

Government-led neighborhood redevelopment and livability:
Balancing new responsibilities of key stakeholders in Amsterdam

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Abstract.

Keywords: real estate interventions; social housing; revised housing act; livability

In the light of the Revised Housing Act of 2015, housing corporations have limited opportunities to develop real estate outside the core activities of social housing. As a result, municipalities could be more dependent than before on (private) developers to improve the livability through real estate interventions in social housing neighborhoods. Since livability impacts residents, it is of societal relevance to investigate how this tripartite network converses policy into livability outcomes in social housing neighborhoods. Also, the transition of the role of the housing corporation between the public and private domain is elaborated on. Following, the research question of this study is: how has the balance between government, housing corporations and private developers changed with government-led redevelopment policies aimed at livability?

A case study approach was conducted, with cases selected from social housing neighborhoods in Amsterdam. Contextual interaction theory was used as a theoretical framework to further analyze actor characteristics and their interaction. Data collection consisted of in-depth interviews and subsequent group discussions. CIT was inductively enriched with data obtained from data collection.

Results show that through increased cooperation synergy could be created by this tripartite network in producing livability outcomes. However, various barriers to the interaction of the tripartite network were identified. Also, possible drawbacks were recognized in increased complexity and increasing segregation. Moreover, improvements were identified in increasing the task of housing corporations and involving developing investors rather than developers in the tripartite network. Finally, the need for an adjusted revenue model for housing corporations is discussed.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation

Increasing house prices and subsequent segregation of income-groups in neighborhoods is a rapidly increasing subject of importance in the Netherlands (Trouw, 2020). To counter this development, the government is inducing policy aimed at providing affordable housing to vulnerable target groups (Rijksoverheid, 2019). The Dutch approach can be described as providing affordable housing and affecting livability in disadvantaged neighborhoods through real estate interventions that aim at improving the social 'mix' of different socio-economic groups (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008). This issue is not contained to the Netherlands specifically: various European cities experience problems with housing affordability, inequality and subsequent livability issues (Nieuwenhuis, 2020).

A system employed by governments to provide affordable housing is social housing. With 28% of housing being considered social housing in the Netherlands, the social rented housing stock is considered one of the largest in Europe (Financieel Dagblad, 2018). One of the functions of the social housing market in the Netherlands, is to function as a safety net for lower-income households or other vulnerable groups who cannot or have difficulty in obtaining living space (NOS, 2018). Since affordable housing influences economic resilience of communities, it can be argued that this function of social housing is of key societal relevance to a country and its inhabitants. Housing corporations play a key role in providing affordable and quality housing to lower income groups in the Netherlands. However, the role of the housing corporation expands beyond this task. As signified by the Dutch approach, housing corporations are expected to improve livability neighborhoods in which the government induces policy leading to redevelopment (Hoekstra, 2017)

Whereas in the past housing corporations had a broad set of tasks, responsibilities and freedom delegated by government, this has changed significantly in 2015. Housing corporations previously to the change acted as private businesses, engaged in also building and managing non-social housing which is now outside their core task (Plettenburg, 2018). The shift to the focus on their core task started with European regulation in 2011, with a change in housing allocation regulation as a consequence of the Dutch government providing financial support for social rented housing. To comply with European regulation, strict maximum income requirements were implemented to be eligible for social housing. Further financial misconduct and administrative failure with some of the corporations led to increased government regulation through the Revised Housing Act of 2015 (Rijksoverheid, 2015). This essentially led to a new balance in the interplay between government and the housing corporations. Corporations were to focus on their core-task again: providing housing to lower income groups with stricter rules with regard to development. Also, government control on corporations increased and an independent body was formed to regulate the housing corporations (Hochstenbach, 2017). Moreover, the revised housing act provided a framework for further regulation of themes such as sustainability and livability (Woningwet, 2015). Consequently, a larger role emerged for private developers. This research focusses

on investigating how government, housing corporations and private developers interplay: what, if any, new balance have they found? Since government-led redevelopment policy aimed at livability is affected by this tri-partite network, it is of societal relevance given the subsequent impact on the lives and health of Dutch inhabitants (Maleki, et.al., 2020)

1.2 Literature review

Governments induce redevelopment mainly as means to improve livability in disadvantaged neighborhoods such as social housing neighborhoods (Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007; Hochstenbach, 2017). Social housing neighborhoods are residential areas in which the majority of the housing stock consists of social housing (Van Kempen & Priemus, 2002). The municipality of Amsterdam addresses these neighborhoods as ‘developing neighborhoods’ (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019). These government-redevelopment policies are partially aimed at livability and social integration aside from producing housing for different income groups. The government aims to affect these affairs through legislation, so by producing housing policy both at the national as well as the municipal level (Teernstra & Pinkster, 2016). Whereas the national housing policy provides the framework, the housing policy at the local level is developed and implemented by the municipality. An example of such a policy is the Housing Agenda of Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b).

Extensive research has been previously done on the benefits of government-led redevelopment policies on livability in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Bridge & Butler 2011; Lees 2008; Kohn 2013; Revington 2015; Grube-Cavers & Patterson 2015). Since these policies ultimately lead to mixing income groups, a well-known argument in favor of government-led redevelopment policies are the social benefits for lower-income residents from engaging into social contact with higher income residents (Bridge & Butler, 2011). Also, by producing space for more affluent users through residential housing constructors, the influx of these affluent residents provides them with enhanced accessibility and mobility because of more efficient provision of public infrastructure and services (Lees, 2008). This also implies a reduction in transport costs. Traffic congestion and pollution emissions are reduced, since residents who had to travel to their job at first, are now living in the urban area (Kohn, 2013). Another argument in favor of government-led redevelopment policies are the increased land value benefits for homeowners through increased investments in infrastructure to serve new inhabitants (Revington, 2015). Redevelopment policies allowing higher density buildings can for example decrease the housing construction costs, which makes housing more affordable for some households. Finally, current research promoting government-led redevelopment indicates improved economic opportunity through increasing employment options. Also, poverty concentrations could possibly be reduced (Grube-Cavers & Patterson, 2015).

However, at the other side the scientific debate it is argued that government-led redevelopment policies ultimately leads to displacement of lower-income groups, therefore presenting a social cost (Lees 2008; Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans 2007; Hochstenbach & Musterd 2018; Ding &

Hwang 2016). Moreover, opponents argue that the government-led redevelopment policies lead to segregation and social polarization (Lees, 2008). Often, a decrease of social housing units is combined with government-led redevelopment policies into social housing neighborhoods. However, the extent to which the benefits outweigh the costs is fiercely debated between scientists (Lees, 2008). The results are partly ambiguous since definition used to measure livability is disputed among researchers ((Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007). So, redevelopment policies can be related to crowding out households to poorer neighborhoods. So livability can differ for households leaving, remaining or entering the area (Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2018) Government-led redevelopment policies can also impose an increase in housing cost as a consequence of increasing house prices due to the redevelopment. This can lead to displacement of lower-income rental households. Moreover, the higher property values increase property tax burdens to homeowners (Ding & Hwang, 2016).

Aside from the ambiguous results concerning the debate of benefits versus costs, the balance of government and market in the social housing sector is debated (Plettenburg et. al., 2021). As previously researched the role and identity of the housing corporations transfers through time between the public and private sector, thus implying periods of increasing regulation versus increasing levels of freedom (Hoekstra, 2017). In the 'old balance' a clear trend from the public to the private sector was evident. This is also known as modernization. As a consequence of privatization, deregulation and decentralization of housing corporations in the nineties, the social housing sector was increasingly more independent and reliant on private actors and market mechanisms (Blessing, 2015).

However, since the restriction of the housing corporations by government through the Revised Housing Act in 2015, a 'new balance' between government, housing corporations and developers was formed. This essentially meant a shift back from a more privatized nature of housing corporations back to a more public, society supportive approach (Hoekstra, 2017). As the role of the housing corporation is subject to being transferred back and forth between the public and private domain, it is of value to research to what extent is it now more difficult or different to improve quality of life in neighborhoods by redevelopment policies in the 'new balance'? Value is identified in assessing whether privatization or the public domain is desirable from the perspective of the actors involved (Czischke & van Bortel, 2018).

1.3 Research problem statement

Following, the central research question of this study is: 'How has the balance between government, housing corporation and private developers changed with government-led redevelopment policies aimed to improve livability?' Since the main focus will be on the roles and interplay of the tripartite network of government, housing corporation and developer, the central research question will be answered with the use of contextual interaction theory (CIT). The contextual interaction theory views policy as a process based on interaction and negotiation of the actors involved (De Boer & Bressers, 2011). CIT is previously used in research to investigate policy implementation processes by

establishing whether and to what degree the characteristics of actors converse policy into outcome, also taking the external environment into account (Bressers et. al., 2013). CIT is widely applicable to a wide variety of policy fields through its flexible nature. CIT has been used to provide insight into the limited conversion of anti-domestic violence policy implementation by actors in the United States (Javakhishvili & Jibladze, 2018). CIT has also been applied to water renaturalization processes and the enforcement of environmental permits in Holland (De Boer & Bressers 2011; Van Veen 2004). More importantly, CIT has also been applied to the real estate industry. CIT has been used as a methodological tool to determine how performance agreements influence social legitimacy in the social housing sector through the actors municipality, housing corporation and tenants (Plettenburg et.al., 2021). Finally, CIT has been used to investigate the social and democratic legitimacy of housing corporations since the introduction of the Housing Act (Plettenburg, 2018). Since the aim of the research is to describe how the tripartite network functions since the introduction of the Housing Act with regard to livability in social housing areas, this approach can be applied.

The qualitative study approach related to CIT is able to identify deeper lying motives, to comprehend the unknown deeper relations between the constructs of government-led redevelopment policies, the balance between the actors and livability (Saunders et. al, 2012). The exploratory nature of this study is helpful to ask open questions, and subsequently detect ‘what is happening’. Moreover, understanding about the way this tripartite network operates can be gained and insight can be attained on the perspectives of actors concerning the ‘new balance’ affecting livability (Saunders et. al., 2012).

Case study approach in Amsterdam

The contextual interaction theory will be employed within a case study approach in order to be able to analyze at the municipal level. Selected cases are all in Amsterdam. Amsterdam was selected because of two reasons. First, its unique characteristics related to the current state of the housing market and social housing sector. The residential real estate market in Amsterdam is under significant pressure with owner-occupied pricing and free market rent increasing significantly in recent years (Jadevicius & van Gool, 2020). With increasing demand relative to supply, it must be noted that a significant part of total housing stock is not freely available: social housing stock is approximately 45% of total housing stock. This in turn leads to less access for households to suitable and affordable housing (Jonkman, 2020).

Secondly, the tradition of Amsterdam in targeting urban social issues through integrated area-based policies and thereby improving disadvantaged neighborhoods is of interest. All cases are geographically located in the so-called ‘developing neighborhoods’ as appointed by the municipality (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). These areas, which consists of the districts New-West, South-East and North, are disadvantaged neighborhoods with a high share of social housing in relation to total housing stock. These neighborhoods are areas of focus for the municipality and in need of an impulse in quality of housing and livability, by making the housing stock more mixed by redeveloping

(Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). By using the case study approach, a comprehensive and in-depth evaluation of a shifting balance between the main actors in the Dutch real estate market with regard to government-led redevelopment policies affecting livability are analyzed in real-life scenarios.

In relation to the central research question, four sub-questions are formulated.

1. How have the key functions and responsibility division of actors in the social housing system historically evolved in Greater Amsterdam?
2. How does the shifted balance since 2015 affect the roles and interplay of the government, housing corporations and developers?
3. How does the new balance influence livability in social housing areas through government-led redevelopment policies?
4. In what way can Amsterdam learn from the shifted balance and redevelopment efforts?

The first sub question is concerned with explicating the historical evolvement of functions and responsibilities of the main actors in the social housing system. Answer will be provided on the basis of secondary data sources and by means of reviewing policy documents. Secondary data sources are mainly comprised of publicly available scientific literature reviews on the social housing systems of the Netherlands respectively. Policy documents are obtained via the websites of the municipality of Amsterdam. The second sub question is concerned with the effect of the increased regulation on the roles and interplay of the main actors. The third sub question is centers around the new balance and how it affects livability from the perspective of the main actors. The fourth and last sub question is centered around the shifted balance, consequences for actors and possible implications. The second, third and fourth sub questions are answered by doing in-depth individual interviews followed by small focus group discussion while using the contextual interaction theory to frame changes in the situation.

1.4 Research gap

Considering the research gap, not much comparison has been made between the defined ‘old’ balance and ‘new’ balance. More specifically looking into the functioning and perspective of the tripartite network and their perspective on redevelopment policies and effect on livability has not been extensively researched. Aside from this gap, also the shift from private back in to the public domain considering the social housing sector and housing corporations can be further analyzed. Specifically concerning the relations, roles and responsibilities in the tripartite network of government, housing corporation and developer. There is limited insight in how negotiations take place (Plettenburg et. al., 2021, p. 5).

1.5 Contribution(s)

This research has several aims to contribute on both the societal and scientific domain. This paper contributes to society by signaling how the new balance of the tripartite network converses redevelopment policy and affects livability from the perspective of the actors involved in the tripartite network. From this perspective, lessons can be learned on whether the shift from the private back to the public domain benefits society. This aim is achieved by identifying barriers in the interaction process of the new balance that impact livability, as well as the benefits and challenges.

Turning to the scientific domain, this research aims to identify how the role of developers interacts in the new balance and how they affect interplay between actors in social housing areas from their perspective. Also, this research aims to signal how the government-led redevelopment policies (used in new balance) contribute to diminishing or enhancing inequality in the social housing domain. Consequently improvements will be proposed on how the new balance can converse policies into livability impacts more effectively.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a thorough overview of the literature to date of the interplay between government, housing corporations and developers with regard to redevelopment efforts and livability. Section 3 is concerned with the methodology and describes the design and related strategies which will be conducted in this research. In section 4 results are displayed. Section 5 presents the discussion, where after section 6 concludes.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Social housing history

The very first beginning of the Dutch social housing sector can be found around 1852, where housing cooperatives were established. These were private initiatives by for instance employers, to increase productivity and enhance employee loyalty (Hoekstra, 2017). It can be viewed as an effort of society to support the working class. The fundamentals of the Dutch social housing system as known today are found in 1901, when the Dutch 'housing law' was first introduced. The main goal of the housing law was to reduce construction and inhabitation of low-quality housing. Aside from regulating housing quality, the law delivers a framework for the distribution of financial government support to housing corporations (Hoekstra, 2017). These financial arrangements were focused on social housing for 'approved organizations', which were the first housing corporations. As a result, even though housing corporations were initially a private initiative, the corporations became rapidly heavily influenced by the government (Beekers, 2012). The underlying drivers of the development of the Dutch social housing sector until the second world war therefore can be viewed as market driven given the high demand for housing, public-order oriented and finally hygiene driven (Scanlon, Whitehead & Arrigoitia, 2014).

