

Monika Jaeckel
Marieke van Geldermalsen

Nesting Communities

Temporality and Community Building as
Integral Part of Urban Development

Contact: info@nest.cc

The Nest! Foundation has the objective of compiling grassroots knowledge on community building, stimulating the recognition of grassroots knowledge and making it transferable.

In order to realize this objective, the Nest! foundation organizes programs, projects and activities to make grassroots knowledge accessible, and to network with like minded organizations.

As such the **Nest! Foundation** harbours the coordination point and archives of the GWIA.

Recent publications on the field of the **Grassroots Women's International Academy** (or GWIA) are the GWIA handbook and the GWIA website www.GWIA.net.

- The **Nest! Foundation** • Spijkerstraat 331 • NL - 6828 DK Arnhem • the Netherlands •
- T/F: +31263707961 • E: info@nest.cc • Bank: IBAN NL45 PSTB 0009 6994 13 BIC: PSTBNL21 •
- The Nest! Foundation is inscribed at the Chamber of Commerce in Arnhem under nr. 09138244 •

Nesting Communities – Temporality and Community Building as Integral Part of Urban Development

Contents:

PREFACE	9
PART I: BUILDING COMMUNITIES	14
Chapter 1: A Bird’s Eye View of the Nest!	14
I) Introduction	14
II) The Idea	14
III) Links to relevant Debates	15
Urban Planning	15
Problems on the Housing Market	16
Citizen Participation	17
Local Economic Development	18
Managing Diversity	20
IV) The Temporary Settlement - Metamorphosis to a lively Town	21
Accessible Accommodation: The Folding Chairs of the Housing Market	21
Changing the social/physical Balance	21
Activities in the Nest!	22
Scenarios for the Nest! Settlement – Case Applications	23
Benefits for the Municipality	24
PART II: TOWARDS RESPECTFUL COLLABORATION INTRODUCING A NEW PLAYER INTO URBAN DEVELOPMENT	25
Chapter 2: Answers to changing Urban Environments	25
I) Introduction	25
II) Planning and organizational Structure	26
Why are Town Extension Projects like Schuytgraaf being built?	26
The Public Private Paradox	26
Usual Municipal Approach for City Extension	27
A bad Start: The Municipal Position on the Land Market	27
Reduced Municipal Influence	28
The Public Private Partnership, a new Type of Organization with big Challenges	28

	Shifts in Mentalities are required on both Sides	29
	Risk and Responsibility in the Public Private Partnership	30
	What is Quality really?	30
	Resources and Responsibility in Housing	31
	In between two Systems	32
	Housing Corporations on the Road to a Market oriented Approach	32
	The Monopoly of Cheapness	33
	The Housing Lottery	33
	Space for those who do not win the Housing Lottery	34
	Balance of Price/Quality and Responsibility/Regulation	34
	Market and Morals	35
	A Temporary Settlement requires temporary Structures	35
III)	Structure of the Housing Market	36
	Living in Arnhem	36
	Housing Production is lower than ever	36
	The Rental Market locked	36
	Stagnation in the Sale of Ownership Houses	37
	Young Families?	37
	The Kolpron Report	38
	Supply and Demand on the regional Housing Market	38
	Who wants to live in Schuytgraaf?	39
	Scenarios for different Target Groups	40
	The fourth Scenario	40
IV)	The social Structure: Creating a Neighborhood Identity	41
	Building for dynamic Groups	42
	Does Community still have a Space in a footloose Society?	42
	Uniformity and Anonymity	44
	Leisure, Freedom, Fashion? The Arnhem Identity	45
	High Speed Dreams	46
	Schuytgraaf, a physical Identity?	47
	Utopia or Nostalgia?	48
	Attracting the creative Class	48
V)	The Structure of the fourth Dimension; Time gives Space	49
	The Time Paradox in contemporary Architecture – slowing down and speeding up at the same Time	49
	The Need to adapt to the increased Speed in experiencing Identity	50
	Use of in between Time	51
	Temporality as permanent Situation	53
	Temporality as provisional Permanence	53
	The Leftovers optimally used	53

Chapter 3: Pioneer Motivations 55

I)	Introduction	55
	Providing the right Mix	55
	Counteracting Urban Decline	56
	Another Approach to Gentrification	56
	The Power of Presence	57
	Giving Space to Pioneers	57
II)	Pioneers and their Motivations	57
	Getting out of the Refugee Centers	58
	Saving on Rent	58
	Being able to live on your own	59
	The Need for Space	59
	Saving for a House	59
	Building up a Future	60

	Room for practical Experience and Experimentation	61
	Being creative, doing your own Thing	61
	Liveliness and Community	63
	Non Pioneers	64
	Part-Time Pioneers	64
III)	Concerns and Issues	65
	Long Term Perspective	65
	Privacy	65
	Managing Diversity	66
	Freedom	67
	Linking to the Surroundings	67
IV)	The ideal Neighborhood - A Village in the City	68
V)	Resources and Assets	69
	Blocked Talent and Energy	69
	Skills and Services	70
	Time and Presence	71
	Art and Events	71

Chapter 4: Communities as Learning Organizations – The Neighborhood Academy 73

I)	Introduction	73
II)	The ABCD Approach	73
	Concentrating on Resources rather than on Problems	74
	Weaving the Social Tissues	75
	Using ABCD in the Nest!	75
III)	Community Education with the Neighborhood Academy	76
	Community Education as an Empowerment Tool	76
	The Nest! as an “Educational Campus”	76
	Learning as a Process of Community Building	78
	Transformational Learning	78
IV)	Basic Curricular Elements of a Neighborhood Academy	79
	Mobilizing the Community	79
	Assessment Center and Skills Audits	80
	Language Courses and intercultural Learning	81
	Conflict Resolution	81
	The Alchemy of Communities	82
	Project and Skill Trainings	82
	Engaging in a Neighborhood Development Plan	83
	Gender specific Courses	83
	The Grassroots Women’s International Academy (GWIA)	83
	Partnership Building	85
	Public Debates	86
	Target Groups	86
V)	Setting up the Process	87
	Collecting Stories	87
	Forming the Core Group	87
	Establishing the Planning Group	87
	Continuous Gathering of Information	88
	Mapping the Resources	88
	Vision Building	88
	Interest and Support Groups	88
	Community Task Forces	89
	Partnering with Mainstream Stakeholders in the Municipality	89
	Accreditation and Transfer	89
	Documentation	90

Chapter 5: The Nest! Development Plan	91
I) Introduction	91
II) Respectful collaboration	91
Shifting of Scale sets new organizational Conditions	91
Social Problems resulting from a Partnership Gap	91
Widening the Partnership	92
Networking Governance	93
III) The Nest! as a Development Incubator	93
Added Value of Localizing Urban Development	94
The Process of Involvement	94
Community Building as a Prerequisite for Community Involvement	96
Changing the Culture of Development	96

**PART III: THE NEST! APPROACH:
GOOD NEIGHBORHOODS ARE NOT DESIGNED –
THEY GROW 97**

***THE PHYSICAL* 97**

Chapter 6: The Temporary Settlement 97

I) Introduction	97
II) Housing Units suitable for the Nest!	98
Price of possible Housing Options	98
Size compared to Household Size	99
Level of Temporality and Sustainability	100
Conclusions on Housing Units	101
III) Site Conditions for the Nest!	103
Facilities	103
Planning	104
Density and Size	105
Soil Quality	105
Roads	105
IV) Examples of similar Projects	106
The Role of Goals and Values in the Examples	107
Difference between the Examples and the Nest!	108
Scale	109
Composition of Units and Population	110
V) Planning the unplanned: the Conditions to be met	111

***THE ECONOMICAL* 114**

Chapter 7: The Local Economy 114

I) Introduction	114
Goals and Gains of a Local Economy	114
II) The Local Economy Organization (LEO)	115
Pioneers as Developers – The Housing Co-op	116
Strengthening Local Exchange through Local Currency –	

	The Local Currency Fund	116
	Ways for Pioneers to save in the Temporary Settlement – The Savings and Loans Division	119
	Participating in the Labor Market-The Local Job Agency	123
III)	Organizational Structure	124
	The Local Economy Organization	124
IV)	Practical Examples in the Settlement	126
	Setting up the Temporary Houses	126
	Training a local Electrician	126
	Mother Center	126
	Local Pub	127
	Babysitting	127
	Small Businesses	127
V)	Conclusion	128
	Benefits	128

Chapter 8: Privately commissioned Housing 131

I)	Introduction	131
II)	Private Commissioning is about Politics	132
	State Guidelines on private Behavior	132
	How the Minimal became Standard	132
	The last Stronghold of Collective Welfare	133
	The Role of intermediary Organizations	133
III)	Private Commissioning is about Houses	133
	The Balance of Individualism and Chaos	133
	The individual House and the Arrogance of Taste	134
IV)	Private Commissioning is about Money	135
	For the Rich or for the Poor?	135
	Filling the Gap between Rental / and Ownership Housing	135
	<i>Scenario 1: Saving</i>	136
	<i>Scenario 2: Contributing Work</i>	136
	<i>Scenario 3: Investment Options</i>	137
V)	Private Commissioning is about Organization	138
	Filling the Gap between Handyman and Developer	138
	Making good Use of the Temporary Settlement while it is there	138
	A two-Phased Building Process	139
	Flexibility in Development Speed	141
VI)	Private Commissioning is about Learning	141
	Doing by Learning	141
	Individual Motivations for collective Learning	141
VII)	Private Commissioning is about Community Building	142
	Private Interests as Basis for Participating in Community	142
	Filling the Gap between the Social and the Physical	143

THE SOCIAL 144

Chapter 9: The Mother Center 144

I)	Introduction	144
	Background	144
	From Model to Movement	145
II)	The Concept	146
	Drop in Approach	147

	Mothers as Every Day Life Experts	147
	Self managed public Space	147
	Children are welcome, but the Focus of Attention is on Mothers	147
	Paid Work	148
III)	What do Mother Centers look like?	148
	Facilities	148
	Participants	148
	Activities	148
	Basic Agreements	149
	Peer Learning	150
	Multicultural Approach	150
	Public Living Rooms	151
	Gains + Benefits	151
IV)	How Mother Centers differ from the Dutch Neighborhood Centers	152
V)	Effects of Mother Centers	153
	In their own Words ...	153
VI)	Added Value of a Mother Center in the Nest!	155
VII)	Implementation	156
VIII)	Enabling Policies and legislative Framework	158
	A Governance Paradox	158
	Holistic Approach	159
	Decentralization	160
	Deregulation and wider Margins	160
	New Welfare Mix	161

Chapter 10: The International Garden 163

I)	Introduction	163
II)	A Place for Integration	164
III)	What happens in International Gardens?	165
IV)	Effects	166
	Counteracting Isolation	166
	Increasing social Capital	167
	Solving Issues of daily Life	167
	Access to affordable healthy Food	167
	Trust and mutual Respect	168
	Ecological Awareness	168
V)	Implementation	169
	Initiators	169
	Land, Partners and Sponsors	169
	Involving Participants	169
	Basic Infrastructure	169
	Budget	170
	Agreements	170
	Group Process	170
	Partnerships	170
	Education and Training	171
	Conflict Mediation	171
	Economic Development	171
	Growing Roots in the new Settlement	172

Chapter 11: The Neighborhood Study 173

I)	Introduction	173
II)	Elderveld	174

	Facts and Figures	174
	Issues and Concerns	175
	Relationship to Schuytgraaf	175
	Conclusion	176
III)	De Laar	176
	Facts and Figures	176
	Issues and Concerns	177
	Relationship to Schuytgraaf	178
	Conclusions	178
IV)	Driel	179
	Facts and Figures	179
	Issues and Concerns	180
	Relationship to Schuytgraaf	180
	Conclusion	180
V)	Implications for Schuytgraaf and for the Temporary Settlement	181

THE LEGAL 182

Chapter 12: Finding Space for Innovation 182

I)	Introduction	182
	Conforming Reality to the Rules	182
	Playing by the Rules	183
II)	Regulations concerning Spatial Planning	183
	Objections and Appeals	184
	The new Building Decree	184
	Objectives of the new Building Decree	185
	Acting on the Demands of Time	186
	Solutions within the Margins	186
	Recommendations for Widening the Margins	187
	Challenges of Migration	187
	Motives for Migration	188
	Current Rules Surrounding Asylum	188
	Lowering the Reception Capacity	188
	Use of Asylum Facilities by Status Holders	189
	Self-Care Arrangements	189
	Outside the Asylum Seeker Centers	190
	Reaction of Local Governments	190
	Costs	191
	A public Paradox	191
	Objectives behind the Regulations	191
	Consequences of the Regulations	192
	Conclusions and Recommendations	192

PART IV: CONCLUSIONS 195

Chapter 13: Case Scenarios – Four Examples of the Nest! 195

I)	Introduction	195
II)	On the road to 2015 – Implementing the Nest! in Arnhem	195
	Four Scenarios, four Destinations, four Vehicles, leading to one Vision	196

	Possible Futures	197
	Possible Nest! Locations	198
III)	Scenario One: Limitless Arnhem - Nest! in the Art Garden	199
IV)	Scenario Two: Euro-dynamic Arnhem, Nest! in the Rijnboog	202
V)	Scenario Three: Big Arnhem - Nest! in Schuytgraaf	205
VI)	Scenario Four: A well cared for Arnhem - Nest! in the Saksen Weimar Base	208

Chapter 14: Results and Recommendations 212

I)	Introduction	212
II)	Innovative Urban Development	212
	Principles of Urban Planning	212
	Areas of Innovation	213
	Contributions of the Nest!	215
III)	Innovative Processes	216
	Making Cities family-friendly	216
	Empowering Women	217
	Integrating Generations	217
IV)	Benefits of Temporary Settlements	218
V)	Economic Development	220
VI)	Answers to frequently asked Questions	222
	What happens to the Inhabitants when the Temporary Settlement is dissolved?	222
	Does the Temporary Settlement have an Ideology?	223
	What stays in the new Neighborhood, after the Temporary Settlement is gone?	223
VII)	Key Recommendations for Municipalities	224
	The Nest! Approach to "Gentrification" and "Mixed Neighborhoods"	224
	Inhabitants as Urban Developers	225
	Two Phase Process towards Implementation	225
	Transferability	226

PART V: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY 227

ANNEX 245

I)	Who we are	245
II)	Contacts	245

PREFACE

Who was first, the chicken or the egg? Both possible answers to this question are correct, or neither one. Seemingly contradictory or complicated matters can look quite different when viewed from a different angle, or when not the issue at hand, but the picture at large is regarded. In this book not the world of poultry, but human settlements are at stake. Based on the results of a feasibility study¹ titled "Not the Chicken, not the Egg, but the Nest" we explore the question: When developing neighborhoods, where do you start, with the producers, with the products, or with the community?

