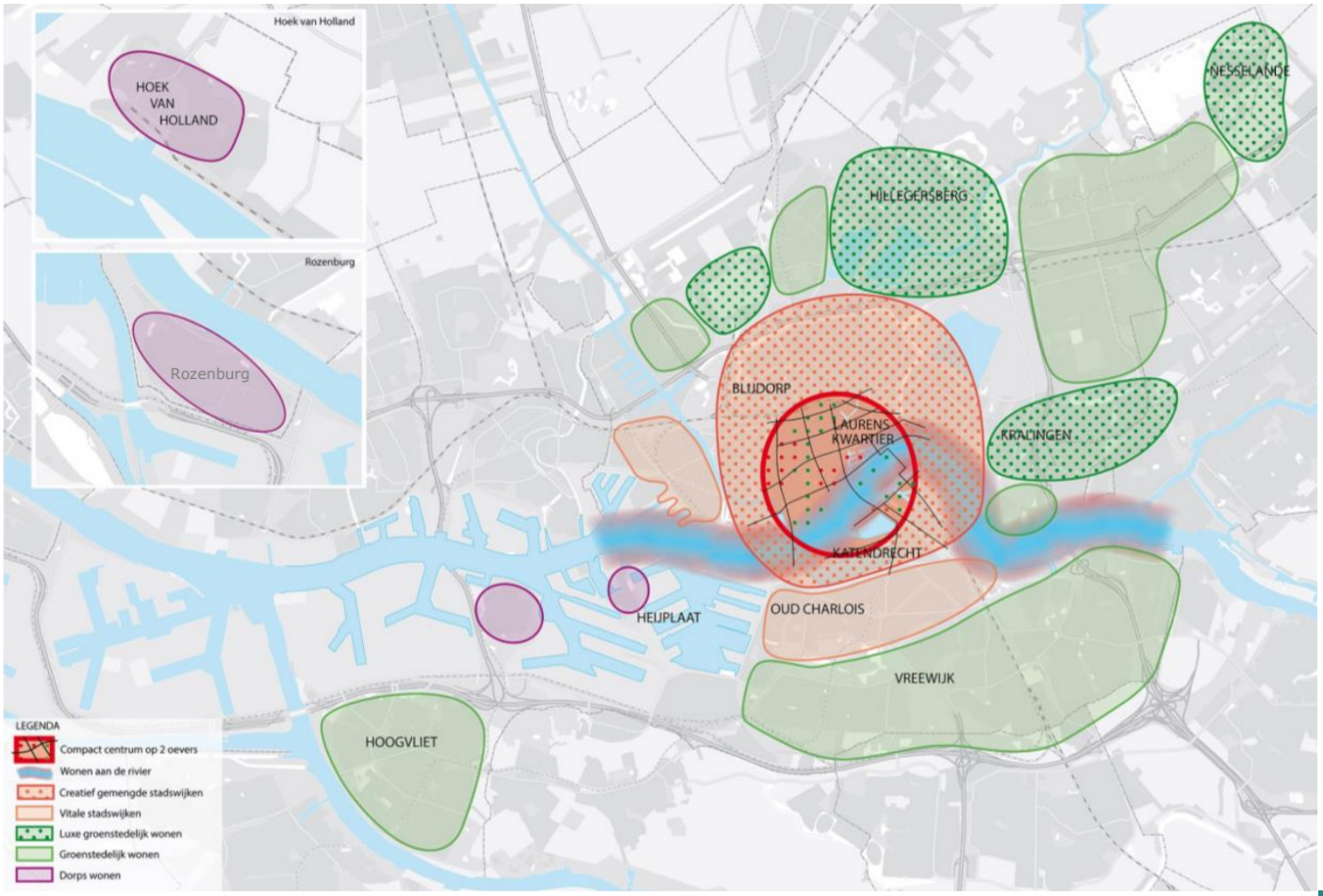


Figure 4: Woonvisie.

The aims of the Woonvisie can be mapped by using the Housing Values model. The policy cites three goals: developing more attractive residential areas in order to attract middle incomes and families, and to differentiate the housing stock; ensuring that the housing stock is future-proof from a qualitative and sustainability perspective; and keeping the base in order, referring to an 'adequate' level of affordable housing. These first and last aims in fact reflect two sides of the aim for diversification, and thus same value: choice, or the possibility for residents to be able to choose where and how they want to live. The second aim consists of two values in the Housing Values model: housing quality and sustainability. The values behind the Woonvisie can thus be mapped as the ideal value cluster of liberty and the practical value clusters of quality and continuity, with liberty being the dominant cluster.

A referendum on the Woonvisie was held in 2016 after a petition by city residents. Many Rotterdammers felt that de molishing 10.000 affordable dwellings in times of a local and national housing shortage would not be in the public interest. However, although 71% of voters spoke out against the Woonvisie, the referendum turnout was too low to legitimise the vote (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). Moreover, the municipality argues that the demolition of these dwellings will not pose an issue. The municipality compares the amount of people who are entitled to rental allowance, 125.600 households, to the stock of affordable housing, which they calculate as being 168.000 dwellings, and thus there is a surplus of cheap housing. However, these numbers include 22.000 owner-occupied homes that are considered affordable and exclude those low-income households who are not entitled to rent allowances, inclusion of which would bring their total up to 167.000 households. In addition, there are 40.000 households in the low middle-income category, who cannot afford to buy a home but are not eligible for rental allowance yet, for whom the market seems uninterested in providing cheap dwellings. Moreover, in the 2020 status report on the Woonvisie definitive calculations resulted in new figures that adjusted the original estimations with an additional 2.900 social housing units but a decrease of 8.000 private sector affordable units, resulting in a total adjustment of minus 5.000 affordable homes in 2016 (König, 2020). Since then, about 4.100 affordable homes have been withdrawn from the housing supply either through demolition, sale or rental increase. Despite this steep decline, the municipality sees no reason to temper the Woonvisie, as 'this is the intention' of the policy. However, the construction of new homes has already fallen behind schedule. It thus seems questionable that Rotterdam's supply of affordable housing is as abundant as the municipality suggests.

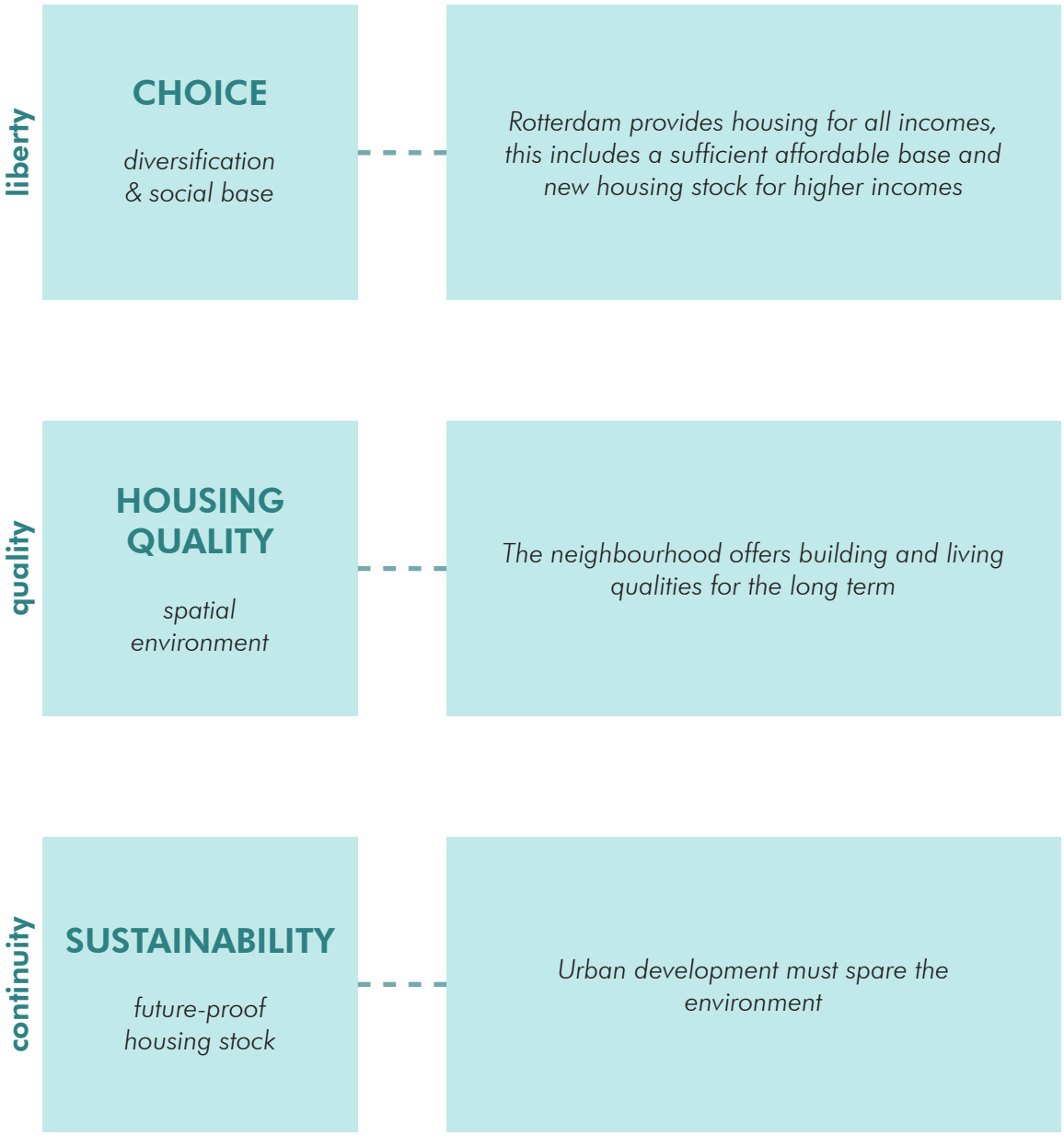


Figure 5: Woonvisie aims.

Gentrification in Rotterdam

Knox & Pinch (2010) define gentrification as "the renovation and renewal of run-down inner-city environments through an influx of more affluent persons such as middle-class professionals". Neighbourhoods at risk of state-led gentrification in Rotterdam can then be identified by comparing data on areas that score low on socio-economic status and areas that, according to the municipality, offer opportunities for development of mid-income housing. A map of opportunity areas can be drawn up by combining the districts defined in the Woonvisie (fig. 4) with the more specific focus areas defined in Kaart van de Stad. The first document addresses development of the housing stock specifically, and although no definitive figures are given per neighbourhood, all marked areas will receive some type of capital investment. The strategies that have been outlined can give an indication of the measure of investment that is expected, as represented in figure 6a. Those areas whose strategies mention 'market opportunities' have been marked in red to indicate opportunities for development. In addition, the focus areas as defined by the municipality have been marked in dark red. These are areas that the municipality has designated as most promising for urban development and consist of Merwe-Vierhavens/RDM, Rotterdam Central District, Southern Inner City/Blaak, Rijnhaven/Maashaven, Parkstad/Laan op Zuid and Feyenoord City/Stadionpark. Where these areas overlap with neighbourhoods of the 'market opportunity'-type, the entire neighbourhood has been marked in dark red to indicate this overlap. This gives a good indication of those districts where the municipality wants to concentrate development, and where market actors want to invest. Aside from the city centre, three areas present themselves for urban development, all of them along the riverfront: the Kop van Zuid area and surrounding neighbourhoods, part of an effort to expand the city centre across the river, Merwe-Vierhavens/RDM, a large-scale port redevelopment project, and Feyenoord City, a multi-billion euro project that combines a prestigious new soccer stadium with residential and commercial development.

Deprivation can be measured by inversely mapping the social index of the city's neighbourhoods (fig. 6b). This index combines a set of 97 subjective and objective indicators to score individual neighbourhoods on their socio-economic performance (Wijkprofiel Rotterdam, 2020). Objective indicators include, amongst others, the percentage of residents with a low household income, the percentage of unemployed residents and the percentage of residents that are on welfare support. Subjective indicators include the percentage of residents that indicate they have difficulty to make ends meet, the percentage of residents that indicate they are in control of their future and the percentage of residents that indicate they feel proud of their neighbourhood. These indicators have been indexed into several thematic categories (self-sufficiency, cooperation, participation and bonding), which have in turn been

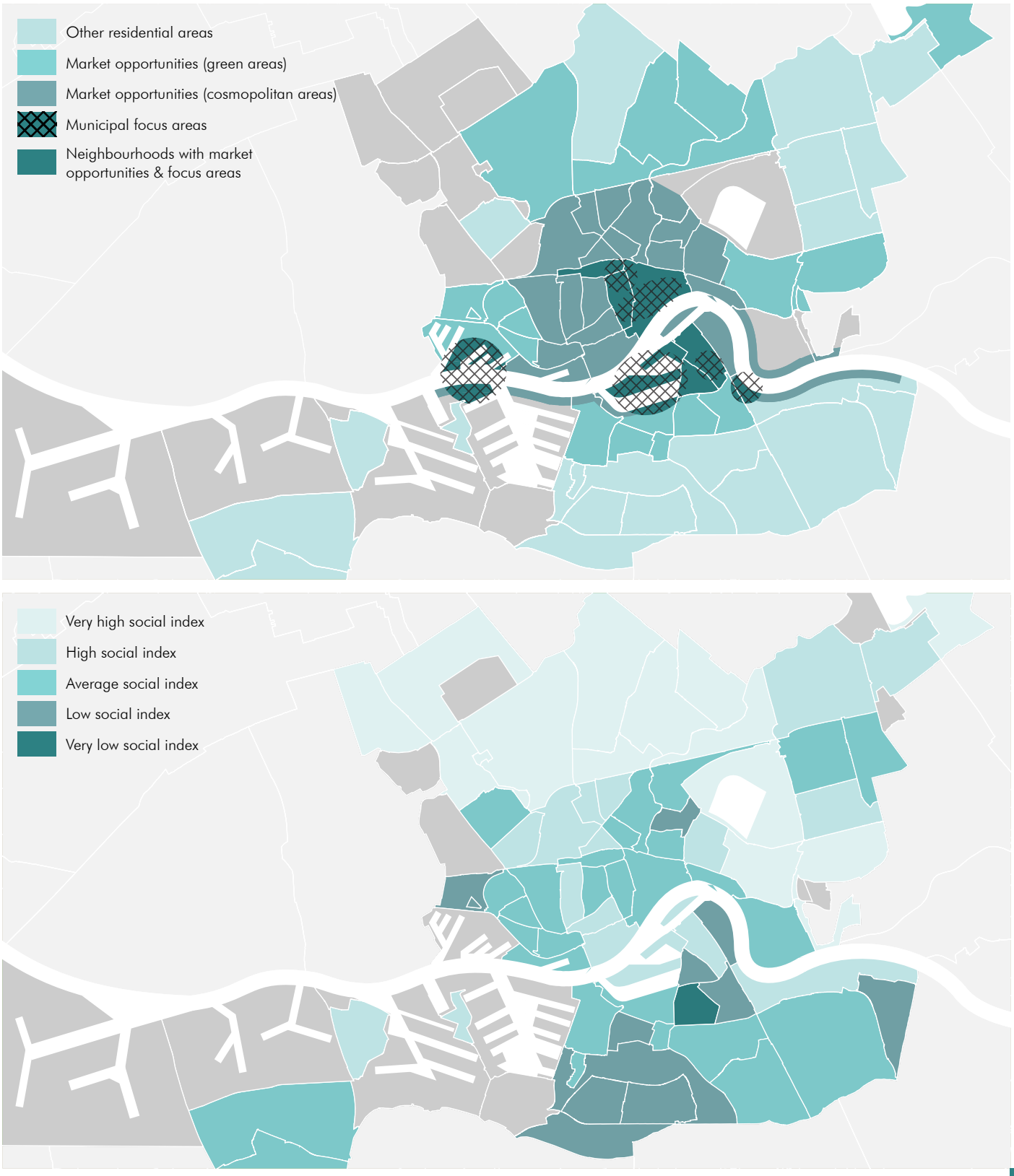


Figure 6: a) Development opportunities as encouraged by the municipality (top). b) Deprivation as measured by the reverse social index (bottom).

translated into a single social index per neighbourhood. The map indicates whether this social index is far above average, above average, average, below average or far below average for the city of Rotterdam. It should be noted here that Rotterdam itself scores below average on a national scale. The historic distinction between north and south is clearly visible in this map: whereas the northern neighbourhoods are relatively well-off, the districts in the south of the city struggle socio-economically. Noteworthy here are the better scores of the neighbourhoods Kop van Zuid and Entrepot, closest to the city centre, where a large amount of redevelopment resulting in gentrification has already taken place in recent years.

By combining data on opportunities for development and socioeconomic deprivations, areas in Rotterdam that are at risk of gentrification can be mapped (fig. 7). Neighbourhoods that contain (part of) a municipal focus area, regardless of social index, are classified as at least moderately susceptible to gentrification. Of those neighbourhoods, the ones that also have a below average social index are marked as highly susceptible to gentrification, as well as neighbourhoods with a far below average social index in general and neighbourhoods that combine a below average social index with a general attractiveness for development. Four of the five neighbourhoods that are at a high risk of gentrification, Feijenoord, Afrikaanderwijk, Bloemhof and Hillesluis, are located in Rotterdam Zuid, with only Nieuw-Crooswijk being on the northern side of the river. This data supports claims that Rotterdam Zuid is gentrifying, however, the exact shape that gentrification takes and the specific effects it may have depend on the local context and can differ between neighbourhoods. The next section will zoom in on a neighbourhood in which all of these issues have become particularly visible in recent years: Afrikaanderwijk.

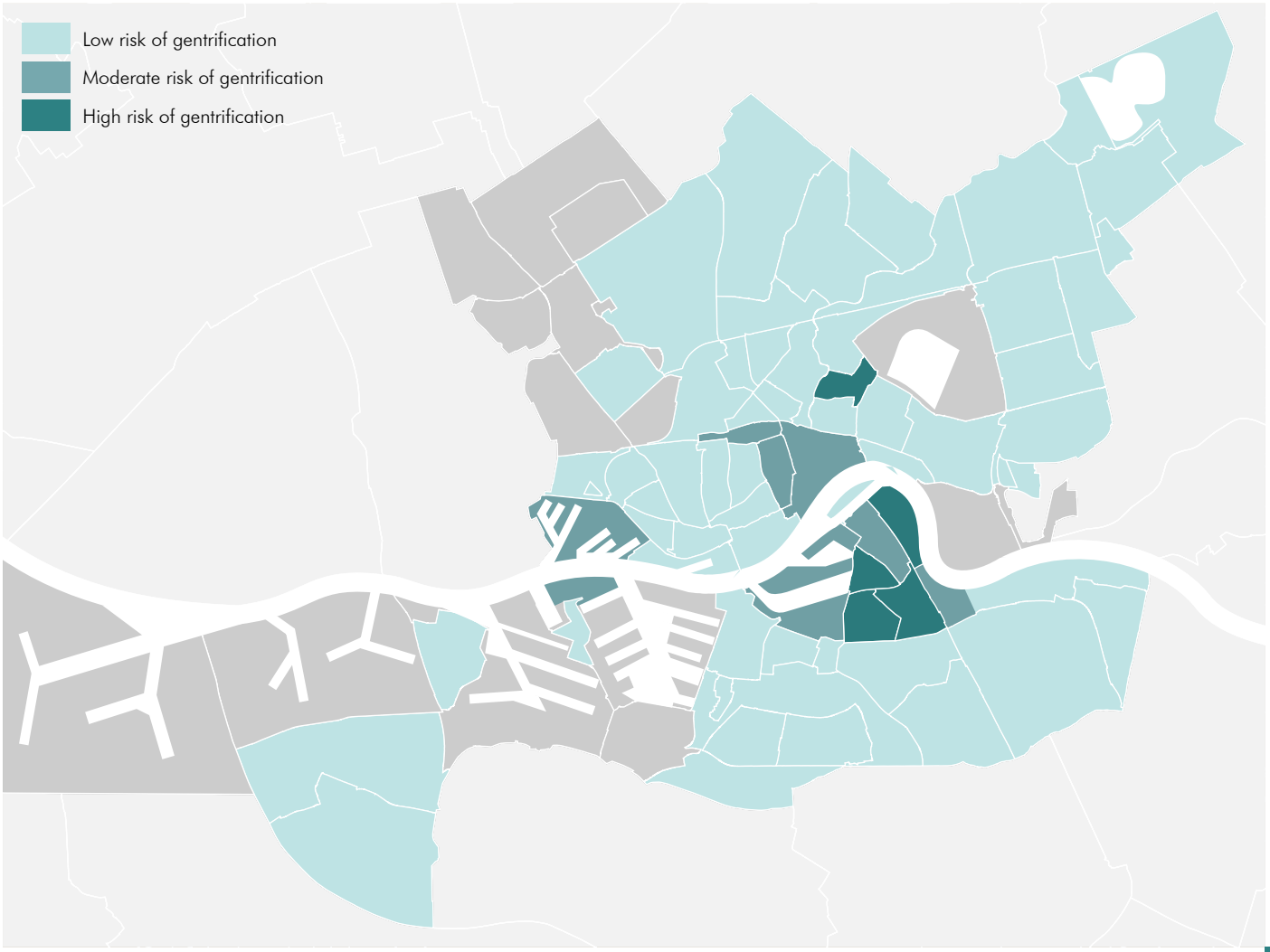


Figure 7: Areas at risk of state-led gentrification.

Figure 8: Paradijsplein in Crooswijk, Rotterdam (top: 2008; bottom: 2018). Crooswijk is a working-class neigh-bourhood that was upgraded through similar large-scale restructuring plans as Tweebosbuurt.

Figure 9: Kerkhoflaan in Crooswijk, Rotterdam (top: 2008; bottom: 2018). Note the newly developed street of owner-buyer homes in the background, which replaced stacked social housing units.

AFRIKAANDERWIJK

Dockworkers and diversification

In the centre of the peninsula of Rotterdam Zuid lies Afrikaanderwijk, a neighbourhood now known for its multicultural character and lively central market square, but also for its social problems. Until the end of the 19th century, the area was part of the municipality of Charlois. The land was mainly in use for agricultural purposes (Vestia, 2007). Rotterdam annexed the land in two phases, the area north of the Hilledijk in 1869 and the area to the south in 1894, in order to expand the city harbours. Afrikaanderwijk emerged in the area immediately south of the Hilledijk around 1900 when labourers from all over the Netherlands were pulled towards the growing port city's increasing economic power. Entire neighbourhoods of cheap dwellings were constructed to house these new dockworkers, consisting of collections of fragmented housing projects often just across the street from the harbours where their residents worked. The mixed morphology remains a defining characteristic of the neighbourhood to this day. Only after the 1901 Woningwet required the municipality to draw up a citywide expansion plan did a more structured and rapid phase of urbanisation take off. Private developers mostly constructed blocks of ground- and upper-floor flats, more decorative at first and more sober in the years of the interwar period. The neighbourhoods' streets are named after South-African cities and Boer leaders, for which the Dutch had great sympathy, seeing them as descendants of Dutch colonists: hence the name 'Afrikaanderwijk'.