After the second world war, the Netherlands was coping with a substantial housing shortage because of war destruction and population growth (Musterd, 2014). As a response, the government produced several policy responses to diminish the shortage. Such a policy response was the introduction of national subsidies to public housing corporations in order to being able to mass produce social housing (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008). Another important policy response that is observed in the post war reconstruction was the introduction of housing allowance in 1974. The introduction of the housing allowance enabled more market-oriented rents while safeguarding affordability for lower-income groups (Scanlon, Whitehead & Arrigoitia, 2014). Consequently, the share of the social housing sector increased from 10% to over 40% between 1950 and 1990 (Haffner et. al., 2009). Next to local municipalities, housing corporations contributed to the construction of social housing. The related increased financial involvement of the government consequently made housing corporations dependent on the financial support (Scanlon, Whitehead & Arrigoitia, 2014). This prompted a third 'milestone' in the history of Dutch social housing, after the housing law and the introduction of the housing allowance: the white paper on housing, known as 'nota Heerma' in 1989.

2.2 The 'old balance': trend towards independence

The 'nota Heerma signified a new approach to social housing and character of the government. Main elements in the policy included a withdrawing national government and distribution of power to local governments, housing corporations and other third parties. It therefore continued the trend towards independence of the social housing sector (Scanlon, Whitehead & Arrigoitia, 2014). Main spearpoints were priority of households with an income below certain limit and initiating a discussion about low-rent skewness. Households typified as the latter had an income eligible for social housing in the past,

but due to income increase should be renting at market prices. It also implied guidelines for financial independence of the housing corporations.

Continuing the trend towards independence of the social housing sector, the *grossing and balancing operation* of 1995 made housing corporations financially independent of the central government therefore introducing privatization (Scanlon, Whitehead & Arrigoitia, 2014). This led to more entrepreneurial organizations with a broader set of tasks (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008). The subsequent white paper on urban renewal in 1997 presented housing corporations with a dominant role in urban renewal. This led to the development of the ‘Big city policy’ (BCP). BCP I, which ended around 1998, focused on urban neighborhoods where a relative high concentration of low-income groups were located. The policy in these social housing areas focused on restructuring the urban housing market through demolition of low-cost accommodation and construction of higher segment housing to attract higher income residents (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008). Ineffectiveness of policy led to the development of BCP II until 2004, which incorporated the main spearpoints of BCP I with the aim of preventing of downgrading through outmigration of higher income residents. BCP III (2004 – 2009) was developed from the previous BCP’s, in which both social and ethnic compositions of neighborhoods was emphasized. The assumption is that disadvantaged neighborhoods are segregated neighborhoods (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008). A shift occurred to more attention on issues such as livability and safety was introduced. However, since 2011 central government has started to increase control over the Dutch social housing sector. This was after the conclusion of the European commission that Dutch housing corporations receive state aid (Hoekstra, 2017). Under European rules, receiving state aid is only allowed when organizations provide services for general economic interest. Also, the increased independence of the social housing sector led to financial misconduct and several governance failures (Rijksoverheid, 2015). This in turn led to a narrower set of tasks for housing corporations with a stricter focus on social housing and performance agreements of local governments through the ‘Revised Housing Act 2015’.

2.3 The ‘new balance’: focus on key activities

The current Dutch social housing system is based on the Revised Housing Act of 2015. The law implies that housing corporations are obliged to return to their core function: so called *general economic interest activities* (Rijksoverheid, 2015). The construction, letting and management of social housing for lower-income or vulnerable groups is defined as the core function. Also, investing in improving livability is included in this core function. Following from this, at least 80% of vacant social housing needs to be assigned to households with incomes under € 38.035. Income groups between € 38.035 and € 42.436 will receive 10% of vacant social housing, whereas the last 10% can be somewhat freely assigned. The main rule in place for assigning the last 10%, centers around priority for certain social groups such as households with safety, health or social risks (Rijksoverheid, 2015). In line with the previous mentioned financial misconduct of housing corporations, housing corporations must divide activities of social

importance and activities of commercial importance. Commercial activities are for example the development of rental housing in the free market and the development of owner-occupied housing (Rijksoverheid, 2015). Also, housing corporations are supervised by an independent body to assess whether they operate according to the new Housing Act. National government support to housing corporations is only allowed under strict circumstances (Rijksoverheid, 2015). Moreover, housing corporations are obliged to pay a levy, the so-called *landlord levy*, over the cadastral value of their social housing (Hoekstra, 2017). Another relevant implication of the law is the performance agreements between housing corporations, tenant organizations and local governments. This includes the construction of social housing, affordability of housing, housing of certain target groups and the quality and sustainability of social housing through urban renewal.

2.4 Government-led redevelopment policy

As mentioned, housing lower income groups and improving livability are at the core of the Dutch social housing system. The current Housing Act explicitly mentions, that it is desirable that housing corporations are allowed to develop real estate outside their core function if needed. Specifically, engage in urban renewal and restructuring to attain a mixed income structure of the population in a certain area (Rijksoverheid, 2015). This is the underlying goal of government-led redevelopment policies in the Netherlands. Considering this research, two levels of government-led redevelopment policies are identified: the national level and the municipal level.

At the national level, the BCP (Big City Policy) is the dominant strategy for urban renewal and influencing livability (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008). Through these policies the government is targeting urban social issues through integrated area-based policies (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008). The Housing Act of 2015 can be viewed as further detailing and improving the underlying BCP to current challenges. Both the BCP and Housing Act are policies at the national level. What binds the Dutch BCP together is the focus on area-based approaches in social housing areas, with the aim of changing the income mix. The change of income is sought in order to promote social mix. This approach is in literature defined as ‘state-led gentrification’, which in this research can be seen as an interpretation of ‘government-led redevelopment policies’ following from the BCP approach in the Netherlands (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019). It is a key redevelopment strategy and policy of state actors. These mixing policies introduce higher-class owner-occupied housing combined with higher income residents to targeted neighborhoods (Hochstenbach, 2017).

Whereas the BCP and Housing Act set the frameworks of the actors to operate in, further detailing takes place at the municipal level. Turning to Amsterdam, the government-led redevelopment policies are refined in municipal policy documents. Although a variety exists per municipality, main guiding documents can be identified. These are at the highest municipal level consecutively the Housing Agenda, the Housing Plan and the Structural Vision. Especially the Housing Agenda in Amsterdam is

relevant, since this is the main guiding document for housing and development (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b).

The Housing agenda ranges across a variety of topics, such as housing supply, affordability, quality of housing and strategic neighborhood development and livability (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). The most important implication of the Housing agenda related to (re)development policies is when constructing or redeveloping, a 40% social housing segment, 40% middle-priced segment and 20% liberalized segment must be realized looking at price range both for renting and owner-occupied housing (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). Another important implication is the ‘strategic neighborhood development’ approach in which social housing areas are targeted to improve quality of housing, social economic position, sustainability and livability. These are known as ‘developing neighborhoods’. The goals of the housing agenda are further locally detailed through cooperation agreements (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). Cooperation agreements are also known as ‘Performance agreements’ (PAs). Such a ‘Performance Agreement’ can be viewed as a local policy tool that involves a compensation system based on targets (Plettenburg et. al., 2021). Although varying according to situational characteristics, most performance agreements ensure growth of affordable housing and stock, accommodate vulnerable target groups and ensuring quality and livability. Performance agreements can therefore be viewed as a tool to ensure situational compatibility of the Housing agenda.

2.5 Government-led redevelopment linked to livability

The underlying approach of government-led redevelopment policies is founded in the BCP’s as mentioned above. The policy in these social housing areas focuses on restructuring the urban housing market through demolition of low-cost accommodation and construction of higher segment housing to attract higher income residents (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008). In later forms of BCP, a greater emphasis was placed on livability. Government-led redevelopment policies is a key strategy of state actors (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019). It is viewed as a policy instrument to prevent or disrupt neighborhood decline, thereby improving livability.

The Dutch government perceives government-led redevelopment policies as a means through which government actors induce the middle class to relocate to these neighborhoods, with the ultimate goal of civilizing and manage them (Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007) Large redevelopment efforts are therefore justified to improve the livability, however the achievement of this goal is debated since it often conflicts with the interests of residents (Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007). The influx of middle-class residents does not increase social cohesion and social distance remains. Also, it can lead to displacement of previous residents (Uitermark et. al., 2007). Moreover, accessibility of the social housing stock decreases (Hochstenbach, 2017). No conclusive evidence can be identified: government-led redevelopment policy outcomes differ with regard to livability (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019). The subsequent effect on livability depends on perspective and timing. Livability in this research is operationalized according to the interpretation of the municipality of Amsterdam.

Livability consists therefore of four variables respectively: housing characteristics; the built environment; facilities and social economic position of residents (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b).

2.6 Role developers

Turning to the role of the developers throughout the shift from the old to the new balance, a shift in the market to government balance is perceived. Previously housing corporations and developers operated in a unitary system (Plettenburg et. al., 2021). Within this system, direct competition between the private and public sector took place in an integrated market. However, with the market to government balance shifting from 2015, a more dual system is employed. In this system, direct competition between the private and public sector is avoided. The market strategy is based on profit (Plettenburg et. al., 2021).

With housing corporations focusing on their core task, an increase in tasks and activities is delegated to the market. This would include housing for middle-income groups and higher income-groups, but also with regard to developing commercial real estate for example (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020). This would normally result in private developers constructing owner-occupied homes and the higher segment rental housing.

2.7 Effects of the ‘new balance’

An important beneficial effect of the Revised Housing Act is the increased influence of stakeholders (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 2019). The number of performance agreements increased substantially at the municipal level. Through these performance agreements, the government is able to carry out its public housing policy (Hoekstra, 2017). Since the Netherlands have a history of restructuring and mixing neighborhoods with regard to income, the performance agreements give them the means to do so. Other beneficial effects are the increased control mechanisms and the stricter regulatory framework (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 2019).

However, also downsides are recognized in the evaluation of the Revised Housing Act (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 2019). It is recognized that the landlord levy and the strict allocation of housing rules are detrimental to the functioning of the social housing system. Both measures fortify the process of *residualization*. Residualization can be viewed as the process in which an increasing percentage of low-income groups is settling in a shrinking social housing sector (Hoekstra, 2017). This process leads to dwindling numbers of social housing units, increasing affordability problems and possible segregation. Especially the latter, segregation is counterproductive to the Dutch social housing policy goals. Whereas mixing of income groups is preferred, segregation through residualization tends to locate the cheaper rental dwellings to households with lowest incomes into the same particular area (Hoekstra, 2017). Therefore, the new balance could effectively lead to inequality. Given the aforementioned drawbacks, it must be noted, since it is also a sign of the active search for a new balance, that housing corporations are temporarily allowed to construct in the middle-rent segment for the upcoming three years, effective from January 2021 (Rijksoverheid, 2020).

2.8 Conclusions and critical potential expectations

Based on the literature, several potential expectations have been formulated which are grounded in theory. Expectations are categorized according to one or a combination of the main actors involved in the research. The actors are respectively municipality, housing corporation and developer.

Considering the expectations from literature with respect to the municipality, the following expectations are formulated:

Actor	Sub question	Expectation
Municipality	SQ2	More diverse set of tools for government to induce redevelopment affecting livability in new balance
Municipality	SQ2	Housing Act effectively increases control for government to induce redevelopment affecting livability in new balance

Considering the expectations from literature with respect to the housing corporation, the following expectations are formulated:

Actor	Sub question	Expectation
Housing corporation	SQ2	Less impact of housing corporation on livability in social housing areas due to diminishing financials and external partner networks
Housing corporation	SQ2	Due to increased focus of housing corporation as housing manager, more impact is made on quality of housing and therefore livability in social housing areas
Housing corporation	SQ3	Housing corporations are incentivized to demolish social housing and build back housing in higher segments when land is owned by housing corporation (due to exception on DAEB; Rijksoverheid, 2015)
Housing corporation	SQ4	The range of tasks of housing corporations should be expanded in order to effectively influence livability from the perspective of the tripartite network (SQ4)
Housing corporation	SQ4	Focus on core task housing corporations leads to increasing segregation which impacts livability

Considering the expectations from literature with respect to the developer, the following expectations are formulated:

Actor	Sub question	Expectation
Developer	SQ3	Developers more responsibility in constructing non-social housing in social housing areas and therefore more dominant position with regard to government
Developer	SQ3	Private developers are spurring inequality in the new balance through producing middle and higher segment housing

Considering the expectations from literature with respect to a combination of actors, the following expectations are formulated:

Actor	Sub question	Expectation
Municipality; Housing corporation	SQ2	More difficult for both government and housing corporation to impact livability since housing corporation cannot construct non-social housing
Municipality; Housing corporation; Developer	SQ4	Increased government regulations in the social housing market lead to less effective policy outcomes from the perspective of stakeholders
Housing corporation; Developer	SQ4	A more intensive partnership between housing corporation and private developers in new balance through mutual projects
Housing corporation; Developer	SQ4	Government-led redevelopment policies leads to a higher dependency on private developers in social housing areas, while housing corporations are unable to increase livability in social housing areas

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research design

The focus of this research is to understand how the tripartite network of government, housing corporation and private developers interplay in the ‘new balance’. More specifically, how the new balance of the tripartite network affects livability from the perspective of the actors involved in the tripartite network. Also, the research aims to identify how the new balance affect roles and interplay between actors from their perspective. Finally, this research aims to signal how the government-led redevelopment policies used in the new balance contribute to diminishing or enhancing inequality in the social housing domain from the perspective of actors involved. In order to gain better in-depth knowledge of the way this network interplays within their context, a qualitative study is conducted. This type of study is especially useful, since in-depth understanding of issues from the perspective of the population is acquired through this qualitative approach (Hennink et. al., 2020). Through the perspective of the actors, information is acquired on government-led redevelopment policies and perceived livability consequences. From this perspective, lessons can be learned on whether the shift from the private back to the public domain benefits society. Consequently, a qualitative design is operationalized.