In this book we present an answer by developing the idea of temporary settlements as vital ingredients of urban development. We suggest that construction activities for newly developed sites and neighborhoods be preceded by setting up a temporary settlement in the location. We see temporary settlements as a valid instrument to create flexibility on the housing market, to adapt to quickly changing urban demands and requirements, to develop new markets and investment opportunities, to create space for creativity and experimentation as seeds for innovation and development, to add profile to municipalities, and last but not least, to jump start social processes in newly built neighborhoods and mobilize resident participation in urban planning.

The subject is explored through 12 sub-studies (chapters 2 –13) that investigate the different aspects involved, including legal and structural frameworks, architectural alternatives, infrastructural issues, inhabitant motives, as well as economic development models and knowledge generation and community building instruments. The issue is approached both on the level of the physical product of a temporary settlement as well as on the level of the process of participatory urban development that it implies and enables. The idea is fit into existing organizational and legal structures and developed not as an alternative, but as an enrichment and additional element to on-going developments. It lays out how temporary settlements as an integral part of urban planning can be profitable for the forces that at present steer urban development. It explores where the win-win situations are, what is in it for all sides.

The resulting process defines municipalities as "learning cities", where grassroots knowledge enhances institutional decision making and where formal and informal processes exchange freely. Temporality is introduced as a valid dimension in urban planning, not second best to or as a hidden curriculum to permanency. While strategies are worked out how to root down elements and results of the temporary settlement into permanent neighborhood developments, the argument developed shows that temporary developments have a role to play, like the waves that arise and readily dissolve back into the ocean, when their function is over. Together, the 12 studies and 14 chapters of this book give compelling Evidence to Partners in urban development to provide land and invest in Implementing the "Nest!".

The content of the book provides unexpected links between fields of knowledge that tend to be treated by different specialists. The idea developed is innovative and original. It draws on existing practices and translates them to other areas and other scales of implementation. Topics like stagnation in the housing market, urban livability and security, integration of migrants, issues of an ageing society and perspectives on the welfare state are treated in an interrelated perspective instead of the usual segmental

¹ The study was commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Planning and Environment that regularly provides subsidies for innovative projects in urban renewal, and was contracted by the Mother Centers International Network, drawing from its extensive experiences in the area of self help and civic involvement (see www.mine.cc). The **mine** proposal was one of the 15 submissions (of a total of 223) selected in the category ideas and plans of the 2002 round of subsidies

discourse. As such, the book is an important contribution to reducing the existing gap between the social and physical sector. It also introduces possibilities of different sectors to operate in partnership. The approach is entrepreneurial in its method of making community resources exchangeable with Euro-Economy, linking the formal and informal, as well as in involving market forces in projects normally financed by social funds.

The bulk of economic activity and productivity in highly developed countries is carried by a small part of the population (in the Netherlands by less than a quarter of the inhabitants). This creates severe time bottlenecks and support needs for the economically active part of the population. These are intensified by the fact that family and neighborhood networks are no longer readily available to pick up the load. The Nest! re-creates a modern version of neighborhood networks that are disappearing. It provides social structures that can bring solutions back to postmodern settings. It shows ways how to improve urban livability and social cohesion and demonstrates what can be done on the level of urban planning to (re)create reliable care networks in answer to rapidly changing demographic challenges and needs.

With the Nest! the Mother Centers International Network (**mine**) has developed a concept to upscale and apply the elements that constitute the success of the International Mother Center movement² to urban planning and to whole neighborhoods and municipalities.

For children environments are safe and supportive as well as stimulating, when there is adult presence, when people feel a basic responsibility for each other, and everyone watches out for each other. This is no longer a given. It takes conscious efforts and policies to reconstruct this kind of quality in our urban environments. This is what the Nest! sets out to do, based on the assumption that a city that is inclusive of all is good for all.

In designing the Nest! we have also drawn on the rich reservoir of knowledge, solutions and experiences developed by grassroots women's groups world-wide that were gathered at the Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA), first conducted as part of the Expo 2000 in Hannover, Germany.³ The lessons learned are applied to develop the concept of "Learning Cities", resulting in long-term effects on the quality of urban development and urban governance.

In this book we explore how to bridge the gap and find the "in-between" in regard to developments happening simultaneously on different fields, where the middle ground is disappearing: the increasing gap between expensive, high quality housing, or nothing at all, between big chain-stores or no retail at all. The breach between work and welfare, marginal and mainstream, formal and informal, urban and suburban is widening. Development processes are determined by fewer, increasingly large actors, the division of roles between state and market forces is changing. The Nest! opens up the middle ground, and seeks solutions beyond an "either – or" dichotomy. It transforms problems and challenges into assets and opportunities.

It does so by applying lessons learned and solutions practiced in other parts of the world to the context of Northern countries and by accessing and entering unused skills and resources and neglected potential of civil society into the development process. The case described is from the Netherlands, however the concept has been elaborated in general,

² Mother Centers (chapter 9). are grassroots self-help movements originating in Germany that have spread into 15 countries. In 2002 **mine** won the Dubai International Best Practices Award to improve the living environment.

³ The Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA) was piloted by the Mother Center movement in cooperation with its international grassroots linkages at the Expo 2000 in Hannover (see: www.gwia.net) To date nine GWIA events have been conducted. (See chapter 6)

with the case serving merely as an example. The geographical appeal is primarily in the North. It is of interest also to the South, however, that in our approach lessons from the South have been adapted to and applied in the North, which is an unusual take to debates on development, as often the South is seen as in need of development, whereas the North is seen as having the solutions. In this book development issues of the North are addressed, which relate more to issues of “qualitative poverty” to which the South with its wealth in community relations, grassroots initiatives and social warmth has answers to contribute.

Although the Nest! concept has been developed and targeted towards the municipality of Arnhem, The Netherlands, it can be implemented in any municipality that is interested in sustainable urban development and in profiling itself internationally.

Structure of the Book

“Nesting Communities – Temporality and Community Building in Urban Development” is structured in five parts and 14 chapters:

In **part I** which only consists of one chapter we give an overall summary of the Nest! concept and how it relates to current challenges and debates.

In **part II** (Chapters 2-5) we look at the institutional background and link the temporary settlement to the existing development process. Who are the players in the field, what are their interests and assets, and what challenges do they face? How can new protagonists be attracted as new players in the field and what can they contribute?

We introduce resident involvement as a major force of urban development and describe the Nest! as a process of creating more participation of players who normally are not involved in city development. What are motivations to move to a temporary settlement? How can the temporary settlement be organized as a learning community and municipalities as learning cities? How can participatory development plans result from the process? Where can interests and resources be linked to create win-win situations? Shifting the social/physical balance more in favor of social aspects, and providing a much needed social supplementary process to physical construction can create a competitive advantage.

In **part III** (Chapters 6 – 12) we develop the idea of the temporary settlement in four aspects. The physical, the economic, the social and the legal.

We explore various kinds of temporary structures currently existing on the market that meet the requirements of being low cost, allowing a basic standard of comfort and being both easy to set up and to dismantle.

We examine how to set up a local economy that creates opportunities to make economic use of untapped resources and stimulates exchange between the temporary and the permanent settlement.

We describe social best practices that are conducive to community building and social cohesion.

We show how the temporary settlement can be integrated into the legal structures.

In **part IV** (chapters 13 & 14) we summarize the results and draw conclusions. Four Nest! scenarios are drawn up as examples of how the Nest! concept could be implemented. Recommendations for urban planning and policy making are spelled out.

Part V consists of an Executive Summary that takes you chapter by chapter through a condensed version of the book.

Part I: Building Communities

Chapter 1: A Bird's Eye View of the Nest!

I) Introduction

In this book we introduce a new framework of thinking on how to build cities. The idea is to place social cohesion and community building in the center of urban development and to bridge the gap between the social and the physical aspects of construction. For this purpose we suggest to initiate temporary settlements in locations designated for city extension, in the time gap, where the old use has been discontinued, but building preparations for the new use have not started yet. While temporary settlements provide much needed housing on the lower end of the housing market, they also serve to "jump-start" the social process in newly built neighborhoods.

II) The Idea

The Nest! idea is as simple as it is a complex concept. It relates to a wide range of issues and provides missing links to key debates. By treating challenges as opportunities, a comprehensive view is developed of the potentials inherent in problems, both on issues that presently are starting to surface, as well as on issues that have been on the political agenda for some time.

The basic idea is to create innovation by integrating the dimension of temporality into the field of urban planning and construction, traditionally the realms of permanence par excellence. The basic assumption is that a neighborhood can win in quality, if it can grow over time out of a small-scaled beginning. This applies socially, economically and physically. The temporary settlement provides diversity as well as an open gradual process, both assets for urban development.

Many new neighborhoods take a long time before public transport functions, before shops, services, schools or care facilities are operational. It takes many more years before there is real life, before people know one another and form a strong community. Good neighborhoods are not something that can be engineered by experts on the drafting table like a car. Good neighborhoods are made by people, they grow from a community process. A temporary settlement on site before the physical construction of a new neighborhood begins, can provide the function of a "social warming up" of the new neighborhood as well as the basis for a wide range of close to home services for the new inhabitants.

Creating cheap accommodation and experimental space by setting up a temporary settlement in development locations where the old use has ended, but building has not started yet, is a way to attract and mobilize the pioneer energy of groups who are interested in cheap housing. Artists and creative people, people starting new lives in a new country, students and beginning entrepreneurs need access to affordable space. They have skills and talents to contribute to the emerging neighborhood. Migrants are often the first to fill market niches by the creation of shops and services. Artists use experimental space to create events and cultural innovations.

People with little money often develop elaborate social networks to compensate for the lack of monetary resources. Different kinds of people in different phases of their lives have different things to offer each other and their neighborhoods.

Integrating temporary settlements into development sites brings people together with different assets and creates a basis for the development of new markets and services.

The series of studies presented in the following chapters show ways how temporary settlements can be economically and socially productive and beneficial to all target groups: to the inhabitants of the temporary settlement, the residents of the new neighborhood, to adjacent communities, the municipality, as well as to developers and investors.

Temporary settlements offer ways of counteracting the problem of 'dormitory settlements', by attracting and linking different forms of resident capital: social, economic, symbolic, and cultural.⁴

Temporary settlements can be initiated anywhere there are time and space gaps in urban planning.⁵ This book develops the general concept of temporary settlements. In order to make the concept concrete, it has been applied in a case study to the municipality of Arnhem, the Netherlands, with special focus on the Vinex⁶ town extension project Schuytgraaf. In chapter 13 we develop four case scenarios as examples for the Nest!⁷

III) Links to relevant Debates

Urban Planning

What is often lacking in urban development is an understanding of what creates socially and economically vibrant neighborhoods. Much know-how has been developed in increasing the quality of the physical dimension of urban construction. Often, however, beautifully designed and built new neighborhoods fail to come alive. What is lacking is the social component: communication between the residents, and the claiming of public space in the neighborhood for social interaction. The way physical environments -but also modern timetables- are organized often stands in the way of developing the social fabric of communities. The capacity to spend time and to make contact in the neighborhood is decreasing. The development of social interaction and social cohesion increasingly requires supportive infrastructure and animation.

To develop social cohesion in neighborhoods, residents need places and opportunities to meet, to do things together, to exchange knowledge, talents and information and to develop social interest and responsibility towards each other. Merely designating indoor and outdoor space as community meeting places, however, does not seem to do the trick. More often than not, community meeting places remain rather lifeless, green spaces are anonymous or unpopulated and do not feel safe.

What is required for communities to come alive is people who have the time and the incentive to spend their time in the neighborhood.

⁴ Irene Mueller applies Bourdieus theories on economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital to urban development and argues that the quality of neighborhoods depends on having all forms of capital present.

⁵ For the concept of making use of building lots in time and space gaps see "Simply Multiple" a best practice of the City of Vienna (www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung), where temporary use of buildings and sites are systematically integrated into municipal planning.

⁶ Vinex locations are areas in the Netherlands indicated by a 1995 planning law for city extensions.

⁷ Chapter 14 could be read first, together with the overview in this chapter, to get a general impression and illustration of the Nest! concept.

The temporary settlement as developed in this book contains several key elements for these conditions to be met:

In the chapter on "Pioneer Motivations" we describe how cheap accommodation, room for self-initiative and experimentation, an active community and opportunities to build up a more promising future are key pioneer motivations. By providing these conditions the temporary settlement attracts people with time and pioneer energy to the location: students, starter families, artists, migrants. The level of services offered by pioneer groups can also attract seniors as (part-time) residents to the settlement.

In the chapter on "The local economy" we describe an economic model that creates opportunities and incentives for people to spend their time and money in their neighborhood.

The Community Academy , the Mother Center and an International Garden are initiatives that stimulate resident involvement, strengthen social cohesion and keep up the pioneer spirit as the settlement evolves into permanence.

Planning without the Citizens⁸

"The problem here is that the local government had it all planned out what this neighborhood should look like. They want to do everything right, everyone should be happy, no problems, but then they make such mistakes, no shops, not enough parking spaces, no places for young people to meet, no place to go in the evenings, not even yoga classes. There is one supermarket. We miss the little shops. They did make a building where people should meet. But the people don't meet there. That building is empty most of the time. People have no time, they are double earners, they have two cars. In this neighborhood you have to come home from work early so that you find a parking space."

"People like to do things themselves, to contribute to their surroundings. In the beginning we were all pioneers. We were helping each other out with setting up our gardens, and furnishing our flats. That lasted for about 2 years. Now everybody focuses on their own lives. People have lost their pioneer feeling. You need new initiatives and projects in the settlement, places where people can come together again and do things."

"Not being allowed to change anything in the house, even if you have bought it, really hampers my sense of identification with where I live. "

"You use your car to go to the central part, where all the services are located. There is really not much you can do on foot. So you have congestion and people get aggressive and there is not much relaxed or enjoyable contact."

Problems on the Housing Market

Despite town extension projects starting to build new housing, in Arnhem like anywhere else in the Netherlands there is a serious crisis in housing production. This problem has a complex set of causes that are related to complicated regulations, artificially low prices in the subsidized sector, the general economic situation, stagnation in the rental market and decreasing possibilities to enter the home owner market.