In the post-war boom of the 1960s, the Netherlands was in urgent need of workers, in particular in heavy industry. Immigrants were attracted to fulfil these jobs as 'guest workers', at first from southern Europe, later from Turkey and Morocco. The cheap housing of Rotterdam Zuid was deemed ideal for these workers, who were expected to remain in the Netherlands temporarily, after which they would return to their countries of origin. As such, the Dutch government took no efforts to help them integrate in Dutch society. However, as the post-war boom endured, guest workers stayed employed and started to desire to build their own lives in their new environment, often bringing over their families from abroad. The new metro line cuts the neighbourhood off from the once lively waterfront area. In just a few years' time, Afrikaanderwijk became a multicultural district and the existing working class residents quickly saw enormous changes to their neighbourhood, both spatial and social (Datema, 2015). Moreover, municipal housing policy still aimed to move people from the often dilapidated and cramped city neighbourhoods to the new modernist suburbs. Not all residents were happy with these developments: the working class neighbourhoods were often close communities on which the local population depended. Both issues came to a head in a week of riots in

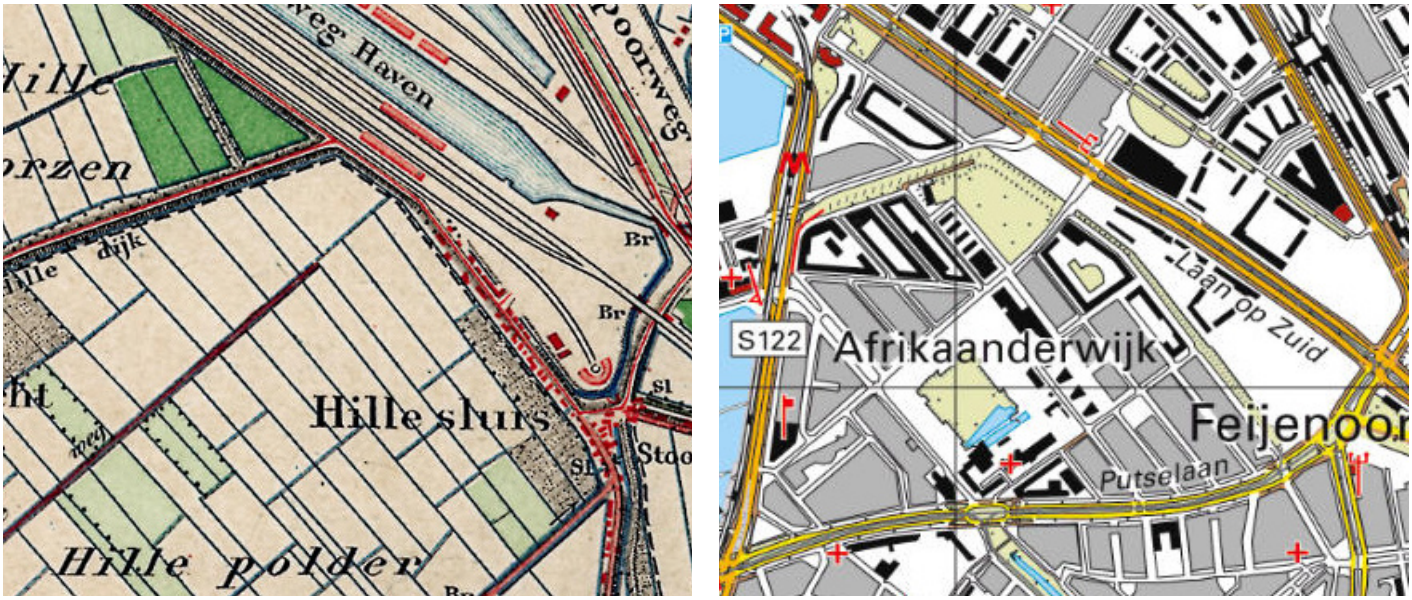


Figure 10: Afrikaanderwijk before urbanisation (1888) and now (2021).

Figure 11: Overview of Afrikaanderwijk, with Tweebosbuurt in the bottom right.

1972, during which Turkish migrant families were attacked. After police intervention managed to calm down the neighbourhood, new spatial policies were developed that took a more local approach to urban development.

In these so-called stadsvernieuwingsprojecten (urban renewal projects), small-scale developments 'for the neighbourhood' took centre stage in order to preserve the social structure of communities as investment returned to the pre-war districts (De Liagre Böhl, 2012). Dwellings were renovated and expanded, and new public facilities were added to the neighbourhood. However, although they usually were improvements on the dilapidated slums they replaced, budgets were low due to the economic crises of the 1970s, and thus these projects often scored low on aesthetic qualities. Moreover, due to the community-centric approach, the stadsvernieuwing mostly preserved the status quo of socioeconomically weak neighbourhoods. Living conditions improved, but due to the lack of diversity and the often downright bare appearance of dwellings the neighbourhood remained unpopular with higher socioeconomic classes. In the subsequent decades, the neighbourhood was restructured block by block. A diverse architectural palette emerged that practically tells the story of the development of Dutch housing through these decades. Although the architectural qualities of the projects from the late seventies and early eighties might have been sober or downright poor, their urban integration follows the model of the traditional closed blocks around them: after all, the intention was to preserve the existing social relations. The late eighties and early nineties brought a new generation of projects with the redevelopment of Hillekop. Urban blocks were opened up in more experimental spatial configurations, dwellings were demolished more often and neomodernist principles were followed more closely in the blocks' architectural design (Hulsman, 2013). The mid-rise apartment towers, sleek white-plastered facades and horizontal windows from this era contrast with the historic blocks in the neighbourhood. The late nineties saw this type of development evolve along with the architectural characteristics of the new VINEX districts, with higher budgets and more attention being paid to texture, materials and human scale.

When the old harbours of Rotterdam Zuid, starting at the Kop van Zuid, began being redeveloped after the turn of the millennium, the architectural design of restructuring projects once again evolved. As urban life and 'authentic qualities' have become popular draws for young middle-class residents, projects in Afrikaanderwijk during the last decade were more explicitly designed in a historicising style in order to emphasize the historic qualities of the neighbourhood and its working class history. The increased aesthetic quality, individu-

Figure 12: Afrikaanderwijk morphology

alism and socioeconomic status is not only notable in the new architectural design, but also in the projects' housing program: in many places, stacked high-density apartment blocks have made way for low-density single family dwellings. These developments show a gradual shift from 'development for the neighbourhood' to gentrification as a strategy to upgrade the neighbourhood. The most recent urban interventions fit into a vision of spatial upgrading and socioeconomic diversification that has been outlined in policy documents on a municipal and national scale, most notably in respectively the Woonvisie Rotterdam and the Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid.

Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid

The Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid (NPRZ) was started by the Dutch government in 2012 in response to the low safety and liveability scores of the southern districts. The initial assignment was to analyse the situation in Rotterdam Zuid and design a systematic long-term approach to solve the district's specific problems, specifically in regard to the issues of the area's imperfect housing market, the lack of value creation on that housing market, the socioeconomic situation and the connection with other relevant programs (Team Deetman/Mans, 2011). Due to its history as a port district, Rotterdam Zuid contains a large concentration of cheap housing, built to accommodate the dock workers that moved into the area during the first half of the 20th century. In the present time, this composition of the housing stock has a negative effect on social mobility in the district. This means that, although the area's population is growing, the socioeconomic effect of selective migration is in fact similar to that of regions dealing with a declining population. The district's socio-economic structure is weak, with a low social index and social cohesion, low incomes, average to low safety index, low education levels, high language delays, low amount of jobs and weak public transport links to economic activity outside the district. Moreover, the report notes a lack of value increase of housing in the core neighbourhoods of the city, a low average of housing prices and a lack of mobility between individual neighbourhoods.

It should be noted here that many bottom-up projects aiming to improve the socio-economic position of residents have sprung up in Zuid over the last decades, however, the situation in Rotterdam Zuid has not structurally improved. This is not because these earlier initiatives were unsuccessful, on the contrary, rather it is because of the accumulative effect of the problems in the district. The aim of the NPRZ is therefore to offer a shared long-term approach between these initiatives and partners, to increase effective acting power in solving problems and to heighten participation of residents and local businesses. The program has three pillars: talent development, economic

development and spatial development. The pillar of talent development aims to improve young residents' opportunities by eliminating language delays, developing their 'soft skills' and developing educative programs focused on a stronger connection to local worker demand and decreasing school drop-outs. Economic development focuses on stimulating economic activity within neighbourhoods on the one hand and developing new economic motors. This first aim is not necessarily a way to increase economic output, but more so to create an attractive living environment and stimulate a sense of local economic possibility. The development of new local economic motors is mostly focused on opportunities within the old harbours and cooperation with local institutions. Finally, spatial development looks to improve physical conditions in order to hold on to social climbers in the district by maintaining a basic level of spatial upkeep, improving the quality of dwellings in private ownership and, if necessary, by restructuring the (private) supply of housing in selected areas.

These three pillars are meant to strengthen one another. An important note is that measures and projects under the NPRZ are meant to take the ambitions of residents as their primary starting point, as previous projects were often dominant on spatial upgrading but took little account for residents' wishes. Social mobility is seen as an important goal, not only from the perspective of individual development, but also because Rotterdam's economy is in need of a higher socioeconomic class of citizens. Similar to the Woonvisie, the aims of the NPRZ can be mapped as values. The aim of talent development corresponds to the value of self-development, wherein developing people's social and professional skills will strengthen the neighbourhood. Economic development corresponds with the value of prosperity, as the neighbourhood's economic performance is seen as an important factor in its liveability and the prosperity of its residents. Finally, spatial development can be linked to liveability as it aims to not only improve housing quality, but also public space and non-residential buildings. Thus the value clusters that the NPRZ can be mapped to are the practical clusters of utility and quality and the social value cluster of care. An interesting note is that in the NPRZ, the value of prosperity is regarded as almost a social value through the perspective of low-income residents instead of as a technocratic economic aim.

This is in contrast with the strategies of the Woonvisie, which identifies the same need for socio-economic diversification but uses migration as the primary way to create a larger middle class in Rotterdam and has less eye for existing residents' needs. The NPRZ thus offers a more useful framework for opposing gentrification, although it does not completely shy away from state-led gentrification either. Policies and projects under these frameworks may

Figure 13: Joubertstraat in Afrikaanderwijk, Rotterdam (top: 2008; bottom: 2018). Local commerce has been lost in spatial upgrades in the northern part of Afrikaanderwijk.

Figure 14: Jacominastraat in Afrikaanderwijk, Rotterdam (top: 2008; bottom: 2018). Stacked dwellings have been replaced by ground-floor family homes.

overlap, especially when it comes to spatial development and the value cluster of quality. The interesting aspect is which program's secondary effects are most noticeable: the Woonvisie, which desires to leave development mostly to market forces and state-led gentrification (following from the dominant value cluster of liberty), or the NPRZ, which focuses on social mobility and necessitates a broader and more traditional role for state intervention through the value clusters of utility and care.

Preliminary results from 2019 show that half of the interim goals for 2021 for the categories work and education have already been achieved (NPRZ, 2020). Welfare support and unemployment have decreased, as well as the percentage of mbo school dropouts. A recent negative development has been measured in primary school results, although these are still higher than at the program's start. This is addressed to the national shortage of teachers, a problem that is on average twice as large in deprived areas. As for housing, construction output and private home renovation are on schedule, and housing prices in Rotterdam Zuid have risen, although this too can be a part of the national trend as much as it is a result of efforts through the NPRZ. Policymakers counter that this does not matter, as long-term programs will always be affected by economic fluctuations (Naafs and Van Eijck, 2019). However, changing economic circumstances have reinforced criticisms of the spatial development aspect of the program. 35.000 dwellings are to be redeveloped: 12.000 by housing associations and 23.000 by private owners. Some of these will be renovated, but around 10.000 dwellings will be demolished in large-scale restructuring projects. A lower quantity of more expensive family homes will be built in their place, a process that has been nicknamed 'urban thinning'. This is a stark contrast to the city's growing population and the nationwide housing crisis, which has an interrelated aspect of quantity and of affordability. The rapidly rising housing prices may mean that social climbers will not be able to afford a home in the area despite the program's best efforts, as its original ambitions have been outpaced by the city's economic success and the national lack of housing. The rising housing prices have also pushed the program's cost up, effectively delaying progress that can be made under the current budget: by 2019, only 700 of the 10.000 dwellings that are to be restructured had been dealt with. Under these circumstances, the market-based approaches as detailed in the Woonvisie are showing much clearer effects than the social aims of the NPRZ, and it is the more gentrifying measures of the NPRZ that are reinforced.

Figure 15: NPRZ aims.

Gentrification in Tweebos

The NPRZ has drawn up structural visions for each individual neighbourhood in Rotterdam Zuid, detailing the desirable spatial interventions that are deemed necessary for the neighbourhoods' development. The vision for Afrikaanderwijk notes the district's central location and lively character, notably Afrikaanderplein, Pretorialaan and Paul Krugerstraat, but also its relatively poor and vulnerable population, stony street atmosphere and borders (Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid, 2013). These negative aspects overlap in the neighbourhoods' south-eastern area, known as Tweebos. The program therefore aims to increase liveability by improving the housing supply, strengthening the green network and intensifying connections towards neighbouring districts. Afrikaanderplein is to become the central anchor of the entire neighbourhood, connected to a park along the Hilledijk by a set of green city streets and pocket parks. Tweebos will be broken up in order to accommodate these interventions, which will also offer opportunities for better connections to Laan op Zuid, a new development that leads right into the future Feyenoord City. The vision describes a desire for the construction of housing in closed urban blocks featuring small-scale pocket parks in order to provide a housing climate that is attractive to families. The waterfronts on the other side of the district will be refurbished into green boulevards in order to connect to the high-density developments that are planned for the harbours Rijnhaven and Maashaven.

In order to restructure Tweebos in alignment with this vision, housing association Vestia and the municipality are planning to demolish almost four entire blocks of dwellings in the south-eastern part of the neighbourhood (Liukku, 2018). In practice this means that the entirety of Tweebos, which mostly consists of pre-war and seventies construction, will be torn down. The space freed up by these demolition plans, along with the terrain of the former rail yard to the east, will be used for the construction of a new neighbourhood consisting almost entirely of ground-based family homes, featuring a few small parks and a better connection to Laan op Zuid. This changed program fits with both the NPRZ and the Woonvisie. Of the 599 dwellings that are to be demolished, 535 are social housing units. Although Vestia is required to offer the residents of these homes alternative housing options, only 374 new dwellings will be built, of which merely 137 will be social housing. These new social homes will be liberalised (placed outside the social housing segment) after the first tenant leaves, in time subtracting even more social dwellings from the Afrikaanderwijk housing stock. Moreover, although the aim of these new low-density blocks is to attract middle-class residents, the 'urban thinning' that results from such developments is at odds with the municipality's aim of densification and in-

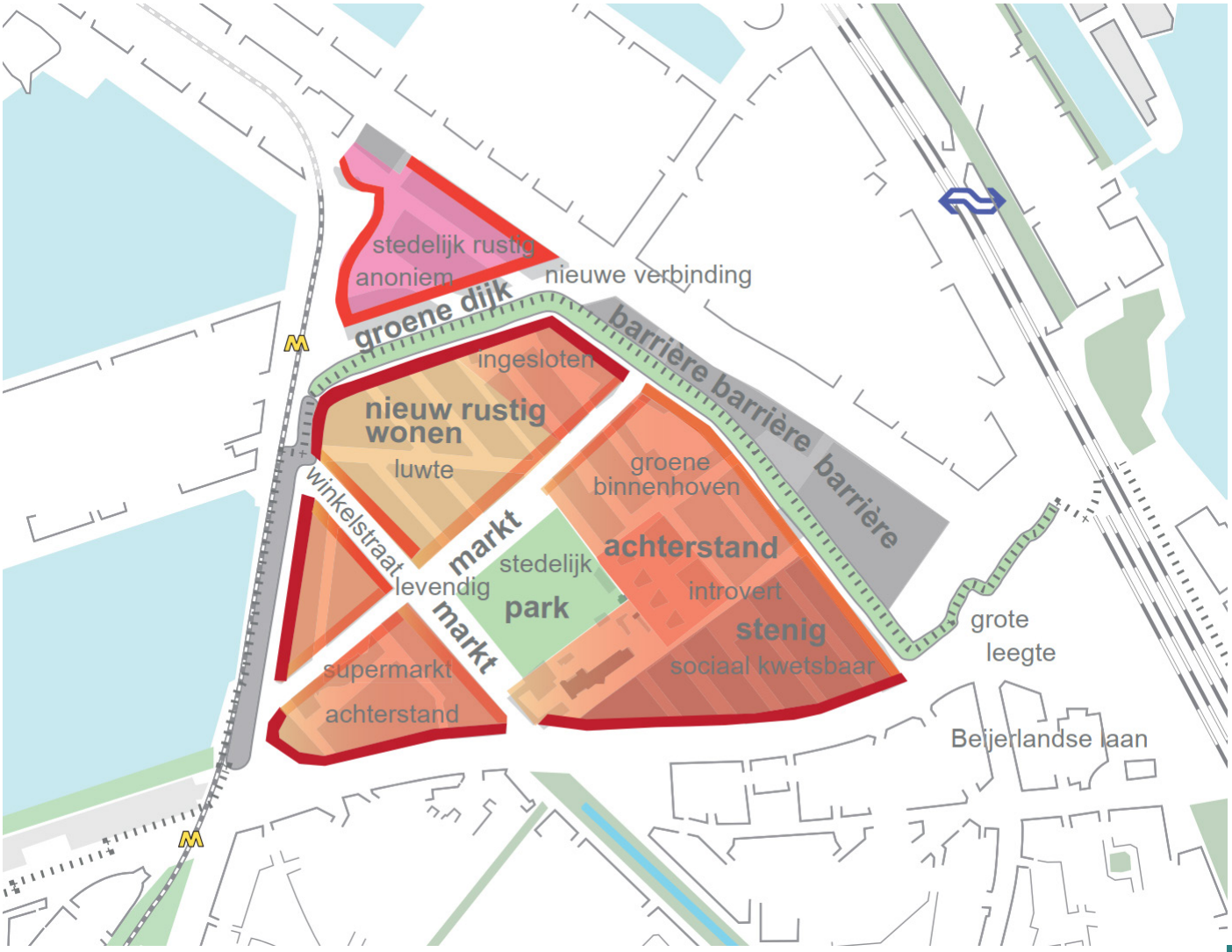


Figure 16: Characterisation of Afrikaanderwijk structure (NPRZ).

creasing urban liveliness.

It is thus impossible to rehouse all tenants within their old neighbourhood. Although the proposed plans are expected to be an improvement for the city, or even the neighbourhood, as a whole, displaced residents are negatively affected. Working class residents often depend on the informal social and economic relations within their neighbourhood, networks which are disrupted by such large-scale displacements. Moreover, due to the current housing shortage and the decade-long decrease of the social housing stock fitting housing for tenants often cannot be found within Rotterdam. They will often either have to move out of the city into the neighbouring municipalities, or they will have to settle for rent increases. As such, Tweebos residents have organised themselves in Actiegroep Tweebos in order to petition for a reconsideration of the demolition plans. In early 2020, they successfully managed to block the eviction of some tenants who could not be rehoused in the neighbourhood (Liukku, 2020). The court also concluded that there is no financial or technical necessity for demolition, and that residents were insufficiently consulted in in the development plans. Although these small victories for Tweebos residents have delayed the project, demolition of the neighbourhood was still in the cards. In March 2021, Tweebos residents put in an official request with Vestia to establish a housing cooperation. Tenants have a legal right to receive funding from their housing association to research the possibility of establishing such a self-governed organisation, if they meet certain criteria. Vestia has denied the request on the basis that the applicants are scattered across the neighbourhood, and thus do not form a spatial and structural unity. Demolition of the neighbourhood's first blocks finally commenced in April 2021 (El Hamidi, 2021). Actiegroep Tweebos has, along with a broad coalition of tenants' associations, artists and urban planners, has since merged into Actiegroep Recht op de Stad (De Haan, 2021). In June of 2021, the UN's Special Rapporteur for Adequate Housing called the redevelopment of Tweebos and the gentrifying policy of the Woonvisie not only a violation of the human right to adequate housing but also discriminatory towards migrants and minority groups (Special Rapporteur for Adequate Housing, 2021).

The interests of protesting Tweebos residents can be mapped through use of the Housing Values model as well. The marginalisation that is at the root of the Tweebos opposition against Vestia and the municipality has a social, economic and cultural aspect. The social aspect is the loudest: Tweebos residents fear being displaced from their neighbourhood, and thus their community, in favour of more wealthy residents. There is a call for solidarity as well: why should the 'poor' depart to make place for the 'rich'? Residents accuse their

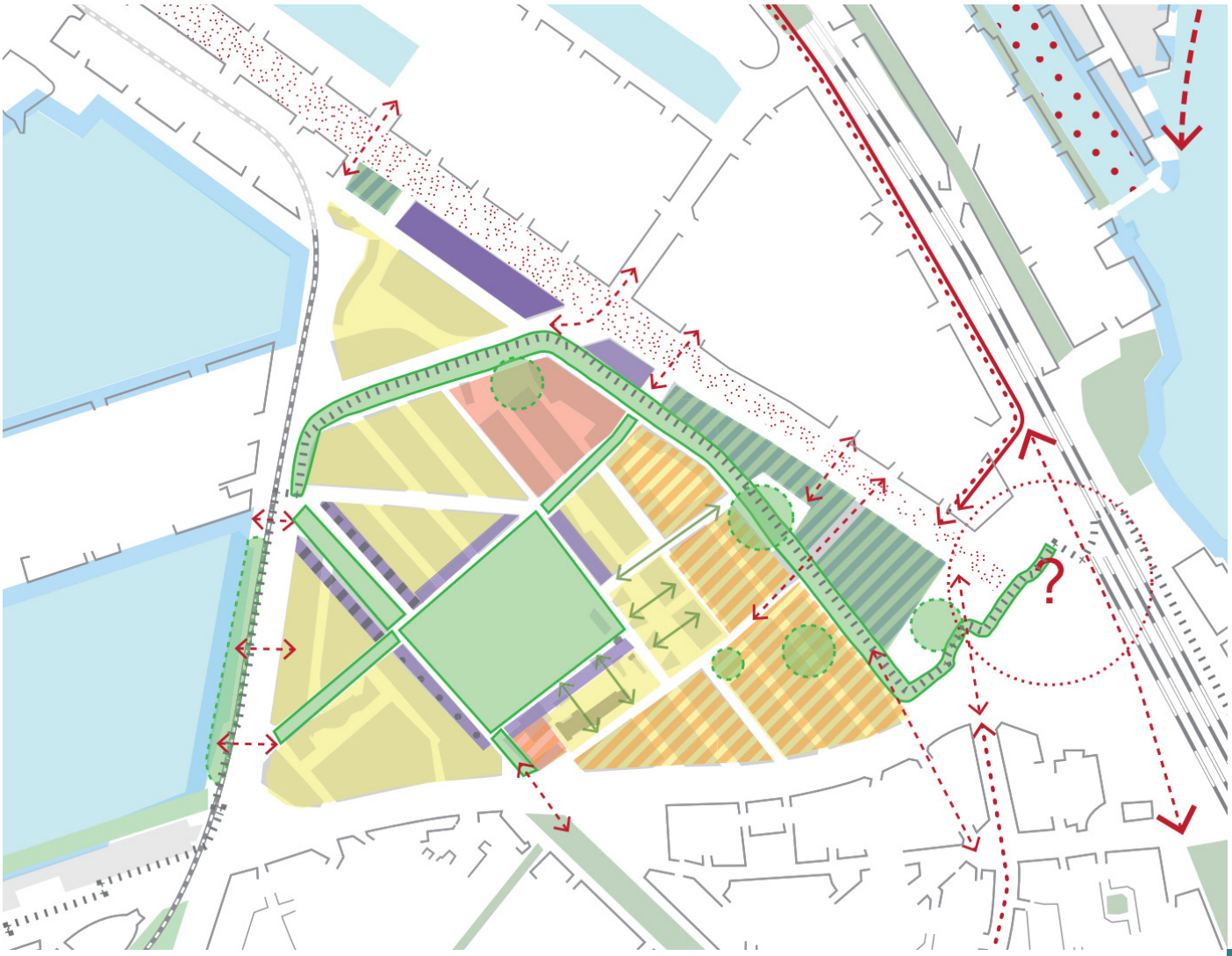


Figure 17: Proposed interventions for Afrikaanderwijk (NPRZ).

housing association of inadequately protecting or even betraying them. The economic aspect is the call for the protection of affordable housing and the right of less wealthy households to live in the city, especially in the face of a growing national housing crisis. Finally, there is a cultural aspect: Tweebos residents identify with their neighbourhood. Social and economic structures in working class neighbourhoods are generally more local, and it is more difficult for such residents to adapt to a new neighbourhood than it is for cosmopolitan young urban professionals. The neighbourhood is theirs, and they are the ones who give it its unique character. Tweebos residents feel that removing part of them also removes part of the neighbourhood's soul.

Institutional actors

Vestia's hurry to demolish Tweebos, however, stems from more than a desire to aid in the city's socioeconomic transformation. This largest housing association of the Netherlands was one of the main players responsible for the scandals that led to restrictions of the social sector a decade ago, building up 3 billion euros in debt after speculating on financial derivates during the European debt crisis (Van Weezel, 2014). Although Vestia has sold a large part of its housing stock and scrapped planned investments in housing construction and renovation, debts are still significant and thus the association has limited room for manoeuvre within the municipality's plans. Through a somewhat cynical lens, one might posit that constructing dwellings that can be sold to wealthy middle-class buyers while at the same time divesting a portion of its most unprofitable housing stock is therefore part of a strategy towards financial stability. Moreover, the association would have been eligible for a state subsidy of 27 million euro if demolition of Tweebos started before April 2020, a deadline they have not met.