The research philosophy best associated with qualitative design, is the interpretive philosophy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Interpretive is the most suitable since the actors in the tripartite network provide data linked to their subjective experiences. According to Hennink et al., (2020) this approach allows for understanding subjective experiences and the meaning of social interactions viewed from the context in which the actors operate. Furthermore, it should be noted that this study has an exploratory nature. The exploratory nature of this study is helpful to ask open questions, and subsequently detect ‘what is happening’ and gain understanding about the concepts of concern (Saunders et. al., 2012). Although literature to date provides some support concerning the government-led redevelopment policies and livability, the combination of the formulated tripartite network in the new balance into the aforementioned is still largely to be explored. Given the uncertainty of result, roles and interplay the exploratory research has two advantages (Hennink et. al., 2020). First, exploratory research designs have a high degree of adjustability and secondly relatively easily adjustable.

Concerning the research approach, an inductive approach is operationalized. This approach fits appropriately, from its application to explore a phenomenon and consequently develop theory (Saunders et. al., 2012) The functioning of the tripartite network with regard to government-led redevelopment policies and livability allow for this approach. Consequently, theory is formulated on the interactions of this network and possible insight is gained on how negotiations take place (Plettenburg et. al., 2021).

Considering the research question and its related sub questions the contextual interaction theory is employed. Given that the main focus of the research is investigating the new balance between the tripartite network municipality, housing corporation and developers with regard to policy implementation and its outcome, this method is suitable (Bressers, 2007). The main focus of the method is the associated actors in the network and unravelling the interaction process between the tripartite network rather than targeting the policy instrument. Consequently, government-led redevelopment policies aimed at livability should be viewed from the involved actors in the policy conversion process named the interaction arena (De Boer & Bressers, 2013). Subsequently, the balance, interplay and roles of the actors in the tripartite network following from this interaction process is investigated. Livability is operationalized by how the Housing Act and thus the ‘new balance’ is influencing livability from the perspective of the actors. Ultimately, barriers in the implementation of the policy, as well as benefits and improvements to the functioning of the network can be formulated.

The CIT model practically consists of three components, respectively input (A1); arena (B2) and output (C3) which will be separately discussed in more detail and visually illustrated. The section ends with the complete conceptual CIT model based on theory. Turning to the first component, it is recognized that the ‘input’ (A1) consists of the playing field of resources and regulations under which a policy can be successfully implemented. There are three contextual layers of input which are already established, respectively the wider context; structural context and specific context. The (re)development policies are subsequently implemented in this already established environment. The policies are an addition to the playing field. (Plettenburg, 2018). All these contextual variables subsequently influence the arena (B2) in which actors and their interplay are considered. The input component (A1) is visually illustrated below:

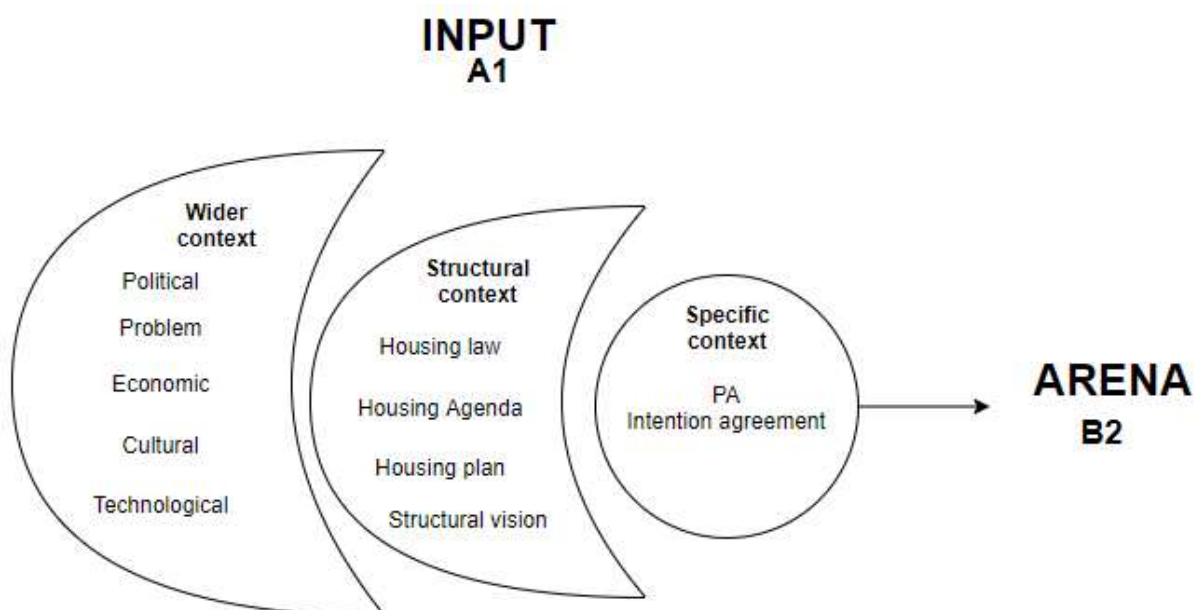


Figure 1: building CIT; input (A1) component influences arena (B2); source: Bressers, (2013); modification: author

The arena (B2) is the process where conversion of policy takes place by the relevant actors. The arena consists of the playing field and related issues in which the actors operate. The playing field and issues can both be fixed upon common consensus or can be in perpetual movement (Bressers & de Boer, 2011). The characteristics of the actors and their interaction shape the conversion of policy, therefore highlighting their influence on the implementation of policy. Characteristics are categorized to respectively motives, cognitions and resources. Motives of actors relate to characteristics that drive their behavior. The cognitions characteristics relate to what actors believe to be true whereas the resources variable relates to capacity and power characteristics (Bressers & de Boer, 2011). Identifying characteristics of the actors involved in the tripartite network is important since these characteristics impact government-led redevelopment policy implementation (Plettenburg, 2018).

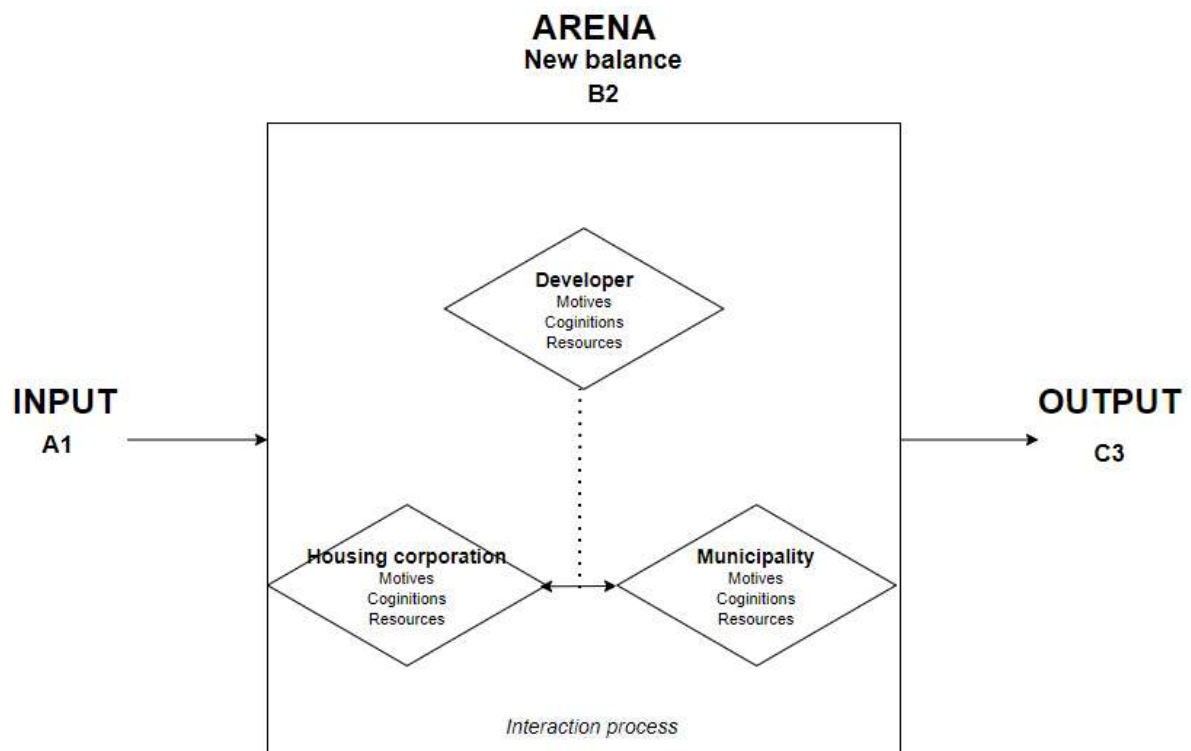


Figure 2: building CIT; arena (B2) central conversing in conversing input (A1) into output (C3); source: Bressers, (2013); modification: author.

Following, the output component (C3) is affected by the conversion of policy by the actors in the interaction arena (B2). Also, since contextual variables subsequently influence the arena in which actors and their interplay are interplaying, the output is also influenced by contextual variables. This signifies that the input (A1) component in CIT is a shared exchange and learning process, since policy has to be adapted to local situations (Bressers & de Boer, 2011). Therefore, policy making and implementation influence each other. This ultimately leads to the following complete conceptual CIT model (A1; B2; C3) based on theory:

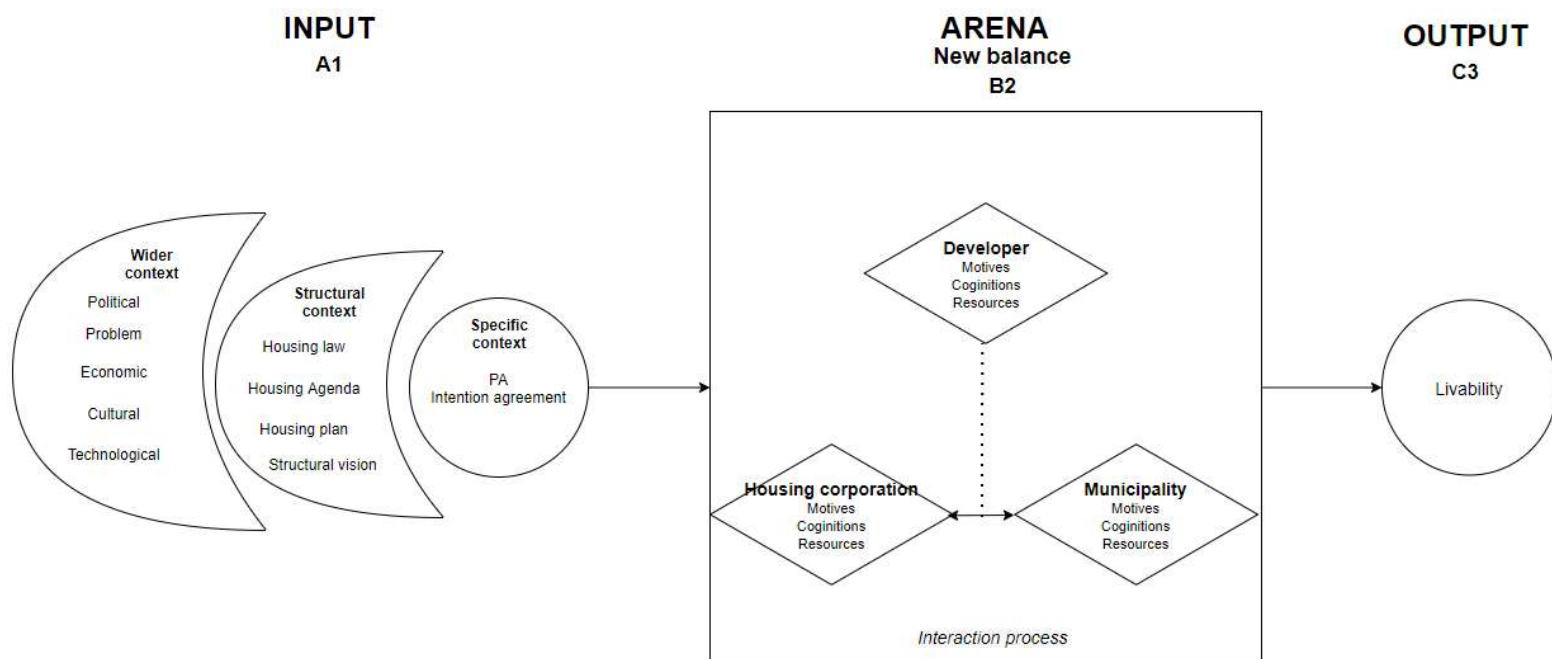


Figure 3: Complete conceptual model grounded in CIT based on theory; source: Bressers, (2013); modification: author.

Operationalizing CIT in this study allows to investigate the implementation of redevelopment policies by evaluating actor characteristics and interplay that converse redevelopment policies into livability outcomes. Also the extraneous environment in which the actors operate and the possible impact of this contextual environment on the actors is considered. Moreover, CIT offers the flexibility to inductively enrich the model grounded in data. Consequently, challenges to impact livability through policy can be identified as well as possible strengths in the new balance. Finally, recommendations on how policy goals can be more effectively achieved can be made in the new balance.

3.2 Case selection

A case study approach within Amsterdam is employed in the research in order to effectively investigate the actors and the interaction process between them, with regard to government-led redevelopment policies aimed at livability. Turning to the interplay between municipality and housing corporations, four neighborhood cases have been selected. With regard to criteria the following is relevant: these cases have been selected since they all are located within Amsterdam, with the

municipality inducing redevelopment aimed at improving livability. In all cases realization is carried out by the housing corporation. All cases are related to urban renewal and are sufficiently large. All cases are located in two dominant social housing neighborhoods, namely ‘New-West’ and ‘South-East’ (AFWC 2019; CBS 2021a; CBS 2021b; Gemeente Amsterdam 2019). Moreover, all cases are geographically located in the ‘developing neighborhoods’. These areas are appointed by the municipality in need of an impulse in quality of housing and livability by making the housing stock more mixed (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). By selecting cases all located within the municipality of Amsterdam, any difference due to geographical and municipal factors are eliminated. Also, all cases are recent providing insight into what we have defined before as the ‘new balance’. Finally, diverse housing corporations are selected through which a clear overview of the implementation process is attained. Below selected cases and their characteristics are discussed.

Amsterdam West

Nieuwenhuysenbuurt (H-W1)

Located in Amsterdam New-West, the ‘Nieuwenhuysenbuurt’ is a typical post-war neighborhood constructed around 1953. The redevelopment area consists of social housing and is completely owned by the housing corporation. Due to the condition of the social housing stock deteriorating through time, it has been decided to renew the housing stock in the Nieuwenhuysenbuurt. Combined with the renewal of the housing stock, public space will be improved because of deterioration. Also, since the neighborhood is a social housing neighborhood, the aim of the redevelopment is also changing the income mix and improving livability. It is part of the municipal approach to renew so called ‘developing neighborhoods’ from the Housing Agenda, which are basically troubled social housing neighborhoods (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). The 291 units social housing will be replaced by 455 units in different price segments in total, thus signifying an increase in the housing stock in the Nieuwenhuysenbuurt.