To get into one of the newly built locations one must be either economically well off, have a

⁸ Quotes of residents of the Vinex Town Extension Settlement Leidsche Rijn in Utrecht, Netherlands

house to sell, or be eligible to the grace of social housing. With the widening of the gap between high quality investment or nothing at all comes the risk that the traditional motor of new neighborhoods, young starter families cannot get in anymore on their own force. That shifts the balance between potential pioneers for the temporary settlement and potential residents of town extension settlements in favor of the temporary settlement.

Despite the present demand for cheap houses for starters, experts say that the strategies should not focus on "more of the same" but on long term demand for high quality housing. In providing this quality, just building a good house is not enough. Increasing numbers of especially seniors request good facilities in their living environment. They are looking for care services and facilities that make life more easy, pleasant and luxurious. Real estate agents sometimes say that the three major selling points of a house are location, location and location. The atmosphere of a neighborhood must be good, and services, entertainment and image become major points of competition on the housing market. These are factors which the traditional players in the field (corporations, developers) are not the best equipped to provide.

Citizen Participation

People identify with their neighborhoods to the extent that they can contribute to it. Participation in the shaping of the living environment supports a sense of ownership, pride and belonging. Development takes place when people are committed to investing themselves and their resources in the effort. The more inhabitants invest in their neighborhood, the richer it becomes, in culture, social cohesion, local knowledge building and problem solving.

The current situation in city development is shaped by a long tradition of welfare state mentality that defines people in regard to their needs and problems, creating public services as answer to these needs. As a result residents begin to see themselves as people with needs that can only be met by outsiders. They become consumers of services with little incentive to be producers. Self-initiative and self help tend to be activated only when public provision is seen as insufficient or things are perceived to have gone wrong. As a consequence citizen activation and participation tends to be associated with and linked to protest and opposition, rather than being an inherent part of governance.

In the Nest! approach residents are viewed as a central resource and as co-producers of urban problem-solving and development. Such an approach implies redefining and restructuring public services so that they support residents in identifying and mobilizing their assets to provide for their own needs. In such a process the role of government is to support citizens' initiatives and assist inhabitants in getting involved in community development. Citizens are approached as partners rather than as clients.

Reinventing cities as a process of respectful collaboration to this end involves providing space and resources for people to 'do their own thing' as well as gaining independence from paternalistic welfare agencies and bureaucracies so that cities can be shaped by citizens, not just by developers.

Mobilizing and including women is an important element of participatory planning as it is often women as the producers of everyday life in communities who have great knowledge and expertise on what cities need to look like to be enabling and life supporting environments.

Attractions of a Temporary Settlement⁹

"The Dutch culture is very paternalistic. We take care of you, with the best of intentions. It is our Calvinist duty to take care of people with problems, so we do perceive clients as having problems. In the present neighborhood programs we do not create real participation. Bottom up energy, people with ideas come from other channels. Holland is ripe for a change. People and policy makers are understanding that the Dutch approach of creating a social worker for every problem has gone a bit too far and that it is time to give responsibility and power back to people and to self-initiative."

"One of the problems of newly built settlements like Vinex locations is that people are away a lot of the time. The temporary settlement could fill in gaps in the delivery of services. They have the time, local knowledge and the social networks needed to locate needs and design (unusual) solutions on the spot."

"Usually men are doing the planning from a 'professional' point of view, sometimes neglecting the practical side. The involvement of people and especially of women can be very important to make planners aware that their plans need to be in tune with everyday necessities. Personal experience is not necessarily non-professional, but can be a valuable asset."

"Seniors not always like elder homes or suburban housing. They want to be part of a lively environment with good neighborhood care facilities. A temporary settlement can provide that."

"Artists and the avant-garde are attracted by innovative settings. Changing the function of given space or land is a goldmine for creative ideas. The more the function is changed, the more of a legend can be created. Creative people want to adapt things, want to make things fit their ideas. They seek challenges. Creating space for experimentation and for new functions is an important part of urban planning and urban management. This includes allowing for spaces with less rules and regulations."

Local Economic Development

Social capital is created when people link to family, neighbors, friends, interest groups or close business relations. The amount of social capital, however, is declining in due to the socially fragmented nature of urban communities. People are adopting more and more individualistic survival strategies and/or they are depending on the state for services that, however, tend to not be able to replace what is provided by social networks.

Social cohesion, however, is also linked to economic activity, especially when conducted locally. Community life happens when there is local exchange of different forms of resources and assets. Community development goes together with economic development if the focus is kept local.

In our societies the labor market has become the primary way to access income and the only valid way for inhabitants to apply themselves to work. This market orientation blocks the energy and potential of all those who are excluded from the labor market.

10) Quotes from the High Tea and Talk in Arnhem summer 2003 series, informal gatherings in the Mine Nederland facilities in Arnhem to speak about issues of urban planning, about what constitutes good urban settlements and how to make them happen. These events were planned as a way to find intersectoral ways of thinking and of creating solutions.

In a similar way our qualification system blocks the potential and energy of anyone who did not make it through mainstream education systems. In the case of many migrants for instance, their certificates are not recognized in the host country. When inhabitants cannot contribute their talents and competencies through the recognized mainstream channels, their potential risks to be lost for society.

The Nest! provides ways to unblock these potentials and to create new channels through which the unused energy, talents and resources of people, who are outside the formal systems, can enter into society. The local focus of a neighborhood provides good conditions for accessing unused potential by offering a platform for local exchange. By organizing the temporary settlement as a learning organization and by creating local exchange structures the Nest! seeks to bring out and further develop the different forms of social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital, that inhabitants have to contribute.

For exchange to happen there needs to be diversity, a matching of supply and demand, people having different needs as well as different talents and contributions to offer. There needs to be facilities and methodologies for identifying as well as validating skills and competencies. There needs to be a system that creates visibility, recognition and valorization of different forms of capital. And finally there needs to be a system to make these different forms of capital exchangeable and to offer incentives to invest them in the community.

The temporary settlement creates local conditions for social and economic development as well as citizen participation. Bonding and networking are stimulated through community meeting places and events: the Mother Center, the International Garden, the Settlement Events Program. The Community Academy serves to exchange and validate local knowledge, creates reflective space and organizes resident participation in the development of the neighborhood. This enables to draw on local knowledge as well as to make informal learning settings productive for urban development.

In the chapter on the Local Economy a local trade system is designed in a way that draws on local assets and local talent, and that contributes to the social cohesion of the community as well as to the economic sustainability of the temporary settlement.

Communities that have mobilized their internal assets, offer attractive opportunities and partnerships for investors who are interested in a return on their investment. They open up new markets and create lucrative development perspectives. For local communities partnerships with public and private investors are an important part of the process. Be it government programs or private investors: investing in empowered and economically active local communities is an effective use of resources. Social welfare expenditures decrease as the economic well-being and self sufficiency of residents grow.

Pioneer Capital¹⁰

"Settlements thrive on social interaction and social cooperation. To be cut off from social interaction is to be cut off from stimulation, from encouragement, validation and support, from a source of energy. Alienation and anonymity in neighborhoods is a loss of resources, a loss of social capital."

"Social capital is also invested when small local businesses survive economically by drawing on the support and time investment of family and kin networks. Time intensive forms of economic and social activity are needed to create social cohesion in neighborhoods.

This can be triggered by people who lack opportunities, recognition and acknowledgement, by people who are seeking more creative forms of self-expression and self-realization as well as by people who are looking for more rewarding forms of social communication and interaction. Space, resources and acknowledgement need to be directed towards pioneers, risk takers and creative people."

"Temporary settlements attract people with creative obsessions and surplus energy, whose ideas have not been recognized or are not easily economically marketable. They are underestimated or discriminated against. They develop a lot of motivation and initiative, if given the chance."

"When you offer space to residents and encourage them to activate their resources you are developing an area also economically. We have learned to live our lives buying choices rather than making and finding our own solutions. Economy is stimulated when linked to the logic of creation. This is where reinventing neighborhoods needs to start."

Managing Diversity

Communities where life-styles are very uniform tend to stagnate. Diversity proves to be an important factor for neighborhoods to be vibrant and animated. Diversity, however, is also a challenge for integration and social cohesion. Creating opportunities for social interaction and mutual benefit between diverse groups constitute crucial elements of diversity management required in human settlements.

Seeing diversity as a resource rather than a problem is key to a productive approach to diversity. In international debates on migration, increasing emphasis is being put on the talents and resources that migrants bring with them. These often remain inaccessible to host societies due to blocking conditions caused by rules and regulations. If allowed more space to build up a future for themselves refugees and migrants are a group that can contribute considerably to identifying market niches, creating affordable services and developing small businesses that can generate the type of multi functionality needed for settlements to be alive and attractive.

If allowed to start building up their lives and their livelihood by usefully investing their time and talents in projects and activities in the framework of a temporary settlement, refugees and migrants can contribute a great deal to the development of vibrant neighborhoods.

Learning the language of the host country is a central part of integration. Recent evaluations have shown that obligatory language courses achieve limited results in this respect. Successfully learning the host language depends strongly on linking the learning

¹⁰ Quoted from the High Tea and Talk in Arnhem Summer Series 2003

to everyday life motivations and every day life situations. The host language is learned to the extent that an identification with and a promising future in the host society is developed. Learning a language well is linked to applying it, to using it in regular life situations. The different projects and activities developed in the temporary settlement create many occasions for linking language courses to practical use in neighborhood settings.

The Mother Center, the International Garden as well as the Local Economy include many approaches and in-roads for a productive use of cultural diversity and for intercultural mainstreaming.

IV) The Temporary Settlement - Metamorphosis to a lively Town

Interjecting temporary settlements in city development is an end in itself as well as a means to an end. It solves current shortages on the housing market as well as providing a basis for more alive neighborhoods.

Accessible Accommodation: The Folding Chairs of the Housing Market

Despite the rather modest and temporary conditions of the temporary settlement, we expect all the units to get rented out easily. This is because they are cheap and because the temporary settlement appeals to pioneer motivations by offering opportunities to build up a future, to be creative, do things yourself and to experience community.

By planning the start-up of the temporary settlement to coincide with the beginning of the academic year, many students will be interested in living there. The temporary settlement is also a solution for people who have a refugee status, but are forced to rent an expensive shared room in the asylum seeker center, by lack of possibilities for starters on the housing market.

Living temporarily in the Nest! Settlement can also be interesting to other starter families. By living in the temporary settlement a saving on housing expenses is made and capital can be built up. Thus the settlement opens up the possibility to starter families to over time be able to acquire accommodation in the permanent settlement, which is now impossible for an increasing number of people.

Although the long-term solution for the problems on the housing market is in providing high quality housing with high quality services, the people who would buy or rent these are in no hurry at all. This implies that it won't be solved quickly. The acute shortage is in cheap housing. Until a fundamental move in the housing market starts, a demand for cheap housing exists. Because this demand will be temporary (though it might be around for longer than we think or hope now) the solutions should be temporary too: the folding chairs of the housing market. Folding chairs are used in busy times and afterwards they are put away or brought somewhere else. They are not too comfortable, but better than standing. The quality of the Nest! should not be compared to the standard of social housing, because it is intended for the increasing group who has no access to that.

Changing the social/physical Balance

Social processes are the major outcome of the Nest! Project, rather than physical products. Obviously, putting down a temporary settlement requires a major investment, but the capital investment in physical structures is kept to the absolute minimum.

That way more space exists for those aspects that under the pressure of limited resources normally don't get much attention, but are nevertheless vital for new neighborhoods.

Liveliness and social cohesion that are so important for a neighborhood do not just drop out of the air, but need to be built up with as much care as the houses. If this process is taken for granted, the ghettos of tomorrow are constructed today. All the more so, because the social structure of a neighborhood changes with a speed that has surpassed the life-span of its physical structures as described in the chapter on Changing Urban Environments. Therefore it is becoming increasingly risky to invest today in neighborhoods of which the use and atmosphere (and therefore also the value) cannot be overseen for a longer period than ten to twenty years. This makes it reasonable to reduce physical investments to a minimum and instead shift the social/physical balance more in favor of social aspects. This will assure also the stability of the prices of real estate.

The quality of the temporary settlement is found in services and image, rather than in physical quality. Besides of a minimal input of capital investment, the approach requires a large input of players, who are normally not active in the field of city development. These will in the first place be the pioneers, but the political parties represented in the city council, the social sector, and the municipality should take responsibility too. Such an important task like developing a new part of town should be the concern of all of the citizens.

The quality of the living environment that can be provided by physical means, has reached its limit. Now improving the quality of urban settlements must come through other channels. City development is too important to leave to developers alone. It is time that other actors step in. The Nest! Project provides a vehicle for providing physical construction with a much needed social supplementary process.

Activities in the Nest!

The temporary settlement includes a wide range of both social and economic activities that can serve as a link between the pioneers in the temporary settlement, the future settlers of the permanent development, as well as the residents of the neighboring communities.

Businesses and Services – the Local Economy

Services developed in the temporary settlement include a wide range of close to home services (like childcare and babysitting, eldercare, house-sitting and dog walking, repair and janitor services, mending and ironing services, grocery services, library services) for the busy task combiners moving to the permanent settlement as well as for residents of the surrounding neighborhoods. Artisan businesses related to building and renovation are part of a plan for private commissioning of housing.

Businesses can also target niche markets like a biological food coop or a fashion atelier, combining the talents of fashion students with migrant tailors. The economic activities developed in the temporary settlement are part of a specially designed Local Economy System. This system links a housing cooperative, savings and credit schemes, local businesses and a local job agency as major elements of a local economy. It makes use of both the formal as well as the informal skills of the inhabitants and creates new markets by linking supply and demand on a local level by use of a local currency. The Nest! Local Economy is designed in a way that allows for the whole range of social, cultural, economic and symbolic assets and resources that exist in the temporary settlement, to contribute to economic sustainability.

Calendar of Events

The temporary settlement offers a lot of space to organize events like exhibitions, graduation presentations, theater, dance and music festivals. Such activities can be art related, location related, like a collective tree planting action or an exhibition of local handicrafts, or nature related like nature walks looking at local plants and the biotope in the area. Special focus can be put on youth related events like summer camps, cross country cycling or skate competitions, as attractive activities for the youth are often lacking in residential communities.