In January 2021, Vestia and Aedes, the umbrella organisation of housing associations, announced a plan that aims to solve the organisation's debt problems once and for all (Aedes, 2021a). Vestia's problem is threefold: there is a financial problem due to the high interest rates of the remaining debts, there is a public housing problem due to the rent increases and the reduction of maintenance as a result of these financial shortages, and there is a systematic risk to the public housing sector as a whole which has required WSW to implement additional securities but also means Vestia currently can no longer take out any significant loans. The sector's solution consist of two parts: Vestia will be split up in three local housing organisations, diminishing the systematic risk to social housing and allowing the new organisations to become more local and to strengthen their connection to their neighbourhoods. Additionally, up to one billion euros of debt will be collectively taken over by the social

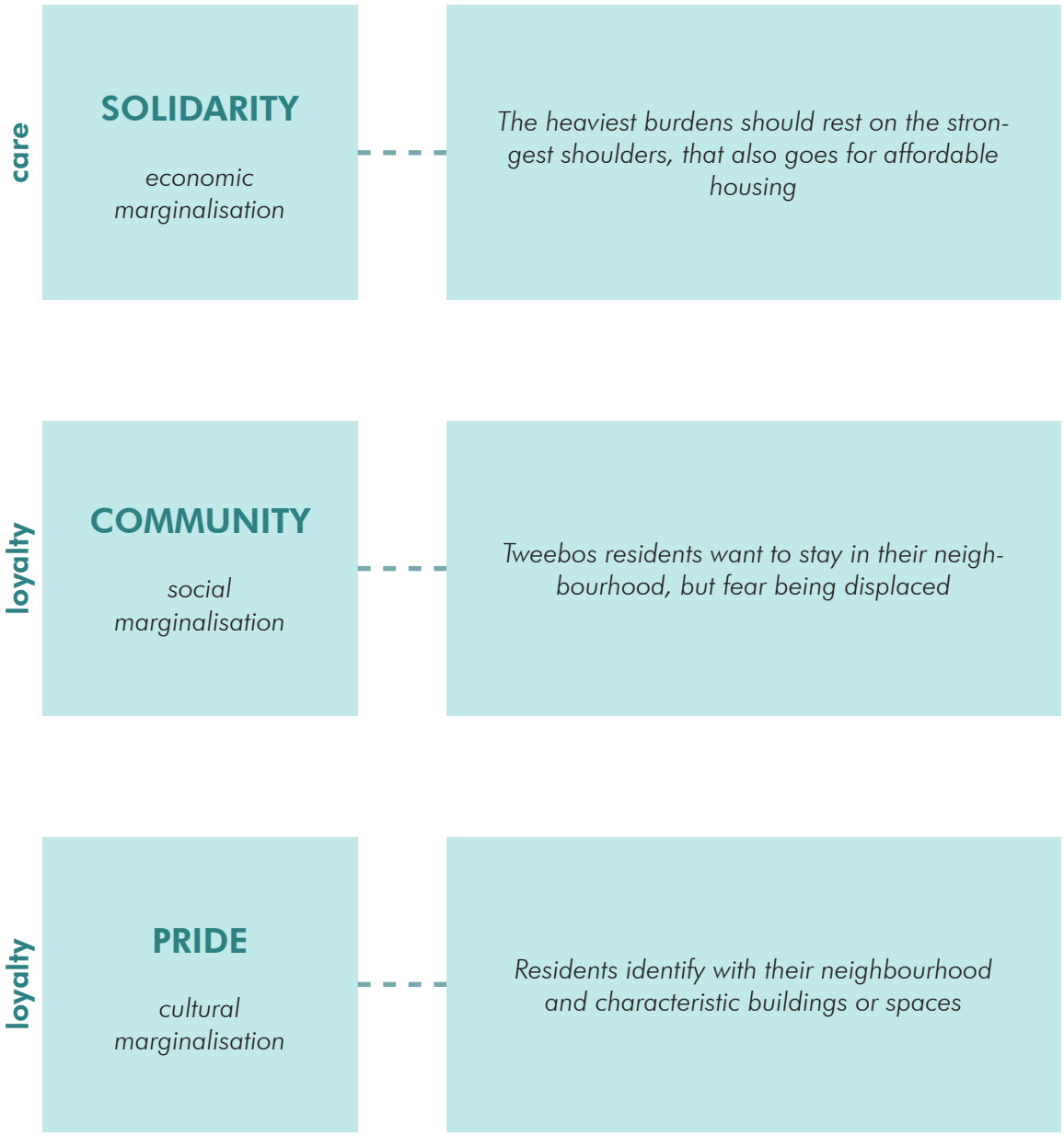


Figure 18: Tweebos residents' interests.

housing sector as a whole, with a request for additional financial support by the national government. After ten years of austerity Vestia thus hopes to recover their ability to invest in housing, in order to help solve the shortage of affordable dwellings in the Netherlands. Two remarks are in place to put this operation into context, however. First of all, despite these efforts, the new post-split housing associations will still have considerable debts that will limit their ability to invest in housing. Secondly, although Vestia's debts are significant, they pale in comparison to the total figure of verhuurderheffing-tax that the sector as a whole annually pays to the government, which has been estimated to be more than eleven billion euros by May 2021 since its implementation in 2013 (Aedes, 2021b).

Conclusion

The situation in Tweebos consists of two interconnected issues, a spatial challenge and a social challenge, both originating in its history as a relatively poor working-class district. The spatial challenge is a relatively traditional urban design problem: there is a shortage of green spaces, the connection to surrounding districts is sub-optimal and overall spatial quality is low. Added up, these factors result in an unattractive neighbourhood with little space for social life or spatial identity. NPRZ aims to fix these issues by breaking through certain housing blocks to create more green space and connections and by renovating or replacing part of the housing stock.

The social challenge consists of the large homogenous concentration of residents with a low income, low education and little local economic opportunities. This results in low levels of social mobility and has an accumulative effect on the district's social problems. The NPRZ proposes to invest in education, local economic development and opportunities for young people in order to increase social mobility, as well as investing in a more diverse housing stock. The program aims to combine a limited demolition of social housing with investment in local talent and economic anchors.

However, external factors have skewed this program. The enormous nation-wide housing shortage is pulling more affluent buyers to Rotterdam Zuid, driving up housing prices and creating new opportunities for investment. The Woonvisie accommodates these developments with the goal of attracting new middle-income and high-income households to the city, but also by actively demolishing even more social housing stock. The social aims of the NPRZ progress steadily, but are now in danger of being overtaken by the accelerated effects of state-led gentrification.

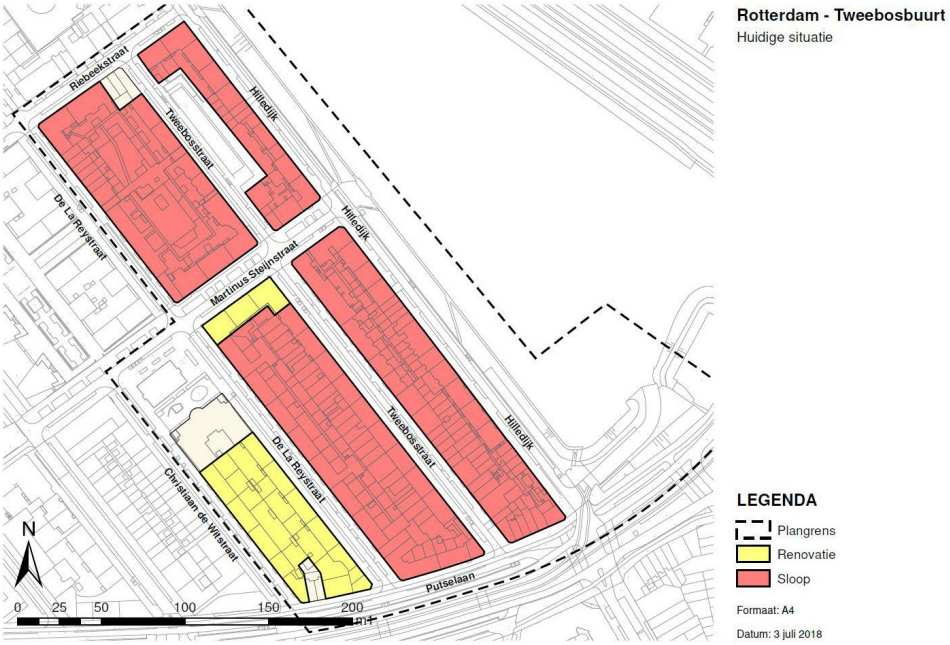


Figure 19: Demolition plans for Tweebos.

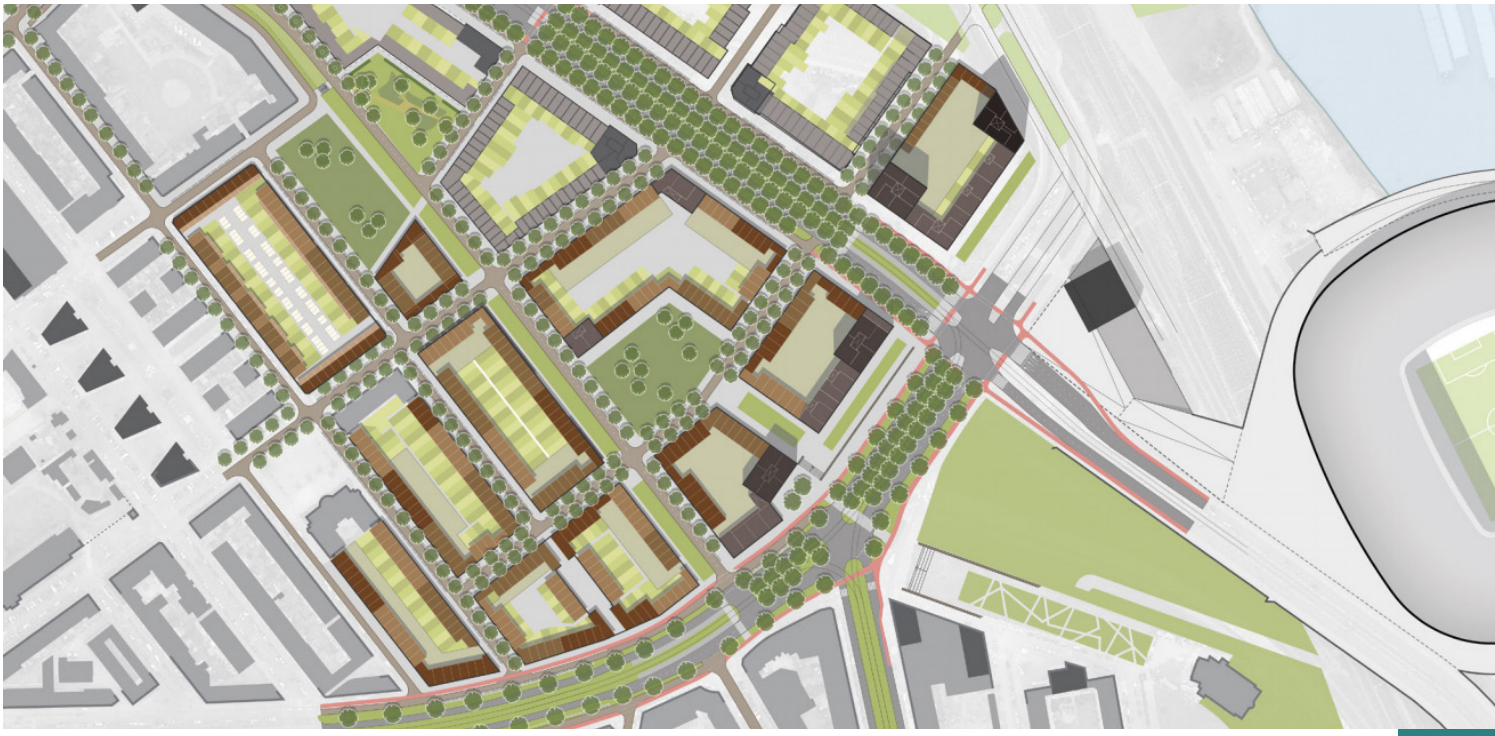


Figure 20: Development plans for Tweebos.

Moreover, Vestia, which as a housing association is responsible for ensuring the accessibility of housing, is unable to fulfil this role due to financial troubles and the gradual marginalisation of social housing. These circumstances have created a situation in which the residents of Tweebos and the buildings in which they live have become a plaything of larger financial interests. The plan to demolish the neighbourhood and construct privately owned middle-income terraced housing in its place is not in the interest of its residents, who simply require an affordable dwelling and opportunities for social and economic mobility but are now displaced. Nor is it in the interest of the city of Rotterdam as a whole, which requires densification and a cultivation of local urban culture in order to attract and house new residents. It is, however, the plan that fits best in a policy framework which favours private development and short-term returns. All of the land and real estate is owned by a single party, a housing association with little financial room for manoeuvre operating them at sub-market value. Moreover, land and dwellings in this area are a highly sought-after commodity, especially by relatively wealthy middle-income households which the municipality is eager to attract. The low density typology of private single-family terraced housing is then simply the model that has been refined and standardised to near-perfect efficiency, and is thus the investment providing the highest yields.

Although Tweebos residents have protested and delayed the demolition of their homes and despite the UN's appeal, demolition of Tweebos has started as of June 2021 (Groenendijk, 2021). The financial interests behind these developments are too strong for residents to counter, as Vestia needs the profits from this development to pay of its debts and the municipality is eager to use it to attract higher incomes to the city. In the marginalisation of social housing, the commodification of land and housing and the erosion of public goods, as well as the emphasis on liberty and 'technocratic' practical values, we can identify the characteristics of neoliberalisation clashing with the existing residents' right to their neighbourhood. This clash of interests makes Tweebos an interesting case study for an exploration of an alternative approach to housing provision through the right to the city.

It should be noted, however, that gentrification in Rotterdam-Zuid is not only a result of municipal policy, but also of the increasing global demand for housing in urban areas. Simply discontinuing gentrifying urban development policy will not halt the gentrification of these neighbourhoods. What Tweebos requires, then, is a development strategy that improves the living conditions of the existing population while simultaneously investing in urban development and protecting residents from gentrifying forces, or in other words: a strategy to secure and develop the local urban commons.

Figure 21: Some of the blocks eligible for demolition in De la Reystraat (top) and Hilledijk (bottom). Many have already been shuttered to prevent squatting.

Figure 22: Protests against the demolition of affordable housing in Tweebosbuurt by tenants who do not want to leave their neighbourhood.

5.

THE COMMUNITY LAND TRUST

THE CLT

This chapter will introduce the Community Land Trust as a model for affordable housing development. An examination of the CLT will deliver a set of values and aims that integrate it into the Housing Values model. A further exploration of the main CLT challenges through relevant literature will provide a series of operational goals that start to integrate the CLT model with the policy goals as defined in the previous chapter. Finally, an analysis of a set of reference projects along these aims will result in a series of practical CLT actions as building blocks for a CLT strategy in Tweebos. The policy aims from the previous chapter can then be re-evaluated.

The Community Land Trust

The model of the Community Land Trust (CLT) was proposed in the early seventies as a way to oppose gentrification and invest in a local community (Swann et al., 1972). Although this 'new model for land tenure' drew inspiration from a number of historical precedents its design was based mostly on New Communities Inc., a rural settlement founded by African-American activists in Georgia, USA. New Communities Inc. was formed by several key figures of the Civil Rights Movement who believed that owning land was the only way for African-American people to achieve economic security in the segregated American south (Jackson et al., 1996). These activists combined community ownership of land with individual ownership of housing in order to remove land from the speculative market and use it for the benefit of the local community, but still offer residents the opportunity to own their own homes and build up equity. To this mixed-ownership model they added mechanisms for ensuring community-guided development and an operational commitment to long-term stewardship of the land.

These first CLTs were rural, and often combined the mixed ownership of land and housing with the cooperative organisation of agricultural production. The model was adapted to an urban setting in the 1980s as a way to fight gentrification in low-income African-American neighbourhoods (Davis et al, 2020). Although these settings are radically different and the model has been adapted accordingly, implementation of a CLT has always had a strong drive for the emancipation of marginalised groups and affordable housing is seen as a prerequisite for this development. Since the mid-2000s the model has slowly been gaining ground in Europe, first in the UK and later on the rest of the continent. Although the CLT movement in Europe is still in its infancy, strong pan-European cooperation offers a fruitful foundation for further development (SHICC, 2020). The CLT has so often been adapted to fit local preferences, politics and needs that there exists an enormous diversity of different implementations of the model. Davis (2020) defines a set of common features of the 'classic' CLT along the pillars of organisation (referring to the community), ownership (referring to land) and operation (referring to 'trust').

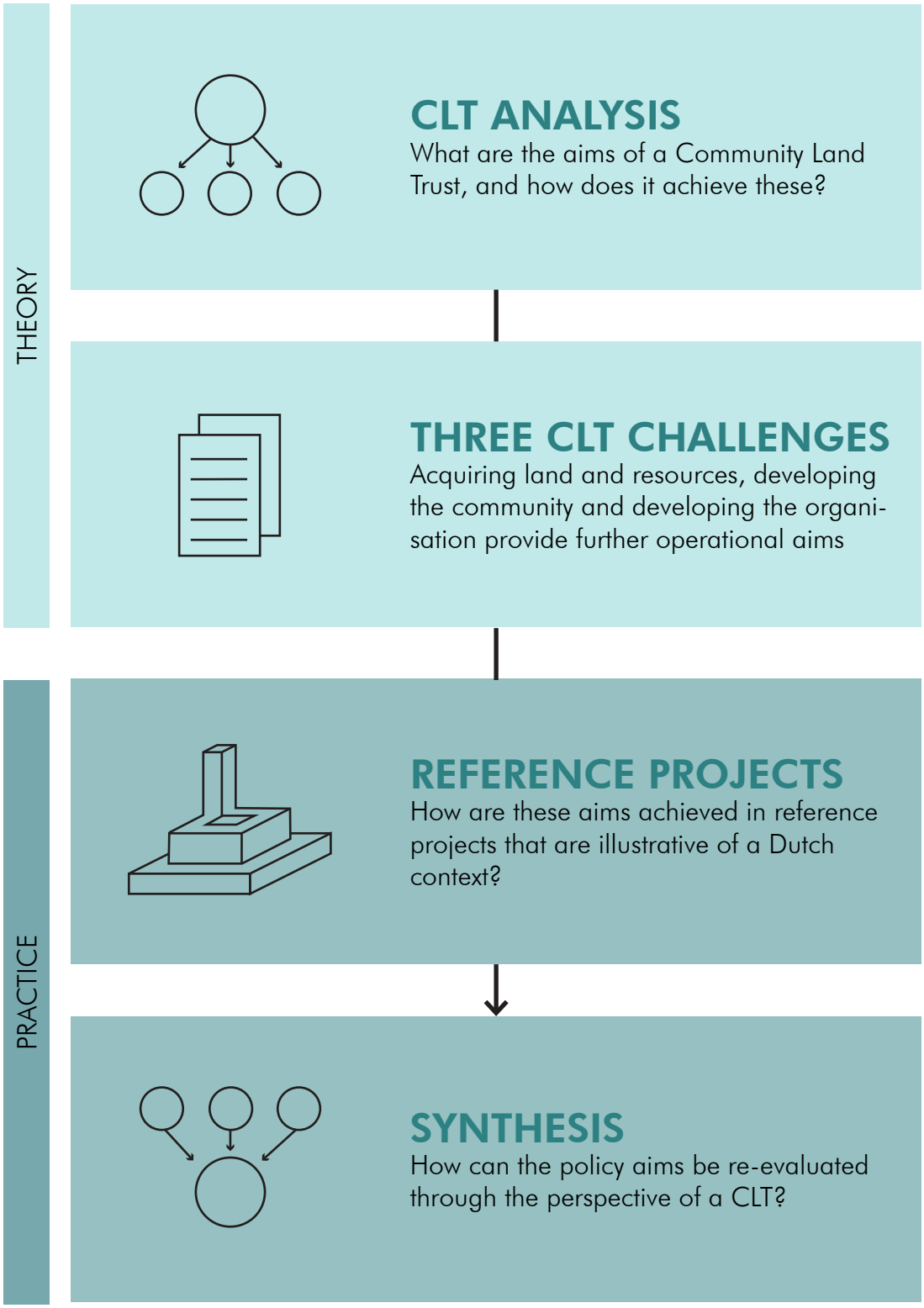


Figure 1: Methodology for analysing reference projects.

Organisation refers to the way a CLT is structured. CLTs are usually non-profit organisations, featuring a form of place-based membership and, most importantly, a tripartite governance structure. Under this tripartite structure the board of directors of a CLT is composed of three equal parts, representing the interests of CLT leaseholders, the surrounding community and local officials and institutions respectively. This balanced board ensures that all interests are represented, but no party is predominant. In the value model, this feature can be defined as participation: the right of residents to participate in the development of the neighbourhood. The aim that a CLT attaches to this value is the aim for residents to determine what their home and neighbourhood will look like.

Ownership refers to the mixed model of community-owned land and privately owned buildings. Some CLTs retain ownership of the buildings, for example when dealing with multi-unit residential or commercial rental units. Homeowners generally lease the land on which they build or buy a dwelling, giving the CLT some limited control over development. This model of mixed ownership can be defined by the value of equality: space belongs to everyone, and thus the land is owned by the CLT in which every stakeholder is represented equally. The CLT's goal is to use this to secure the right to an affordable home for everyone by keeping prices affordable by design.

Operation refers to the long-term goals of a CLT. As has been noted, a CLT is generally a non-profit organisation and not a trust in the legal sense of the term. The 'trust' in Community Land Trust refers to the principle of long-term stewardship of the land, and the goals of perpetual affordability and perpetual responsibility for the dwellings and other buildings that occupy it. The CLT does this by holding the land in perpetuity. Without the aim to sell it, the land's use value overtakes its financial value. As the lessor of the land, the CLT has an interest in the responsible use and upkeep of properties on it. Moreover, the resale price of dwellings located on CLT land is generally determined by a formula contained in the ground lease, in order to preserve perpetual affordability. These long-term aims can be defined by the value of stability in the Housing Values model.

By separating ownership of land and buildings and bringing the former under community control, the CLT provides a mechanism for operationalising Lefebvre's right to the city. Removing land from the market decommodifies it, removing the speculative element from urban development and allowing the use value of urban space to overtake its exchange value. This enables the CLT to provide perpetually affordable housing on its land, thus creating a count-

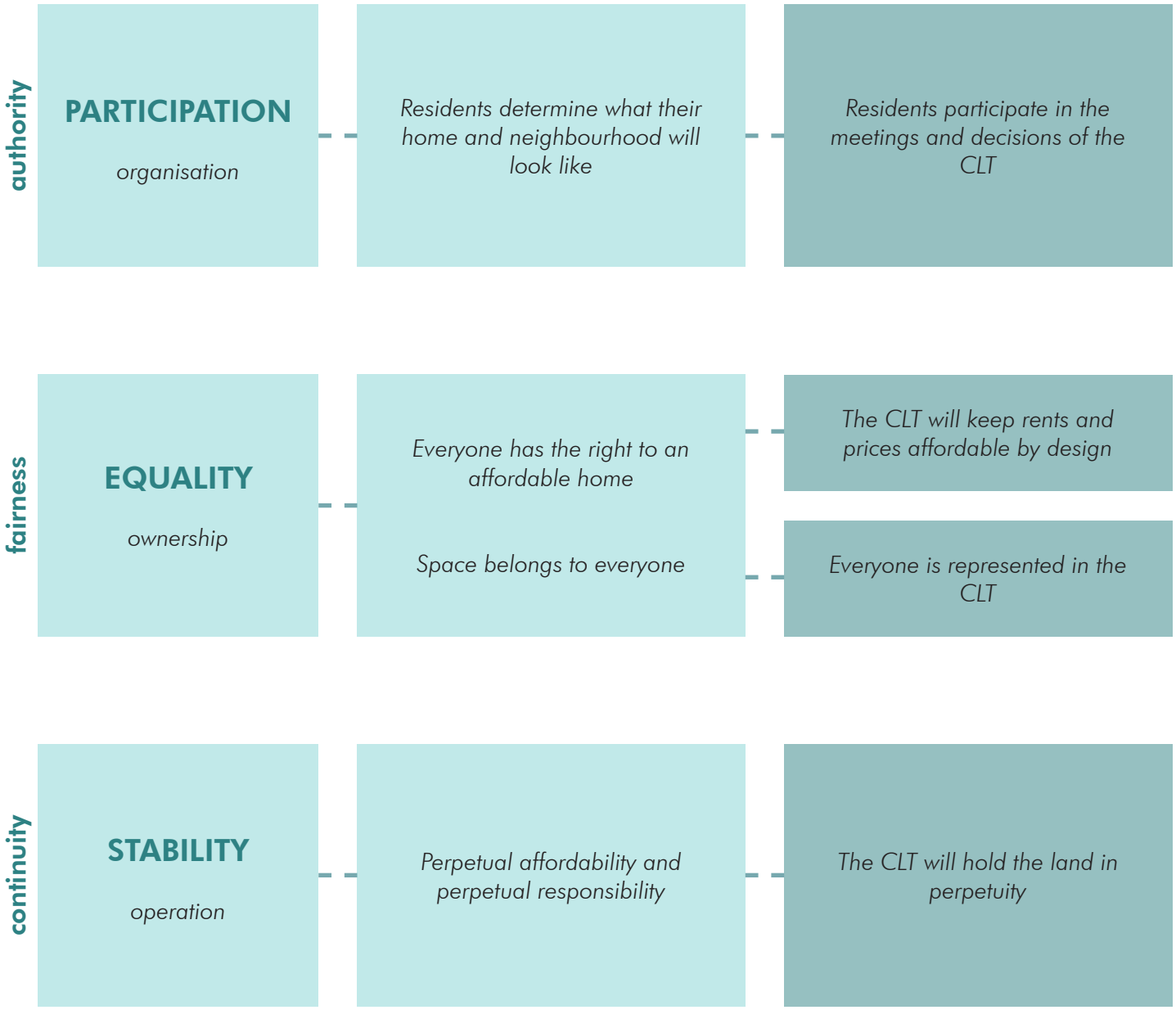


Figure 2: The CLT aims result in a set of building blocks for a development strategy.

er-force to gentrification. By bringing the land under community control, the CLT also fulfils the requirement for participation in the production of urban space. Moreover, this model of governance provides the local community with the tools to collectively share in the appreciation of land value, and thus can solve the problem of economic rent. By doing so, it essentially institutionalises an urban commons on a neighbourhood scale. The CLT would not even require ownership of all land in a neighbourhood in order to reach this goal: as a model it can exist next to market- and state-based models of housing provision, just as the commons exists in a balance with market, state and household in the embedded economy. The Community Land Trust can thus be used as a model to secure the rights of Tweebos residents.