Jacob Geelbuurt (H-W2)

The ‘Jacob Geelbuurt’ is located in Amsterdam New-West and resembles the Nieuwenhuysenbuurt. The Jacob Geelbuurt was post-war constructed, also in the fifties around 1955. The redevelopment area consists of social housing and is completely owned by the housing corporation. The condition of the housing has deteriorated over time. The Jacob Geelbuurt also deals with livability issues. Combined with renewing the housing stock, the aim of the redevelopment is also changing the income mix and improving livability. The 314 units social housing will be replaced by around 500 units in different price segments in total, thus signifying an increase in the housing stock. It is part of the municipal approach to renew so called ‘developing neighborhoods’ from the Housing Agenda, which are basically troubled social housing neighborhoods (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b).

Struijckenkade (H-W3)

Located in Amsterdam New-West, the ‘Struijckenkade’ shares the post-war constructed characteristic with the Nieuwenhuysenbuurt and Jacob Geelbuurt. Again, the social housing stock is outdated and related livability issues are present. The aim of changing the income-mix is explicitly mentioned by the municipality as well as improving livability. The Struijckenkade is owned by two corporations, working together to attain the above mentioned goals. 110 social housing units will be replaced by 300 units, 55% social housing and 45% middle-priced units. It is part of the municipal approach to renew so called ‘developing neighborhoods’ from the Housing Agenda, which are basically troubled social housing neighborhoods (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b).

Amsterdam South-East

E-G Buurt (H-SE1)

Located in Amsterdam South-East, the ‘E-G buurt’ was constructed in the sixties. The complete area named the ‘Bijlmer’ was realized with the intention of creating a green neighborhood for the future for both the individual and community (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). However, since realization the neighborhood quickly deteriorated, thus being included in the municipal approach to renew so called ‘developing neighborhoods’ from the Housing Agenda, which are basically troubled social housing neighborhoods (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). The area consists largely of social housing. In total, around 550 units will be constructed in varying segments to change the income mix. In the E-G Buurt livability issues are also present and are aimed by the municipality to be changed.

See table below for further details:

Code	Geographical location	Project name	Involved actors	# of units
H-W1	Amsterdam-West	Nieuwenhuysenbuurt	- Municipality - De Alliantie	455
H-W2	Amsterdam-West	Jacob Geelbuurt	- Municipality - De Alliantie	500
H-W3	Amsterdam-West	Struijckenkade	- Municipality - Stadgenoot.	300
H-SE1	Amsterdam-South East	E-G Buurt	- Municipality - Rochdale	550

Table 1a: overview cases

With regard to the ‘new’ role of private developers and their interplay in the tripartite policy network of government-led redevelopment policies aimed at livability, two cases were selected. Cases were selected by identifying recent developments in the dominant social housing neighborhoods ‘New-West’ and ‘South-East’ by private developers in Amsterdam. The ‘New-West’ case was selected by

being identified as a tender. Through these tender programs, the municipality offers locations for the development of housing and other functions such as commercial real estate (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021a). A distinctive feature of these tenders is that market parties compete against each other. Following, a developer is selected on the basis of predetermined selection criteria by the municipality. Main selection criteria are residential program, spatial quality, sustainability, finance and social aspects (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021a). This form of cooperation between the municipality and private developers is valuable to investigate, given the shift from the unitary system to the dual system (Plettenburg et. al., 2021).

The second case was selected by the role of ‘facilitating land policy’ of the municipality, in which a developer already acquired the land. By selecting both cases, the complete array of developer’s ‘new’ role in social housing areas can be captured. By investigating these forms of cooperation between the actors, more clarity is attained on livability impact through private developers given redevelopment policy of the municipality. Moreover, new insights are gained considering the roles and interplay of the private developer in the ‘new balance’. So, relevant criteria are the following: government inducing redevelopment through the tender program or a facilitating policy; private developer acquiring land in social housing area; developer constructing housing in dominant corporation area; all cases are recent providing insight into the predefined ‘new balance’.

Typisch Tuinstad

The project ‘Typisch Tuinstad’ is a project developed by private developers geographically located in Amsterdam New-West. It is located in the municipal so called area ‘developing neighborhoods’ from the Housing Agenda, which are basically troubled social housing neighborhoods (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). The project has been acquired through a tender as previously stated. Total development will consist of 190 units in total, which are all located in the middle-priced segment. Of the 190 units, 120 will be rental and 70 will be available to buy.

KARSP

The project ‘KARSP’ is a project developed by private developers geographically located in Amsterdam South-East. It is located in the municipal so called area ‘developing neighborhoods’ from the Housing Agenda, which are basically troubled social housing neighborhoods (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b). The project has been acquired from a previous private owner, thus signifying the facilitating role the municipality has related to the project Total development will consist of 274 units in total. Units will be priced in the social, middle priced an higher segment. Exact distribution will be 10% social housing, 60% middle priced and 30% higher segment.

Code	Geographical location	Project name	Involved actors	# of units
D-W1	1. Amsterdam-West	Typisch	- Municipality	190
		Tuinstad	- CPM	
D-SE1	2. Amsterdam-South East	KARSP	- Municipality	278
			- Woonam	

Table 1b: overview cases

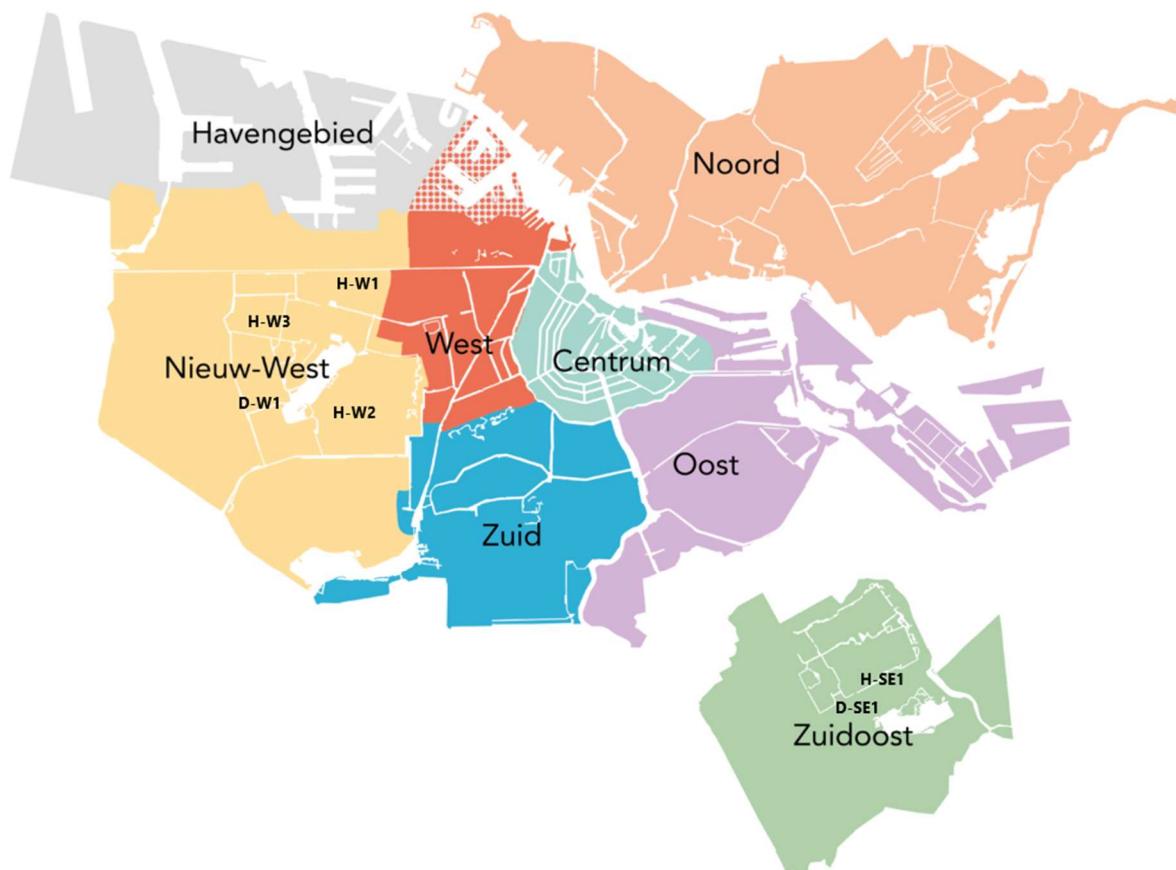


Figure 2: Overview by geographical location of selected cases (source: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021b; modified by author)

3.3 Data collection

Data collection for this research took place in March, April and May of the year 2021. With regard to sampling, a purposive sampling strategy is implemented. Given the aim of understanding how the tripartite policy network operates to improve livability in the ‘new balance’, a contextualized understanding is needed to provide in-depth insights (Hennink et. al., 2020). Also, flexibility is needed to capture diversity of issues. Given these requirements, purposive sampling fits since it enables purposefully selecting participants who have high understanding and information on the research issues. Moreover, purposive sampling is sufficiently flexible so a diverse sample can be selected to

fully capture the variety of perspectives of actors on government-led redevelopment policy related to livability (Hennink et. al., 2020).

Turning to participant recruitment strategies, two different types are implemented. First, the formal and informal network strategy was employed. Initial participants were recruited after case selection from the municipality, the housing corporation and developers through the network of the researcher or through ‘cold acquisition’. Both formal and informal networks were operationalized. Since the actors involved are specific and are relatively concentrated, this approach is fitting (Hennink et. al., 2020). Although sampling is limited to network members, this approach provided a forum for recruitment. Consequently, the research engaged in a snowballing recruitment strategy, to recruit more eligible participants from the initial participants. However, it must be recognized that a possible downside of this strategy is a lack of diversity (Hennink et. al., 2020). Given that the actors in the tripartite network have very specific characteristics and knowledge relating to the research topic, this strategy was operationalized.

Participant nr.	Function	Actor	Code
1	Project manager	Municipality of Amsterdam	M1
2	Project manager	Municipality of Amsterdam	M2
3	Area developer	Housing corporation	HC1
4	Area developer	Housing corporation	HC2
5	Area developer	Housing corporation	HC3
6	Area developer	Housing corporation	HC4
7	Dep. Director acquisition and transformation	Developer	D1
8	Development manager	Developer	D2

Table 2: overview in-depth interviews respondents to function and actor category

Data was collected through a mixed method approach. First, eight in-depth interviews were conducted with municipality project managers, housing corporation area developers and private developers involved in the six cases of urban renewal in Amsterdam thereby acquiring their perspectives. Given the exploratory nature, eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with an open character. Themes discussed centered around gaining insight into the ‘new balance’ of the tripartite network in impacting livability through policy from their perspective. The variety of tools of government were discussed, as well as the impact of housing corporation on livability in this new balance. Moreover, quality of housing and related livability was included. The view on increased government regulation from the perspective of actors was discussed, as well as the influence on the partnership between government and housing corporation. Other themes included social outcomes and dependency on private developers by municipalities. The goal is to understand perceptions and context

of interviewees in which they operate. Therefore collection commenced through in-depth interviews. Moreover, since confidentiality is of great importance within the research context this data collection methodology fits. However, various drawbacks exist within this collection method. One major drawback is that there is no feedback from others (Hennink et. al., 2020). To counter this major drawback, after the interviews two focus group discussion were held with participants from municipality, housing corporation and developers. This resulted in a range of views and subsequent useful information. Groups were purposefully grouped to prevent participants from knowing each other and to promote discussion.

Group nr.	Function	Actor	Code
1	Project manager	Municipality of Amsterdam	M1
1	Area developer	Housing corporation	HC2
1	Development manager	Developer	D2
2	Area developer	Housing corporation	HC1
2	Area developer	Housing corporation	HC4
2	Dep. Director acquisition and transformation	Developer	D1

Table 3: overview group discussion respondents to function and actor category

However, a possible drawback must be recognized since this non-confidential setting may have led to fewer issues discussed in-depth (Hennink et. al., 2014). The interviews lasted on average 45 minutes, while the focus group discussion lasted for one hour.

3.4 Data treatment and management

When data collection finished, the in-depth interviews and focus group discussion were textually transcribed from the recorded transcriptions. Transcribed data was subsequently grouped according to research themes and expectations by making use of NVivo software. This grouping reduced complexity, since perspectives of the actors are categorized in relation to views on subjects and research goals. Consequently, analysis is simplified and themes and coding is easier to identify. This provides deep insight into the themes as well as the differences in perspectives of actors on the functioning of the tripartite network with regard to redevelopment policy and subsequently livability outcomes.

With regard to ethics, participants were sufficiently informed with information concerning the research and interview. Also, since the researcher is active in a small development company, this was stated to participants. Aside from providing information, anonymity and confidentiality were ensured. Although complete anonymity cannot be ensured, only the researcher has access to the recordings to minimize risk (Hennink et. al., 2014). It was agreed that results of the research would be shared with participants, as well as creating a safe environment in the data collection process through guiding

ethical principles. For more detailed information see the participation and information sheet distributed to participants in the appendix.

3.5 Data analysis

Considering the research, thematic analysis using a qualitative data coding approach is operationalized. Whereas the basis of the framework of CIT was deductively established, it was inductively enriched with data following from the data collection methods. The themes were established by adopting the CIT as conceptual model through indicating themes as subsequently: CIT input; actor characteristics; barriers to interaction; and output. CIT input was further divided into the subthemes political context and problem context. Actor characteristics were divided into subthemes according to the inductively enriched subthemes. With regard to motives, the subthemes function, institutional change and responsibility were identified. With regard to cognitions, the subthemes experience and set of beliefs were inducted. Finally, with regard to resources the subthemes regulation, financial measures and level of freedom were identified. Turning to output subthemes were categorized to effects, challenges, benefits and improvements to the new balance. Analysis, coding and developing themes was completed through manually reading the transcripts of the interviews and group discussions.