These events will either be open air events, or organized in temporary constructions. They are attractive to the temporary as well as the permanent settlers. They will attract other participants from other parts of town and of other towns too, contributing to the overall image of a municipality as a place where things happen.

International Garden – Sowing the Seeds of Community

The International Garden can be used for recreation as well as for growing vegetables. The plan foresees an international garden with individual plots on one side and on the other side a herb garden and a park space, open to the general public, to cut herbs to take home or to have an outdoor picnic or barbecue. The International Garden Project has strong community building qualities. It is a good way to integrate the new settlement with its environment and to bridge diversity. Gardening is a 'green language' understood by all.

Mother Center

The Mother Center is a place, where the three worlds, the old, the new and the temporary settlement can meet. It is likely to flourish because day care centers, cafes or community centers tend to be the last to open in a new neighborhood. Activities organized by the Mother Center like art and craft groups or a choir can strengthen the social life in the community and give opportunities for expressing creativity and talents. The Mother Center also offers programs of special interest to young families like nursing groups and debates on parenting or on a child and family friendly environment. A second hand shop, a toy library or reasonably priced midday meals can support the often tight budget of young families. The Mother Center also contributes to an equal participation of women in the activities and decision making processes of the settlement.

The Community Academy

The Community Academy also constitutes space for social interaction and the exchange of experience and information. The main focus of the Academy, however, is knowledge building and the structuring of the settlement as the motor of the 'learning city'. The Nest! Community Academy hosts a participative planning process to engage residents in the development of the new neighborhood.

The Community Academy monitors the learning, reflection and documentation process of the temporary settlement. It hosts workshops to facilitate group dynamics and diversity management as well as evaluative debates to learn from the experiences in the settlement. Skills audit programs and targeted training programs help validate and coordinate the existing knowledge and capacities of the residents. Further training opportunities support the updating of qualifications, to build up their future.

The Academy is the central switchboard for information and referral and for questions, complaints and ideas to be gathered and dealt with.

Scenarios for the Nest! Settlement – Case Applications

In Chapter 13 we sketch four scenarios of urban development in a case study targeted at the municipality of Arnhem, the Netherlands. In doing so we link to the city vision "Arnhem on the road to 2015" which was developed in a broad participative process

including thousands of city residents. The scenarios that were at the base of this vision describe different prototypes as possible options for the future development of Arnhem. These prototypes address issues like economic growth and city identity and profile.

The Nest! methodology is applied to the four scenarios developed to come to this vision. In each scenario a different development location in the municipality of Arnhem serves as the stage to illustrate the methodology and its application in a possible future of Arnhem. In each of the cases the Nest! settlement functions as an additional vehicle to realize the city vision.

Benefits for the Municipality

Urban economy has moved from the production of commodities to the production of services and now to the production of images. Hereby culture is the main tool. Still the housing market is all about product. 'Services' are only thought of for groups in need of special care and 'image' is very often reduced to a shallow marketing trick.

Culture can create an economic base in a city or neighborhood. "Culture used to be a byproduct of prosperity. Nowadays it generates prosperity," writes the American sociologist Sharon Zukin in her book *The Cultures of Cities*¹¹. "Culture not only attracts visitors and generates income, it also creates competitive advantage with regard to other cities and neighborhoods. Culture creates the suggestion of coherence and cohesion."

City marketing is often directed towards the external market. It should be internal as well, a mental map that people have of their place, something they can be proud of, that has the potential of creating identification and internal cohesion.

A temporary settlement as sketched out by the Nest! Project has the potential of providing neighborhoods with a positive innovative image and a source of identification. The pioneer energy, the cultural elements of the temporary settlement as well as the services provided towards a better reconciliation of work and family life can greatly enhance the attractiveness of new developments.

For the municipality of Arnhem as a whole as well as for other municipalities the Nest! is a methodology that can enhance the quality of urban planning in any given development project as well as provide an innovative profile as "Learning City". This involves innovative thinking and procedures and a re-learning of governance, where the development of new ways of partnership and respectful collaboration between city officials, mainstream stakeholders and inhabitants take a leading role in urban development.

¹¹ Sharon Zukin *The Cultures of Cities* Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995

PART II: Towards respectful Collaboration – Introducing a new Player into Urban Development

Chapter 2: Answers to changing Urban Environments

I) Introduction

In this chapter we look at the four structural layers (organization, market, social structure and time) that are basic to urban planning. These layers are analyzed in respect to the current challenges they create and the opportunities they offer in relation to realizing a temporary settlement. The conclusions drawn show that indeed temporary settlements have the potential to contribute solutions to many current structural issues of urban planning and construction.

Despite existing shortages, housing production is stagnating and what does get built is hard to sell because of an impasse in the middle range of the market. Inflexible regulations have the effect that in many cases people are forced to pay high prices for low quality. Temporary settlements can contribute to an unclogging of this situation by opening up a new segment on the lower end of the housing market.

By making use of time and space gaps and mobilizing pioneer energy, the temporary settlement answers to problems on organizational and marketing levels as well. Temporary settlements can be instrumental in attracting the major production force, the “creative class” to municipalities by providing the kind of experimental space and room for creativity this group is interested in.

By contributing services as well as profile and identity the quality and livability of new neighborhoods is increased, raising their attractiveness and real estate value. They offer investors and developers new business opportunities both in the field of low priced housing as well as by creating a new concept of “serviced” living.

Changing life-styles influence the use of the built environment with increasing speed. Temporality as an element in its own right in urban planning provides an instrument to respond to create flexible answers to changing urban environments.

The structural analysis presented in this chapter is applied to the Venix town extension project Schuytgraaf in Arnhem, The Netherlands. It has, however, implications that reach far beyond this case example.

II) Planning and organizational Structure

Why are Town Extension Projects like Schuytgraaf being built?

In the explanatory text to the zoning plan Schuytgraaf¹² all relevant policy documents of National, Provincial, Regional, and Municipal levels are described in detail. Each of these governance levels formulates ambitions concerning housing, planning, traffic, sustainability, economy, ecology, archeology and other issues. All these guidelines have been professionally integrated in a most balanced way into an urban plan that is of utmost quality.

Despite the multi-faceted nature of the end result, the reason why the plan was made in the first place, was rather one-dimensional: it was an obligation of the national government. In 1991 the regional authorities 'KAN' were assigned a housing production target from the national government, which the provincial authorities developed further in 1993 into a developmental vision for the Arnhem-Nijmegen region. The housing production targets have been agreed upon in further contracts signed in April 1995¹³. So the objective of Schuytgraaf is to produce large numbers of houses, of which 3.200 need to be done before 31-12-2004¹⁴, plus 2000 ready by the end of 2009 and 1300 before 31-12-2012.

Still Schuytgraaf is not just about housing. From the 'Ambition-report' of 1994 that started the process, it was clear that the plan should focus on realizing a high spatial quality and sustainability. The resulting plan strengthens the ecological zones that link the ecological structures of Rhine and Linge rivers. Archeological monuments are integrated into the plan, that also contains a solid program of shops, offices and services, to name just a few of the aspects that have been elaborated in addition to the housing program. Because of the housing and other programs, there will be enough of a catchments area to open a new train station that will also benefit the rest of the Southern part of Arnhem.

The Public Private Paradox

A variety of ambitions is being integrated into a plan that had as original objective simply to produce housing. The ambitions are those of the municipality in its role as representative of the general interest of the people of Arnhem. The ambitions will have to be realized by developers, who primarily have an economic interest in the project and are less concerned with the qualitative ambitions as such.

There is a tension between the high qualitative ambition of general public interest on the one hand, that on the other hand will need to be realized by actors who depend for their business on more quantitative aspects. The process of bringing these two interests together in a public-private partnership has proven to be difficult and slow. It creates delays and much of the qualitative ambition level gets watered down under pressure of quantitative emergencies.

At first sight the project 'Not the chicken, not the egg, but the nest!' seems to increase this tension even further: even more ambitions, make things more complicated than they

12 This "Bestemmingsplan Schuytgraaf" as approved by the Municipal Council of Arnhem on February 8 2000, is the legal base of Schuytgraaf. It will be referred to as 'the zoning plan Schuytgraaf' (although "master-plan" could be a translation too).

13 "Startconvenant KAN" and "Uitvoeringsconvenant voor de uitwerking van het verstedelijkingsbeleid KAN"

14 The original contracts, the "Vinexconvenant" requires 2.200 units for this period, but because another location in Arnhem can not be built due to changing rules on water-management, Schuytgraaf compensates the targets. The new amount of units to be built have been confirmed in several contracts, like the zoning plan.

were already! Still it seems to be exactly this widening of the scope, this qualitative ambition that will assure that more quantitative, material interests will be served. Because it is this widening of the scope, that will assure that more groups who have interest in investing in Schuytgraaf, will join the process. This paradox will be the main focus of this chapter

Usual Municipal Approach for City Extension

Municipalities in the Netherlands have always assured that housing and a wide range of social and cultural services, as well as practical matters like water and sewage, get realized. They did so because they owned or bought the land, prepared it for building and then sold or rented it out for a high price to those doing the actual construction works. A sort of average price had to be paid for this land, which contained the expenses made in the public realm. That way, the houses that bring in a large profit, pay as well for the services of social housing.

Even though the municipality signs contracts with the national government to produce certain amounts of houses, it has never done so itself. The city creates the conditions that allow others to build. The means needed are obtained through buying the land, improving it and selling it for a higher price. The land transactions are not intended to earn profit, but to steer the housing production and to gain sufficiently to realize ambitions of general interest. In the yearly land exploitation balance this is subject to democratic control by the municipal council.

In Schuytgraaf, however, (as well as in other places during the mid nineties) things took a rather different turn. A number of factors contributed to that.

A bad Start: The Municipal Position on the Land Market

In 1995 when the new national planning policy 'Vinex'¹⁵ was published, anybody could see that Arnhem had to build a new neighborhood on land which -at the time- still was part of the municipality of Driel. Mid 1996 the existing law¹⁶ was changed in such a way that municipalities could claim a 'preference' on grounds meant for town extension. This means that anybody wishing to sell land in an area on which a city has established such a 'preference', would have to offer it for sale for a market compatible price to that city first. This law came too late for Schuytgraaf, because in the meanwhile market parties had obtained most of the land in the area. They did so on the base of publicly available information and in open competition, so at first sight one could conclude the municipality of Arnhem was insufficient alert to obtain the land needed to build Schuytgraaf.

There is, however, a difference in motives and possibilities to obtain land. A commercial company has to maintain the continuity of the business and will for that reason be prepared to pay higher prices. They are also able to pay these higher prices because they use the obtained land differently and as a result have other sources of income than the municipality. Besides of the sale of the land the price they had to pay for it can partly be compensated for by profits made from the constructions they build there. In other words the developer has both the building exploitation and the land exploitation to make ends meet, whereas the municipality only has the land exploitation. Next to this material advantage the project developers also had a time advantage. They could start buying land straight away, without time-consuming democratic decision making processes. Neither were they hindered by the bashfulness of the municipality, that had to acquire grounds located (at that time) inside the boundaries of the neighbor municipality. As a result the municipality did not have a starting position that allowed the usual way of

¹⁵ 'Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra' or 'Fourth Policy Paper on Spatial Planning Extra', which is generally referred to by its acronym, Vinex

¹⁶ Wet Voorkeursrecht Gemeenten, 'Law Right to Priority Municipalities'

executing the project, in which land policy is used top-down to dictate planning policies and which does not include larger risks for the city than making calculation errors.

Reduced Municipal Influence

Because of this bad start the municipality of Arnhem was obliged to cooperate with the market parties that had obtained land in the Schuytgraaf area, notably Heijmans Vastgoed Realisatie B.V., the Stichting Pensioenfonds Stork, and Amstelland Ontwikkeling Wonen B.V. The municipality could not expropriate the land, because that is only possible if the owner has no intention to realize the new destination for the general benefit. But it was exactly for that purpose –developing housing– that they had bought the land to begin with, so in theory a fruitful collaboration could develop.

Before a modus of collaboration could be found some firm negotiations had to be undertaken to bring the goals and objectives of the different partners closer together. For the municipality the goal was to fulfill the targets of the national government, to realize a high standard of housing quality and to defend the general interest of the population of Arnhem. The market parties have to keep their business healthy and optimize the profits. These rather different objectives were in the end all served by the development of Schuytgraaf and that is why a good set of agreements came out of the deliberations. Heijmans agreed to sell their land to Arnhem on December 1999 in return for the right to project development and the right to building production. Arnhem signed a contract with Stork and Amstelland half a year later, which was the basis for their public private partnership.

By then, five of the ten years that Arnhem had to build the first 3.200 houses, had passed by. The negotiation process has taken exceptionally long because high quality was of the utmost importance for the municipality, but because of the bad starting position, there was not much space to make any demands on that point. From this perspective the results can be called remarkable: about half of the houses in Schuytgraaf will be built by housing corporations that did not have any land-positions in the area to speak of.

The Public Private Partnership, a new Type of Organization with big Challenges

The contract that Stork, Amstelland, and the municipality signed, specifies the goals and objectives of the land exploitation company they founded by signing that contract:¹⁷ *The foreseen (public-private) partnership is aimed on the one hand at developing the location in the area Schuytgraaf, and on the other hand at creating such conditions that in the area of Schuytgraaf high quality buildings can be developed and built, that give room to good quality, competitive houses, offices, shops and other commercial facilities.*

The common denominator that could be found as the basis for cooperation was the objective to develop a neighborhood and realize high quality building. That is a rather narrow basis of agreement, considering the wide scope of aspirations.

Market parties might feel hindered in realizing these goals, if all sorts of 'other things' are being brought into the process, that from their perspective fall outside the made agreements. Those agreements should be met as efficiently and quickly as possible. The project developers are not so much interested in the high quality buildings for their

¹⁷ The name of the public private partnership is GEM Schuytgraaf, meaning 'Land Exploitation Company Schuytgraaf'. The translations given here are just to give an idea, note that the original documents are in Dutch.

own sake, but in selling them. The municipality on the other hand is ultimately not interested in the high quality buildings themselves, but in the objectives of general benefit that these buildings serve.

The result is, that a simple subject like for example rain-water discharge can give endless discussions. For the project developers it is important that the exhausts are of good quality, that all standards and regulations on the matter are respected and that the price-quality balance is sane. Because they know that consumers are willing to pay more for environmentally friendly building, as long as the price difference stays in proportion. The municipality on the other hand is responsible for all sorts of objectives related to nature, environment and sustainability, but has less feeling for prices and marketing. From their perspective the ambitions are being 'watered down' too quickly.