Combining the CLT values and aims with those defined in the previous chapter results in a matrix of twelve values that are most important in the conflict around the Tweebos neighbourhood: three each for the CLT, Tweebos, Woonvisie and NPRZ. In this matrix, Woonvisie and NPRZ are the values of policy, representative of the political aims that local and national actors work towards inside their own frameworks. Tweebos and CLT represent two forces in opposition to this status quo: a neighbourhood-based force of residents who are marginalised by the effects of that policy, and a more theoretical force which arises from an analysis of systemic causes. In other words: the policy aims at gentrification, Tweebos and the CLT oppose it. These underlying values, however, do not necessarily have to be in conflict. In fact, many of the values of policy will sound positive to Tweebos residents. It is aims which express a particular combination of values in the interest of specific actors that may bring them into conflict with other actors. The challenge is then to find how the aims of policy can be operationalised for the benefit of Tweebos, or: how the positive effects of gentrification can benefit the local community and the urban commons while protecting them from the negative externalities. The Community Land Trust, with its aim of securing land for community use and investment, is a model for exactly this purpose. A deeper exploration of the CLT model will therefore provide a further set of operational goals that can be integrated into the value matrix.

Davis (2007) notes there are three main aspects to be taken into account in the setup of a Community Land Trust: the acquisition of land and resources, development of the community and development of the CLT organisation. Each of these aspects thus has its own operational aims that should be taken into consideration when setting up a CLT, which will be explored next. The formulation of these aims is based on the Housing Values model. However, as these additional goals do not necessarily need to correspond directly to the

core principles of the CLT, they can be grouped under any other value in the matrix. They can, thus, be additions to the goals defined in policy, securing the interests of the community. An integrated approach to neighbourhood development that combines the values and aims of the different actors can then be designed by asking which role a CLT can play in reaching these goals.

Acquiring land and resources

The collective approach to ownership of land is the most distinctive element of the CLT model. It allows a local community to share in the value generated by that community. However, this aspect also poses a problem: land is expensive. The rising value of land, reflecting a locations' economic development, is the main force that drives up housing costs. Ryan-Collins et al. (2017) propose that a greater public approach to land ownership results in a more stable economy in the long term. However, they also note that identifying and purchasing land in urban areas with high prices is one of the primary challenges CLTs generally face, as community groups typically lack the funds to make such purchases. The CLT must thus find a way to acquire land in their neighbourhood of interest at an affordable price, as well as resources to fund the development of that land.

However, CLTs have an additional objective: the aim to let a local community share in their neighbourhood's increased land value. The CLT will thus need to come up with a way to operationalise the growing value of the land in such a way that it can be redistributed to the neighbourhood without actually selling it (Davis et al, 2020). The aim for wealth generated by urban development to benefit the neighbourhood resonates with the value of solidarity in the Housing Values model. Only then can a CLT begin to fund development of additional affordable housing.

Developing the community

The first CLTs were rural in character, and as such they often had a strong community underpinning the organisation (Davis et al, 2020). The adaptation to urban settings has often corroded this aspect of the CLT, as emphasis was put on the mechanisms for affordable housing provision. The concept of community itself transforms through urbanisation as well, shifting from a close 'extended family' to group relations based on interests, affinities, and reciprocity (Kruger et al, 2019). Kruger et al. distinguish two distinct conceptions of community: communities of interests or affinities and communities of place. Communities of affinities had long been considered to be the more atomised, volatile interrelations characteristic to an urban context (Wirth, 1938). However, in the context of 1960s movements centred around the place of

stability
The CLT must acquire land in the neighbourhood

solidarity
Wealth generated by urban development should benefit the neighbourhood that created it

choice
The CLT provides housing for residents with lower incomes

Figure 3: Three operational CLT aims for the acquisition of land and funding.

urban communities in US cities a new conceptualisation based around place emerged (Tilly, 1973). These two conceptualisations can overlap, as shared interests often arise out of shared space. A CLT essentially aims to operationalise this overlap between space (the neighbourhood) and interests (affordable housing).

However, as many contemporary Community Land Trusts are geographically dispersed throughout a district or even a city, Kruger et al. found that neither of the two conceptions of community are very strong in CLTs. All CLTs studied focus on single-family homeownership, and there is little shared space. Nonetheless, CLT residents in all cases feel a strong sense of community with CLT staff members and organisation in particular. Moreover, many homeowners feel tied to an imagined future community of residents in the CLT; people who will benefit from the CLT program in the future. Kruger et al indicate that this is the 'trust' in a CLT: the idea that because of their current participation, "the CLT will be there in the future for people like me". The one CLT that did have a strong sense of community "found itself being pulled back to that geographic scale by its board members when it began to work increasingly outside of the community". Rondo CLT's community is based in a specific neighbourhood and identifies with a shared identity based in place. Here we can recognise the overlap of the conceptions of a community of space and of interests: by being tied to a specific spatial area, the CLT's interests of stewardship and affordability for the future (its 'trust') is operationalised in the present as stewardship and affordability for the local community. Moreover, Kruger et al. found that "for RCLT staff and board members, as well as CLT residents living in and outside of the Rondo neighbourhood, the meaning of community for RCLT was the neighbourhood of Black residents and business owners existing a priori (whether they lease property from the CLT or not)". In other words, community for RCLT exceeds the CLT itself and additionally includes not only residents, but also businesses and facilities that are important for that community, and in whose preservation the CLT can play a role. What ultimately binds this community is their shared history, which is expressed through both their shared interests and their shared space. The challenge for a CLT as a community is then to engage residents into a clear and geographically defined sense of identity, which ties it to the value of pride. It must on the one hand ensure the availability of spaces for non-residential functions which support that identity, in order to maintain liveability for its community. On the other hand a CLT must find a way to effectively operationalise the 'trust' in the present as the idea that CLT activity secures a flourishing urban community between different social groups whether one is a direct tenant or not.

pride
The CLT is a community where people feel safe and know one another

liveability
The neighbourhood offers the necessary basic facilities for all its social groups

community
A neighbourhood with a strong community creates social resilience and understanding

Figure 4: Three CLT aims for development of the community.

Developing the organisation

Although most CLTs find their origins in grass-roots community-organising, many have become highly professional organisations (Harrington, 2012). Engelsman et al. (2016) characterise this development as "a symbiotic relationship between proletariat and professional", suggesting that a CLT's success relies "on activists and professionals who both share similar aims and develop a symbiotic relationship in resisting the hegemony of private capital and the state". They note, however, that a tension exists in the CLT between housing as "a process to include the active behaviour of securing housing in a collective sense" and housing as "a commodity, the basis of home ownership". Williams (2019) notes that many CLTs in the US, in the process of professionalisation, have abandoned aims at community organisation and "are concerned primarily with the number of affordable homes secured, not the ways that residents are engaged or the specific needs of the local community". Engelsman et al. warn that CLTs must not lose sight of their original aims and values as they develop into more professional organisations. Kivel (2017) suggests a "bottom-up accountability guided by those on the frontlines", and Davis (2007) stresses the importance of a specifically local CLT mission statement, CLT education and community participation, ensuring that the voices of those residents which the CLT aims to empower do not get lost in the process of professionalisation.

The representation of CLT leaseholders and local community on a CLT board is the model's characteristic method to achieve such a balance. The classic CLT is a non-profit membership organisation governed by a board that equally represents CLT leaseholders, neighbourhood residents and public institutions (Peterson, 1996). Together, these three groups of actors balance the interests of direct leaseholders, local community and general public. A balanced tripartite board will thus be able to maintain focus on the CLT's mission. The specific actors that are to be represented on the board in order to safeguard a balanced set of interests will vary from one CLT to another, as they are reflective of local context and challenges. Moreover, many start-up CLTs have interim boards that are not as broadly representative (Davis et al., 2020). This reflects the other challenge for CLT governance: a Community Land Trust, both as a housing developer and as a community organiser, requires a lot of specialist knowledge and professional expertise which residents generally do not have readily available. The CLT thus not only has to develop housing, but its own organisation as well: for successful participation it must invest in the professional development of its members.

participation
Residents determine what their home and neighbourhood will look like

self-development
The CLT gives people a basis to develop themselves

Figure 5: Three CLT aims for development of the organisation.

These operational CLT aims can be integrated in the existing value matrix. Some of them overlap with values originally assigned to other actors, which emphasises the CLT as a platform for cooperation towards achieving common goals. The overarching CLT aims have already been defined in practice. By studying how the remaining set of operational CLT aims has been achieved in a set of reference projects, a strategy for CLT development in Tweebos can begin to take shape.

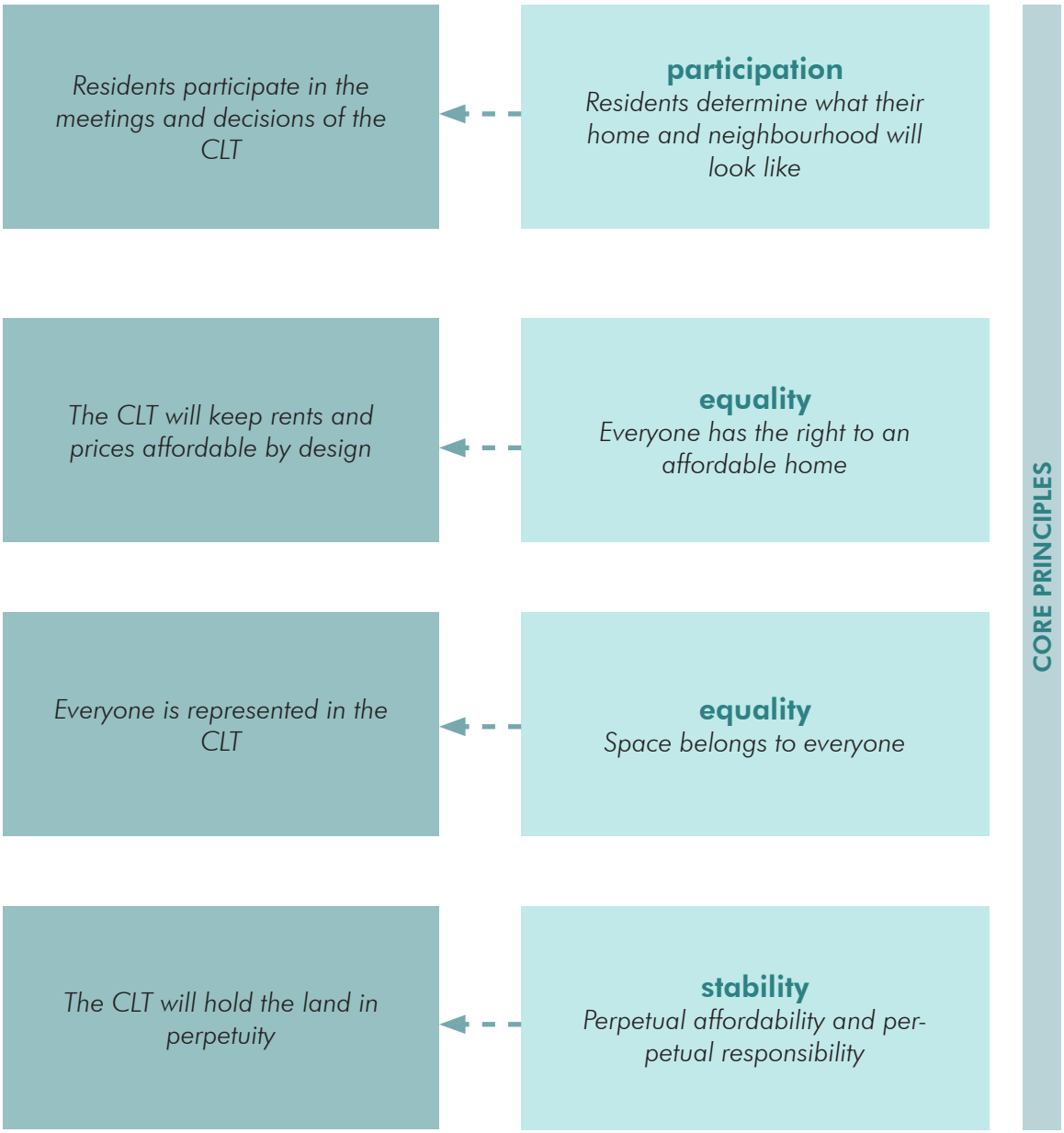


Figure 6: Overarching CLT aims (right) and methods (left) as defined at the start of the chapter.

Figure 7: The operational CLT aims for tackling the challenges of acquisition of land (top), development of the community (middle) and development of the organisation (bottom) will be explored in the next section.

CLT AIMS IN A DUTCH CONTEXT

In the previous section, a set of aims has been developed from the perspective of different actors in Tweebos. These goals can be subdivided into two groups: goals that represent the interests of the neighbourhood and goals that represent policy. Although the CLT model is still quite unknown in the Netherlands, the individual aims can be found in many urban development projects. By studying a set of reference projects, practical implementations of the first group of goals will be explored in order to construct building blocks for a CLT strategy. Subsequently, new solutions for the set of policy goals will be defined by viewing them through the perspective of a CLT.

Reference projects have been selected through talks with professionals from housing associations, LSA Bewoners (the association of cooperative housing projects) and CLT Brussels (the longest-running CLT in the Benelux) in accordance with their relevance to each section's main aims and their applicability in the context of Tweebos.

Acquiring land and resources

Traditionally, there are several ways through which land for affordable housing development can be acquired in the Netherlands: through the municipality, through redevelopment of land already in possession by housing associations, or by developing privately owned land (De Kam, 2012). Municipalities can contribute to the development of affordable housing by selling their land for a reduced price, which is often paired with detailed commitments towards the

Figure 8: Housing projects L'écluse by CLT Brussels.

program to be realised. However, land sales often account for a large part of a municipality's tight yearly budget and as such there can an incentive for municipalities to sell their land to higher bidders. Another means of acquiring land is redevelopment of land that is already in possession of housing associations. This will either mean that an existing housing block will be transformed into a CLT, or will have to be accompanied by demolition and thus (temporary) displacement of existing dwellings. Under the 2015 revision of Dutch housing law, housing association residents have received the opportunity to establish a housing cooperative to manage their dwellings under certain conditions (Woningwet, 2015). Development of privately-owned land is often too expensive for affordable housing, especially for co-operative initiatives.

According to Kristel Jeuring, project manager at LSA Bewoners, funding for cooperative housing projects often consists of three elements: crowdfunding, a loan and a grant or subsidy of some sort. Moreover, different phases of development require different types of funding (Conijn & Wetzels, 2020). There is a wide availability of local, national and even European subsidies and grants for cooperative housing projects. Such subsidies are often applicable for very specific cases and listing all possible options would be superfluous, however one of them will be noted in particular. Sustainable Housing for Inclusive and Cohesive Cities (SHICC) is a project of Interreg Europe, the European Union's Regional Development Fund, which aims to invest in a selected set of CLT projects in urban regions in North-West Europe (Interreg North-West Europe, 2017). As of 2020 the programme has directly funded 4 pilot CLT projects, with an additional 33 projects being supported through a newly-developed start-up fund (SHICC, 2020).

A CLT's land can also be used as collateral for a loan (Conijn & Wetzels, 2020). The relative obscurity of the CLT model in the Netherlands and the financial uncertainty that comes along with small, bottom-up initiatives by inexperienced developers will mean that banks are generally reluctant to issue loans to these initiatives. However, Ad Vlems, chairman of Ecodorp Boekel, notes that German Gemeinschaftsbank für Leihen und Schenken has realised the stability of investments in affordable housing projects and has financed around ninety cooperative developments (Helms, 2020). It now provides funds for a handful of projects in the Netherlands as well (Koedam, 2021). As the aim of these organisations is to rent out dwellings at affordable prices return rates are low, however, this also means the business model is relatively resilient to economic fluctuations and the risk of foreclosure is generally low (National Association of Housing Cooperatives, 2021). This makes investing in cooperative housing projects extremely stable long-term investments.

Despite these options for finance, initiators will usually still have to bring in their own funds, especially during the first phases of development (Conijn & Wetzels, 2020). These funds can be provided by participants' savings, but also by crowdfunding through family members, friends or even the general public. Some housing cooperatives use low-interest lending schemes to collect the often significant financial sums required to kickstart a project. Ecodorp Boekel uses a fundraising scheme they call crowdlending, through which the general public can lend money to the housing initiative at a low interest rate (Ecodorp Boekel, 2021). Other cooperative projects use a public share-based system, which gives shareholders a certain degree of control over the project (LSA Zelfbeheer, 2021). Despite these efforts, funding cooperative housing projects remains a 'patchwork' of a mortgage, bank loans and subsidies, stitched together by crowdfunding (Platform31, 2021).

Once a CLT has acquired both land and funds for construction, it will also need to generate income to pay back any possible loans and to finance future development, overhead and maintenance. The organisation's main source of income will be a cash flow generated by tenants and homeowning leaseholders, depending on the type of dwellings the CLT offers (Swann et al., 1972). Homeowners will lease the land under their dwelling as well as pay a mortgage loan either through the CLT or to the bank directly. Tenants can rent their dwellings either through the CLT or through a third party that leases the ground from the CLT. However, the extent of the cash flows that can be generated through these means are inversely linked to the affordability of the offered spaces. In order to generate additional income, the CLT may choose to offer dwellings or other spaces for market rates (Davis et al., 2020). Such a strategy can have the additional benefit of tying socioeconomically stronger households to the community, although it is important to maintain a healthy balance between a sustainable business model and the core goal of providing affordable housing: the CLT may not become a gentrifying force in itself.

As development of the land takes place, it will rise in value. The core objective of a CLT's relationship with land is to redistribute the appreciation of land value back towards the local community (Ryan-Collins et al., 2017). The CLT must then find a way to operationalise the land's increased value, however without selling it, as this would impede any further community influence over affordability and stewardship and bring the land back onto the speculative market. A safer approach than using land as collateral might be to partly lease it to commercial parties against market rates, or even to develop such spaces in-house (De Kam, 2012). Third party developers may develop dwellings for market-based rental prices, essentially redistributing wealth from gentrifiers to the neighbourhood through the CLT lease. A private party can lease the land to operate a business that employs local workers, and the CLT

will re-invest part of the leasehold rent in the neighbourhood. One of the tools the Dutch system property ownership offers for such mechanisms is erfpacht, a leasehold system which extends a party the right to fully use someone else's landed property in exchange for financial compensation (Kadaster, 2021). Gemeentelijke erfpacht (municipal lease) is extended by some municipalities, such as Amsterdam or The Hague, in order to preserve a degree of control over urban land; particuliere erfpacht (private lease) can be extended by any private holder of property. In addition to the level of the rent, the lease can also include quite detailed arrangements on the use of the land. As such, the lessor retains a significant amount of control over the property. Moreover, when a lessee desires to change a property's admitted usage, the lessor may adjust rent accordingly. This makes erfpacht a useful tool for CLTs that want to have a certain degree of community control over their property.

The most fruitful way for a Dutch CLT to acquire land is by collaborating either with the municipality, or with a housing association. In Tweebos, the land is owned by Vestia. However, due to Vestia's financial problems, it does not have the capacity to invest in new developments. However, it can provide the land it already owns, even if it is for a symbolic price. The CLT can fund this acquisition and any pre-investments through crowdfunding or governmental subsidies. It can then generate a stable cash flow by leasing out part of the land to a commercial developer, with which it can fund housing development.

Figure 9: Three CLT building blocks for the aspect 'land'.

Developing the community

Affordable housing alone is not enough to protect a community from gentrifying forces. A CLT will also have to ensure the sustained presence of non-residential functions that support the local community, as well as work on the 'trust' of residents in the value of the CLT's role in a flourishing community. Minnesota-based Rondo CLT has developed two mixed-use buildings with commercial spaces for local businesses (Rondo CLT, 2021). Rondo CLT was established in the early 90s as a response to the construction of an interstate highway that fractured the predominantly African-American neighbourhood and displaced its residents. The interstate fractured the community and subsequently many local businesses were lost. RCLT aims to preserve and strengthen this community by providing affordable housing for low to moderate incomes, and have in recent years been expanding their activities to also include commercial spaces. During the last decade the Rondo neighbourhood has slowly started to gentrify, and RCLT aims to preserve spaces for the community by supporting local and minority-owned businesses such as the local Golden Thyme Coffee & Café and bookstore In Black Ink (Norfleet, 2019). The buildings' façade is decorated with art showcasing the neighbourhood's African-American history.

Closer to Rotterdam, Arnhem-based Bewonersbedrijf Malburgen reinvests its rental revenue obtained through operating affordable housing, local businesses and meeting spaces in projects benefitting the local community, such as a playground, gardening services and a thrift store (Bewonersbedrijf Malburgen, 2021). Bewonersbedrijf Malburgen actively supports projects by Arnhem art school ArtEZ and local health organisations, and provides spaces for the development of local startups and businesses. In Afrikaanderwijk, Stichting Freehouse has been active since 2008 in order to showcase the neighbourhood's best qualities. The organisation's approach is rooted in the aim to use cultural production as a stimulus for social and economic development (Autonomous Fabric, 2021). It developed the local and well-known Afrikaandermarkt with their project De Markt van Morgen, resulting in over 300 small-scale interventions to improve the market. In 2009 they opened Wijkatelier op Zuid, an organisation which links neighbourhood residents with knowledge or craftsmanship in textile production to designers and businesses, aiming to stimulate cultural entrepreneurship and local production (Stichting Freehouse, 2021). Afrikaanderwijk Coöperatie wants to stimulate local production and entrepreneurship as well, by offering a broad selection of locally organised initiatives, such as cleaning and gardening services, a 'bicycle bank' for low-income residents and Wijkkeuken van Zuid, a catering service run by local home cooks (Afrikaanderwijk Coöperatie, 2021). Through these activities, the cooperation aims to strengthen the neighbourhood and showcase

the 'hidden' talents and potential of residents. The organisation's revenues are reinvested in Afrikaanderwijk.