In the text analysis we identified the following subthemes, which also structure our results;

Code	Example phrase
Contextual - problem context	“While Amsterdam is thriving like never before, things are going downhill in the neighborhood: trend is reversed to Amsterdam. That means that this area (sound) continues to slide down” (Resp. HC1)
Contextual - political context	“Struijckenkade, there is 100 percent social rent and there are livability problems, so you want more of a mixed neighborhood with different target groups” (Resp. HC3).
Motives - function	“With the new legislation then (...) a corporation was no longer allowed to invest in those top homes and in that mid-priced segment. They did go back to their core task, so to a social rental home.” (Resp. M2)
Motives - institutional change	Now that the housing corporation has indeed less room for investment, the municipality has started looking for new partners.” (Resp. D1).
Motives - responsibility	More and more, social projects are initiated by the municipality and we are looking for partners in this. The corporations but also other parties.” (Resp. M2).
Cognitions - experiences	My experience is that it is also very locally dependent on the municipality and (...) and even on the parties involved, people, with whom you are dealing.” (Resp. HC3).
Cognitions - set of beliefs	“We do not want the social housing stock to go down. At the same time, we think it is very important that because of livability and differentiation, there is more variety of housing supply”. (Resp. M2)
Resources - regulation	“Mid segment housing was not built anymore. The market did not do it, and the corporations were not allowed to.” (Resp. HC2)

Resources - financial measures	“We also have to contribute a considerable amount per year to the state in the form of the landlord levy. It is a kind of reverse state aid so we also have to pay for almost everything.” (Resp. HC3).
Resources - level of freedom	“In previous projects where the Alliantie would realize medium-priced rent, the idea was really to look at external partners. But due to the recent easing, they can do much more themselves again.” (Resp. M2).
Barriers - fundamental	“The developer does not always have the same interest of a corporation. Investors will be there for some time and probably for 15 or 20 years. A corporation may be there for 100 years. And indeed a developer is (...) if he has sold, he is gone” (Resp. D2).
Barriers – internal conflict	“Based on (...) look at the Housing Act, which does not allow us to interfere too intensively with livability. In the meantime, of course, we are committed to that.” (Resp. HC2)
Barriers – conflict between actors	“My approach was that of a little less social rental housing. The municipality has trouble with that” (Resp. HC2).
Barriers – discrepancy Housing Act	“The Housing Act has actually returned them to their core task. It is now also recognized that they are the right party to operate in the field of livability” (Resp. HC3)
Benefits ‘new balance’	“Look, certain things you should not do as a housing corporation, because we should focus on housing and not the shopping centers and whatever. On the contrary, it is good to involve the developers (...) or the commercial developers. That can be very complementary.” (Resp. M1).
Challenges ‘new balance’	“The result is simply that social housing is now increasingly on the outskirts of the city. This is where the low-income families live.” (Resp. HC2)
Improvements ‘new balance’	“The moment you abolish the landlord levy, that money automatically ends up in the area where you have social housing.” (Resp. HC1)

Table 4: overview subthemes and example phrases

First, results from the data analysis of the in-depth interviews with participants relating to the actors from the selected cases will be presented. Secondly, results from the in-depth interviews were discussed in the group panel discussions after which results are subsequently presented. It is useful to verify interpretations and explanations by seeking participant feedback in order to validate results (Hennink et. al., 2020). The in-depth interview first round data gathering leads to an understanding of the functioning and barriers to interaction of the network in the new balance. The second round data gathering through group panel discussions enhanced further understanding of benefits, challenges and improvements in this new balance.

4. RESULTS

In this chapter, the results are presented from the subsequent data analysis of the selected cases. In §4.1 the results concerning the roles and interplay of the actors in the new balance are presented. This is achieved by providing an overview of the actor characteristics, motives, cognitions and resources along with inductively established subthemes based on CIT. Also, the extraneous environment is taken into account. Moreover barriers to interaction of the tripartite network are presented. Since characteristics of the actors and their interaction shape the conversion of policy, their influence on the implementation of policy is significant and therefore relevant.

In §4.2 the results are shown how the new balance influences livability in social housing areas. This is accomplished by presenting the effects of the new balance on livability, as well as producing benefits and challenges related to the balance and related livability outcomes. Taking the research design into account, this paragraph will be built up in two phases. First, results from the data analysis of the in-depth interviews with participants relating to the actors from the selected cases will be presented. Secondly, results from the in-depth interviews were discussed in the group panel discussions after which results are subsequently presented.

In §4.3 the inductively established possible future improvements to the functioning of the new balance with regard to livability outcomes will be presented. We present the lessons learned as to how the actors can possibly improve the functioning of the network and related livability outcomes. This section is a combination of the in-depth interviews results, validated through group discussions. This section concludes by displaying the enriched conceptual model based on data.

4.1 Roles and interplay of actors in the ‘new balance’

In this section, we start by identifying the contextual factors under which the network operates. This is achieved by taking the extraneous environment into account. Hence, the political and problem context influencing the interaction process of actors is described. Then, the roles and interplay of actors in the new balance is elaborated on. While finally, barriers to the functioning of the interaction process are identified.

Contextual factors – wider context

With regard to the wider context, the political context and problem context were addressed by the respondents. Several respondents (M1, M2, HC1, HC2 and HC3) noted that the problem context underlying the government inducing redevelopment in social housing areas is related to the concept that high concentration of social housing in areas leads to livability issues. Respondents indicate that high concentrations of low income groups are in fact disadvantaged neighborhoods with issues such as low livability and low safety. Turning to the political context, the solution of changing the income mix with regard to the problem context was commonly found. Changing the income mix is viewed by all

interviewees (M1, M2, HC1, HC2, HC3, HC4, D1, D2,) as the solution to improving livability in social housing areas. They share the conviction that changing the income mix is the key redevelopment strategy in these areas. The actors municipality (M1, M2) and housing corporation (HC1, HC2, HC3, HC4) actively pursue attracting higher income residents to these areas.

Motives of actors - Function

The motives characteristic of CIT relates to what drives the actions of the actors. The function of the actors in the ‘new balance’ with regard to conversing policy into livability outcomes provided several insights. The findings relate to the following subthemes: improving public space; role dependent on land possession; core task and filling the ‘gap’. From the interviews it became clear that the municipality is providing the framework in which housing corporations and developers can provide adequate housing to target groups. This is not only achieved through policy, but also by physically and actively improving public space in social housing areas according to respondents (HC2, HC3, HC4 and M2). Moreover, the municipality assumes various roles in social housing areas, dependent on land possession. Whereas the municipality has a more dominant function when land is owned by the corporation or municipality, when a developer acquires land from a private owner in a social housing area a more facilitating function is observed in the new balance according to respondents (D1, D2, HC1 and M2)

“In New-West, the majority of housing is owned by the corporations. Therefore, together with the corporations we look at how we can improve the area. One side is demolition and rebuilding new housing in which livability increases by improving living situations. On the other hand we tackle public space issues. A new (...) redesign, making it up to date”. (Resp. M2).

Interviews show that the function of housing corporations in social housing areas has led to an increased focus on their core task, thus supporting the overall aim of the Revised Housing Act 2015. Housing corporations are increasingly focused on providing social housing to vulnerable target groups.

“At one point, corporations had become a kind of developers and with all the commotion (...) they are a bit more focused on their social goals, core tasks - and that leads to a slightly different approach, and that has at least helped in the cooperation with the municipality” (Resp. M2).

Turning to the function of developers in the new balance, the respondents (D1, HC1, HC2 and M2) stated that in the new balance developers are increasingly important in providing market housing in social housing areas. Since housing corporations are more focused on providing social housing,

respondents indicate that developers are aiming to fill this ‘gap’ the corporations have left behind in the market:

“With the new legislation then (...) a corporation was no longer allowed to invest in those top homes and in that mid-priced segment. They did go back to their core task, so to a social rental home. And that has led to the fact that, certainly where medium and private sector homes were built as part of a differentiation of housing supply, corporations had to look for another partner.” (Resp. M2).

Motives of actors - Institutional change

The Housing Act and subsequently new balance has led to an accumulation of many small changes concerning the actors, which have resulted in institutional change. This institutional change was formed in the context of formal and informal rules. The findings relate to the following subthemes: new partners; retreating housing corporation and developers building social housing. Respondents (D1, HC1 and M2) stated that the municipality had to start looking for new partners in the light of the ‘new balance’.

“Yes, I certainly think so in Amsterdam, because traditionally there has always been (...) a lot has always been worked out between the municipality and housing corporations. Now that the housing corporation has indeed less room for investment, the municipality has started looking for new partners.” (Resp. D1).

As the above indicates, the municipality started looking for new partners outside of the housing corporation in delivering livability outcomes in social housing areas. This change coincides with the housing corporation increasingly retreating following the narrower set of tasks. This is exemplified in the following example:

“In the past, we were a partner with the municipality to intervene in neighborhoods and districts. We are now tied behind our backs. We can no longer invest in facilities, not so easily anymore. What is essential for the municipality, so it must seek other parties.” (Resp. HC1).

With regard to developers, institutional change observed in the data consensus was reached among respondents (D1, D2, HC1, HC2, HC3, HC4, M1 and M2). Developers have taken on a more prominent role not only in providing market housing but also increasingly developed social housing in the ‘new balance’ as interviews indicate:

“You see more and more that especially the expansion locations that developers have a role to play. So private developers. They are also instructed by the municipality to help develop social rental homes. They simply develop a program and at the end look for a housing corporation. You see that especially on the outskirts of the

city For example the Jacob Geelbuurt. But also in other places, market parties include social rent. So they develop it and then transfer it.”_Resp. (HC2).

Motives of actors – Responsibility

Under the new balance, responsibility characteristics of the actors has altered thus affecting the functioning of the network. Characteristics have been grouped under the following subthemes: increase in tasks municipality; social housing supply; increased commitment to livability.

In the new balance, the municipality effectively increased their own range of tasks according to some respondents (D2 and M2). The increase in tasks by the municipality effectively limits the housing corporations and subsequently retreats. A good example grounded in data is the increase in initiating social projects in social housing neighborhoods by the municipality. Previously the housing corporations engaged in such projects according to the interviews:

“Yes, perhaps also about livability, it is of course also about social livability. That has to do with this new division of tasks. More and more, social projects are initiated by the municipality and we are looking for partners in this. The corporations but also other parties.” (Resp. M2).

Housing corporations have taken on increased responsibility in providing social housing in these areas according to some respondents (D1, HC1, HC4). Social housing is the main focus according to respondents, however they are limited. Housing corporations feel explicitly invested in not displacing residents with regard to redevelopment policies aimed at livability according to the interviews. However, the current conditions under which they operate hamper their responsibility to accommodate their target groups:

“I think compared to how it went in the first urban renewal 1.0, and now, now we are in 2.0. Back then, people were perhaps very happy that we demolished their homes and there were also perhaps more opportunities for the relocation candidates because we started building much more larger homes. They often received a return guarantee. And we are now in a completely different dynamic that it is already complicated in the first place to return to your own neighborhood” (Resp. HC4).

Following from the actors and interaction with regard to responsibility, several respondents (D1, D2, M1, M2) indicated that developers have an increased awareness and commitment to livability in social housing areas. Interviews showed that developers unite in legal entities to subsequently invest in public space and the area itself. Housing corporations are also uniting with developers in these legal entities. It must be noted however, that the commitment to livability does vary among developers.

“We see increasingly that many more private parties also want to invest in this. And they realize, a little repetition of moves, that they need each other to make the area. So we, invented the term DAT relationship: “develop apart together”. Instead of a LAT relationship, you develop your own plot and create the area together. And we try to strive for that and you see that all parties who are also in the foundation understand that. Especially in such a disadvantaged area, you really need each other to take one step further.” (Resp. D1).

Cognitions of actors – experiences

The cognitions variable of CIT relates to the information which actors believe is true. Subsequently, the themes experiences and set of beliefs were inductively enriched from the data through which all actors can be described. The actors experiences of conversing policy into livability in the new balance are described below. A majority of the respondents (D1, HC2, HC3, HC4, M1, M2) stated that the successful implementation of policy into outcomes largely depends on personal relationships. As described by a project manager of an housing corporation:

“My experience is that it is also very locally dependent on the municipality and (...) and even on the parties involved, people, with whom you are dealing.” (Resp. HC3).

However, whereas personal relationships were generally perceived as being positive in reinforcing the interaction process, detrimental experiences hampering this process were also frequently stated by respondents (D1, HC1, M1). Distrust as a result of experience among actors was also prominent as exemplified in the following phrase from a project manager of the municipality:

“Because there is often mistrust and misunderstanding. Why do we look at things differently, so we try to really get to know each other. Because, (...) look at my relationship with the corporation it really started with suspicion.” (Resp. M1).

Cognitions of actors – set of beliefs

With regard to the set of beliefs of actors, this CIT variable showed large consensus across all respondents (D1, D2, HC1, HC2, HC3, HC4, M1, M2) in the belief that changing the income mix is the most important aspect in improving livability outcomes in social housing areas. Although the approach to attaining this income mix somewhat differs across respondents, the overall belief in the approach is equal. Respondents share the belief of income mixing as a key strategy. As stated by the municipality:

“We do not want the social housing stock to go down. At the same time, we think it is very important that, because of livability and differentiation, we need that variation. And we then prioritize mid-rent. On the one hand, rebuilding social housing and using the plus space for differentiation.” (Resp. M2).

Differences do exist between the beliefs of respondents on the different interests of developers and housing corporations (D2, HC2, HC3). However, the belief of a majority of respondents (D1, HC2, HC3, HC4, M1, M2) resembles that there is a common interest for all parties in developing an area and related livability outcomes. Therefore, the variable common interest was found across all actors. The corresponding set of beliefs are helpful for the functioning of the network. An example:

“And for a corporation as well as for us, that quality of life is very important. Because of that in that sense, yes (...) a bit of repetition, but the cooperation in that area is just going very well because we have common interests in it” (Resp. M2).

Resources of actors – regulation

In the light of the Revised Housing Act, the capacity and power of the municipality of Amsterdam increased. This increased capacity and power subsequently leads to municipality conversing policy into livability outcomes actively by enforcing assigning commercial space under the new balance for municipal purposes from the perspective of respondents (D2, M1 and M2). As stated by the municipality:

“So the municipality has stated in its request, preferably a function that contributes something to the neighborhood.” (Resp. D2).