The result of such a process, that has negotiation rather than cooperation as a basis, risks to be nothing more than the high quality buildings that are in the contract: a decent new neighborhood like so many other decent new neighborhoods, that does not really make anybody proud, leaving both parties dissatisfied because either the quality or the profits are lower than preferable and possible. Ambitions on innovations, environmental sustainability, a 'real Arnhem neighborhood' and similar hopes, evaporate quickly under concrete limitations like 'not possible, not allowed, no money'.

Shifts in Mentalities are required on both Sides

A public private partnership has both social and commercial aspects. The municipality is new to a commercial line of thought, just like the market parties are not that much used to taking up social roles. It seems that the distance between the content ambitions of the municipality and the material interests of the market parties is too large to result in smooth cooperation. The collaboration is a bit artificial and depends on the careful use of contracts and share-holder meetings. That is something rather different than really 'going for it' together, what could be expected from parties that go as far as spelling out the nature of their collaboration in a contract.

What seems needed is more understanding for the interests of the other side. The municipality should understand that the general interest is not served at all, if very much desired facilities cost disproportionate amounts of money; that there is nothing wrong with following the rules of the market and being competitive. This shift in mentality has only been partially made by most civil servants. On the other hand the market parties need to be convinced that ambitious qualitative objectives could very well be united with optimization of profit. Indeed the Dutch are not interested in having their houses equipped with 'golden taps' but truly good housing of high quality always brings in its sales-price. And the quality of the living environment is definitely not just determined by the physical aspects that the developer can influence in his project development. Besides of physical quality it is determined by very fluid aspects like the image of the neighborhood, by identity, by 'gezelligheid'¹⁸, by style, fashion and similar matters that cannot be built, but that to a certain extent can be steered.

18 'Gezellig' is a Dutch word that simply does not translate. It depicts a pleasant cozy atmosphere, of feeling at home, being at ease, being with friends, without it really needing to have friends or home present.

Risk and Responsibility in the Public Private Partnership

The contract that is at the base of the public-private partnership stipulates the risks and responsibilities of the partners in detail. Generally speaking all uncertain factors related to finding things in the ground that involve costs (be it contamination, archeological remains, explosives, or nature) are for the account of the GEM Schuytgraaf (which is the name of the PPP). Therefore these costs are shared equally between the municipality and the market parties.

The latter have the development of the constructions as their main source of profit, the land exploitation is a secondary source of income. The municipality however, has only the land exploitation to gain back its investments. This is favorable for the market parties, because they bear only half of the risk in the area that contains the most unpredictable risks.

The municipality maintains, besides of its role as shareholder of the GEM Schuytgraaf, the public legal responsibilities. This gives a double role and responsibility to the municipality. These two roles contain the possibility of being contradictory. This is solved by having separate people or departments deal with the different roles as much as possible.

What is Quality really?

New houses become better and more spacious. In 1985 the average new house had a content of 335 m³. In only fifteen years this rose by forty percent to 484 m³. So there is no doubt that the call for more space and more quality (the two are in the experience of many closely related) is being responded to by the market. Quality in their response is linked to space as well as to price: more expensive materials and building methods are applied. But the smaller houses from before the eighties are still around. Many of those who criticize the presumed low quality and uniformity of Vinex neighborhoods, must have older town extensions in mind, because (the plans for) Vinex are characterized by high quality, variation and spacious houses.

But is building high quality housing all there is to it?

What really determines the quality of a whole neighborhood? The example of the Jordaan neighborhood in Amsterdam shows how the neighborhood with the worst quality in the country, developed into being one of the best and most expensive. Up to 1970 the Jordaan was one of the poorest neighborhoods in the Netherlands¹⁹. So in its zoning-plan of the seventies the municipality suggested to restructure the neighborhood similar to the way nowadays post-war reconstruction neighborhoods are dealt with: a lot of demolition and reconstruction. These plans did not materialize and today the neighborhood has been fully gentrified. It is one of the most exclusive areas where prices of €5000 per square meter for an apartment in a side street are not uncommon. Yet the physical qualities of the (not newly constructed or renovated) houses are not fundamentally different from before. The quick rise of quality of the area was determined by social and cultural factors.

Another example of how the accumulation of social and symbolic capital of an area raises its economic value is the Vinex neighborhood IJburg. Over the summer of 2003 a strip of building area, which consisted of sand anyhow, was declared a beach. It soon became the hip place to be for the Amsterdam in-crowd. The developers placed their offices near the beach and the sales, that up to that moment were cumbersome, jumped up.

19 In the book published in 1975 on the occasion of 125 years of social housing in Amsterdam, the most appalling examples of deteriorated housing conditions are from the Jordaan. The book is called (in translation) after a quote of a woman living in the Jordaan: *I should look for a smaller house, because my family is getting too big.*

Clearly nothing had changed in IJburg itself or the general economic situation, the temporary beach was responsible.

Doing more with less

Building is an increasingly complicated business for which the available resources reduce constantly. In 1999 it was foreseen that the budget for Urban Renewal (called ISV) for the 2005-2010 budget period, would be two and a half billion Euro. At the moment (mid 2003) it seems that around half of that amount (1.3 billion) will be available. Still the exercise at hand has not changed one bit. Do more with less seems to be the motto.

Resources and Responsibility in Housing

The bottom line of the most recent major policy paper²⁰ and other publications by the Dutch Housing Ministry, is that there should be a switch from a paternalistic 'social housing approach' to a more market oriented 'living approach'. There is no governmental money at all any more to construct social housing. Housing corporations have to be self-sustaining since the nineties and they manage exceptionally well.²¹ So in order to realize its policies the government has to direct a sector which is financially independent from the government.

As a result of the generous governmental subsidies they received during five decades, the housing corporations have developed an impressive capital. In fact, they have 10 billion Euro more capital reserves than is strictly necessary to survive hard times. Previous expectations were that this figure will rise to 18 billion Euro in 2005²². In the course of 2003 further investigations were done into the size, nature and possible use of this excess capital. The conclusion was that the sector could invest 2,5 billion Euro per year for a period of 6 years, without a danger of more than 5% chance to get near the minimal reserves level of 14 billion Euro. This would allow the sector to produce 240.000 housing units extra (or 10% of the total stock) on top of the 112.400 that are planned already²³.

Over less than ten years the balance of power in terms of capital has shifted considerably, without much noticeable change in roles or responsibilities. The result is that the Ministry can mainly ask the sector kindly to invest and place a moral call, to actively pursue the social tasks that the sector has.²⁴

20 'Mensen Wensen Wonen' VROM (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment) 2001

21 In 1995 the Secretary of State Heerma initiated the so called 'Bruteringsoperatie'. It implied the balancing out of debts and credits of the sector, once and for all. All housing corporations were made independent from government in one operation.

22 Centraal fonds Volkshuisvesting *Het vermogen en de opgave van de woningcorporaties: spanning tussen behoefte en middelen* Naarden 2002. (Essay on the capital and practice of the housing corporations) The capital of the corporations is not well spread out. The rich corporations are in the rural areas, whereas the corporations in the towns and cities (where the restructuring exercise is large) have very limited capital resources. The governmental policies are therefore aimed at convincing the richer corporations to invest outside their own area.

23 Centraal fonds Volkshuisvesting *Investeren uit steen, Vermogensovermaat woningcorporaties*, Naarden, 7 oktober 2003. and Vromraadrapport 038: "Omgaan met overmaat. De vermogens van de woningbouwcorporaties als sturingsopgave" Den Haag 04/09/03. This governmental advisory body came to the conclusion that an Investment Fund for urban renewal should be formed with the excess capital of corporations.

24 In speeches and letters to parliament the minister has been calling on the responsibility of the sector to do proposals for matching. At the same time she has underlined that she wants to abstain from taking legal measures to force the sector

In between two Systems

These capital reserves allow the housing corporations to produce and rent out social housing, which simply is impossible for the 'real' market parties. Building a house in the social sector gives a loss of €60.000 upon delivery. The loss is high, because the standard of quality for social housing as the government dictates it, is high too. This loss cannot be recovered by rental income over the life duration of the house, because the social rents are determined independent from the costs, by politics. At the end of the life-span there still is a loss of €30.000²⁵.

Because of the generous legacy of half a century of state support, the sector is still able to provide social housing, but on the other hand they are expected to adopt a business like approach. The character of these two approaches that have to be combined, is rather different. Many housing corporations are still searching for the right balance in this contradictory task. They are up against a negative image that combines the worst of both sides: The 'market' still sees the corporations as slow bureaucratic organizations, spoiled with governmental support that allows them to give false competition to honest businesses that work hard for a living. On the other hand there are the municipalities and the customers, who start to doubt if the corporations still feel bound by their social character, for their businesslike approach gives the impression they are just as tough and profit oriented as any common project developer.

The idea of course was, that the whole system change would have the reverse effect and give the best of both worlds. The corporations should adopt a bit of the market driven approach of the businesses and still stay social. The market sector in turn, should learn the more social aspects of the corporations while keeping its efficiency. This second movement, of the market moving into the social sector that previously was state monopoly, is not noticeable yet. This might be an area however, where business opportunities could be accessed. A potential we will explore in more detail in the rest of this chapter, as well as in the chapter on privately commissioned housing (chapter 9).

Housing Corporations on the Road to a Market oriented Approach

The more businesslike approach that the housing corporations adopted after their independence in the late nineties, has done them well. After 1995 their sole source of new income was the customer, who should as a consequence be treated respectfully. Not government regulations were the focus of attention, but the wishes of the customer. At least on paper. Rather than the bookkeeping exercise of writing down the value of the houses over time being central, now it was the development of the value of the real estate that counted.

In order to cover the inevitable losses in the exploitation of social housing, older houses have to be sold. That way the corporation can continue an activity that in itself is not profitable. They balance the construction of new houses (with a loss of €60.000 each) with the profits made on older houses sold for a market compatible price.

The sales are not so much ideologically motivated to stimulate private ownership of affordable housing (or more negatively seen: a sale of community capital) but rather a practical move to assure the continuity of subsidized housing. This way the sector can keep their social objectives, even with a market oriented approach.

²⁵ The amount of 60.000 Euro is based on the information in the essay *De laatste trein, een volkshuisvesting gebaseerd op marktwerking* of ir. Frank Bijdendijk and Mr Jan Hoff in *buildingbusiness* van juni/juli 2002. (the last train, social housing based on a market approach) The next paragraphs make use of this very good piece as well.

The Central fund for housing uses a figure of 30.000 Euro raising up to 50.000 Euro in 2011. This is the loss calculated over the total period the house is exploited.

The Central Fund for Housing has calculated that on average the loss equals the gain of a sold house; so as long as a corporation sells a same amount of housing units as what they construct, a healthy balance is maintained.

The Monopoly of Cheapness

The described mechanism assures a good balance in which the corporations continue to provide affordable housing to the target group. The traditional target group, low income families, seems to decrease, but other people enter as well. More than before people with special needs live independently rather than in institutions. They depend in most instances on social housing. Around half of all households in Arnhem consists of one person only. If this person is unable to earn enough to pay for housing, forced by age, health, or whatever circumstances, the chances are higher that this person needs social housing, than when other members of the household can help too.

Cheap housing in the Netherlands implies renting from a housing corporation. The small private investor who rents housing in the social sector is almost extinct. History (acquired public capital) has given the possibility to the present housing corporation to exploit social housing on a commercial basis, which is impossible to others. This gives the situation the characteristics of a monopoly. That is unhealthy, especially because the sector does not manage to provide social housing to all persons with insufficient resources to pay market prices, (like the 6000 refugees housed in COA facilities).

The Housing Lottery

In theory the number of cheap houses equals the number of people dependent on them because of their income. So in theory there should not be a shortage, which however does certainly exist in practice. This is a result of the fact that the relation between price and income is relevant for getting a house, not for living there. In other words, somebody who rents a corporation house which they got because of their low income at the time, but meanwhile earns a higher income (which is a rather common situation) will not leave the house simply because it has become too cheap. Nor will they be forced to leave on the basis of an income-dependent rent.

The result is a shortage that is felt even sharper by newcomers because in Arnhem, and many other places, houses are not rented out any more on the basis of (the lack of) income, but with time as a main criteria; the longer you have waited, the higher your chances get²⁶. This works to the disadvantage of poor newcomers, large groups of people who have not been able to build up this waiting-time like young people and refugees. In most instances they cannot claim priority on emergency criteria like bad health, but are still dependent on social housing because of their income. This includes young people, the starters on the housing market and people of any age who just got a refugee status. But imagine for example also a divorced man obliged to pay a large part of his income to his ex-wife, who stays with the children and therefore with the house. Such different groups of people are forced by the circumstances to rent something bad, or expensive, or bad and expensive, in the margins of the private market. For them the alternative is staying with mom and dad, a bench in the park or (in the case of refugees) paying €400 rent for a bunk-bed in a room shared with 3 strangers in the asylum-seeker center.

²⁶ Columnist Henk Hofland describes in *Buildingbusiness* of Mai 2003, how this offers dilemmas to the Dutch culture of political consensus. There are the young starters who are raised with the idea that hard work will bring everything within reach without unexpected or unjust obstacles. They look towards the government to solve the housing issue. On the other hand there are the parents of this generation who happily live in the cheap house they rightfully acquired by hard work, which of course they will never leave. But that does imply that they do parasite (though unwanted) on their children.

Space for those who do not win the Housing Lottery

The principle that is at the base of the proposal for temporary settlements is, that it is unfair that government dictates a minimal quality level and a price, if this quality is not available for that price. Government should be able to steer in such a way that the desired level of quality can be provided by the market for that price, or the corporations must be able to deliver the needed quantity. If not, the standards are apparently set too high.

The housing corporations can provide the desired price/quality balance, but only because they own a heritage of state money for the purpose. As long as there are no alternatives for people who live too cheap compared to their income, as long as the corporations do not manage to offer sufficient supply and as long as no additional state resources flow into the sector, the situation is bureaucratic, short-sighted and counter-productive.

The goal of the quality standards and price limits is that even low-income people have access to quality housing. The present situation is that not all of them have this access. Worse even, the system is such that a growing number of people wind up paying more (for less quality) than would be the case without this government interference. All of these people are potential pioneers for the temporary settlement, not so much by choice, but forced by circumstances.

Balance of Price/Quality and Responsibility/Regulation

In the analysis of rules and regulations developed in the previous chapter an argument is made for minimal quality levels –for existing and new housing alike– that are truly minimal and limited to health and safety requirements.