However, strengthening the CLT's target community is not enough to protect it from gentrification. Newcomers will also have to share in the 'trust' of the CLT, the idea that participating in the CLT ensures affordability, and thus a flourishing and diverse local community and culture, for the future. Eindhoven housing association Trudo realised this need for community trust as well. In their development of Woensel-West, a notorious neighbourhood suffering from problems with low levels of education and employment and high crime rates, they actively sought out economically strong residents that were willing to invest in the local community (Trudo, 2016). Instead of gentrifying the neighbourhood, these newcomers used their social and cultural capital to emancipate marginalised residents. Programs include language lessons and after-school tutoring, but also urban farming, knitting sessions for the elderly and a yearly Christmas market. In exchange for 10 hours of community work per month, residents receive a rental discount. The neighbourhoods' education programs, in which university students provide tutoring to primary school pupils, have successfully elevated the local school 't Palet from a 'very weak' to an 'excellent' rating (De Vaan, 2018). By actively committing new residents and their knowledge or skills to the existing community Trudo has managed to both develop Woensel-West's socio-economic conditions and create a tightly knit local community.

Participation in Space-S also continued after the initial design of the buildings was completed with the development of public spaces, selection of materials and even naming of the different blocks, developing a long-term commitment to and sense of ownership of the project (Inbo Amsterdam, 2017). A shared Facebook group provided potential residents a means to stay in touch with one another, in addition to social activities organised by the collective. Participants would earn 'matspunten' for organising activities and participating in development, with the number of points reflecting a participant's commitment and, eventually, determining their position on the waiting list for dwellings: whoever is most committed, gets the first apartment. One resident, a game developer, designed a virtual reality model that participants could walk through, another set up a moving service by bike once the blocks were finished. Angelique Bellemakers notes, however: "These collective projects are often matters for wealthy, educated people. They can get complex, you need some amount of social capital. Our strength was that we had a lot of students, we had a top layer that carried the bottom layer and gave them a say in matters." A socio-economically diverse mix of participants wherein those

who are more knowledgeable or skilful can shoulder those who require assistance is important in order to achieve a successful result. Moreover, although redistribution schemes can be very successful, it is important to beware that they function as a catalyst for developing relationships and not a further financialisation of time and community. This can be done by carefully selecting the types of admitted activities and by setting a maximum amount of monthly working hours for the program, as demonstrated by the projects in Woensel-West (Trudo, 2016).

In order to protect a community from gentrification, the CLT will have to support local businesses and amenities in order to preserve the local culture and identity. Community can develop from shared space and shared interests. The shared space is the neighbourhood, and so the CLT can preserve and strengthen certain spatial markers of local identity. The shared interest is the value of a flourishing and prosperous neighbourhood, which is in the interest of both old and new residents. Gentrifying newcomers especially have to be made to realise the added value of the CLT and its members, as the CLT can be dependent on them for its revenue. Moreover, in the CLT's developments a socio-economic diversity of participants is important in order to internalise social capital in the organisation. In the end, however, gentrifiers are attracted partly by the neighbourhood's cultural character and identity, and thus have

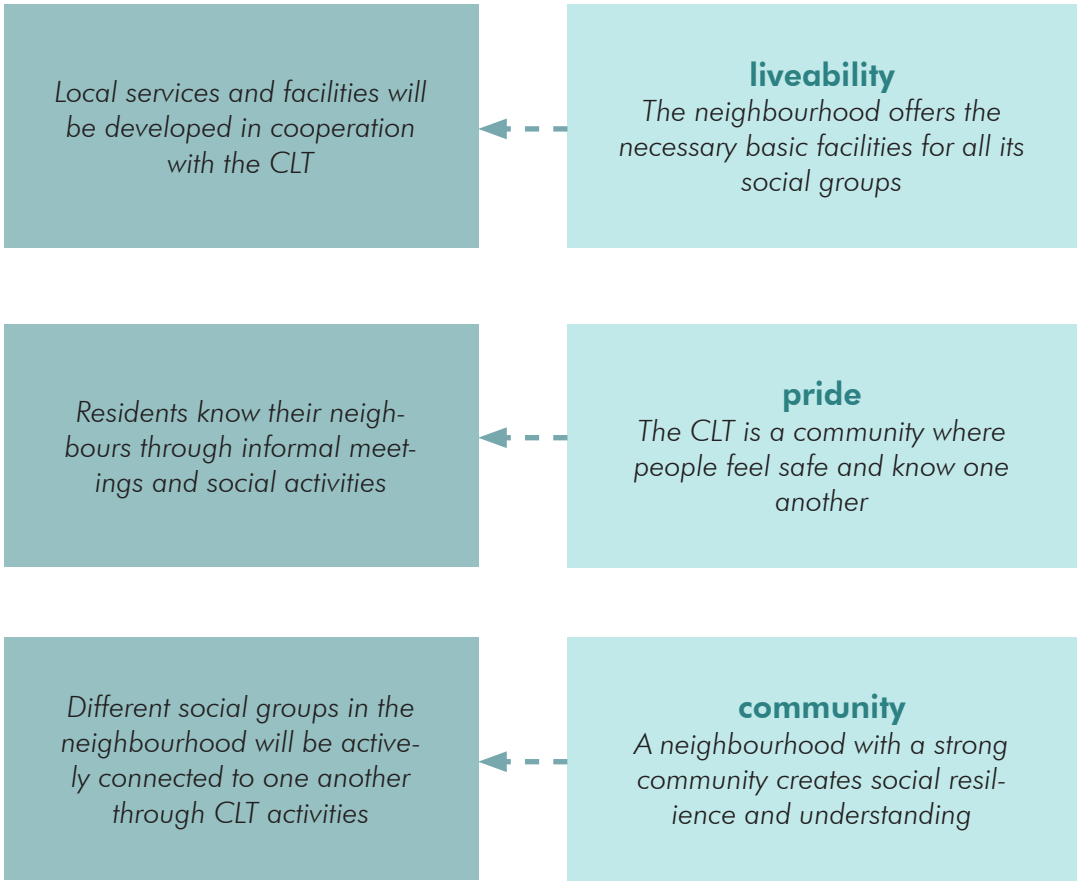


Figure 10: hree CLT building blocks for the aspect 'community'.

an interest in the CLT's aims as well. Social activities can be used to connect residents to one another, as well as programs that redistribute social capital, such as language tutoring. This requires collective spaces, but also spaces where different people meet informally. Programs that employ the population's skills for businesses or services can help them develop economically while at the same time making their 'hidden' contributions visible to the neighbourhood. These activities on the one hand develop the original community, and on the other hand secure their place in a changing neighbourhood.

Developing the organisation

A start-up CLT must not only acquire resources, but also set up a professional organisation. During this first phase it is especially important for the CLT to possess a knowledgeable and well-connected professional base, but also to stimulate neighbourhood participation as soon as possible (Davis, 2007). Amsterdam-based CLT Bijlmer, a young CLT that is still in its start-up phase, was initiated by a coalition of social innovation professionals, but quickly sought out participation by the local community of their selected target area: H-buurt in Bijlmer, Amsterdam (SHICC, 2020). CLT Bijlmer acts as an advisory and knowledge platform, whereas the members association CLT H-buurt is the first development project originating from this platform. The project is led by the H-buurt community, and is currently targeting potential plots for development. After an extensive deliberative process in which various legal forms were discussed and analysed, the decision was made to set up the CLT as a housing cooperative (CLT Bijlmer, 2021). A housing co-op is a vereniging and thus has members, but also offers the possibility for different concurrent types of membership featuring different rules, financial obligations and even voting rights. This provides an opportunity for membership of not only CLT leaseholders, but also community residents and public representatives, in line with the principle of tripartite governance. CLT H-buurt is currently aiming to develop its first project.

CLT Brussels was initiated by a core group of professionals with experience in community-led housing projects looking for a strategy to provide permanent affordability (De Pauw & Aernhouts, 2020). Geert de Pauw, project coordinator for CLTB, remarks: "In the beginning, yes, we were a group of volunteers, activists but with professional knowledge of housing and urban development. Once we secured government funding, we could hire a number of employees and develop into a professional organisation." CLTB now operates 12 properties, with 200 dwellings currently in development and the aim to operate 1.000 dwellings by 2030. De Pauw notes that support for the organisation is widely recognised by local institutions, governments and political actors.

CLTB involved many such actors from the start (De Pauw, 2018). In their meetings, governmental representatives and working-class families are involved in the development process together. During preparation and development of a project, which can take multiple years, future residents are actively engaged in the process in project groups and are educated in all kinds of relevant matters, from architecture and finance to housing management and maintenance. They cooperate with local social innovation organisations to coordinate this process. According to Davis, cooperation with other NGOs and local institutions is especially important. In 2020, CLTB established Fair Ground Brussels through a coalition of local organisation with aims in combatting homelessness, housing activism, social economy and public welfare. Their aim is to develop a city-wide network of cooperative and social institutions and create a fair social economy.

Space-S Eindhoven took the approach to community-led development even further. Housing association Woonbedrijf developed Space-S as part of the masterplan for Strijp-S, a brownfield development that aims to turn a abandoned industrial site into a creative urban neighbourhood (Inbo Amsterdam, 2017). Woonbedrijf opted to involve potential future residents in the planning and development of the project from the start. In a process led by planning firm Inbo, participants were involved in a diverse series of workshops, brainstorms and consulting sessions through both physical and digital means. Angelique Bellemakers, project director for Space-S at Inbo, says:

"We didn't have a plan, we just started doing things. We put up a sign that said 'Who wants to live here?' and took it from there. What we did have was a small group of smart and committed people whose knowledge and experience we could tap into. Once we reached 500 followers on facebook, we knew we could really get something done. In any case, it's not about the amount of people, it's about what they can do. And residents are very skilful! The problem is with the professionals: you have to learn to let go of your preconceptions."

Participation of potential residents started simply with a brainstorming session on the question 'How would you like to live here?'. Once participants started defining the qualities they desired and began to grasp the breadth of the project, smaller 'workspaces' were set up around specific questions, for example on the location and quantity of washing machines or the spatial quality of courtyards. Sometimes several workspaces were combined in 'labs' for larger issues, such as greenery. The results of these workspaces were discussed and then voted on in 'Collected', the central meeting of all participants. Bellemakers notes: "If you want to give people a choice, you have to tell them the full

story. We let participants design floor plans in full scale, with blocks of foam and some furniture. You want a bigger apartment? Sure, that's possible. But it will cost more."

The involvement of potential residents transformed the initial urban plan of two rather anonymous closed building blocks into a dense and close-knit ensemble featuring seven apartment blocks and different levels of semi-public green spaces (Van den Ende, 2019). Instead of clustering different types of housing in separate buildings as in the original proposal, participants noted that mixing social groups is in fact what they expect of urban life. They created a typology of diverse dwellings where students can live next to families or an elderly couple, a common room to meet neighbours, shared vegetable gardens on rooftop terraces and even dwellings that combine housing with a studio or small commercial space. Bellemakers: "But you do have to actually listen! At one point, people said: we don't mind students, but we don't want half of these dwellings to be student housing. So we decreased it."

A start-up CLT organisation requires two groups of participants: a community and housing professionals. Together, they are tasked with establishing the CLT's initial infrastructure. Development of a clear mission statement on which it can fall back and a neighbourhood vision which it can work towards are essential, as is early support from institutional actors such as banks, political actors and governments. In preparation for any spatial development projects, the CLT must ensure a well-developed base of community members who can act as connecting tissue in the neighbourhood and coordinate social activities. The CLT can then develop its first project and educate its residents, two aims which usually happen alongside one another: residential participation in housing development has an educational function as well. Once up and running the CLT can choose to expand its activities to other areas, developments or partners, depending on the needs of the community.

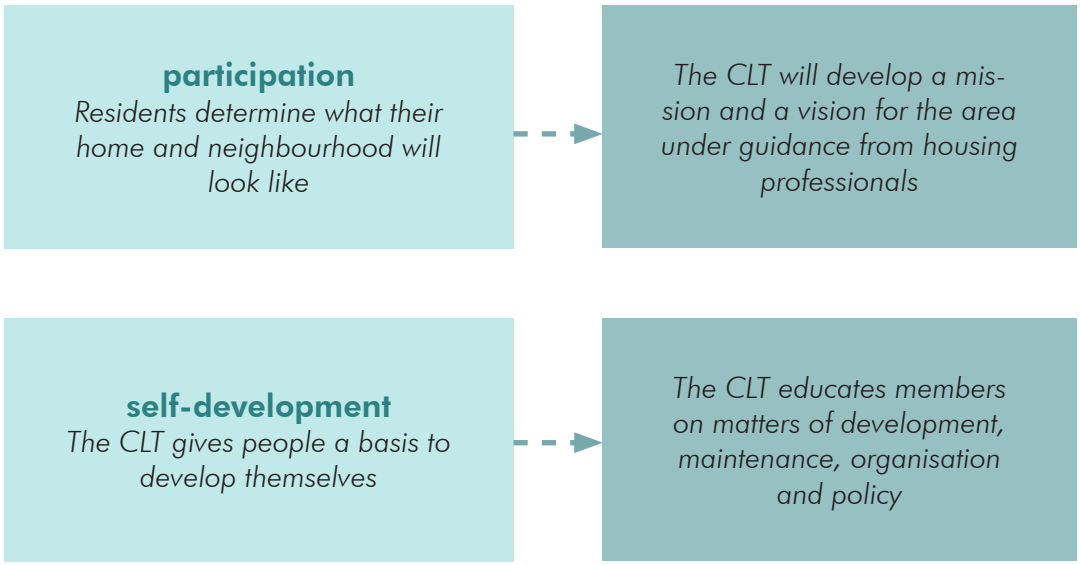


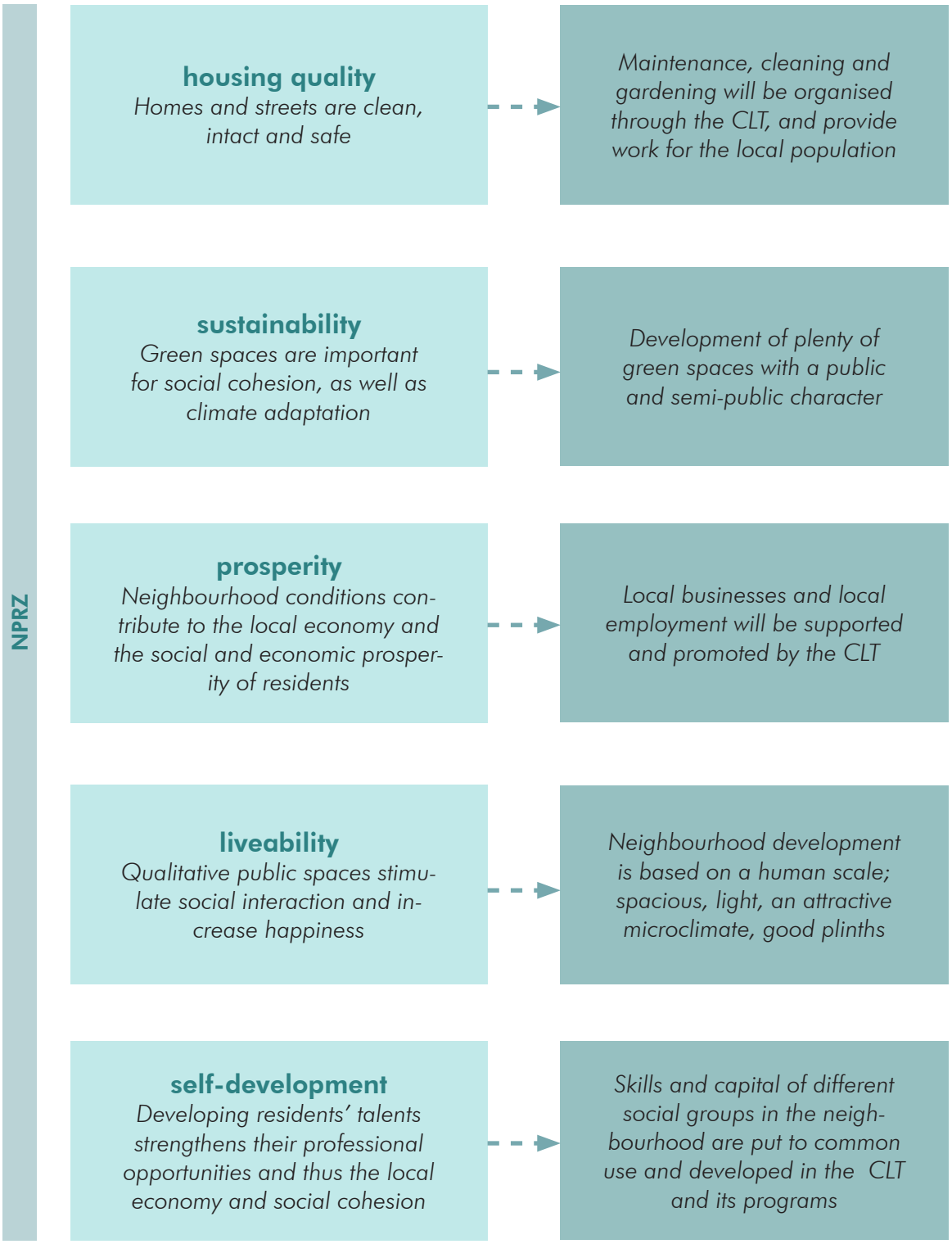
Figure 11: Three CLT building blocks for the aspect 'organisation'.

CONCLUSION

With this analysis in mind, it is possible to re-evaluate the policy aims of Woonvisie and NPRZ as defined in the previous chapter. The CLT can now give its own spin to these aims in order to incorporate them in its framework, thus strengthening its vision towards these actors. To the values and aims extracted from the Woonvisie, the following CLT actions can be attached in order to secure benefit to the existing community:

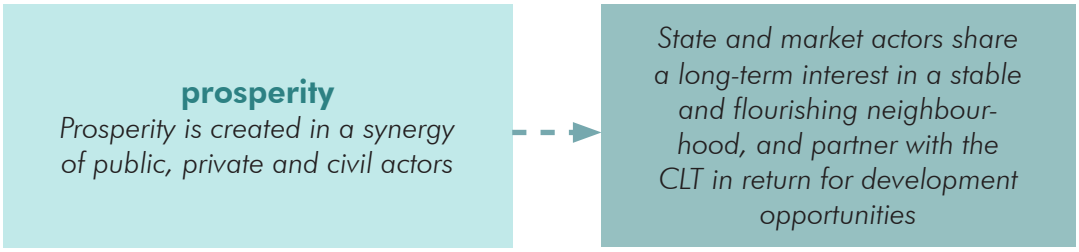
Figure 12: Re-evaluating the aims of the Woonvisie and NPRZ provides a framework to incorporate the CLT in the vision of the governing actors.

Similarly, the aims as defined by the Nationaal Plan Rotterdam-Zuid concentrate on talent, economic and spatial development. In its sub-vision for Afrikaanderwijk, NPRZ defines a further set of spatial development aims concentrating on housing diversity, physical quality, green spaces and spatial connections. The first aim overlaps with the aims of the Woonvisie under the value of choice. The other aims can be integrated in the matrix with the following CLT actions:



Finally, the aims of Tweebos residents can be secured through this re-evaluation of policy actions:

One last aim that transcends any individual actor emerges from the preceding analysis. In all of these reference projects it is clear that true wealth arises not only from market actors, but from a synergy between public, private and civil actors. This is in line with Raworth's model of the embedded economy, which emphasises the balance between state, market, household and commons. Speculative developments may create a profitable revenue stream for investors and raise GDP, but they do not contribute to the wealth of society. They plunder the urban commons until it has been fully commodified and sold off to the highest bidder, disenfranchising communities and destroying neighbourhoods. Ironically, this eventually cannibalises the 'business climate' as well. The CLT, as protector of the urban commons, thus also serves the long-term interests of market actors. Public, private and civil actors share an interest in a stable and flourishing neighbourhood, and it is only natural that they partner with the CLT. It is the CLT's job to keep an eye on that interest and balance those who produce and consume the urban commons.



6.

STRATEGY PROPOSAL

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, an analysis of the CLT model and a set of reference projects resulted in a list of practical actions a Community Land Trust can take to achieve the aims of Tweebos residents within the framework of local housing policy. This chapter will detail how these building blocks can be used to construct a strategy for CLT development in Tweebos, and what kind of spaces would result from such an approach.

Three phases in the development of a CLT have been defined in the analysis of CLT organisations: a phase of set-up, during which residents and professionals set up a base organisation; a phase of development and resource acquisition during which the CLT trains its members and acquires funding; and a phase of neighbourhood investment during which the CLT can start developing housing projects. The 24 CLT building blocks can be distributed amongst these three phases in order to design a strategy for a Community Land Trust in Tweebos.

Per phase, three building blocks reflecting the three CLT-challenges as defined in chapter 5 can be distinguished through the aspects of community, land and organisation:

Phase I: set-up
Land: Vestia can provide the land for the CLT, but cannot invest financially
Community: Different social groups in the neighbourhood will be actively connected to one another through CLT activities
Organisation: The CLT will develop a mission and a vision for the area under guidance from housing professionals

Phase II: land value
Community: Residents with higher incomes are integrated in the neighbourhood in order to develop a more resilient socio-economic balance
Land: The appreciation of the value of the land is redistributed to the community through CLT erfpacht
Organisation: The CLT educates members on matters of development, maintenance, organisation and policy

Phase III: neighbourhood investment
Organisation: Everyone is represented in the CLT
Community: Local services and facilities will be developed in cooperation with the CLT
Land: The CLT invests its income in developing and managing affordable housing

PHASE I: set-up	PHASE II: land value	PHASE III: investment
The existing Tweebos community will be developed and expanded through the CLT	*State and market actors share a long-term interest in a stable and flourishing neighbourhood, and partner with the CLT in return for development opportunities*	*Everyone is represented in the CLT*
Vestia can provide the land for the CLT, but cannot invest financially	*Development of plenty of green spaces with a public and semi-public character*	*Skills and capital of different social groups in the neighbourhood are put to common use and developed in the CLT and its programs*
Different social groups in the neighbourhood will be actively connected to one another through CLT activities	*Residents with higher incomes are integrated in the neighbourhood in order to develop a more resilient socio-economic balance*	*The CLT will preserve and renovate characteristic buildings and spaces in the neighbourhood Local services and facilities will be developed in cooperation with the CLT*
Residents know their neighbours through informal meetings and social activities	*Neighbourhood development is based on a human scale; spacious, light, an attractive microclimate, good plinths*	*Local businesses and local employment will be supported and promoted by the CLT*
The CLT will hold the land in perpetuity	*Maintenance, cleaning and gardening will be organised through the CLT, and provide work for the local population*	*Housing is renovated or developed with energy-neutral conditions and sustainable use of materials, aided by governmental subsi-dies*
The CLT will keep rents and prices affordable by design	*Wealthier residents financially support the CLT, and thus secure the rights of less wealthy residents*	*The quality and diversity of the housing supply is carefully adjusted and densified while keeping the needs of the existing residents in mind*
Residents participate in the meetings and decisions of the CLT	*The CLT educates members on matters of development, maintenance, organisation and policy*	The CLT invests its income in developing and managing affordable housing
The CLT will develop a mission and a vision for the area under guidance from housing professionals	The appreciation of the value of the land is redistributed to the community through CLT erfpacht	

Figure 1: 3 phases of CLT building blocks.

Each phase of development results in a spatial product: a neighbourhood vision, a private 'gentrifying' development and a collection of CLT interventions respectively. The strategy is top-down and describes how residents will be involved, the spatial proposals however are merely illustrative of the bottom-up interventions that can result from this process and thus allows room for the agency of participants. Ultimately, it is up to Tweebos residents to decide what they want their neighbourhood to look like. The next sections will explore how these different phases can play out. The assumption is that this strategy will start before demolition of the neighbourhood takes place.