Interviews indicate that the housing corporation has less capacity and power to converse policy into livability outcomes given the narrower task provided by the Housing Act (D1, HC1, HC2, HC3, HC4 and M2). However, it must be noted that housing corporations do overcome possibly too strict regulation according to some respondents (D2, HC1, HC2, HC4). This is achieved through organizational and fiscal structures. More specifically, through legal subsidiaries or administratively segregating their activities. By bypassing the regulations stemming from the Housing Act, the housing corporation is able to build higher segment housing. It must be noted that not every corporation engages in this practice. Across actors the perspective is that the reason for a stricter set of tasks for the housing corporation was justified. However, the current strict set of tasks is perceived as too narrow under current regulations (D1, HC1, HC2, HC3, HC4 and M2). As a consequence, too little newly built mid segment housing was constructed. Developers rather focused on higher segment housing because of profitability as a respondent indicates:

“Mid segment housing was not built anymore. The market did not do it, and the corporations were not allowed to. Than very quickly the conclusion arises in government: we did not intend this! So they actually like that we build outside of the intended set of tasks” (Resp. HC2)

Resources of actors – financial measures

Considering the new balance, housing corporations have less financial capabilities to converse redevelopment policy into livability outcomes compared to before the implementation of the Revised Housing Act according to respondents HC1, HC3 and M2. This is mainly due to two factors: the inability to build higher segment housing and the landlord levy. The respondents perceive the increased financial measures related to housing corporations as being detrimental to the functioning of the network to produce livability outcomes. Whereas for the actors developers and municipality the landlord levy has little influence on their functioning and interaction, the impact for the housing corporation is much larger according to the respondents. The tax is levied over social housing and in 2020 95% of the 1.7 billion euros is paid by the housing corporations (VNG, 2020). As stated by the housing corporation:

“We also have to contribute a considerable amount per year to the state in the form of the landlord levy. It is a kind of reverse state aid so we also have to pay for almost everything.” (Resp. HC3).

Resources of actors – level of freedom

Turning to the level of freedom under the new balance, differences exist among actors. The level of freedom for municipality has increased under the new balance. This is signified by seeking for other partners in social housing areas and the various roles it adopts within these areas as discussed above. Also, through tenders the municipality has the ability to derive livability outcomes according to respondents (D2, HC3, M1, M2). Whereas for developers no change in the level of freedom was identified, the level of freedom for housing corporations lowered under the new balance. The recent temporary allowance to build mid segment housing can be viewed as provisionally increasing the level of freedom according to respondents (D1, D2, HC1, HC2, HC3, M2). Among respondents this increase was viewed as helpful for the functioning of the network in producing livability outcomes in social housing areas:

“In previous projects where the Alliantie would realize medium-priced rent, the idea was really to look at external partners. But due to the recent easing, they can do much more themselves again.” (Resp. M2).

Barriers to interaction

Following from the data, barriers that are detrimental to the implementation of policy and functioning of the network in providing livability outcomes are identified. These barriers are divided have been coded into the following subthemes: fundamental barriers; internal conflict and conflict between actors.

Barriers to interaction – fundamental

Fundamental barriers to interaction of the network can be broadly categorized into the bureaucratic barriers and nature of actors. Although bureaucratic barriers exist among all actors, the bureaucratic barrier of the municipality structure was most commonly mentioned across respondents (D1, D2, HC1, HC2, M1). Especially, with regard to approaching social housing areas through an area-based approach, actors experience barriers to successfully implementing policy. This is detrimental to the functioning of the network:

“The municipality works sectoral, so for each subject there is an entire service (inaudible), an entire decision-making structure, an entire hierarchical structure and so on. But area-oriented is really a completely different way of working, the municipality of Amsterdam does not know that today.” (Resp. HC1).

Turning to nature of the actors, the actors have different perspectives and commitment to the social housing area. This is in turn often caused because of a varying time horizon and therefore commitment. Because of this varying commitment to producing livability outcomes, this can be viewed as a barrier to the functioning of the network in effectively converting policy into outcomes according to respondents (D2, HC2, HC3):

“The developer does not always have the same interest of a corporation. Investors will be there for some time and probably for 15 or 20 years. A corporation may be there for 100 years. And indeed a developer is (...) if he has sold, he is gone” (Resp. D2).

Barriers to interaction – internal conflict

Between actors it is recognized that internal conflict exists which subsequently hampers the functioning of the network. Internal conflicts were most frequently recognized in the municipality as well as with regard to housing corporations according to respondents (M1, HC2, HC4). Both the housing corporations and municipality can be described from the perspective of a two-sided internal conflict: being financially profitable versus enhancing public well-being. For developers, internal conflict was less applicable. For housing corporations with legal subsidiaries to bypass regulation, internal conflict exists on building social housing. This is exemplified through the following quote:

“And certainly that residential housing fund that contains all that free sector housing. It does have a certain objective, because it just has to earn money. Yes, plus if something does not meet the return requirements, the housing fund can say: ‘I do not want to realize this complex’, while it also includes social rent. While we are like yes, but we want to make this!” (Resp. HC4).

With regard to the municipality, internal conflict often exists between departments, therefore hampering the successful conversion of policy into livability outcomes. This is again related to being

profitable versus enhancing public wellbeing, which can collide. Also, the various departments of the municipality which have various interests and goals to attain:

“The municipality is of course a many-headed monster, I don't mean it negative. But thousands of people work at the municipality and there are people who are concerned with the public housing interest, and that simply costs the municipality money when it comes to a social rental house, the land yields less than with a house for sale, so the public housing providers take that for granted. But then you also meet people from the land department. Well, sometimes you already see the battle there, sometimes within one team of the municipality and in other areas you simply see there are just a lot of different interests.” (Resp. HC2).

Barriers to interaction – conflict between actors

Another barrier to interaction is identified in the possible conflict between actors which is detrimental to the functioning of the network. An example can be identified in the sought change in income-mix versus the decrease of social housing stock according to respondents (HC2, HC4 and M1). Whereas the municipality wants to increase income-mixing in social housing areas, it does not want to decrease social housing stock. This conflict between actors is exemplified by the following sentence from respondent HC2:

“Ultimately, the share of social rental housing will decrease proportionally, even in absolute numbers. I think it is a desirable development. I think it is increasingly a magnet for people with problems and people with low incomes. We have to look for that variation. As far as the municipality is concerned, this is happening too quickly. But I think it is inevitable.” (Resp. HC2).

Barriers to interaction – discrepancy Housing Act and municipal housing agenda

Following from CIT, the mismatch between the structural and specific context leads to barriers to interaction between actors according to respondents (HC2, HC3 and HC4). More specifically, the housing act and the related stricter task for the housing corporation can be conflicting with specific situational needs within social housing areas. It must be noted that the Revised Housing Act was not implemented in a blank policy field. The municipality of Amsterdam has its own housing agenda and related documents to provide the framework in which current housing issues are addressed. Results show that, from this perspective, the municipal housing policy and Revised Housing Act are to a certain degree contradictory according to the respondents. The aim of the municipality in redeveloping social housing neighborhoods with goals of income mixing to improve livability, is to some extent hampered by the Revised Housing Act according to the respondents (HC2, HC3 and HC4).

“When you look at the Jacob Geelbuurt, the new construction we completed became social housing. While the ideas was previously that other types of housing should be built. Mid segment or owner-occupied. At that moment we did not want to ‘burn our hands’ so to say, so we chose the safe route”. (Resp. HC2).

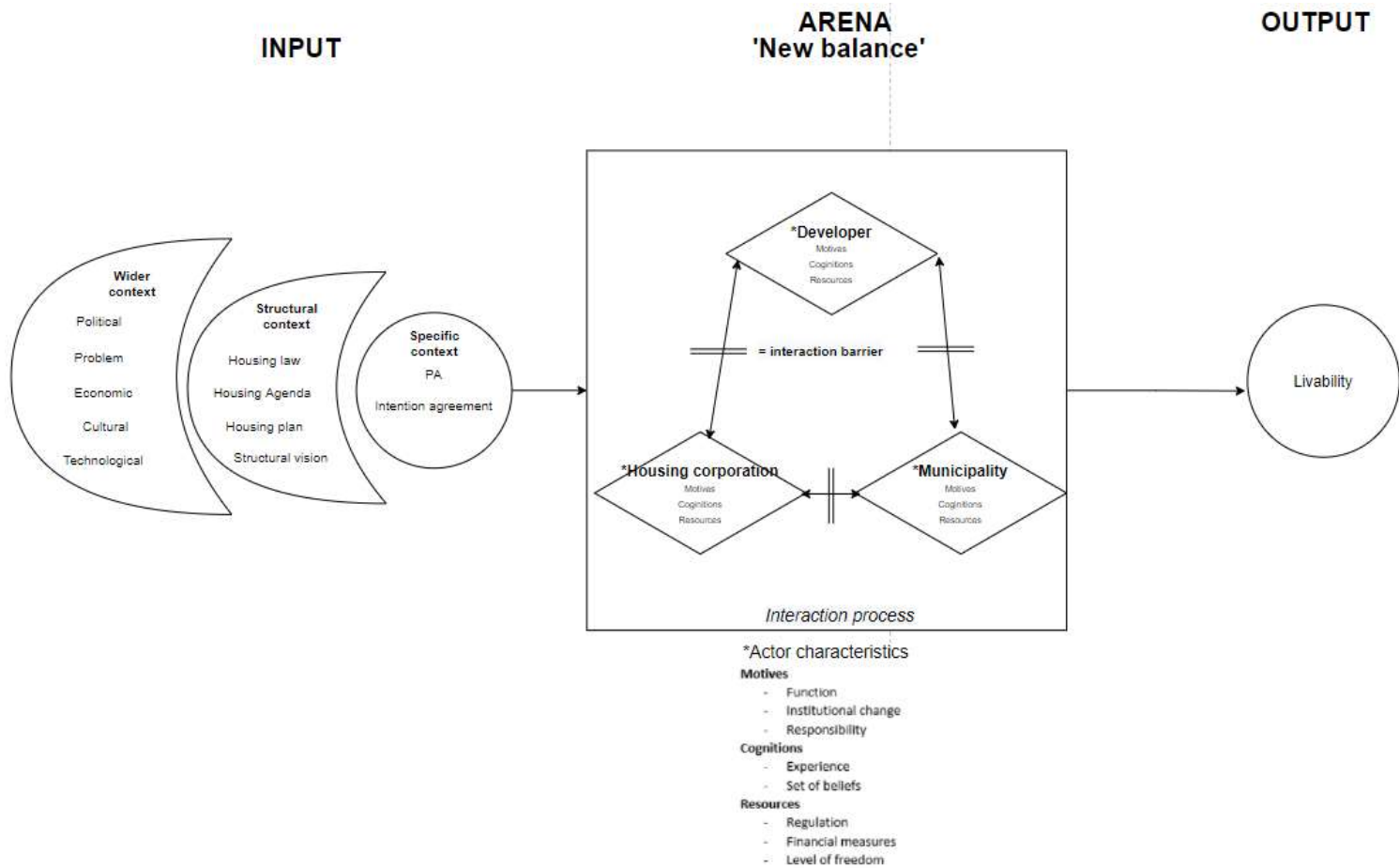


Figure 3: conceptual model grounded in CIT input & actor enriched

4.2 The new balance and livability: benefits and challenges

This section presents the results with regard to how the new balance influences livability in social housing areas. Results from the first data-gathering round will be presented after which the results from the subsequent group discussion will be provided. First, the benefits of the new balance from the perspective of the actors are presented. Subsequently, the challenges in the new balance are identified.

Benefits of the new balance - interviews

From the data, several benefits are identified which could positively impact livability in social housing areas. First, the new balance has led to a more area-based approach of social housing areas by the tripartite network. Following the new balance leads to possible synergy from the perspective of the actors. This relates to the actors focusing on their area of expertise which could possibly positively impact livability. Related to this area-based approach, increased cooperation between the actors in the tripartite network is identified. As the tripartite network cooperates on an specific social housing area, a more equal partnership is created from the perspective of the actors which is beneficial to the functioning of the network. These benefits are further elaborated on below:

Area-based approach and synergy

Following from the task increase of the municipality in the light of the Housing Act, a more area-based approach is identified from the data. Whereas the municipality traditionally works sectoral, respondents (D1, D2, HC1 and M2) indicate that it is increasingly area-focused. This implies a different manner of working. This is beneficial for the functioning of the network according to respondents, since developers and housing corporations already adopted this approach. Filling the commercial space to support livability in social housing areas is an example, but also launching social project developments. Where social services to improve wellbeing of inhabitants are already in place within the municipality, data implies that they are now more area-focused. This could in turn positively impact livability:

“The municipality of course has those wellbeing services, those are common. There is a service that focuses on dedication to work. There is an education department that supervises children who drop out of school. Only those efforts do not end up with these residents. Otherwise those numbers weren't that bad. So we said: municipality, you have to use those programs that you already have anyway very specifically and maybe go a little further in this area, with these 960 households. Well, that is quite a revolution within the municipality to (...) work in an area-oriented way, the municipality never actually does that.” (Resp. HC1).

The new balance leads to possible synergy from the perspective of several respondents (D1, D2, HC1 and HC3). This relates to the actors focusing on their area of expertise, while collectively improving a social housing area. By focusing on their expertise and combining efforts, synergy can be created which would in turn strengthen livability outcomes according to respondents. Interviews indicate that market parties have speed of development and creativity in development. However developers often lack local ties to the social housing neighborhood. Housing corporations on the other hand have this experience, but often have less speed of development. Therefore synergy is created by increasing cooperation between parties in these neighborhoods:

“In Amsterdam it was mainly the municipality and housing corporation that determined everything in the disadvantaged neighborhood. Those are two public organizations. And the consequence of this is that it usually takes quite a long time. That is of course what project developers and investors have more to offer, who try to keep up the pace. So I think in relation to neighborhood and area level this leads to a faster development process while retaining quality.” (Resp. D1).

Cooperation and equality

Related to the area-based approach and developers having a more prominent role in providing market housing in social housing areas, respondents (D1, D2, HC2 and HC3) indicate an increase in cooperation of the actors in the tripartite network. Whereas housing corporations occasionally turn to market parties to build high segment housing, developers turn to housing corporations for acquiring newly-built social housing according to respondents. Actors are increasing cooperation on area level. The municipality is facilitating this cooperation by providing the framework in which they operate. This increased cooperation could in turn positively impact livability in these neighborhoods:

“I see it as cooperation partners, who all have different interests. Housing corporations, just like us, are a real estate party, but with a different target group. And where they leave room or things they cannot realize, developers and investors become more active. As a result, it has become more of a trinity. I agree with that. And where we as Woonam really (...) If we have a project that we just bring in a housing corporation so that they can do the social part. That we jointly create the area and the neighborhood.” (Resp. D1).

From the perspective of some respondents (D1 and HC1), the new balance has effectively lead to a more equal partnership. In the new balance, the municipality had to look for other partners outside of the traditional two-sided cooperation between municipality and housing corporation. As a result, with developers entering social housing areas increasingly, more equality is partnership is identified from the data. In some cases, municipality even engaged in ‘priority arrangements’ with private developers.