In this chapter we plea for governmental indication of a reasonable price/quality standard. The market sector provides high quality for a high price and 'normal' quality for a 'normal' price. The housing corporations are able to provide 'normal' quality for a low price²⁷ in limited quantity.

What is lacking on the Dutch housing market is a supply of minimal quality for a low price, because the standards for new social housing is well above the bare minimal. And what is worse, because of these high quality standards, the given possibilities fail to serve this market segment, which in many instances leads people to pay normal or even high prices for low quality. The possibilities to serve this market segment exist in theory, but are ruled out by governmental behavior that radiates the spirit of days long gone by.

In developing countries individuals and marginal businesses who cannot afford market prices simply build a makeshift construction themselves, because the government can't provide for them. The same gap in housing provision exists to a lesser extent in the case of the Netherlands, but here people are denied the possibility to help themselves.

The average Dutch person admittedly does not even come up with the idea to provide for their own housing needs. People in the Netherlands are simply used to be taken care of. But if you are not being taken care of properly, the possibility should exist for those who wish, to take their destiny into their own hands, even if that means they consciously choose for a 'sub-standard' solution.

In theory this philosophy fits in perfectly well with the policies of the Dutch government as stated in their general governance contract of May 16 2003, which has participation, less rules and more work as a motto.

²⁷ This gives the unjust situation that similar houses can be rented at different prices to people of similar income (what the Dutch call 'scheef wonen' or 'renting slanted').

In her 65 page long letter to parliament of October 2003²⁸ the Minister of Housing and Planning specifies how this general idea will be implemented in the field of housing. The central exercise of the central government is to find a balance between social activity and the quality of the living environment. Because society could not be shaped as much as was thought in the past, the intention is to give more space to other partners. So the good intention is there, but legal changes take a long time to be implemented and in practice a real change, meaning that it is possible for those who wish, to take their own responsibility, is not noticeable yet.

Market and Morals

The housing corporations were founded in the beginning of the twentieth century out of moral objectives. Labor unions, churches, companies or enlightened individuals, at any rate groups that were not poor themselves, made an effort to lighten the plight of the target group. This was maybe done in a rather paternalistic way, creating dependency, but at least it happened. It is, however, not a form that works today. Nevertheless, even today a growing need exists for the creation of housing corporations that serve the needs of the present starters, by making use of the possibilities of the present housing market.

Given the fact that certain rights exist, but are not available yet for the target group of the new system, these new housing corporations can only exist as an addition to the normal system, not as replacement or part of that system. A project like the Nest! can only function if it is based on free choice from the participants and free market forces. Regardless if the organizer be the government or whatever other organization, people should not be dependent on them for their housing. Because it is only on a voluntary base that one can decide to abstain from certain quality standards in the normal system, in return for a cheaper rent and availability without waiting. It is only on a voluntary basis that one can take responsibility for a temporary solution and take on the obligation to leave after a certain period of time.

The project should also be fully market driven, so be separated altogether from the social housing system. This would open a market segment that could be rather interesting for investors and developers. In the first place to enlarge the turn-over, which is dearly needed in recession times. But it would also open a possibility to serve social goals in an economically sustainable way. Now that housing corporations have started to work more market compatible, the time has come to finding ways where socially just solutions can also be market compatible and open the domain previously monopolized by the morally motivated, to market forces²⁹.

A Temporary Settlement requires temporary Structures

Because of its temporary character, the Nest! project should be independent from the current housing organization. This implies that somebody who moves to the settlement should keep his or her place on the waiting-list. In this respect the settlement should be compared to a camping; rather than a normal neighborhood. It could even be considered that a housing corporation rewards pioneers with extra points or 'waiting time'. After all, during the years they live in the settlement the corporation has less pressure on the waiting list.

It also seems logical that people who presently rent a house in the social segment, get permission to sublet it for a price no higher than what they pay themselves.

²⁸ *Herijking van de VROM-regelgeving* Ministerie van VROM SB/RB/2003101212

²⁹ This would be comparable to the 'discovery' of the poor by banks; besides of simply being a profitable business, it is also good for the company to be associated with a market segment, that up to that moment was only reached by 'moral actors'.

If that is not permitted, the person would need to get a guarantee that at the end of the project they can rent a house of similar quality as before. Considering that the corporation has an extra unit at its disposal during the project this is reasonable. They thus have some extra flexibility, which is much needed considering the large reconstruction projects underway in other parts of Arnhem.

If finally somebody -in order to maximize their saving- gives up expensive housing or has non to begin with, it is their own responsibility to find something after the settlement has ended. Freedom does imply responsibilities too.

III) Structure of the Housing Market

Living in Arnhem

About 140.000 people in Arnhem live in a total of almost forty-six-thousand houses, which is an average of 2.2 persons per house. In 1980 this average was still 2.7 persons per house, but this is not reducing any further, possibly because of the existing pressure on the housing market. This pressure is high. Like everywhere in the country housing production in Arnhem is diminishing and this tendency is even stronger in Arnhem than in the country in general. In 2002, for the first time since 1944, more houses were demolished than newly built. Many plans exist, but they do not necessarily have the force (yet) to reduce the paralyzing pressure on the housing market.

Housing Production is lower than ever

In 1995 a total of 100.000 houses were produced in the Netherlands, in 2000 this was 90.000 but in 2003 this is expected to be less than 60.000. In just a few years the production fell one third back. The building industry tends to react slow on political and economic shocks like the terrorist attacks in New York of September 11 2001, which may result in further stagnation now.

This of course cannot explain all, part of the problem are the complicated rules and regulations described in the previous chapter. According to the Dutch network of project developers, streamlining these complicated rules and regulations could put the production back to 80.000.³⁰ Complicated rules are a major cause of the problems, but they were just as complicated in 2000 when the production was high and houses were sold as soon as they got to the market. According to the main scholar on housing issues of the Netherlands, professor Priemus, the main issue is a gross misestimation of the market, that should be corrected as soon as possible by a drastic change of plans.³¹ The demand for expensive housing turns out to be far less than estimated before. In order to respond to customer wishes rental housing and houses in other price categories have to be produced.

The Rental Market locked

The housing monitor 2002, published by the regional body KAN, announces a raise in Arnhem of no less than 28% in the number of people actively looking for a rental house.

30 NEPRON Groei door snoei September 2003 and press notification of October 10 2003 NEPRON positief over initiatief versnellen woningproductie minister Dekker, Ontwikkelaars pleiten opnieuw voor minder regels (Project developers' organization positive about the ministries suggestions about acceleration of the housing production, new plea for less rules)

31 Cobouw 10-10-2003 Priemus: Productie omhoog op nieuwe bouwlocaties (production needs to be raised by new locations for housing production. According to Priemus government has been too slow)

The largest raise is amongst low-income people.

An average of 137 people sign in for any house that will become available. The chance of success (defined as the number of houses rented, divided by the number of people actively searching in that group) is extremely low for starters and people from outside the region (3.2 and 3.3% respectively).

Few new houses are built and there is pressure on the existing ones, because rental housing is being sold and demolished in several large scale reconstruction operations in the town. Because of the high prices, the transfer from a rented house to an owned one becomes increasingly difficult. The rules for the distribution of rental housing have changed to the disadvantage of starters and people with a low income (or both). Therefore they are the target group for the Nest! project. It is this market-segment that seems to offer (additional) opportunities to get the housing sector going again.

Stagnation in the Sale of Ownership Houses

An average sales price is momentarily around two-hundred-thousand Euros per house. This is affordable for an income of one and a half times the modal income. Even a simple row-house, normally the best way to enter the market for those who rent at present, gets out of reach. Because rents have not risen as much as the price of houses has gone up, the link between the rental and buying market is lost and that is one of the reasons why houses stay up for sale much longer. If moving to another house implies an incredible raise in expenses, people decide that the inconveniences of the present situation can be tolerated for a while longer. The market tries its best to overcome these obstacles. People wishing to move to Schuytgraaf for instance can get guarantees that the house they leave behind will be sold for a certain price. Project developers sometimes rent out new houses temporarily when there is difficulty selling them.

Young Families?

Those who are interested in Schuytgraaf do not need to worry if they have owned a house for at least five years. In that case they have built up a surplus value that they can use to pay the high prices of today. A lot of young families do not have that, which brings them in front of a very difficult decision. Mortgage providers have become more prudent, but won't refuse a loan to a couple with a double income. In those cases divorce, or loss of one job can cause a disaster. The option to work less at some point, in order to dedicate more time to small children, is also not open anymore.

Consequence could be that Schuytgraaf will be different from previous new neighborhoods. There will be less, if any, starters. This will imply that the age stratification will be different, there will be fewer young families. This will give a different atmosphere in the neighborhood, there is likely to be a bit less of the pioneer spirit that young people moving into their first house bring along.

Of course the GEM Schuytgraaf does not use such general presumptions as a basis for its plans. In order to make an inventory of the market, a research bureau with a solid reputation in the field, has done a thorough research, of which a summery follows below.

The Kolpron Report

During the summer of 2002 ECORYS-Kolpron published a scenario study about possible housing programs for Schuytgraaf³². Objective of the report is to map supply and demand on short and mid-term basis and to analyze the data, in order to allow formulation of ideal programs. By comparing those to the existing program, a valuable contribution to the discussion about the desired program can be made.

The Demand Side of the Housing Market in Arnhem

Kolpron states that every year around 7000 people move to Arnhem and a same amount leaves, but this balance is shifting a bit, more people start leaving. Compared to smaller places in the region, Arnhem has a relative large amount of people over forty and their children. There is a relative large amount of young people, starting their 'housing-career'. Almost half (48%) of households in Arnhem consists of just one person. This is 29% in the small municipalities of the KAN region. In these small municipalities 40 % of the households consist of what could be described as 'families'; households of more than two persons and single parent households. In Arnhem this is 28%.

Kolpron concludes that not only the number of one-person households will grow, but the number of families with children as well. This is correct in absolute terms. Relatively however, it is mainly the households with one person or one parent that are on the increase. In other words households are increasing with just one person to pay for the mortgage-dues. The percentage of households with two potential breadwinners decreases.

Kolpron notices that the main interest for Schuytgraaf comes from within Arnhem. The group, however, that has houses to sell in order to be able to afford the price of the houses in Schuytgraaf, is decreasing in Arnhem.

The number of families in Arnhem is relatively low compared to the smaller places in the region. So either Schuytgraaf will have to compete with the region to gain the interest of the suitable clientele, or there will have to be houses within the reach of starters and single earners with modest income. The study does not prove convincingly that either of these possibilities is feasible.

Another development that Kolpron notices could be of interest to project developers: Age wise, it is especially the group of people between 55 and 75 that increases. This emerging market could be approached with housing concepts that are more than just a house, but contain services and care included in packages that this group can afford.

Supply and Demand on the regional Housing Market

The smaller municipalities in the KAN region have a fair balance between supply and demand, but the larger towns of Arnhem and especially Nijmegen have shortages. Based on data of Primos, Kolpron estimates that the shortage of housing in Arnhem will reduce from 9% in 2002 to 5% in 2015 and from 22% to 17% in Nijmegen.

In order to attract customers from the region, Schuytgraaf will therefore have to have something to offer, that is substantially better than in the small municipalities, where no shortage exists, or they will have to link to the tastes of the people from Nijmegen who are urgently looking for housing.

In order to determine the types of houses that are in demand, Kolpron uses the "WBO

32 The full title of the report, to which we will refer from now on as the 'Kolpron report', reads: "Eindrapportage Marktstudie woningbouwprogrammering Schuytgraaf, Schets van de regionale woning markt in relatie tot Schuytgraaf Op verzoek van GEM Schuytgraaf Beheer B.V. 8 juli 2002 projectnummer BW02.0231"

1998" (the nation Housing Needs Research). This was at the time the report was made, the most recent material available of its scope and quality. Using it is a bit tricky. In 1998 the economy was growing rapidly. Prices were going up in such a speed that people could calculate a much larger luxury to come within their reach soon enough. The same people might have changed their minds under the present economic circumstances about this better quality free standing house. Or rather they might have changed their perspective about their willingness and possibilities to pay for it. In this respect Kolpron remarks that an important condition is the supply of sufficient quality in a certain price-range, in comparison to the present housing situation and the supply of older houses.

The slow start of sales in Schuytgraaf proves that exactly this point seems to be difficult. People wait and stay in their present house. A bit less crudely stated, the new National Housing Needs Research "WBO 2002"³³ notices a large demand for the more expensive rental housing as well as the cheaper ownership houses. The demand for the expensive ownership houses seems to be lower than previously estimated.

Who wants to live in Schuytgraaf?

The address-files of those seriously interested in moving to Schuytgraaf show that they come mainly from the region. About 1000 of a total of 5900 addresses is from Nijmegen and almost 3000 from Arnhem itself, as could be expected from the foregoing. The people in Arnhem with a desire to move to Schuytgraaf come mostly from the adjacent neighborhoods: Rijkerswoerd, Elderveld and De Laar. That would come in very handy because they would leave behind houses that would enable a chain of movement loosening up the deadlock in the Arnhem housing market.³⁴ The neighborhood study on the other hand (see chapter 12) indicates that the inhabitants of the adjacent neighborhoods fear that the houses of those who move to Schuytgraaf will be taken by those coming from the less desired neighborhoods, which could result in a general lowering of the quality of the neighborhood. This process therefore also needs attention and integrative support structures.

The people moving on to Schuytgraaf, Kolpron calculated, bring in a theoretical surplus-value of their present house that is on average at least between €58.500 and €78.000. This can be invested to make a next step in their so called housing-career. It seems that this conclusion was partially steered by the desire to reassure the commissioner of the research (GEM Schuytgraaf). People have indeed built up a surplus-value on their house, but the prices of new houses have risen just as quick, so they would need to invest almost all they have won to obtain a similar house in Schuytgraaf.