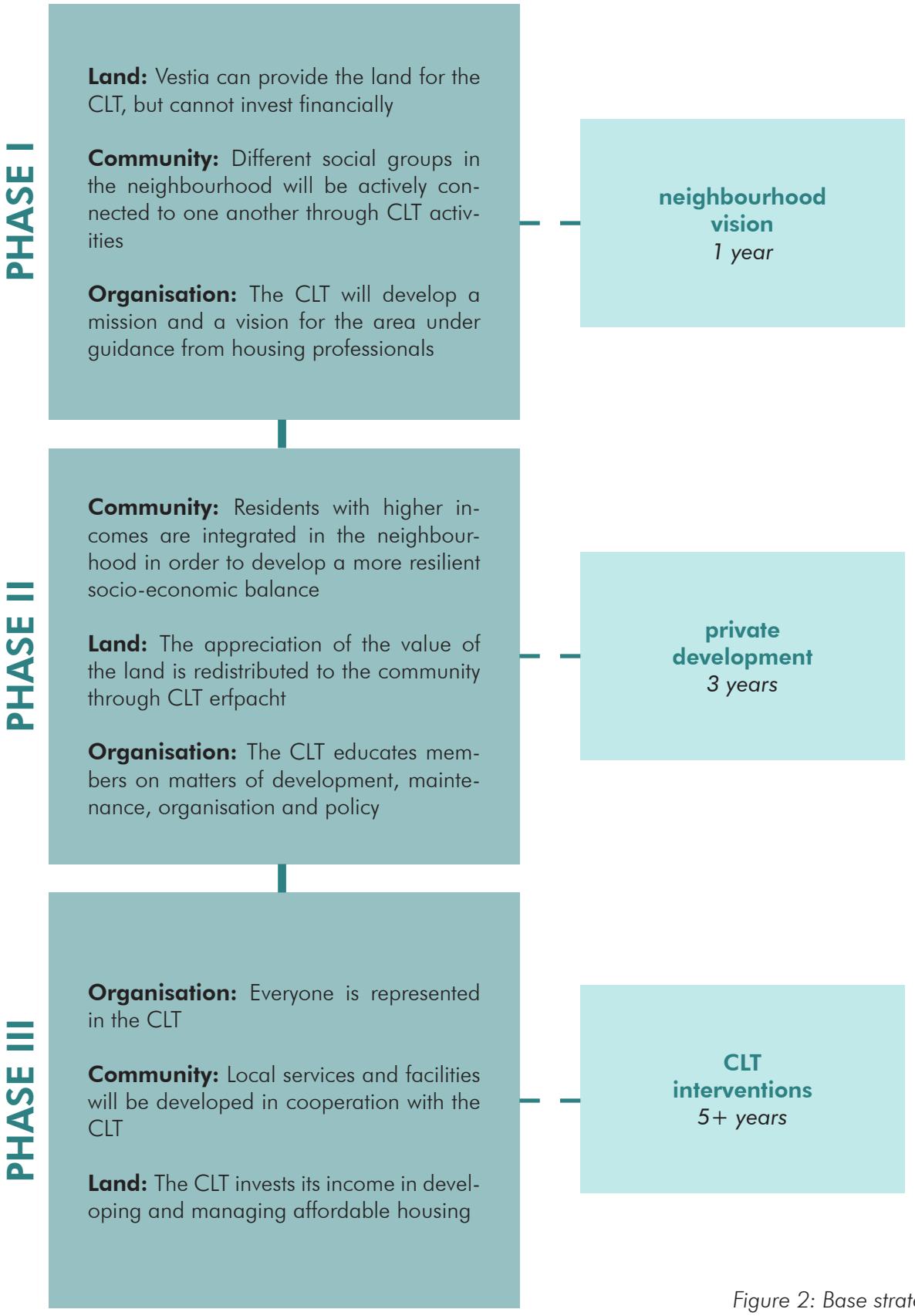


Figure 2: Base strategy.

CLT TWEEBOS

Phase I: set-up

During the phase of set-up, Tweebos residents and housing professionals develop a CLT base organisation together. This starts with defining the mission of the CLT-to-be, which will provide focus for later developments. The aim of a CLT in Tweebos is to protect the interests of the local community of Tweebos and Afrikaanderwijk against gentrifying forces. The main target group of the CLT thus consists of the existing residents in the area, social housing tenants and local businesses in particular. This is a multicultural group of largely working class households. However, if the CLT is to function well it will also have to involve the residents of the new middle-income housing projects that are being developed along the opposite side of Hilledijk. Finally, students are a target group that offer a lot of potential for participation and innovation, as well as a group that is in urgent need of housing in Rotterdam. All of these target groups have their own needs and qualities. Important partners are Vestia and the municipality, as well as housing professionals or urban planners who want to attach themselves to the initiative. These actors together represent enough aspects of the neighbourhood to establish an interim tripartite board together. Guided by the housing professionals, Tweebos residents will develop the mission statement and organisational bylaws in a set of workshops and meetings. Regular activities will establish social ties between and within the different groups of residents in the neighbourhood.

The CLT actors can then collectively draw up a vision for the neighbourhood that represents all of their interests in a balanced whole. The three Tweebos values (pride, community, solidarity) can be used in a spatial sense to guide the development of such a vision. Pride here refers to elements in the neighbourhood which residents identify with; community refers to spaces for collective use and encounter; solidarity refers to support for a spatial program that supports local liveability or development. These values can be plotted to the

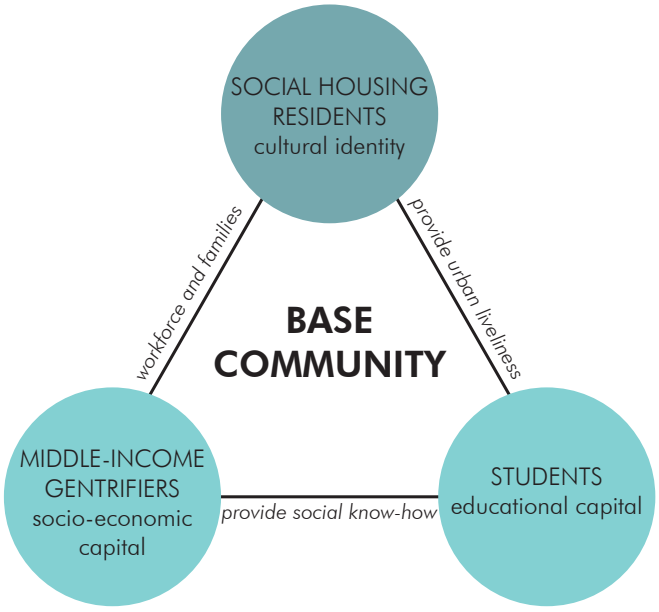


Figure 3: Target groups.

aims of the NPRZ: creating more green spaces, developing better connections to surrounding neighbourhoods and diversifying and renovating the housing supply. This last aim also overlaps with the Woonvisie. Although these aims are part of the policy framework of the NPRZ, they follow from a thorough spatial analysis and thus can be used to guide the neighbourhood's development. Moreover, appropriating these aims will help in getting institutional actors, and thus funding, on board. The CLT can then construct its own strategy to achieve these same aims. The CLT vision will be a framework for spatial development that integrates bottom-up interventions in a top-down strategy.

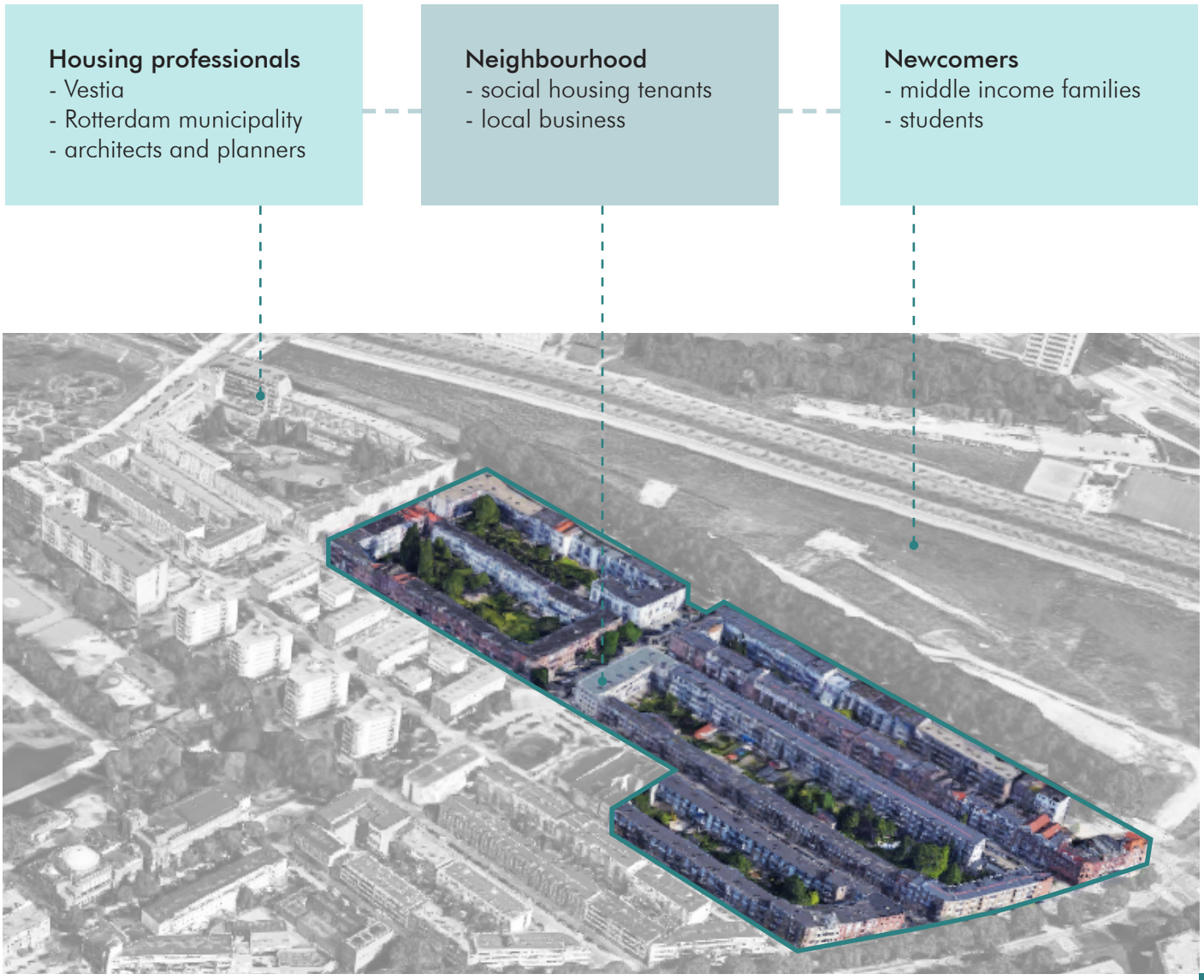


Figure 4: CLT Tweebos interim board.

Figure 5: Combining NPRZ goals and CLT values leads into three sub-strategies for Tweebos.

Develop a network of interconnected public and semi-public green spaces to stimulate informal encounters and collective activities, with Hilledijk as the central green artery.

Break through building blocks to create new and strengthen existing connections towards Laan op Zuid, mix local businesses in commercial routes and link courtyards.

Renovate and top up historic buildings, densify Hilledijk, redevelop and expand 70's projects and restructure the northernmost block to allow for new connections.

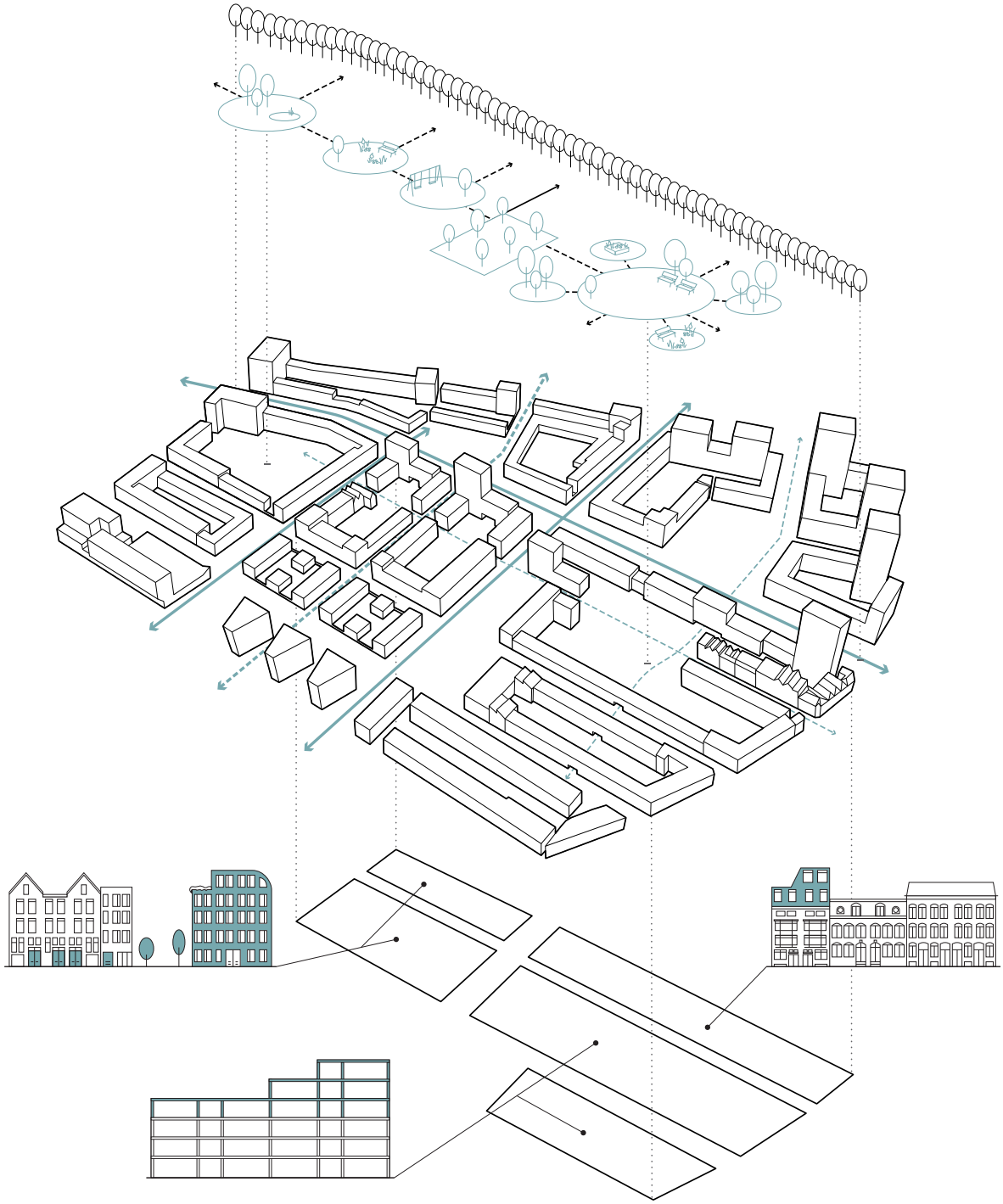


Figure 6: The neighbourhood vision combines these strategies into a spatial framework for future interventions.

Phase II: land value

Once the base CLT has been set up and a neighbourhood vision has been drafted, the organisation must find a way to acquire funding before it can invest in Tweebos. It can do this by leasing out part of its land to a private developer. The municipality can then start to redevelop public space along Hilledijk into a linear park through the neighbourhood, and a small ecosystem will start to take shape: the CLT community space and the private 'gentrifying' development (whose lease funds CLT activities for the neighbourhood), which both adjoin the public space of the characteristic Hilledijk that cuts through the district and connects them to one another.

In order to establish a large enough revenue stream through erfpacht, the CLT must aim to maximise the value of its leased land as much as possible. Paradoxically, the CLT must think like a speculative investor aiming to gain the greatest profit in order to operationalise gentrification for community benefit. The most valuable plot in Tweebos can be determined to be the parcel that borders on both Hilledijk and Martinus Steijnstraat, as these main arteries

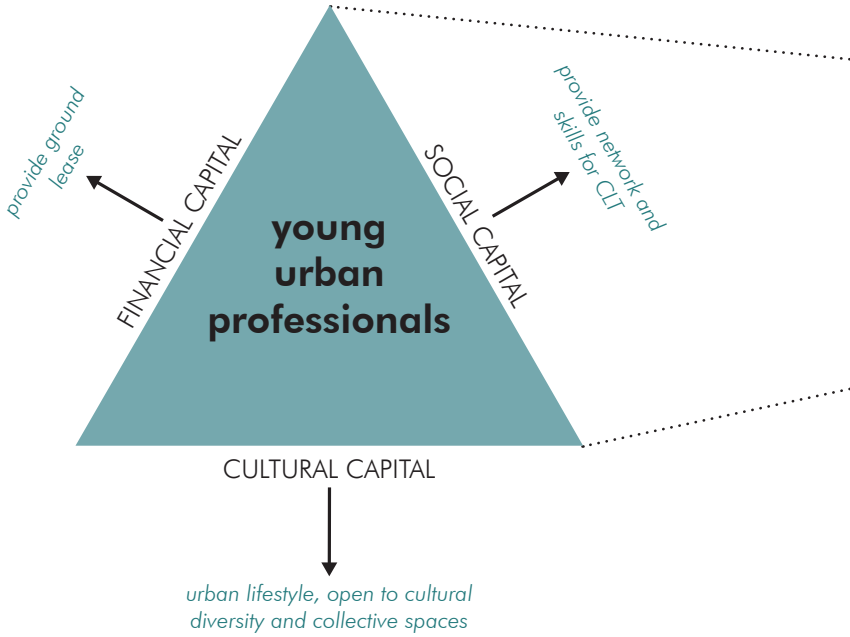


Figure 7: Determining the target group.

of the neighbourhood offer diverse qualities and opportunities for equally diverse commercial spaces. It lies along a new route from Afrikaanderplein to Laan op Zuid, and is a part of the future chain of green courtyards in the neighbourhood vision. The target group for such a development must be wealthy enough to afford the land lease, but at the same time require as little space as possible so as to fit the greatest amount of dwellings in the project. Preferably, both their financial, cultural and social capital can be redistributed towards the neighbourhood. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the target group that is most suitable for such a program are young urban professionals, who have the required income, housing needs and social know-how to benefit the CLT.

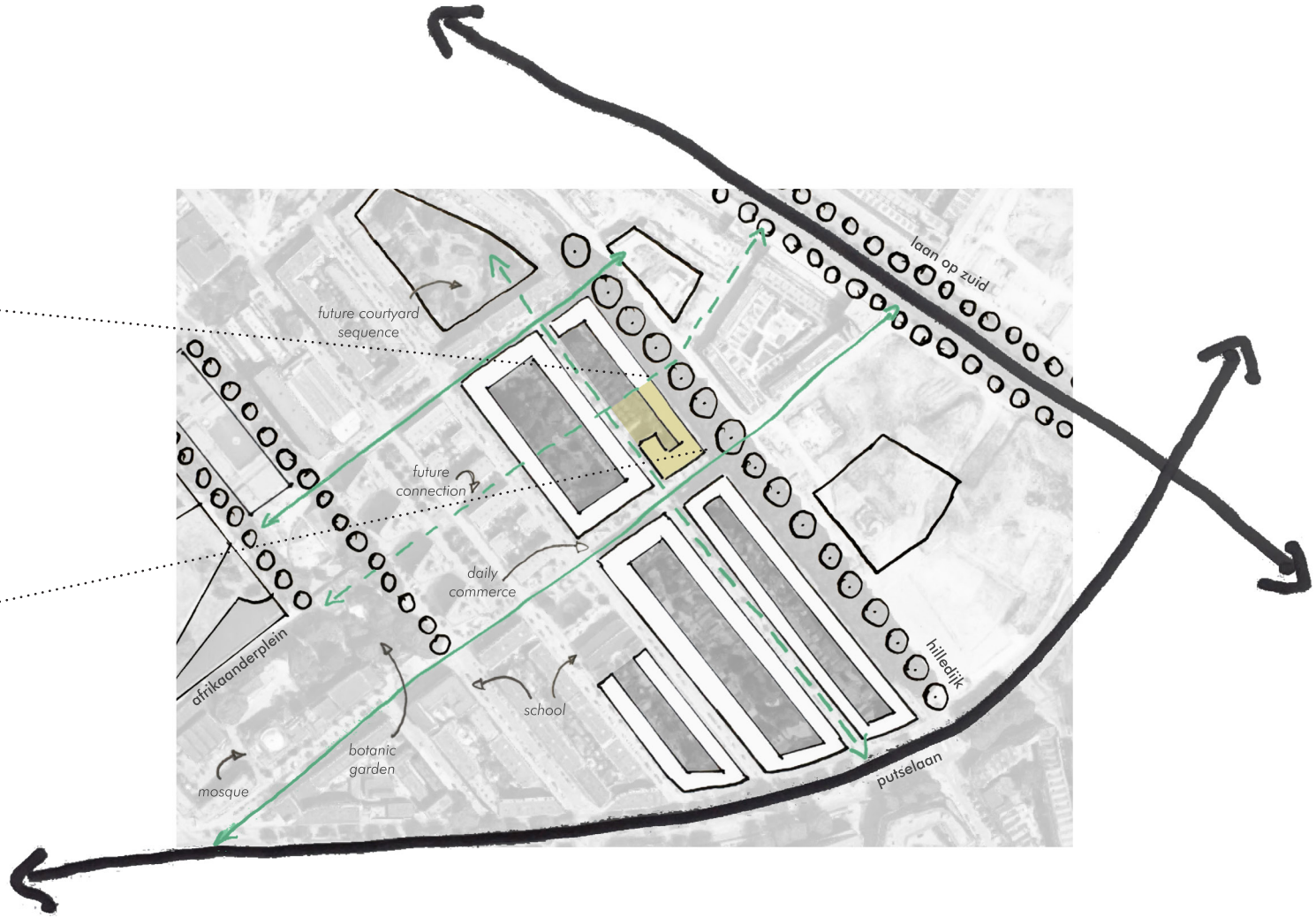


Figure 8: Determining the location of the most valuable land.

Various types of dwellings can be offered to this target group. Studio apartments of different sizes will make up the bulk of the block. In order to save on space, certain facilities such as washing services, workspace and a guest room will be offered in a collective manner. The ground floor of the block will also include collective amenities such as a common room, a shared kitchen and a bike parking, accessible from Hilledijk and the passage to the inner courtyard so as to stimulate interaction with these green spaces. The inner courtyard offers a shared semi-public green space for all residents of the block. Commercial functions along the corner of Hilledijk and Martinus Steijnstraat increase the revenue the building can make, and thus the value of the lease. On the northwest side of the plot, a set of rowhouses will form the first step towards the new residential street that is to become a connection between Afrikaanderplein and Laan op Zuid. This diversity of dwellings will add to the liveliness and multifunctionality of the semi-public and public spaces around the block. From this spatial program, a set of design guidelines can be distilled that ensures a good connection of the block to the neighbourhood vision, and thus to the CLT's values and the spatial aims of the NPRZ. The CLT will provide certain services to this block, such as cleaning, gardening and maintenance, in conjunction with Afrikaanderwijk Coöperatie, thus creating jobs for the community. Simultaneously, the CLT will educate its residents on matters of housing development and management so the organisation will develop a professional base for self-management.

From these spatial relations, a set of design guidelines can be distilled that ensure a good connection of the block to the neighbourhood vision as drawn up by the CLT, and thus to the CLT's values and the spatial aims of the NPRZ.

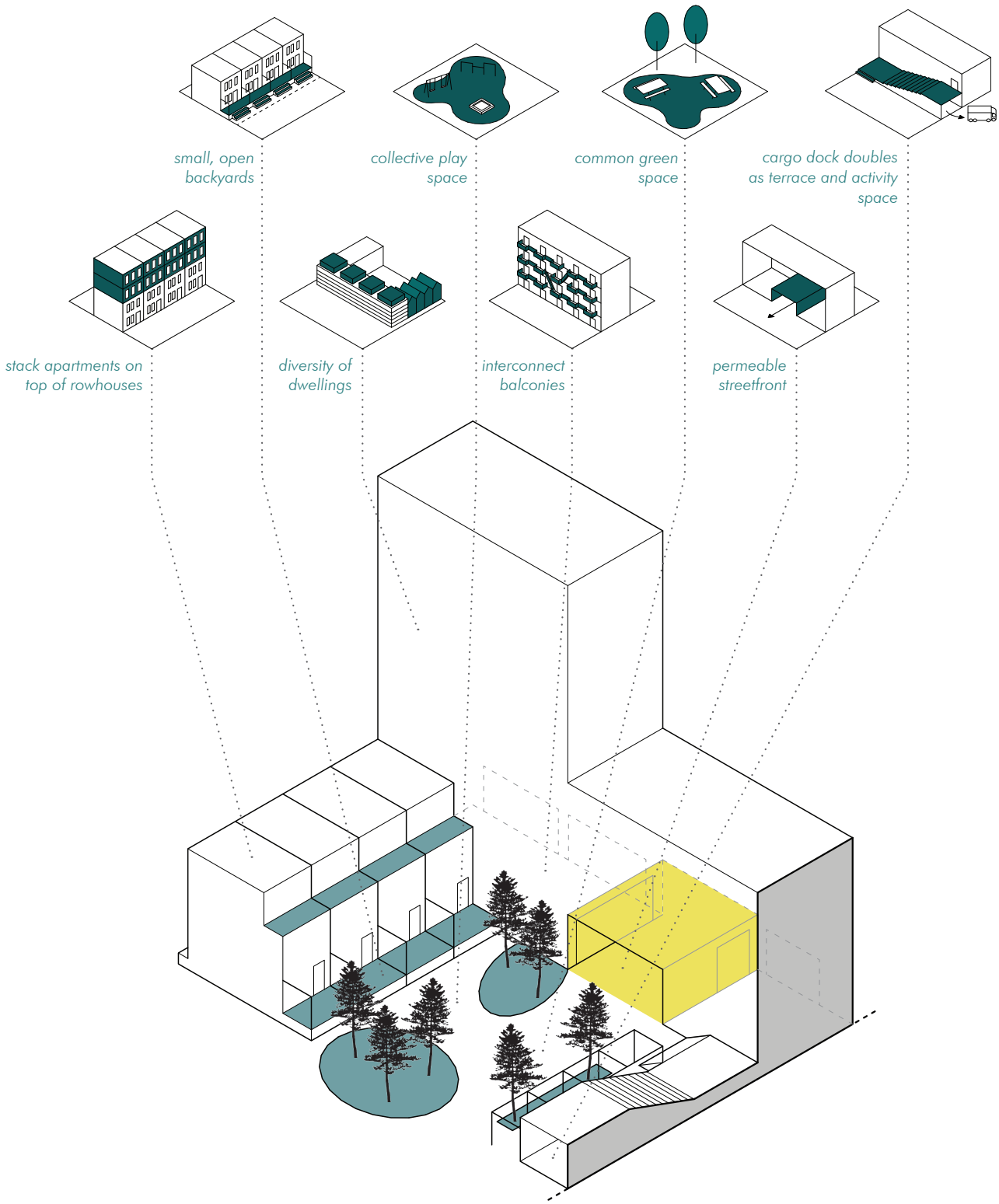


Figure 9: Design guidelines for the new block.