“What you see happening now it is housing corporations that will e given a little more room to return to the middle-priced rent segment. Well, it is only good because a lot just has to be done. There is still a lot to be built. But in the meantime, if I think from the triangle, three more or less equal parties or branches have come that can reinforce each other.” (Resp. D1)

Benefits of the new balance – group discussions

Area-based approach and synergy

The increased area based approach and possible synergy creation could possibly improve livability in social housing areas according to respondents in the tripartite network (M1, HC1, HC2, HC4).

Synergy creation however depends on two essential factors according to respondents involved in the group discussions (M1, HC1, HC4): the scale of the development and the level of complementarity between actors. Whereas a larger scale offers opportunity for synergy creation, actors being complementary to each other could benefit real estate interventions in social housing neighborhoods according to respondents:

“Look, certain things you should not do as a housing corporation, because we should focus on housing and not the shopping centers and whatever. On the contrary, it is good to involve the developers (...) or the commercial developers. That can be very complementary.” (Resp. HC4).

Cooperation and equality

Although cooperation increased due to the Housing Act according to the group discussions, it was not seen as a clear benefit from their perspectives (HC1, HC2 and HC4). When market parties develop social housing in these areas, housing corporations are included to obtain it. However, housing corporations are reluctant to include market parties in social housing areas in developing higher segment housing. The Revised Housing Act allows housing corporations to develop higher segment housing when land is owned by the corporations, which was observed in most cases. A more equal partnership was related to synergy creation according to actors, as exemplified by the following:

“When we cannot develop ourselves, then you look for a party. And that equality arises automatically because you both contribute something that is valuable to the other.” (Resp. HC1)

Challenges of the new balance - interviews

From the interviews, several challenges are identified which could hamper livability in social housing areas. First, interviews show that the new balance could possibly increase segregation in Amsterdam. due to the stricter task of housing corporations. Income-mix is subsequently not always attained in social housing areas. The narrower task also prevents the housing corporation from engaging into a wider array of livability improvement tools in social housing areas. Also, interviews indicate behavior of the municipality could possibly induce segregation by producing contradictory policy on the basis of geographical redevelopment location. Secondly, interviews show that the ‘gap’ in the market is not always sufficiently filled by market parties. Since developers need to build financially feasible homes this is reflected in aspects such as square meters per housing unit and service costs. Finally, increased complexity in interaction is identified in interviews.

Increasing segregation

Respondents (D2, HC1, HC2, HC3, HC4 and M1) indicate that segregation is increasing, stemming from the Housing Act and the subsequent new balance in which actors operate. Respondents further indicate several possible causes can be attributed to this increase in segregation. First, the housing corporation is not always able to change the income mix as much as wanted in social housing neighborhoods as a consequence of their stricter task. This stems from the regulation that when social housing is demolished, the same number of social housing units have to be rebuild. So income mixing can only be attained by increasing the total number of housing units:

“what we demolish in social rental housing, we actually have to rebuild it in numbers. So we do make more homes, but we have to (...) and we really want that mixed neighborhood, so we would like to sell a lot more or realize it in the middle segment. But the municipality says no, you will demolish 282 homes here, social rental homes, so you also have to rebuild them.” (Resp. HC4).

Another factor increasing segregation is the ambiguous policy implementation of the municipality depending on location. Whereas in the outskirts of the city, housing corporations and developers are confronted with strict policies regarding the distribution of housing across segments, interviews indicate that the inner city rules seem to be more flexible. This can be related to the high land prices in the inner city. However, this logically results in more social housing being built on the outskirts relative to the inner city:

“It strikes me more and more that (...) the municipality is for an undivided city. In practice it does not work that way. The moment there is a small new-build spot in the city center, the municipality does not assume 40 percent social rent. Often lower because there is simply a mega discount on the land price. So you see, despite the politically pronounced plans of 40 percent social making in new construction is often not the case within the ring. Outside the ring is said very easily, it may also be 60 percent. And with that you strengthen the segregation in the city that you just see increasing and in Amsterdam New west, Amsterdam, Southeast and Amsterdam North.” (Resp. HC2).

Housing corporations are financially limited and financial capabilities are diminishing in the light of the new balance. As a result, they are incentivized to sell off social housing units in the inner city. With the proceeds from selling these relatively valuable homes, they are able to rebuild more housing units in less valuable locations. These locations tend to be social housing neighborhoods.

“If I sell a house in the ‘Pijp’, I can rebuild three houses in ‘Geuzenveld’, but you don't want that from the public housing perspective. Supply the most disadvantaged neighbor with extra social housing and withdrawing a house in the pipe or in old west from the social stock. We do that too, but that is actually a wrong move. So the municipality does that for financial reasons, even if they do not want to admit it. The corporation is also doing it for financial reasons.” (Resp. HC2).

Finally, respondents (HC1, HC2 and HC4) indicate that the strict income requirements with regard to appointing social housing further increase segregation. By appointing social housing through these strict measures, only the lowest income-groups are settling in a social housing area with an already high concentration of social housing stock. Given that housing corporations are already incentivized to build social housing in social housing neighborhoods, the income requirements could possibly induce more livability issues:

“Because if you have even a bit of a reasonable job, you will no longer be eligible for social housing. Then you will soon exceed that in terms of income limits. This means that our target group consists of people in low-paid jobs. Or no job. that is the law, that is (...) the Housing Act. It sets very tight income limits. This means that in such large complexes only people come to live who have few opportunities in society.” (Resp. HC1).

Gap not sufficiently filled

A detrimental effect of the new balance on livability is that the ‘gap’ that housing corporations leave behind is not always sufficiently filled according to respondents (D2, HC1, HC2 and M2). Since developers have taken on a more prominent role in providing housing in these areas, it must be noted that this actor has to construct financially feasible homes. Interviews show that often the result is smaller housing and/or housing with initially low rent but high service costs. Developers addressing the ‘gap’ of producing mid segment housing from this perspective in turn leads to affordability issues impacting livability:

“Yes, the moment we exclude housing corporations, for example in Amsterdam from the realization of middle segment, then things will not go well. I have seen this in Amsterdam. Market segment homes that the market was not going to make and if the market was going to make them, municipalities felt cheated afterwards. Because the rent was, for example, 1000 euros, but the service costs and the parking space were 400 euros.” (Resp. HC2).

Increased complexity

A majority of the respondents (HC1, HC2, HC3, HC4, M2) viewed the more prominent role of developers in social housing areas leading to more complexity. Both municipality and housing corporations provided this perspective Whereas in the past mainly housing corporations and municipality were engaged in social housing areas, the accession of developers into the tripartite network was viewed as leading to more complex arrangements.

“Collaboration with two or three parties in an area is not (...). That is not convenient. It is of course much easier to make one-on-one agreements, because then you know who has to do what.” (Resp. M2).

Following, the new balance could effectively lead to higher plan and litigation costs because of the increased complexity stemming from a multi-party network as described below by a respondent:

“All those different interests (...), yes, you can work against each other and so that's here and in this case it really took about an extra year to settle that discussion. Of course it all costs hours and therefore money.” (Resp. HC3).

Smaller toolbox for livability issues

To conclude the challenges in the new balance, respondents (HC1, HC2, HC3, M2) stated that the stricter task prohibits housing corporations from an wide array of livability improvements that prior to the new balance they engaged in. This is related to the private versus public debate and the subsequent range of tasks that the housing corporation has. Here it is simply noted that through task decrease also possibilities for improving livability have decreased:

“This is of course an issue in the new balance. The agreements we can make together about livability have become somewhat smaller, of course. The corporations simply cannot use money for all kinds of (...) a wide range of livability activities. So they are much more focused on what they can fund.” (Resp. M2).

Challenges of the new balance – group discussions

Increasing segregation

Group discussions validated the Revised Housing Act relates to segregation (M1, HC1, HC2, HC4, D2). The preferred income mix in social housing areas is not always obtained as a consequence of this regulation. Income mixing is mostly attained by increasing the total number of housing units, since housing corporations have to rebuild social housing demolished as desired by the municipality. Also, consensus was reached on the municipality differing in social housing requirements in relation to location. Housing corporations selling off housing in profitable locations and rebuilding in social housing areas was considered to be corporation dependent. Group discussion showed that the Housing Act hampering the mobility of residents was the common denominator:

“And that is the big problem (...) the biggest problem in the Amsterdam situation. Vulnerable neighborhoods are becoming increasingly vulnerable to people being simply deprived of mobility, not consciously. But simply through the consequence of the Housing Act.” (Resp. HC2).

‘Gap’ not sufficiently filled

Since developers have to construct financially feasible homes, it was recognized in group discussions that this in turn is difficult given fixed rent of the mid rent segment (D2, HC1, HC2). The subsequent smaller housing units and higher service costs were acknowledged among actors. In addition, results from the discussion imply that constructing mid rent segment housing does not result in the transfer of income groups in social housing areas according to their experience. Residents are unwilling to upgrade to mid rent from social housing due to limited benefits:

“No one upgrades in Amsterdam. People remain in the same house, feeling trapped. For instance people with lower incomes and at one point two children are also in a two-room flat. Nothing will become available and that makes those vulnerable neighborhoods extra vulnerable.” (Resp. HC2).

Increased complexity through cooperation: a double edged sword

Whereas cooperation is generally viewed as being positive, it must be noted that it is viewed by the actors as a ‘double-edged sword’ in the group discussions (M1, HC4, D2). With cooperation increasing, complexity is also growing from the perspective of the actors. This is related to more parties being involved with different interests. As a result, much consultation between parties is observed.

“Anyway, the more people at the table, the more opinions, yes, of course it is. And we see that in other areas where we work together with different corporations. We are all in a slightly different way” (Resp. D2).

4.3 The new balance and livability: lessons to be learned

This section presents the results with regard to how the actors involved in converting policy into livability outcomes can possibly learn from the challenges currently present. First, improvements to actors and their roles are identified, Secondly, advancements to interaction process are presented. Finally, financial measures are elaborated on through which possible improvements to attaining livability outcomes in social housing areas could be realized.

Actor improvements

From the perspective of actor characteristics, respondents indicated two possible improvements to the ‘new balance’ that could improve the conversion of policy into livability outcomes. First, a developing investor should be included in the tripartite network instead of private developer when possible (D1, HC1, M1, M2). When included, actors expect an increased commitment to the social housing area. This is logically related to the longer time horizon through which a developing investor views the area. This is resembled by the following:

“What you have to prevent is a free rider who comes in, builds a building and consequently leaves the municipality and corporation with the consequences. You don't want that. It really has to be a party that is also looking for cooperation. That quality of life is of paramount importance. And who preferably wants to be permanently linked to such a development. That brings added value” (Resp. M2).

Secondly, with regard to the current tasks of the housing corporations under the Housing Act and the related private versus public debate consensus is reached. Almost all respondents agree that the temporary allowed constructing of mid rent segment housing should be extended permanently (D1, D2, HC1, HC2, HC3, M2). Moreover, housing corporations should be given more freedom to

influence livability in social housing areas although interpretation differs among them. Differences were found in increasing flexibility to appoint social housing to other income groups. Housing corporations undertaking more social developments in the area was generally viewed as positive. Also, housing corporations producing affordable housing for the owner-occupied sector could be a possible expansion:

“And then you also see that people are going to live there for a longer period of time and also get a different bond with the neighborhood. So in that sense I totally agree with Participant 1. I would also really like it if indeed more opportunities would be created to actually construct that affordable owner-occupied sector in neighborhoods.” (Resp. HC2).

Interaction improvements

Interaction improvements have been identified in two ways: first, although synergy has been identified as a benefit, room for improvements are also observed. Whereas housing corporations are sometimes reluctant to involve developers in their projects, developers on their turn occasionally view housing corporations as ‘just a party’ that will obtain their developed social housing part. From this perspective, optimizations could be made:

“But so I think it is very good that the developers also hear from corporations and municipalities what the problems are. I think it is for developers (...). They are often more at home in financial models, devising solutions, opening doors. Which may not be able to be opened so quickly by a corporation and municipality. In that collaboration you form a stronger team in order to allow a neighborhood development to take place.” (Resp. D2).

Optimizations to the interaction between actors were stated by respondents (D2, M1, HC1, HC2, HC3, HC4) : establish a common agenda in the tripartite network to tackle plan costs; provide flexibility within this agenda and be transparent to another. From the perspective of actors, this could lead to lower plan costs and improve livability. By providing a clear framework at the start of a neighborhood intervention, everyone is informed about collective goals and how the actor contributes to this goal. It must be noted that flexibility in this agenda has to be provided, since real estate development rarely follows a fixed path. Also, by being transparent previously identified interaction barriers such as conflict of interest and distrust could be tackled. This is exemplified by the following:

“Increasing the outline of frameworks, so that you record and safeguard that program and who does what, and then everyone picks up their own part. The corporation picks up one part, the market party picks up the other part, everyone does what they are good at. The municipality is responsible for the public space. So not wanting to do everything together, because that only slows down. And then everyone will get involved in everything, but clearly delineate yes, sharing the project and activities and staying in touch. And knowing each other (..)Know

what you are doing to ensure that you ultimately achieve that common goal and livability is part of that.” (Resp. HC3).

Revenue model housing corporations

Results show that the Housing Act has resulted in a diminishing housing corporation that is financially limited to fulfill its public housing task of which livability is a part. In order to maintain financial health, housing corporations are forced to sell off housing, which leads to a shrinking housing corporation. The temporarily allowed construction of mid rent segment housing does provide some financial room, however it is limited. By expanding the aforementioned possibilities to construct for instance affordable owner-occupied housing more financial strength is attained.

Respondents stated that the current revenue model of the housing corporation should be adjusted (D2, HC1, HC2, HC4). Especially the landlord levy is being viewed as being detrimental to the functioning of the housing corporations which subsequently impact the conversion of policy into livability outcomes. The landlord levy is viewed as ‘outdated’ by actors: invented during the housing crisis in 2013, but with little relevance in the current context. Some respondents agreed that the landlord levy in the current form is paid to the central government, with subsequent ambiguous spending across a broad range of different sectors (HC1, HC4, D2).