In their reaction to the 2004 government budget the Dutch project developers said that the proposed changes in the taxation system would work even further to the disadvantage of the people leaving a house for sale behind.³⁵ Those responsible for developing Schuytgraaf have indicated that a major problem is not so much that people are not interested in buying the new houses in Schuytgraaf, but that they have a problem in getting their old houses sold.³⁶ And of course for investing their surplus-value, people will be mainly looking for a

33 RIGO Research en Advies, for the Ministry of VROM *Beter thuis in wonen, Kernpublicatie WoningBehoeft Onderzoek 2002*, Amsterdam 2003, publication VROM3184. The title means *Better at home in housing*

34 On a healthy housing market there is a wide spectrum of housing types in different prices available. This allows people to have a 'housing career'; moving regularly to a better house with a higher rent and at a certain point buying a house. When housing in the highest price range becomes available, people will move there who can just afford it, selling their house to people for whom that is the next step in their housing career. This results in a chain of movement. This (presently interrupted) chain is the reason that even though the problems are felt in the middle range, the solutions are best sought at the end of the spectrum.

35 Press-statement 09-16-2003 by NEPRON Visie Nepron: starters zijn de dupe, begroting ondermijnt kansen woonconsument

36 Cobouw 17-10-2003 *Vinexlocatie Schuytgraaf kan nog alle kanten op*

significant improvement compared to the present situation. A large number (of almost one out of ten) of all households from De Laar and Elderveld are inscribed for a house in Schuytgraaf and almost one out of seven of all households from Rijkerswoerd. These are not likely to leave their nice houses, until they have found a clearly better house in Schuytgraaf with a good price/quality balance. The people who can afford a house in Schuytgraaf have by definition a rather good house already which they won't leave on a rash decision.

People subscribing for information in Schuytgraaf may well have inscribed in other locations as well and thus show up several times in the statistics. They could also be interested in the developments in order to keep an eye on the market, out of interest for the value of their own property and the perspectives of improvement. That does not justify the conclusion that they would move before the improvement in price and/or quality is there.

Scenarios for different Target Groups

Kolpron draws up a number of interesting market scenarios, that are based on research about lifestyles and housing (which will be discussed in more detail further down). The data used were those of the Dutch population in general, not of the population in Arnhem. There is nothing to object to that at all, but the targeted population (of families) is smaller in Arnhem than elsewhere. This leads to a choice: either Schuytgraaf develops slowly because the market inside of Arnhem is not that big, or it has to distinguish itself from other Vinex neighborhoods in such a way that people from other municipalities move to Arnhem.

The first of three scenarios is the housing program as it is described in the zoning plan and the PPP contract. The second is a market competitive scenario. The third scenario is a sort of compromise, an in between version of the two foregoing. The three scenarios are better described as analyses of three program-variants. They are aimed at the question what sort of housing could be rented or sold to whom. There is less focus on developing stories of future situations that could be possible, considering different forces³⁷.

The fourth Scenario

The Nest! project feasibility study can be considered as a fourth scenario, which can be combined with each of the three prognoses. It is not based on the (very legitimate) question of how many houses can be sold or rented, but instead on the people in the region and especially in Arnhem who are looking for housing, on their wishes, needs and possibilities.

The data Kolpron lists, show that about half of those looking urgently for housing are starters and that Arnhem mainly has small, not so prosperous households. Why would Arnhem build for relative anonymous people from outside, when there are numerous people in town urgently looking for housing?

37 Such scenario's can explore for example, what will result if the economy improves or if European pressure prevents the government from keeping mortgage dues tax deductible. More information about scenario planning can be found in the work of (members of) the Global Business Network (GBN.org). This network that originated from a Shell think-tank has done interesting scenario exercises, about for example the future of South-Africa and Burundi, but also the city vision Arnhem 2015 was developed using the scenario planning.

And why build for those who already own a good house in Rijkerswoerd, when there are others who are much more in a hurry to find something, and who are less critical as to what it is?

Building for that market-segment gives breathing space at the bottom end of the market, that will allow stagnated processes to start back up again. A normal chain of movements that characterizes a healthy housing market can be reached best when the market is given some extra supply both at the lower end and at the top end of the market. That way people living too cheap or too expensive can find something appropriate for them and the middle segment which is most difficult (though in theory of more than sufficient supply) can be used for those who need it. This is why this fourth scenario will work only when applied in combination with one of the others, preferably the market scenario. The stagnation is such that only a concerted action on several fronts will give sufficiently quick results.

An interesting Investment for Market Parties

Investors and developers won't jump on a temporary settlement just like that. It is an unusual and unknown field of work and anything unknown implies a risk. Wise developers will always avoid taking the risk of venturing unnecessarily into unknown areas. That will only become interesting when either the expected returns are considerably higher than in normal work, or when the normal work does not provide enough turn-over to keep the business healthy. The latter seems to be the case at the moment.

For an investor the fact that the type of work is unknown, poses less of an obstacle, for them the returns of the investments is the main criteria. Because the investments have to be earned back in a shorter period, they must be lower, which is why this would only work for low-cost solutions. Because the amount to invest per housing unit is low, the risks are spread better than when large sums go into each house. The experience of banks in third world countries with micro-credit schemes has taught that it is exactly these small loans that are paid back reliably.

Because mortgages would run so much shorter than usual in the real estate market, new kinds of financial products could be developed that resemble for example the loans issued for cars.

IV) The social Structure: Creating a Neighborhood Identity

People do not just buy a house, but a place to live, a home. 'Living' is related to a rather nondescript feeling of security, bonding, warmth. Project developers can provide the physical quality that is a precondition for the 'being at home' feeling, but can not do much more than hint at the real identity factors, rather than providing them. On a different scale, the image of a town is determined more and more by non-physical factors. Economic success depends increasingly on the comparative advantage of aspects like culture and diversity in a town, whereas technological infrastructure has merely become a precondition that can be found anywhere.

In the following analysis of the social structure of Schuytgraaf the factors that determine identity are examined as well as the way they could be provided by the Nest! Project. "Identitime" was the topic of one of the debates conducted with a variety of players in the field throughout the summer of 2003. In this chapter quotes from this "High Tea and Talk in Arnhem" event are illustrating the main text.

Building for dynamic Groups

In Terra Nova³⁸ Jan Klerks pleads for small apartments for starters in high rise buildings. This group of people who have finished studying and want to live in the heart of the city would be willing to give up space and luxury in return for a central location. His reasoning is that this 'internet-generation' has become footloose and place their priorities different than older generations. People up to 25 prefer to spend their money on travel, events, or new media, rather than on housing and they are prepared to bear the consequences. This is indeed a group for which little is built, so the presumption is justified that condominium housing which is popular in North America, could work in the Netherlands too.

The 'internet generation', the 'surfers on the housing market' live in a network economy where it is important to gain access to goods and services, where use has replaced ownership.

The 'pre-paid house' that includes a range of services might be the concept serve this market.³⁹

However, tiny apartments in high-rise buildings are not necessary the only option. The priorities of this group are such that they are willing to accept the small dimensions of a centrally located apartment in order to be where the action is. Housing in the temporary settlement is within their budget as well as placing them in the midst of where it all is happening: "Oh yes, I could very well imagine going there. Others go to Australia for a year, then why not go to the Nest! for a year" (pioneer interview 3)

Does Community still have a Space in a footloose Society?

What function do neighborhoods still have in anchoring social networks in a situation where more and more people become footloose? Will the communities of the future be virtual and will a neighborhood be just another place where one stays for a number of hours? Distances are losing their importance. Nowadays transport is quick and relatively cheap, students can even travel for free. The developments in information and telecommunication technology make a lot of face-to-face visits redundant. In such a situation where civilians and companies alike become footloose, proximity loses its importance. The house becomes a place where one can rest and sleep and for the rest it is merely used as a base for a multitude of activities elsewhere. This touches upon the base of spatial planning.

The National Service for Spatial Planning has commissioned a research to find out how easy people are ready to change location and how easy they cover large distances to get to a location⁴⁰. It turned out that the social networks of the so called 'front-runners' in society were actually larger, although the differences were not that big. The group of 'front-runners' was determined by indicators like generation, education, life-style, gender roles, division of tasks, and location. The emotional ties of the front-runners to these larger networks were weaker, as were the expectations, but the intensity of the contacts was not less. So it seems that the need for social contact is the same as it has always been, just that today's society offers less close to home possibilities to fulfill those needs. The result is a more spatially dispersed pattern of activities, because visiting the large number of network members requires traveling large distances.

38 jaargang 3 number 1 of Juni 2003 page 10-12. The author works for the 'stichting hoogbouw' a foundation promoting high rise building

39 Fran Köster Surfers op de Woningmarkt een toekomstverkenning over starters en wonen Distributiecode 23323/212 november 2002 Ministry of VROM (Surfers on the housing market, discovering the future of starters on the housing market, an essay in a series about housing as a motor of social chances

40 Losvoetige relaties, De ruimtelijke onthechting van burgers Bureau Driessen i.o.v. Rijksplanologische Dienst Studierapport no. 11, June 2001 ISBN90-73259-25-8

This group had less ties in the neighborhood. They tied less importance to social aspects of their living environment. The bond with the neighborhood diminishes, which has consequences for the use of neighborhood facilities. In other words: the local bakery and the neighborhood center depend on the elderly, low educated and more traditional people. Because Vinex attracts young, modern, double-income families, the conclusion could be that as far as services and social bonding are concerned, the requirements in Schuytgraaf are rather limited.

This does not really seem to be the case according to the research of the 'Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau'. People still estimate the readiness of their neighbors to help with practical matters to be high and they do not hesitate to call for this help. No shift towards a greater ego-centric attitude is noticeable, on the contrary. "Since the seventies the number of people agreeing to the statement that 'people can be trusted in general' has risen clearly. The opinions about social security do not show any signs of a diminishing solidarity either"⁴¹. A central conclusion of this thorough study is, that no erosion of social cohesion has taken place, though there seems to be a shift of old forms of social cohesion towards newer ones. Community still exists, but has less than before easily predictable patterns and places. The study notices that 'geographical proximity, shared spiritual convictions and similar political views become less important than the same education or work environment and shared leisure-occupations'. The conclusion can be drawn from the Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau study, that getting footloose is not a goal in itself at all, but rather a symptom of people still looking for fulfillment of the same needs in a new context. If the same opportunities could be offered in the direct environment to fulfill these needs like the Nest! Project offers, valuable travel-time can be saved.

It is also important to look at those segments of society that have less access to mobility. Children for instance have been relegated by an increasingly footloose society to specialized "islands", like childcare centers, playgrounds, or entertainment events, which specifically target their needs. Traffic has made it too dangerous to play on the streets, increased mobility has made children dependent on adults to chauffeur them around to the "pockets" in society intended for them. The scope to which they can autonomously explore their own environment becomes increasingly limited. Children and other dependents are the ones most vulnerable to a society that has de-linked social contacts and social networks from neighborhoods and urban space.

A neighborhood where people know and are aware of each other and a residential environment that includes a broad range of functions and activities constitute important elements of a child and family friendly environment.

Services

For high achievers and especially for task combiners the availability of close to home services is an important element that saves time and can create attachment to the neighborhood.

"My apartment is small. That doesn't matter because I am never there anyway, but I don't want to sacrifice half of my bathroom for a washing-machine. On the market socks and T-shirts and such are very cheap so I simply buy a whole stack of new things every month. That way I always have clean things that I throw away after use. Pants I throw on a pile in the attic. I know that is a wasteful way of living and I know there are Laundromats, it is just that I don't have the time to go and sit there for hours every week. If somebody would come and pick up my laundry and return it nicely ironed, yes, then I would definitely make use of such a service. But they would have to come well before eight and return the stuff late, because

41 Joep de Hart (editor) Frans Knol, Cora Maas-de Waal Theo Roes a.o. *Zekere banden, Sociale cohesie, leefbaarheid en veiligheid* Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau Den Haag, Juni 2002 page 71 and further.

after work I go straight to the pub and I do not return home before ten at night."
Single ICT Technician

"In newly built settlements it is often a problem that the provisions are only basic. A few stores, a kindergarten. That is especially a problem for double earner families."

"Shopkeepers constitute an important element of creating a social atmosphere and safety in urban environments. They can keep an eye on everything, and they are places where people meet."

The temporary settlement can provide a great source of flexible and close to home services.

Uniformity and Anonymity

Shopping centers all over the Netherlands start to resemble each other; they have branches of the same drugstore, a household goods shop and so forth. It does not improve the individual identity of the different towns, but cities can't really stop this effect of the market forces.⁴² With the globalization of the economy, the diversity of shops fades away and the appearance of shopping areas becomes more uniform. Municipalities have to look on empty handed as local small businesses are pushed away by large chain stores who don't mind operating at a loss till the competition is gone. In the end all shopping centers have an almost identical set of shops. This problem is not so large in the town center of Arnhem where people come from the whole region, but will be an issue for the future center of Schuytgraaf. Why would inhabitants of Schuytgraaf do their shopping there, if they pass by the same set of shops when they are on their way to work or to drop off their kids at a club for example?

New neighborhoods are challenged by issues of uniformity, which tend to make them less attractive living environments. Anonymity and a sense of isolation is a big issue in contemporary settlements. It is something people often associate negatively with newly built settlements. What people often place first in their choice of neighborhoods is security. As experience shows security is impacted by the quality of physical construction as well as by the element of social contact. The social climate in a neighborhood directly impacts the feeling of security. Anonymous neighborhoods are felt to be more unsafe than environments where there is social contact and people know each other. Small shops, services and neighborhood activities are elements that can contribute to neighborhoods being more animated and unique, safe and lively.

Social Climate

"New buildings as such are less appealing and attractive. They don't seem to be balanced the way old buildings were and the diversity of buildings (and the people who come to live there) is completely gone in new plans."

"In our street the houses are built so you can design the rooms inside yourself. Some people made an office on the ground floor, others have their kitchen, living room or a workshop there. Knowing that everybody has their own design in their house and that you are not all cooking at the exact same spot as everyone else in the street, creates an instant feeling of freedom and ownership."

"Social interaction is an important factor in feeling at home at a place. People lock themselves up easily and spend their free time inside, not in the neighborhood."

In general things that happen in public space create more identity than what goes on

42 André de Vos *De verblokkering te lijf* in Binnenlands bestuur of 7 march 2003

inside houses."

"When I know my neighbors and when I know people in my neighborhood know me, I feel safe."

An important function of the temporary settlement will be to create public spaces that make it easy for people to meet, make contact and interact. As experience shows this involves more than providing physical meeting spaces. It includes animation. Projects like the International Garden, the Mother Center and the Community Academy are designed with this in mind. Small businesses as well as cultural events will further animate the neighborhood.

Leisure, Freedom, Fashion? The Arnhem Identity

Arnhem has always had a pleasant, easy going image, its name sounds like vacation. With its nationally known leisure attractions and high standard shops in the center, it is a good destination for a day out. Another potential strong point is the fame of some couturiers who were educated in Arnhem. Would it not be nice if such people would not move to Amsterdam straight after their education, but if they would transform Arnhem into a fashion town?