Phase III: neighbourhood investment

With the revenue from the lease to this private development, the CLT can begin to invest in the spatial development of Tweebos. It is up to the CLT and its members what to invest in. The organisation should now be professional enough to be self-sufficient, and a definitive tripartite board can be elected. CLT leaseholders will be present on the board through representatives of CLT social housing tenants, student housing tenants, homeowners and commercial tenants. The interests of all three groups of the base community will then be represented on the board, as well as local businesses. The neighbourhood will similarly be represented by board seats for social housing tenants, market-sector tenants, homeowners and businesses, reflecting the interests of the three subsections of the Dutch housing market as well as neighbourhood commerce. Finally, the public interest will be represented by seats for Vestia, the municipality, the district commission and Coöperatie Afrikaanderwijk. Vestia, as the most important partner in the CLT's development, will thus still have an influence over the organisation; the municipality of Rotterdam and the district commission of Charlois secure the larger urban interests of the city; Coöperatie Afrikaanderwijk links the CLT to an ecosystem of local cooperative economic development. All four actors also bring along their own institutional knowledge of their field. This allocation of seats ensures a balanced representation of relevant interests in the CLT's governance, as well as its development of the neighbourhood. Although the point of this strategy is to give residents the agency to decide how their neighbourhood should develop, an illustration of potential interventions can be given based on the neighbourhood vision, which combines the spatial challenges as defined in the NPRZ with the values as expressed by Tweebos residents.

Spatially, Tweebos consists of five blocks representing roughly three building typologies: historic pre-war housing along Hilledijk, new-built stadsvernieuwingsprojecten from the seventies along to De la Reystraat and a mixed type of heavily modified pre-war blocks along Tweebosstraat. Each typology has its own spatial characteristics and therefore requires its own approach, which provides three sub-strategies for densification. The historic buildings along Hilledijk provide valuable architectural qualities and add historic character, and are thus well-suited for renovation. The stadsvernieuwingsprojecten are low on aesthetic qualities but are structurally sound, providing opportunities for stripping and recladding. The aesthetic qualities of the mixed blocks have already been compromised due to their redevelopment during stadsvernieuwing, when multiple pre-war blocks were added together and expanded into large-scale housing projects. Due to these adjustments, they are neither suited for easy renovation nor for redevelopment. Complete restructuring of these

Institutional actors
- Vestia
- Rotterdam municipality
- Charlois commission
- Coöp Afrikaanderwijk

CLT leaseholders
- CLT housing tenants
- student housing tenants
- CLT homeowners
- commercial tenants

Neighbourhood
- social housing tenants
- private sector tenants
- homeowners
- local businesses

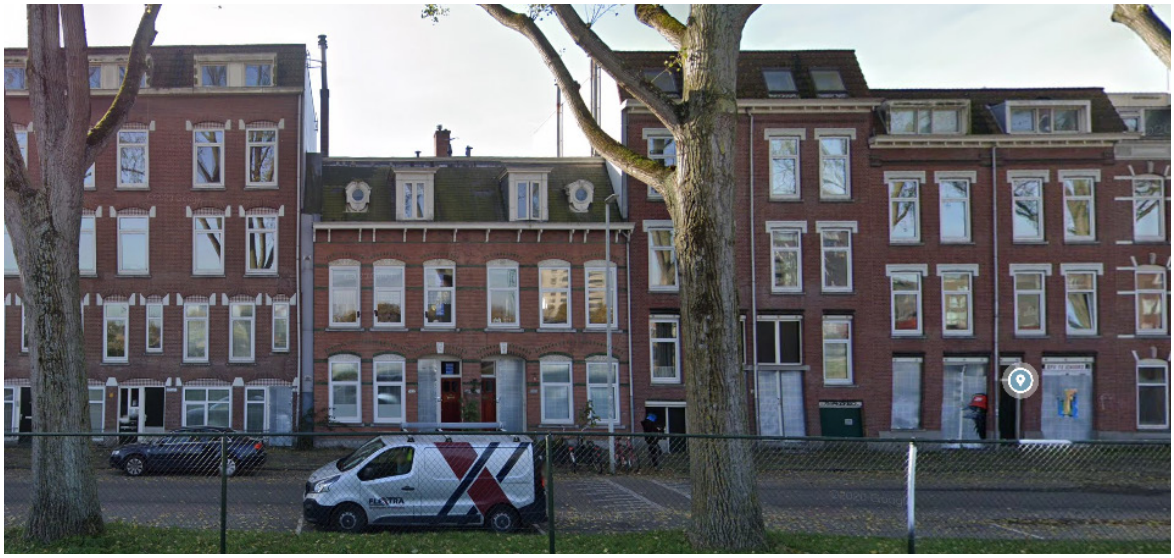
Figure 10: Final tripartite CLT board.

areas may be more desirable. Thus, three phases of development following three typological configurations can be defined for Tweebos: renovation, redevelopment and restructuring. The CLT can then decide which target groups to build for, how these dwellings are distributed and which amenities they want to facilitate.

By opening up the blocks, common green spaces will be created in their interior. Individual backyards will be transformed into semi-private terraces and thus establish a buffer between the private dwelling and the common space. This ensures a gradual transition between these spaces and thus a good activation of the interior gardens, as well as the 'eyes on the street' required for a sense of social safety. These interior spaces will be connected to one another in a large sequence, as well as to Hilledijk by creating openings through the block's facades. Additionally, the main park's size makes it useful for a range of activities: it can act as a place for neighbourhood events, group sports and exercise or as a play space for the neighbouring school. Moreover, by having residents design the space themselves they will create a sense of responsibility over it. The CLT can organise upkeep and gardening services through local employers such as *Coöperatie Afrikaanderwijk*.

Finally, the neighbourhood's connection to surrounding districts will be strengthened through the development of two main axes: Martinus Steijnstraat and the aforementioned Hilledijk. Martinus Steijnstraat already is somewhat of a central street for residents, running from a large crossing at Putselaan in the west towards Hilledijk in the east. Several small shops as well as a school and a mosque are located among it. By extending the street towards Laan op Zuid, it can function as a connection between districts. This creates opportunities for other commercial functions to develop, which the CLT can make use of in supporting local businesses. Hilledijk, on the other hand, runs parallel to Laan op Zuid and due to its historic character and redevelopment into a linear park can provide more public facilities such as a community centre, educational functions or a local tea room. Institutions such as *Coöperatie Afrikaanderwijk* or *Wijkatelier op Zuid* could move into new quarters with expanded functions here. The CLT can thus secure the availability of socially important functions in the face of gentrification.

HISTORIC



STADSVERNIEUWING

MODIFIED PRE-WAR

Figure 11: Three typologies in Tweebos.

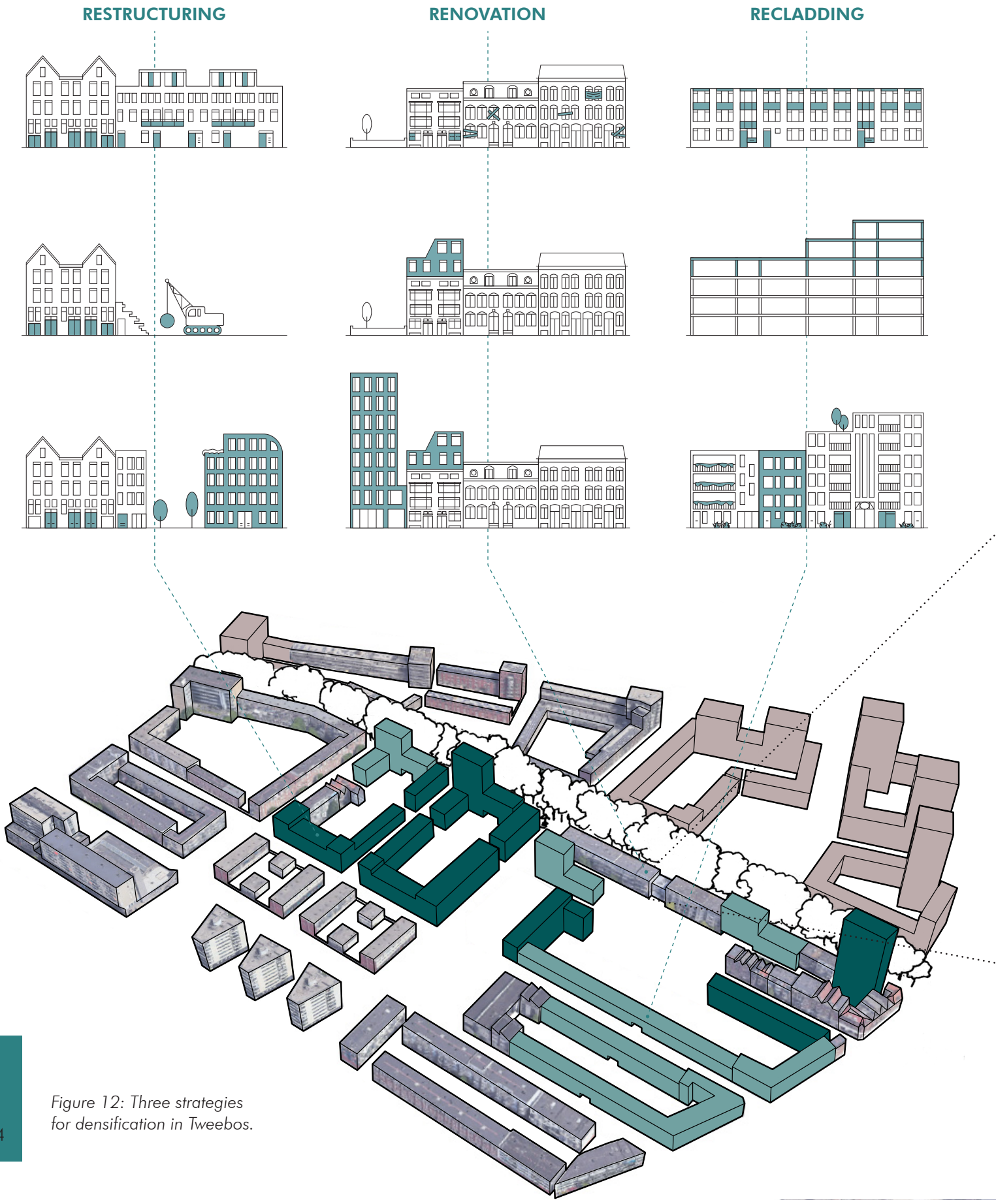


Figure 12: Three strategies for densification in Tweebos.

HOUSING SUPPLY

by providing affordable housing, the CLT can ensure the neighbourhood's accessibility to a diverse population

topping up existing buildings will densify the neighbourhood

characteristic buildings will be renovated

dwellings with workshop spaces provide residents opportunities to establish a small local business

Figure 13: Renovating historic elements in the neighbourhood emphasises local identity and a shared sense of ownership.

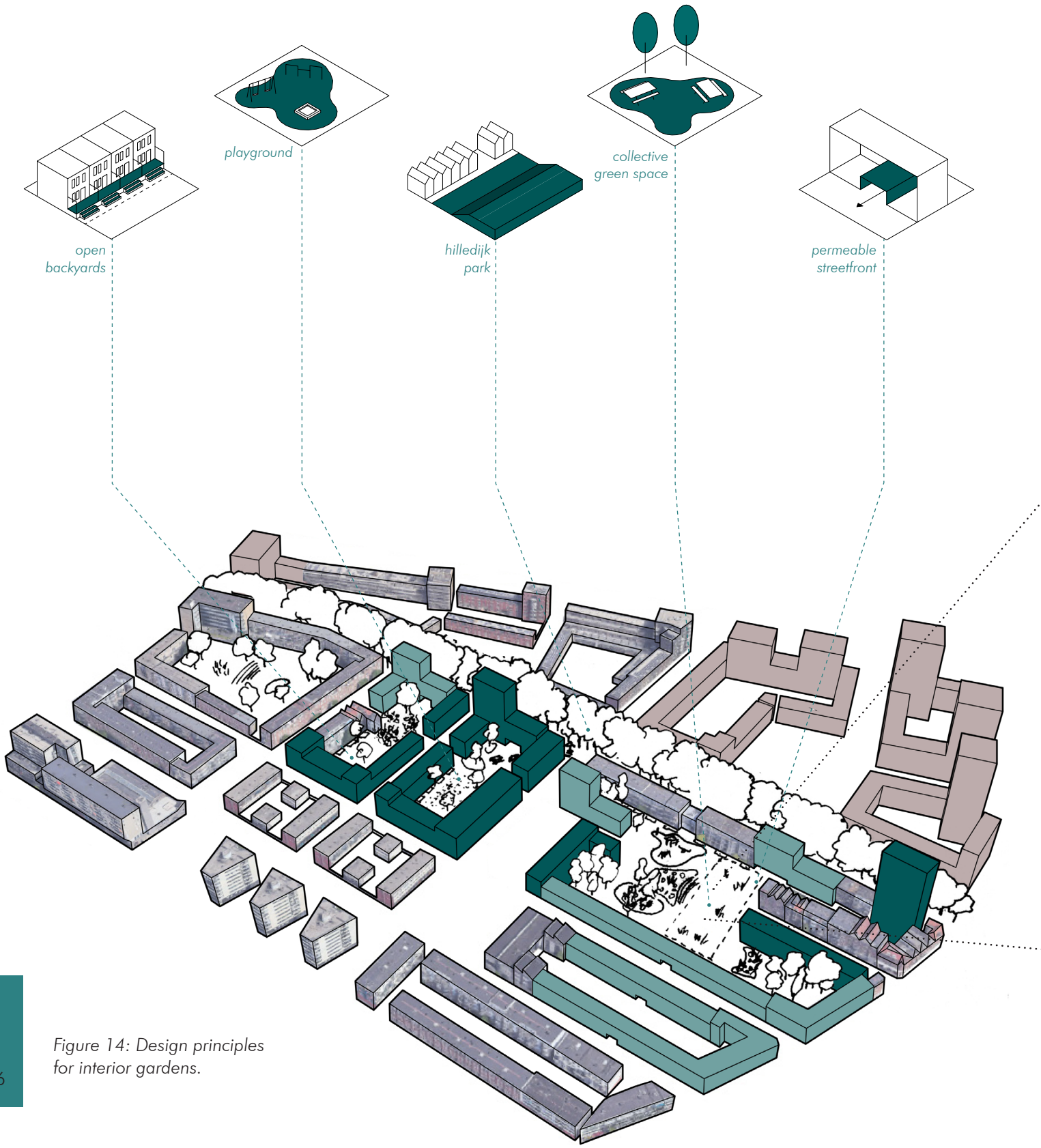


Figure 14: Design principles for interior gardens.

GREEN SPACE

recladding and expanding 1970s blocks improves their relation to public space and provides opportunities for new typologies

stacking apartments on top of family dwellings diversifies the housing stock and intensifies use of public space

public functions at the block entrance provide liveliness and social safety

semi-private patios adjoining collective gardens stimulate social interaction

a flexible green space can be used for various neighbour-hood activities

Figure 15: The largest common garden will directly connect to Hilledijk through a CLT community center for neighbourhood activities.

locally-owned supermarket

tea room

workshop dwellings

Wijkatelier op Zuid

coworking space

CLT community center

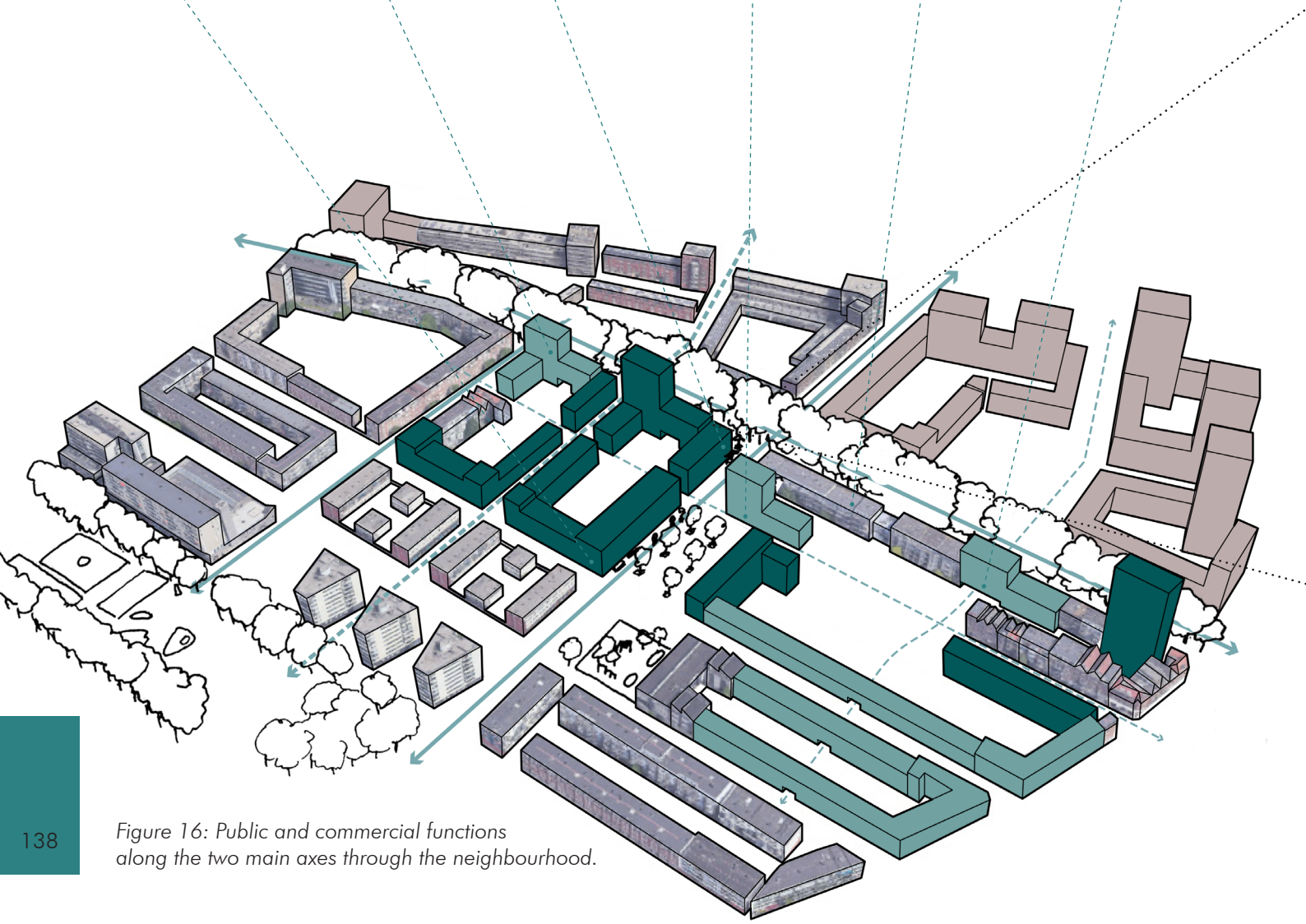


Figure 16: Public and commercial functions along the two main axes through the neighbourhood.

CONNECTIONS

height accents emphasise the centrality of Hilledijk

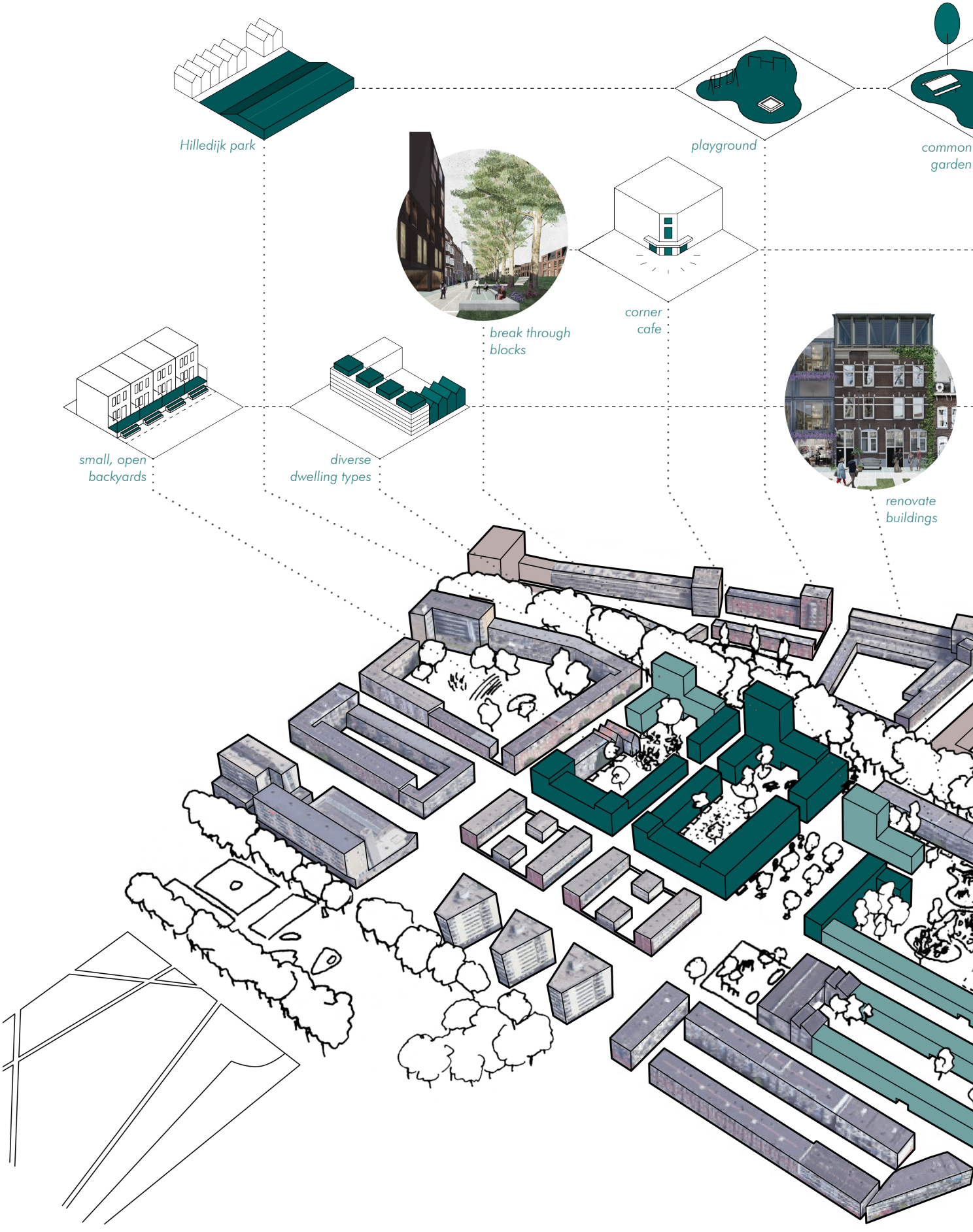
some blocks require restructuring, which allows further densification and development by third parties

the mature treeline along Hilledijk anchors a characteristic central space

different sections of the park alow for a variety of meeting and activity spaces

public and commercial functions along the central axes mix residents from different social groups

Figure 17: Hilledijk will be transformed into a linear park as the connective tissue in the neighbourhood.