Nonetheless, there is no unity among the exact adjustments that should be made. Some actors want to abolish the landlord levy. Other perspectives relate to directly reinvesting the levy into livability improving projects in social housing neighborhoods. This is exemplified by the following:

“The moment you abolish the landlord levy, that money automatically ends up in the area where you have social housing. Our objective is that we invest in public housing. It’s simple. It’s an illegal thing. We have to spend our money on public housing. But what we do now is give 1.9 billion to the state, which does all kinds of other things with it, can be anything. Education or health care for instance” (Resp. HC1)

Full conceptual model enriched

Based on literature and results, the conceptual model below is the complete model grounded in CIT and enriched. The model consists of input (A1); arena (B2) and output (C3). The input (A1), consisting of the various contextual factors, affect the arena (B2) in which policy is conversed by actors. Actors are driven by their characteristics and the functioning of the network is hampered by interaction barriers. In turn, the input (A1) and arena (2) affect the output (C3) consisting of possible benefits, challenges, improvements to the new balance and functioning of the tripartite network. Thereby ultimately affecting livability outcomes. The shared learning and exchange process is shown by the output providing feedback and affecting input. The model is shown below:

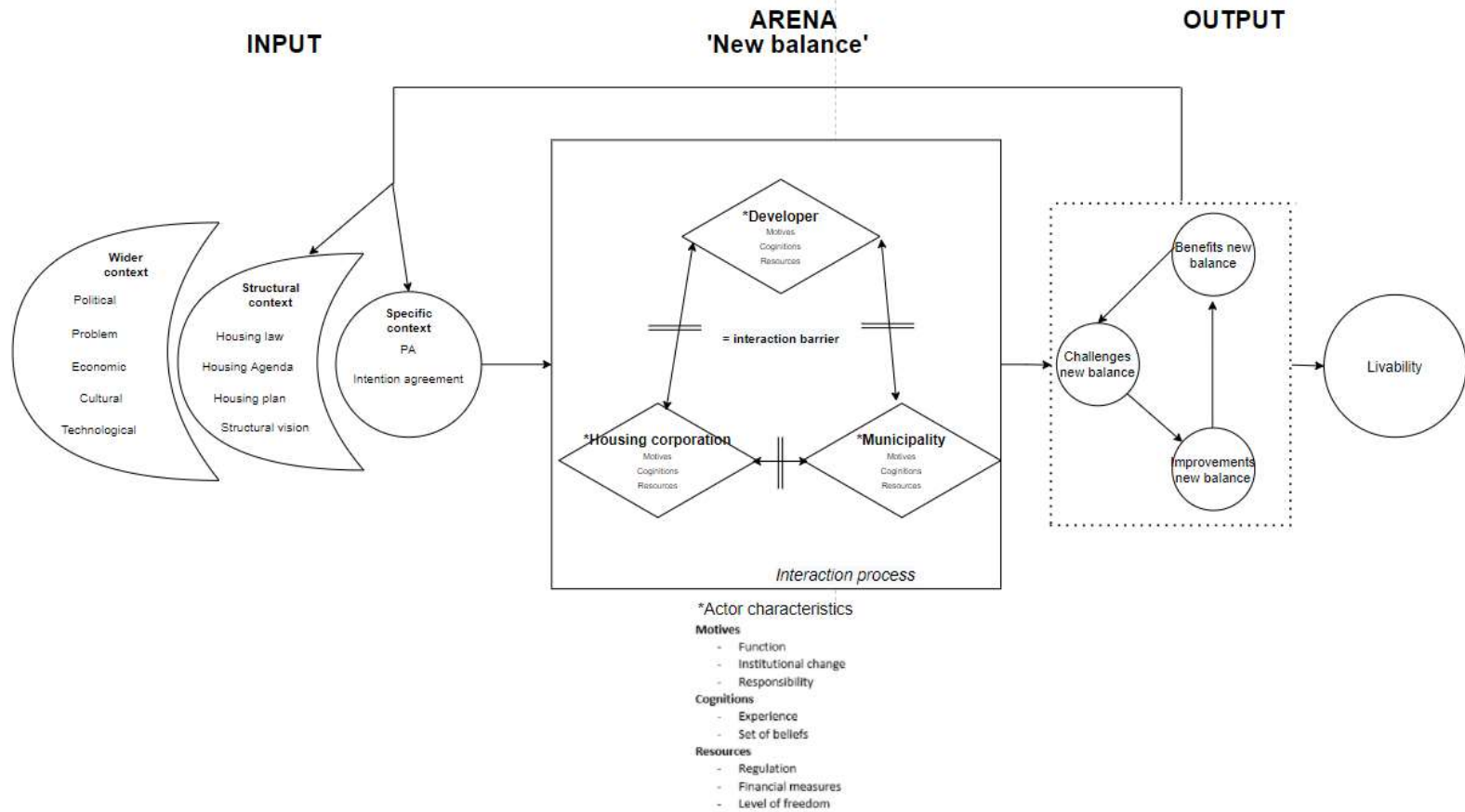


Figure 4: conceptual model grounded in CIT fully enriched

Critical expectations - evaluation

Considering the expectations from literature with respect to the municipality, the following hypotheses are rejected, accepted or deemed inconclusive:

Actor	Sub question	Expectation	Acceptance
Municipality	SQ2	More diverse set of tools for government to induce redevelopment affecting livability in new balance	Yes
Municipality	SQ2	Housing Act effectively increases control for government to induce redevelopment affecting livability in new balance	Inconclusive

Considering the expectations from literature with respect to the housing corporation, the following hypotheses are rejected, accepted or deemed inconclusive:

Actor	Sub question	Expectation	Acceptance
Housing corporation	SQ2	Less impact of housing corporation on livability in social housing areas due to diminishing financials and external partner networks	Yes
Housing corporation	SQ2	Due to increased focus of housing corporation as housing manager, more impact is made on quality of housing and therefore livability in social housing areas	No
Housing corporation	SQ3	Housing corporations are incentivized to demolish social housing and build back housing in higher segments when land is owned by housing corporation (due to exception on DAEB; Rijksoverheid, 2015)	No
Housing corporation	SQ4	The range of tasks of housing corporations should be expanded in order to effectively influence livability from the perspective of the tripartite network (SQ4)	Yes
Housing corporation	SQ4	Focus on core task housing corporations leads to increasing segregation which impacts livability	Yes

Considering the expectations from literature with respect to the developer, the following hypotheses are rejected, accepted or deemed inconclusive:

Actor	Sub question	Expectation	Acceptance
Developer	SQ3	Developers more responsibility in constructing non-social housing in social housing areas and therefore more dominant position with regard to government	Yes
Developer	SQ3	Private developers are spurring inequality in the new balance through producing middle and higher segment housing	Inconclusive

Considering the expectations from literature with respect to a combination of actors, the following hypotheses are rejected, accepted or deemed inconclusive:

Actor	Sub question	Expectation	Acceptance
Municipality; Housing corporation	SQ2	More difficult for both government and housing corporation to impact livability since housing corporation cannot construct non-social housing	Inconclusive
Municipality; Housing corporation; Developer	SQ4	Increased government regulations in the social housing market lead to less effective policy outcomes from the perspective of stakeholders	Inconclusive
Housing corporation; Developer	SQ4	A more intensive partnership between housing corporation and private developers in new balance through mutual projects	Yes
Housing corporation; Developer	SQ4	Government-led redevelopment policies leads to a higher dependency on private developers in social housing areas, while housing corporations are unable to increase livability in social housing areas	Yes

5. DISCUSSION

This research focusses on describing how the tripartite network functions in conversing redevelopment policy into livability outcomes in social housing areas, given the focus on the core task by housing corporations in the light of the Revised Housing Act 2015. The results are grounded in six case studies geographically located in two traditional social housing areas in Amsterdam. Results are derived through in-depth interviews and subsequent group discussions. The main drawback of the conducted research approach is the low generalizability. In order to produce generalizable results, higher numbers of cases should be included. Also, no quantitative analysis was conducted in this research which could increase generalizability. Drawbacks of in-depth interviews were attempted to be reduced by a second data gathering round of group discussions.

Considering the research gap, this study provides insight into the functioning and interaction of the tripartite network in producing livability outcomes given redevelopment policies in social housing areas. This has not yet been extensively researched. Specifically concerning the relations, roles and responsibilities in the tripartite network of government, housing corporation and developer. There is limited insight in how negotiations take place (Plettenburg et. al., 2021, p. 5). The functioning of the tripartite network is analyzed by describing actor characteristics plus interactions and subsequently identifying barriers to interaction from their perspectives.

The operationalization of CIT proved helpful in analyzing how policy was conversed into livability outcomes through analyzing the actor characteristics and their interaction. Through CIT these characteristics and interactions provided insight into the functioning of the tripartite network and subsequent negotiations between them. Results showed that actors operate under the context of that high concentration of social housing in areas leads to livability issues. This is in line with literature (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008) which relates high concentrations of low income groups are in fact disadvantaged neighborhoods with issues such as low livability and low safety. Also, results confirm the belief of improving livability by attracting higher-income groups in disadvantaged areas as previously found in literature (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2019).

With regard to the functioning of the tripartite network and related roles and responsibilities, results showed that housing corporations are increasingly focused on providing social housing to vulnerable target groups. This is conform existing literature in which it was signified that housing corporations focus on their core task (Hoekstra, 2017). With regard to developers, results showed this actor building ‘market housing’ and more importantly increasingly social housing. This in turn can be related to the increase in task delegation to the market in the light of the Revised Housing Act (Van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020). Municipality looking for other partners as a consequence of the Revised Housing Act initiated a more prominent role for developers. Functioning of the network is further influenced by varying commitments to livability of developers. Focusing on the municipality, the effective task increase of the municipality in the light of the Revised Housing Act is related to existing

literature. This finding corresponds to the increased government control under the new balance (Hochstenbach, 2017). Moreover, functioning of the network is influenced by personal relationships formed between actors. These relationships are positively affected by common interest, while distrust is detrimental to conversing policy into livability outcomes. Barriers to interaction which are detrimental to the functioning of the tripartite network were found in discrepancies between polices, municipal structure, and conflicts in and between actors. The implementation of contradictory policies stemming from the Revised Housing Act and municipal housing policies could be detrimental to the functioning of the network This is in line with existing literature (Plettenburg, 2018), with the Housing Act being contradictory to the implementation of local housing policy.

Contributions are further found in discussing whether the shift from the private back to the public domain benefits society and address whether the ‘new’ balance affects inequality in the social housing domain. Reflecting on results, the retreating housing corporation under new balance can be related to existing literature in which the role and identity shift between public and private domain (Blessing, 2015). Results show segregation is increasing given the Revised Housing Act. Existing literature already previously indicated a connection between the Revised Housing Act and segregation (Hoekstra, 2017). This research contributed by providing deeper insights into the relation between the Revised Housing Act and segregation. The inability to change the income mix, social housing being built at the outskirts, financial incapability and income requirements provide these deeper lying motives.

Further theoretical implications are addressed by signaling a broader task and adjusted revenue model of the housing corporation could benefit the public housing task of housing corporations and related livability outcomes. Also, the current functioning of the tripartite network could possibly contribute to inequality in the social housing domain through segregation and affordability problems. Practical implications are found in possible improvements to the functioning of the tripartite network by including different actors such as a developing investor in the tripartite network. Nonetheless, due to the low generalizability these implications have to be viewed from the case-specific context.

6. CONCLUSION

The current study aimed to analyze the functioning of the tripartite network of municipality, housing corporations and developers in conversing redevelopment policy into livability outcomes in social housing areas in the light of the Revised Housing Act. This is achieved by investigating how government, housing corporations and private developers interplay: what, if any, new balance they have found. Consequently, the main research question was: how has the balance between government, housing corporations and private developers changed with government led redevelopment policies to improve livability? By analyzing, roles, interplay and barriers to interaction of the network were

identified. Also insights benefits and challenges under the new balance in providing livability outcomes were identified which are summarized below. Finally, recommendations have been made to possibly improve the functioning of the network in improving livability outcomes which are provided below. In response to the research question, a case study approach was conducted centering around two of Amsterdam's dominant social housing neighborhoods Amsterdam New-West and South-East. Data was gathered through document research, in-depth interviews and group discussions.

In relation to the roles and interplay of the tripartite network under the new balance, a diminishing role of the housing corporation was observed. The narrower set of tasks following from the Revised Housing Act have made it increasingly difficult for housing corporations to impact livability in social housing areas. Limitations on constructing non-social housing and the landlord levy are financially limiting and draining housing corporations. The increased focus on their core task has led to a retreating housing corporation. It must be noted that some housing corporations still construct higher segment housing through organizational and fiscal structures.

The retreating housing corporation effectively led to the municipality looking for other partners outside the corporations, leading them to private developers. The retreating role of the housing corporation led to the municipality obtaining a more extensive role. For instance, social projects within social housing neighborhoods are undertaken by the municipality. The more intensive partnership between municipality and developers led to developers obtaining a more prominent role in these areas.

With regard to interaction, all actors share the belief of income mixing as a solution to livability problems. Personal relationships between the actors was identified as being the key factor in effective interaction in the network. Furthermore, numerous barriers to interaction of the network were found. First, discrepancy between the Revised Housing Act and local situations was identified as hampering successful interaction. Municipal structure was identified as being also impeding to conversing policy into livability outcomes. Conflict, as well internal as between actors further led to less effective interaction. Varying commitment to livability by developers and distrust between actors were the final barriers identified in this study.

Synergy between actors in redeveloping social housing neighborhoods was the main possible benefit found in the new balance in providing livability outcomes. By increasing cooperation, actors could be empowered in their area of expertise and thus be complementary to each other. By being complementary to each other, a more equal partnership between actors could be a beneficial consequence. The Revised Housing Act could possibly direct actors into partnerships that complement each other. On the downside, the new balance could possibly be linked to segregation. In the light of the Revised Housing Act, the optimal income-mix could occasionally not be achieved in these areas. Also, increased cooperation was viewed as a 'double-edged sword', leading to more complexity in the functioning of the network.

Several recommendations have been made in this study that could possibly improve the functioning of the network to provide livability outcomes. The shift of housing corporations to the public domain has been too intensive: temporarily allowing to build mid-segment rental housing should be at least be extended permanently. A task increase and different revenue model for corporations was widely supported, however the exact interpretation among actors was ambiguous. Furthermore, municipality should focus involving developing investors instead of private developers because of the long-term commitment to the area. Finally, a common agenda needs to be established when the tripartite network redevelops a social housing area to tackle interaction barriers. Recommendations were made to real estate players as well as government policy makers, thus inhibiting a multi-disciplinary nature.

Limitations of this research are related to the number of cases included and the lack of quantitative research. Also, only two of the three dominant social housing neighborhoods were included, missing out on Amsterdam-North. Several recommendations for future research are present. Since redevelopment in social housing areas is not solely a real estate discipline, an even more interdisciplinary scope on the exact impact on livability can be researched by including sociologists and residents of these areas. Furthermore, with the regulations stemming from the Revised Housing Act being in flux, research could focus on the optimal set of regulations under which actors can prosper. Finally, quantitative research should be conducted to measure livability impacts in social housing neighborhoods in the light of the Revised Housing Act. This could be done by focusing on separate implications of the Revised Housing Act, instead of assessing it in its entirety.

(19853 words)

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