Hilledijk park
playground
common garden
break through blocks
corner cafe
small, open backyards
diverse dwelling types
renovate buildings

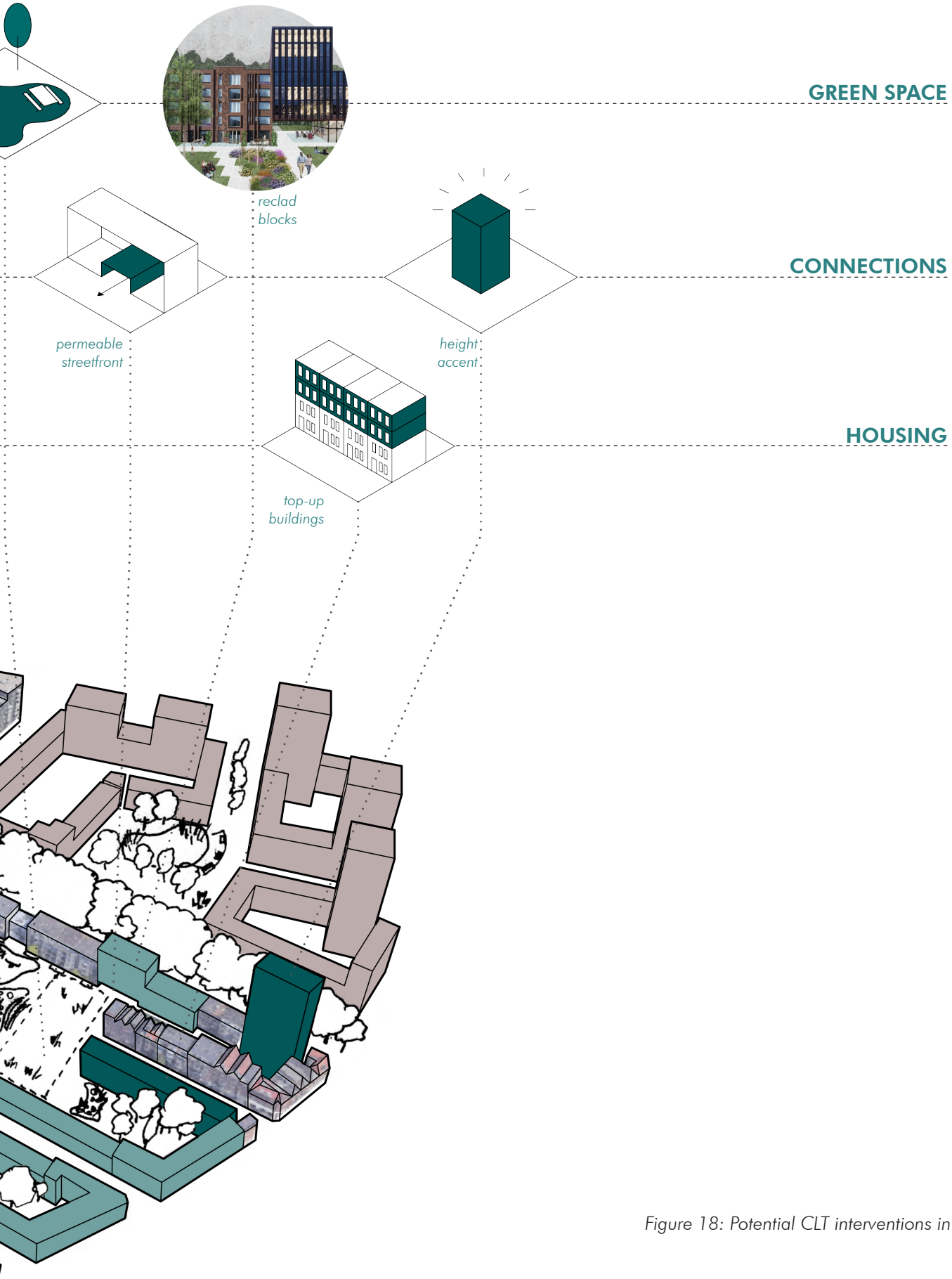


Figure 18: Potential CLT interventions in Tweebos.

CONCLUSION

The plan for redevelopment of Tweebos stems from the ambition to thus resolve the neighbourhood's issues. These issues are twofold: on the one hand there is a relatively traditional spatial challenge, on the other hand there is a social challenge. The current plan, which entails the large-scale demolition of social housing and in its place the construction of private middle-income dwellings, solves the spatial issues but only relocates the social ones. These social issues are in large part tied to a homogeneous low-income distribution amongst a diverse population. Such issues are not be solved by making housing more expensive. They are solved with social policy.

The aims for the neighbourhood as formulated by authorities are in and of themselves not bad. In fact, the spatial analysis of the NPRZ is very thorough and the resulting challenges are formulated with care. The eventual strategy towards these aims, however, largely displays a disregard for the people who actually inhabit the neighbourhood. It aims to tackle social problems in the neighbourhood by relocating the marginalised, instead of by dissolving marginalisation. And although the municipality's plans for development may dissolve the spatial issues of the neighbourhood, they have little to do with developing urbanity. Its methods tear through urban tissue, construct typologies that can only be characterised as suburban and replace one homogeneity with another.

Spatial development is always about people. The Community Land Trust shows that spatial policy can also *be* social policy. The CLT incorporates qualities that combine spatial development with affordable housing and social mobility. What the CLT provides Tweebos residents is an instrument to elevate the use value of urban space above its exchange value, a platform to participate in the creation of urban space and a mechanism to fund those developments. Urban development through a CLT would be made up of a collection of much smaller projects, and would be much more gradual and thus long-term than the municipality's intervention. The benefit is that it would provide tools to actually solve the social problems instead of simple relocating them, only to repeat the same strategy after a decade or so. The CLT's methods allow for a greater typological diversity, its urban spaces are more open and collective and it can support amenities that are authentic and unique to the neighbourhood. It can, in short, secure and develop the local urban commons of Tweebos and Afrikaanderwijk.

7.

CONCLUSION & REFLECTION

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this thesis has been to construct a model for the provision of inclusive and affordable housing in Rotterdam. The larger aim has been to reconsider the values that underly the Dutch system for housing development within the projected conditions of a changing socio-environmental context. Both the values and forces behind the current paradigm of housing development and the practical implementation of the new approach have been explored in the context of Tweebos, Rotterdam. The main research question, therefore, was: 'How can the Dutch model of housing associations as a base for affordable housing in Rotterdam be transformed to break away from the neoliberal paradigm of development in order to fulfil the right to the city?' This research question has been explored in four subsections which result in a strategy proposal for Tweebos, Rotterdam.

Housing in the Netherlands has traditionally depended on two pillars: a public sector for low to middle income families, and a private sector for middle to upper income households which mostly consists of homeowners. However, the high demand for housing has created a widening gap between these sectors resulting in an increasing group of people who are forced into a cramped and expensive private rental sector, as social housing has been actively rolled back and housing prices have skyrocketed. This is a local expression of a global development, in which neoliberal policies have become the dominant ideological paradigm. This has led to a restructuring of cities as nodes in a global economy, a financialisation of housing and the marginalisation of public housing.

On an urban scale, these developments are reflected in the political pursuit of private homeownership, the marginalisation of public housing and strategies of state-led gentrification in order to attract middle- and high-income residents. Gentrification is defined as the renovation and renewal of run-down inner-city environments through an influx of more affluent persons such as middle-class professionals. This results first in a reinvigoration of the district, but soon also in rising housing prices and displacement of the area's original residents. Gentrification has been used as a deliberate strategy for urban development by governments in order to attract middle- and high-income residents and make the city attractive for businesses and trade. Moreover, in the Netherlands, governments often ally with housing associations in deploying strategies of state-led gentrification as a means to maintain social order in the face of increasing social marginalisation.

Rotterdam, a city which has historically had a large working class population, is now enjoying an increased popularity due to the revival of its city centre and

the large national demand for urban housing. Policy analysis shows that the municipality has adopted strategies of state-led gentrification as its main focus for urban development in its Woonvisie. This course has drawn protests in the light of the current housing crisis, especially from the city's working class residents. Lower-income households fear they may be displaced from the city due to rising rents and housing prices. Based on a spatial analysis, a risk of gentrification through municipal policy is clearly visible in multiple neighbourhoods in Rotterdam. Tweebos, a neighbourhood in the poorer southern district of the city, has become illustrative of resistance to the municipality's policy. The neighbourhood consists almost entirely of social housing blocks, which the responsible housing association, Vestia, plans to demolish in favour of privately owned middle-income housing. These plans are backed by municipal and state policy, but social housing residents have been campaigning to halt demolition in order to preserve their homes and prevent displacement. Residents protest that the municipality's policy and housing associations' plans conflict with their access to housing, and call for a development strategy which respects their right to the city.

In order to construct a theoretical framework to counter gentrification and protect housing affordability, Lefebvre's right to the city has been adopted as a contrasting perspective. The right to the city is grounded in two conditions: the right to appropriate space and the right to participate in the production of space. Participation in the production of space requires the power to shape space to be shared with those who inhabit the space, whereas appropriation of space requires use value to be elevated above exchange value. From the right to the city, an interpretation of the city as an urban commons can be constructed. Commons are shareable resources of nature or society that people choose to use and govern through self-organising, but this requires a clearly defined community with collectively agreed rules and state protection from commodification. However, the specific immobile and eternal qualities of land give it a speculative character as an economic commodity. These properties encourage economic rent extraction and enforce the domination of land, and thus urban space, by its exchange value. Neoliberal deregulation and privatisation have boosted these qualities, leading to rising rents, housing prices and an increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of property owners. Basing housing in the right to the city thus requires a decommodification of land, and appropriation by a participative community.

Such a model is found in the Community Land Trust, a model which combines collective ownership of land with privately owned dwellings, community-led development and local neighbourhood governance. The CLT is a relatively

unknown model in the Netherlands, but has been successful abroad in providing affordable housing and resisting the negative effects of gentrification. However, the CLT's individual aspects can be identified in many local housing initiatives in the Netherlands and Belgium. Each aspect faces its own challenges, which have been explored by a critical perspective from available literature on CLTs. These challenges have subsequently been explored in a Dutch context through a selection of reference projects. Cooperative projects often struggle with acquiring land and financing for housing development, especially when the initiators have little own funds to contribute. Cooperation with housing associations, as well as early involvement of governmental and institutional actors, is therefore the most promising strategy for establishing a CLT. A successful CLT also requires a partnership of housing professionals and an actively participating community with a clear focus on the organisation's mission. By developing programs in which new 'gentrifying' residents and existing social housing residents cooperate for a mutual benefit, social capital can be redistributed to enhance social mobility. These residents often have a lot to contribute to the neighbourhood, but they require the CLT to offer them tools and experience in order for them to appropriate the process of housing development and management.

By developing a Community Land Trust in Tweebos, the right to the city of its existing residents can be protected as housing prices rise and the neighbourhood starts to gentrify. The CLT combines spatial and social development. It is a platform to develop the neighbourhood in a more gradual and inclusive manner, with a broader distribution of benefits. Most of all, it can be a vehicle to operationalise gentrification for local benefit, and, together with new residents with different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds, to strengthen the local urban commons.

Over the last decades, housing development in the Netherlands has been seen as a market priority first, with a social sector as a safety net for the disadvantaged. In order to protect competition and efficiency, this social housing sector has to work within a almost fully market-based framework. The research indicates that this may not be the approach to housing that generates the greatest net wealth for society. Due to the specific characteristics of land, market forces would eventually lead housing to become a mechanism for the reinforcement of economic inequalities. These traits encourage perverse incentives in the market and increasingly destabilise economies. This is not to propose that markets are in some way immoral or malevolent, but simply that they offer a limited perspective on how to value the wealth of society. A more stable approach would balance a thriving, fair market with well-sustained

households, a strong state and a flourishing commons. In a fair housing market, land value appreciation is taxed and redistributed to the community that created it. Well-sustained households should have affordable access to housing which provides them a locus in their neighbourhood and the city, a place from which to shape their relationship with society. A strong state supports all three domains alike: it regulates the housing market to redistribute the wealth generated by its forces fairly, it assists households by providing them tools for appropriating urban space and it preserves the urban commons by institutionalising it, enabling its collaborative potential and protecting it from commodification. Finally, the urban commons are made up of a city's living and evolving heritage, cultural practices, intellectual circuits and social networks, which are generated every day through the collective day-to-day urban life of its inhabitants. Housing binds these domains together in the urban economy, and valuing it through market forces only will eventually encroach the other domains.

This thesis argued that the Community Land Trust is an institutionalisation of the urban commons and individual's right to the city. As such, the findings on the CLT's principles of land, community and organisation in a Dutch context can reveal how to strengthen the right to the city in the Netherlands. First of all, authorities and developers alike will have to adopt a broader and more long-term perspective on the gains of affordability and social housing investments than the current model of financialised trade and relatively short-term gains. Affordable housing enables residents to fund consumption and self-development, and can be extremely stable long-term, low-interest investments. Secondly, local communities can prove to be very skilful at many aspects of urban development, but require the knowledge, tools and time to appropriate the process. This requires institutions and professionals to actively empower bottom-up participation with top-down guidance, instead of viewing vocal residents as roadblocks to be overcome. Finally, when investing in urban development, spatial policy and social policy must go hand in hand. More than investing in bricks, mortar and financial returns, investing in strong people and resilient communities can solve the core of urban social problems instead of simply relocating them. What is needed is a commitment to invest resources in incentivising the right connections between people, stemming from the belief that not only are these connections inherently valuable, but that they make people stronger and stimulate the.

Thus it is possible to answer the main research question of this thesis. Three proposals can be made in regard to Dutch housing associations in order to give them the tools to protect the right to the city. First, the state should direct

more funding towards public housing. Rather than a market distortion, this should be approached as an investment in a commons that stabilises the economy in a broad sense and disempowers land speculation, hence keeping housing affordable in the market as well. Second, housing associations should embrace their roots as member-based verenigingen by allowing for a greater influence of tenant's participation. This generates not only greater local support, but also results in projects that better facilitate local uses and networks. Third, institutions should recognise that spatial policy and social policy go hand in hand in an urban context, and are sometimes the same. Housing associations already cooperate with partners when it comes to issues such as elderly care, marginalised groups or education, but policy frameworks do not always recognise the value of these efforts and many housing associations struggle with making the required connections or finding the necessary funds. Moreover, support of bottom-up or cooperative initiatives is also a part of this broad interpretation of value creation.

These proposals require a political realignment of the perspective on housing associations as institutions that operate not only in the market, but in the urban commons as well. What thus sets a policy approach rooted in the right to the city apart from mainstream policies for housing provision, is its recognition that housing reflects a wider meaning than simply owning shelter: it is a means to develop the self, to negotiate one's place in society and thereby to shape a rich and meaningful everyday life.

REFLECTION

Relation between the thesis subject and the master track

When I started my thesis, my aim was to use this period as an opportunity to take an academic dive into a diverse set of fields and topics that are not traditionally part of the Urbanism track, but that nevertheless influence the city both as a physical and a political artefact. What I find so fascinating about the city is the diversity of interacting layers that shape not only the city, but the people who inhabit it and who, in turn, transform the city itself. These layers are not only architectural: there are political, economic, sociological, historic and ideologic layers, among others, and they influence not only the city as an artefact but one another as well. For me, this is what the complexity of the city is about, and it is why I chose Planning Complex Cities as my graduation studio. Of course, the complexity of the city consists of many more layers than listed here and it would be impossible and nonsensical to aim to explore them all. It was, however, an opportunity to explore the knowledge of politics, economics and policy that I have gathered over the years, and to apply these specifically to an urban context.

These themes are not traditionally part of the Urbanism track, and despite their influence on the urban phenomenon some may nevertheless consider them to be outside the coverage of urbanism as a profession. However, I see the discipline of urbanism as one that has its roots in adapting and integrating new areas of expertise. The modern-day profession of urban planning emerged when engineers started tackling public health issues in the rapidly growing cities of the 19th century, and it evolved when they adapted more explicit political and sociological ideas in the early 20th century. More recently, urbanists have had to integrate expertise on ecological matters into their field, and sustainability is now a central theme in urban planning and design. However, in addition to the ecological challenges of climate change, I believe there is another (interrelated) issue that is central to our time: that of increasing socioeconomic inequality and, subsequently, the increasingly fragile social cohesion through the political expression of that inequality. These are global challenges with local variations, and I even believe a local-centric approach is essential in solving them. This is, amongst others, an urbanist's challenge not only because socioeconomic inequality has a spatial expression in phenomena such as gentrification and displacement, but because it also in large part has spatial roots through the economic function of land and the financialisation of urban space. This is why I believe more urbanists will need to explicitly integrate economic and ideological awareness into the way they plan cities: these issues are not side topics, but an inherent part of how the city and urbanity are shaped.

Societal relevance

The model of the Community Land Trust is an interesting subject for study because it on the one hand incorporates all the elements that follow from the right to the city and can therefore act as a practical case study for an alternative framework to housing and urbanity. The CLT principles as they have been defined in this thesis are based on the requirement of local agency for both the appropriation of urban space in daily routines and the participation in its production. On the other hand, the model incorporates themes on economic equity and social cohesion that are central to the overarching socioeconomic challenges that societies face, and which are expressed spatially in cities. The increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, which is spatially reflected in the growing wealth gap between homeowners and non-homeowners, is chief amongst these. However, issues related to social cohesion, to democratic participation versus technocratic governance, to globalisation versus locality, to the atomisation of individuals and the erosion of collectivity and solidarity are explored through the model as well. These are political challenges, but the CLT not only shows how they are reflected in the city but, as Harvey (2012) posits as well, how solving them may begin in an urban context. The affordability of housing is a key element to the current housing crisis in the Netherlands, but it can also play a role in tackling the larger socioeconomic challenges society faces.

Transferability

The thesis explicitly starts with a theoretical exploration of neoliberalisation and the right to the city, and how they relate to housing. This framework is not specific to the case of Tweebos and can be used to construct a new perspective on the larger Dutch housing crisis as well, by viewing affordable housing as a public good and adopting a broader perspective on its societal gains. Moreover, the exploration of reference projects already demonstrates a range of practical issues which require a solution in order to improve the affordability of housing, even if the aim were not to strengthen the urban commons.

A Community Land Trust is, of course, not the only means to provide affordable housing. The traditional Dutch housing association could be said to remove land from the speculative market as well, as their intention is generally not to sell their property. Although recent state policies have certainly aimed to stimulate the sale of social housing units, housing associations' first priority is still the provision of affordable dwellings. What sets the CLT apart from housing associations is its democratic governance and focus on community development, both operated by not only its tenants but by the neighbourhood as a whole. Housing associations generally miss the participative element of

Lefebvre's right to the city, which has become all the more clear in the case of Tweebos.

Housing cooperatives, a model wherein residents share in the common ownership of a housing block, are perhaps closer to the CLT. However, what once again sets the CLT apart is the involvement of an entire neighbourhood and institutional actors, which allows it to focus on a larger spatial development and corresponding community than the housing cooperative. Bewonersbedrijven generally focus on investing rental revenue for neighbourhood benefit, much like a CLT, but neither bewonersbedrijven nor housing cooperatives explicitly focus on the separation of collectively-owned land and privately owned buildings. It can be argued that both models do propagate Lefebvre's right to the city, however what is distinctive to the CLT model is how explicitly it has defined a set of principles to strengthen both the right to the city and an urban commons.

Methodological limitations

The focus on theory, however, is also the most limiting aspect to this research. The parallels between the right to the city, the commons and the Community Land Trust as explored in this thesis are only one perspective. It is a perspective that can be useful to come to alternative policy strategies to housing, but it is certainly not the only one. As described above, a CLT is certainly not the only model to establish the right to the city, nor is it comprehensive in covering the full concept of the commons. A single master thesis is most definitely not enough to appropriate the entire breadth of literature on such diverse topics as neoliberalism, gentrification, the commons and the economics of land and housing, urban communities and housing development in the Netherlands. Further study of any of these topics might reveal new perspectives on the outlined strategies and interventions. Moreover, in attempting to bring these topics together in an urban context, new questions arise from the interconnections that are thus established.

Neoliberalism, or the process of neoliberalisation, are single terms for a broad range of political thought and institutional transformations. They are not an 'evil ideology', and their effects are not by definition all negative. Neoliberalism is, however, the hegemonic paradigm in the West, and thereby provides a framework for analysing society on an ideological level. However, the right to the city, which is rooted in a Marxist tradition, is not the only contrasting perspective to the status quo. Ideology is inherently subjective, and any intervention that arises from it is thus by nature a political statement. This was the intention, but building a thesis from such a theoretical basis brings along

the risk of fixating on ideological explanations and solutions. The decision to study reference projects within the framework of a CLT was not only an attempt to translate this CLT to a local context, but also a means to bring in an additional perspective that is based in practical challenges instead of theoretical ones. By bringing in a critical perspective based on CLT literature, the research attempts to integrate these practical challenges into the theoretical framework and thus design a strategy based on the Dutch context. This translation between theory and practice will, however, inevitably be incomplete. Practical issues that are not visible through the theoretical lens will be disregarded, and theoretical issues which are not adequately reflected in practice may remain undeveloped.

On a more practical level, the research methodology for exploration of the local context in Rotterdam may be interpreted in a differently by other researchers. In this thesis, the definition of gentrification as used by Knox & Pinch (2010) was used to compare two specific indicators. The social index of Rotterdam neighbourhoods is based on a broad selection of indicators, and may differ if certain indicators are added or disregarded. For example, some indicators are based on religion or language: aspects that can be considered problematic as indicators of deprivation, if not regarded in the right context. Moreover, the map of areas that offer opportunities for development indicates just that: an opportunity, distilled from a set of policy visions by the municipality. This is why they specifically lead to a conclusion displaying the risk of state-led gentrification, but not necessarily gentrifying neighbourhoods in general. In the context of this thesis this is acceptable, as the aim was to explore the institutional context of these phenomena. As an obvious example: the neighbourhood of Katendrecht is not emphasised in this concluding map, as it has already been quite gentrified and is no longer a deprived area, even though gentrification is still an ongoing process here. On another note, after months of contacting different authorities and institutions I have had to conclude that no-one was willing to share data on Vestia's ownership of land in Afrikaanderwijk, and I simply did not have the funds to request such data on an entire neighbourhood from Kadaster. I have made an educated assumption that at least the land under the to be demolished blocks in Tweebos is property of Vestia, as they are developing the land and intend to sell it, but there is no factual data to back this up. Related to this, as much as I have attempted to substantiate the financial feasibility of a CLT in the context of Tweebos, there comes a moment when one needs to accept that this is a hypothetical exploration of an urban intervention, not an accountant's assessment.

Further research on finance and governance is, however, definitely necessary in order to make a decisive case for a CLT in any context. Participative development requires methods of funding that are as of yet less institutionalised than development by expansive commercial parties, and despite not necessarily being more expensive, their gains must be measured in a broader and more long-term context. All of the aspects covered under the reference projects can be used as a starting point for further research, from strategies for community development to collective funding schemes. Moreover, all of these can by themselves improve the affordability and quality of housing in the Netherlands: they do not necessarily need to be considered in the context of a CLT only.

Relation between research and design

Since the concept of a CLT relies so heavily on the agency of residents, I struggled with what exactly my role as a spatial designer would be. A traditional design, in which an urban designer shapes an artefact on behalf of the property owner and imposes it on the neighbourhood, would inevitably infringe local agency and would therefore not be an adequate reflection of the theoretical analysis that came before. Moreover, my research did not necessarily focus on urban space, but on the forces that shape these urban spaces and the way they are institutionalised. I decided therefore to split urban design in two parts: the process, and the spatial product. If local agency and participation are leading, the role of the urban designer becomes much more one of a process manager on the one hand, developing a strategy to help residents achieve and channel this agency through his experience with urban processes; and a design advisor on the other hand, helping residents translate their wishes into spatial interventions by providing his professional knowledge of urban forms. The final strategy proposal is therefore a design that reflects the theory in the local context, whereas the spatial interventions are illustrate the spatial potential of such a strategy in this specific context.

8.

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