There is a difference between the image of the town as experienced by outsiders and the identity of the people of Arnhem itself. In the latter, there seems to be also a difference between the Arnhem identity as described by city officials and the identity as experienced by the citizens. The following will explore the discrepancy between the more normative 'official identity' as laid down in major planning documents and the experienced identity. The temporary settlement could bridge this discrepancy and provide a vital element in the desired new identity of Arnhem.

Despite differences, everybody inside and outside of Arnhem, official or not, agrees that Arnhem is beautifully located. It is a natural crossroad. People identify with beautiful surroundings, be they esthetical aspects of building and construction, or be they nature. In the past, both Arnhem and the Hague were locations where people returning from the colonies invested their fortunes in stately mansions and gardens. But also in both cities there are large differences of income and social class living close together.

Beauty

"Arnhem combines the freedom of nature with the possibilities of a city. Arnhem Noord with the Sonsbeek park sells itself. It is one of the ways Arnhem shows it is worthy of the title 'Haagje van 't Oosten', enjoyable and shady."

In the case of Schuytgraaf an important factor in the plan is to stay in touch with and create identity of the new settlement around the beautiful surroundings, the meadows and orchards as well as the river landscape.

High Speed Dreams

The themes freedom, fashion, fun shopping and leisure offer a foundation for an Arnhem Identity. Experts agree that image can be constructed to a certain extent, but needs to use the base of what is there already.⁴³ They say that small things do much more for the reputation of a town than expensive advertisement campaigns. Madonna's move to London was supposed to have done more for the reputation of that city than ten years of advertisement. Linking the town to large international events would therefore be a possibility.

Being an attractive town of culture is definitely part of the image towards which Arnhem is working judging from its vision 'Arnhem on the move towards 2015'⁴⁴ This vision was constructed from four possible scenario's, which were debated with thousands of inhabitants. The vision offers four perspectives or 'windows': social, economic, physical and as a fourth one the overall aspect of attractiveness of the town. The vision is rather normative and it presumes that the future can be steered by programming development projects towards this vision⁴⁵.

One of these projects has surpassed the phase of planning and paper and is being executed: "Arnhem Central". The environment of the Arnhem railway station is in the course of an impressive metamorphosis that will be completed by 2007. The project is possible thanks to the budget the national government has made available for so called 'key-projects'. These are the surroundings of six stations where the high speed train will stop. Arnhem is ahead in the execution of its key-project, which of course poses an opportunity for other investors to participate in projects in these blooming surroundings.

In other words Arnhem has made good use of its location as border station and several projects have been initiated because of this. In municipal plans and vision documents, the impression is given that there is a direct causal link. The line of reasoning is that Arnhem will grow to a larger scale, simply because every hour a high speed train visits its station. Amsterdam and Frankfurt are close by now, so Arnhem will become a swift business town.

This is strange. Besides of the fact that the high speed train has few passengers compared to normal trains or other forms of transport like cars, it is a rash conclusion that it will be used to come to Arnhem. To give an example, an Arnhem fan of modern dance might use the occasion to go and see the Frankfurt Ballet or the National Ballet at its home base. But would people from Amsterdam come to Arnhem to see Introdans? This is doubtful. Common sense logic tells that train-lines are mainly used to take people to the center and back. So in order to make a significant change in scale and size, Arnhem has much more to expect from light-rail, making it easier for the people from the region to go shopping in Arnhem. Because that is definitely a strong point of the image Arnhem has already; which might not be hip but which is realistic. Given the fact that many towns its size develop an image quite similar to that of Arnhem (moving from an industrial past to a service/business oriented future) the town can't really afford not to use all of its existing assets.

43 'City branding, Een stad is geen waspoeder' (city branding, a town can't be sold like washing powder) in *Intermediair* 19, of May 8, 2003

44 Municipality of Arnhem *Arnhem op weg naar 2015. Een visie van de stad op de stad*, Arnhem 1999

45 Doumans, Houtmum and Lagendijk *De verbeelding van de stad, De constructie van de stedelijke identiteit van Arnhem Groningen Maastricht en Tilburg Nijmegen*, DGW/NETHUR Partnership 22, 2003, page 30-35. A full chapter of this interesting analysis is consecrated to the process that has led to Arnhem 2015

Schuytgraaf, a physical Identity?

The zoning plan that forms the legal base for Schuytgraaf describes the neighborhood to be as follows: "Schuytgraaf will be a neighborhood with a high spatial quality and its own recognizable identity. The quality and identity of the neighborhood will be reinforced by the characteristics of the landscape, which together with newly created landscapes will be the fundamental planning principle of the neighborhood." In a similar manner the landscape is being used in most Vinex neighborhoods to provide identity. The result is that 'living near the water' is the identity theme that pops up everywhere in this country that has quite a bit of water⁴⁶

Given the fact that one of the main assets of Arnhem is its beautiful location it is not that surprising that it is exactly these features that are underlined, as a starting point for creating an identity for the new neighborhood too. And given the fact that the city vision is normative in nature and has the underlying assumption that the identity can be created, it is exactly in an exercise of a completely new part of town that this task can be taken up and the vision be put into urban form.

However, by focusing only on the more physical aspects, the real anchoring points for identity like belonging, security, or participation are overlooked. In the present plans for Schuytgraaf, history is being quoted in a Disneyland kind of way. Developers with a good instinct for the latest trends use history as a product of fashion, without really relating to the values behind it, that the consumer is looking for.

Zef Hemel discusses this difference in the S&RO magazine 03/2003: "The exercise to transform a city with its continuity and its historical layers, should be distinguished clearly from a sort of 'instant' melancholic feeling which is marketed through all sort of typologies on the edge of town, in which there is a large discrepancy between the contents of the program and what the shape suggests. Without wanting to judge, I do think that the historic continuity of a town and the trend to suggest a kind of life style with shapes, are two different notions altogether." There simply are limits to what can be created in terms of image and identity by physical means. The real anchoring points will have to be provided by the people who will move to Schuytgraaf and they cannot be generated by the mere provision of a bit of mediated history.

A Dream comes true?

Somebody from an ethnic minority once told the following joke. Which minority is irrelevant, because the joke has universal validity, any given group can be filled in. For the sake of neutrality, the two friends discussing here will be called Mr. Majority and Ms. Minority. Mr. Majority tells Ms. Minority about the amazing dream he had.

"I had died and went to heaven, but your Minority heaven, rather than ours. Let me tell you, it was a total mess. The place was stuffy and smelly, unpleasant people were hanging about, it was crowded and loud and people were terribly rude. I was just happy to wake up."

"Well that is a coincidence" Ms. Minority replies,

"I have dreamt too last night that I was in the other heaven, in the Majority heaven. But that really was like you would expect paradise to be. A spacious park stretched as far as the eye reached, luscious fountains gave a soft atmosphere and thousands of flowers gave joy to both nose and eye. Butterflies whirled in the air and thousands of birds provided for the most incredible music. I just can't sufficiently describe the beauty of it all."

"Well I can imagine that" Mister Majority noted pleased "But tell me, how did the people behave?"

"People?" Ms. Minority hesitated. "No, I don't recall having seen any people."

People identify with their neighborhoods to the extent that they can contribute to them. Participation in the shaping of the living environment supports a sense of ownership,

⁴⁶ In its *Nota Belvedere*. (the National Policy Paper on the Relation between Cultural History and Spatial Planning) the national government has called quite explicitly to do so.

pride and belonging. The temporary settlement can play a role in facilitating ways of inhabitant participation and involvement. This applies to all groups in the settlement, women, men, children, youth and elderly.

Utopia or Nostalgia?

Will the Nest! Project re-create a reality that never existed, hint towards a social structure of some unspecified past in a similar way as the historical looking facades of the first Schuytgraaf houses have nothing to do with the past they imitate? Or rather than a way of fleeing the present to an artificial past, is it instead a flight forward to an impossible future, an utopia?

Neither one is the case. Just like the Mother Centers function like a modern 'village water well', the settlement too will function in a contemporary way. Mother Centers have initially been looked at suspiciously by progressive groups, because they feared that the achievements of the women's emancipation movement would be denied rather than widened. More conservative forces on the contrary, saw in the same movement a threat to their monopolization of the theme of motherhood, which the Mother Centers gave a new and progressive interpretation.

There is a similar confusion in the reactions to the temporary settlement. Some imagine the narrow minded atmosphere of a nineteenth century village, an urban form given to a strict set of norms and values. Others imagine that the settlement becomes a sort of sect, an ideologically motivated commune, where only great visionaries can become a member. Both views miss the point. It is certainly not the idea that in its functioning or physical appearance the settlement will hint at a far gone past or an utopian future. It is something of here and now. It is designed to be market compatible and not binding in any way. The idea is to, while respecting the limitations of today, make use of the possibilities of today, in order to form a contemporary answer to universal themes like identity and community.

Attracting the creative Class

Our cities have always grown where the important things for the economy were available, like transport routes or/and raw materials. In an economy where human resources and especially knowledge are the most important factor of production, the city should develop where the best people are. Or rather the other way around, it should be made in a way that attracts the best people. This is tough for planners to anticipate. It is exactly the mobility of the most important production factor of our economy that could, however, be a big advantage. After all, contrary to the coal miners computer programmers have no limits to their location nor do they require huge investments. If their changing preferences and mobility are taken as a starting point, much can be won by places that are at present not (yet) fashionable. Creating the right conditions for a knowledge economy has neglected such immaterial aspects. It is simply too tough for planners, who are used to working with material data.

For example, the success of Silicon Valley has often been explained by its excellent infrastructure for communication. Of course a good ICT infrastructure is a condition but not the only one nor the most important. Cities investing in ICT infrastructure are a bit like people who buy an encyclopedia hoping that they will become very wise. It might be a condition, but there is not necessary a cause and effect relation between the two.

In *the rise of the creative class* (New York, 2002) Richard Florida argues that it is not so much people with knowledge and technical skills that matter, but creative people. They determine the success of the future companies and should be attracted by a

tolerant open society. Since they are driven by 'post material values' they are not so much interested in the size of their house, but are instead attracted by an inspiring environment. The role of government in his view is assuring that the market has space to offer this group the climate in which they thrive, which could be done in his view by creating flexible services, for example not setting ridiculous regulations for childcare.⁴⁷ This suggests that permitting developments like the Nest! Project will not only boost Arnhems identity, but also attract people that could be vital for the future economic developments of the town.

V) The Structure of the fourth Dimension; Time gives Space

The identity of new neighborhoods, or rather the lack thereof, is much related to the dimension of time. The atmosphere of the place grows over time, but the houses need to be sold before that process can even start. Over time the identity of a neighborhood grows as the combination of the physical appearance and the sum of the identities of its inhabitants. The area gets a reputation, an image.

The identity of communities is also connected to the more direct dimension of time, to the amount of time people have, or do not have, to spend in their neighborhoods. For neighborhoods to be secure and alive and to have inhabitant participation and social cohesion there need to be people living there, that have some degree of time, and some degree of willingness to spend their time in their neighborhood.

Time as Part of Social Capital

"People want to be in touch with each other, but the way our lives are organized (in physical environments, but also in timetables) stands in the way of actually doing it."

"You need people who have time to create identity in a neighborhood. People who have time, create social bonding in the neighborhood, make people feel at home there, break through anonymity."

In the case of Schuytgraaf finding ways to attract a diverse population that not only includes people at the height of their labor market involvement, for whom time is a scarce resource, is an important issue. The temporary settlement can play an important role in this respect.

The Time Paradox in contemporary Architecture – slowing down and speeding up at the same Time

Despite all firm words of the national government to facilitate rules and shorten procedures, it does in fact become more and more complicated and as a result time consuming to realize buildings. This is especially the case in complex exercises like entire neighborhoods. Even where the national government seems to make its requests lighter, there still are numerous well intended provincial and municipal civil servants ready to guide, direct or support processes, monitor indicators, or claim other supplementary reporting and meeting time.

The carefulness put in to avoid any possible risk on important issues like security, are necessary but simply time consuming.

47 Bart van Oosterhout Koester de homo's, in Intermediair 41 of October 9, 2003. The title of the article 'cherish the gay' comes from the discovery that the kind of environment where the 'creative class' is best at home, coincides with the places where many homosexuals live. This is indicated by the remarkable resemblance of the 'Bohemian Index' and the 'Gay index'.

Simultaneous to the slowing down of the production of our built environment, there is an acceleration of its use. Late nineteenth century popular neighborhoods, that were constructed as quick and cheap as possible to maximize profits, stood for a century before they were really outdated. By contrast, postwar neighborhoods have lost all their attraction after only half a century. Who knows if the architects who are now making plans for Vinex town extensions will get a chance to restructure their creations well before their pension.

The late nineteenth century popular neighborhoods had to be torn down or fundamentally renovated, because their physical state had become unacceptable. The present restructuring exercise is however more about functional and social problems. The planners simply can't predict the quickly changing use for the full physical life-span of their project. The architects who reconstructed the Dutch towns after the fifties did not nor could have foreseen at all that once upon a time their neighborhoods would be inhabited mainly by people from Mediterranean background, that the standard of living would raise incredibly and that everybody would be much more mobile.

The Need to adapt to the increased Speed in experiencing Identity

The speed of demographic and social change has increased both on a macro and micro level. On a macro-level factors like migration and changing life styles influence the use of the built environment ever quicker. The same is the case on the micro-level.

People do not know at more or less the age of 25 what the next 50 years will look like, nor do they stay for decades in the same house. They move for a job, to improve in quality, or because they divorce.

In services the speed of change is even faster. New insights in themes like education or care for the elderly have large impact on the requirements for the built environment. The service program for Schuytgraaf has been drastically adapted to the latest insights, before building has even started.

So there is a growing discrepancy between the speed of change in use and the slower realization of the built environment that has to house these functions. Therefore it is not a coincidence that issues of temporary use and mobility have a prominent place in contemporary architectural debate.

"Doubts about old securities that block decision making, result in temporality. What has been is not sufficient anymore and what comes is yet unclear. The result is the acceptance of temporality as a new social phenomena, that is not longer something inferior, but is now being seen as the manifestation of constant change. Temporality offers possibilities that sustainability does not know, flux, savings, own initiative, less rules and such. In its ultimate consequence temporality could take the shape of a society without possessions, where everything is leased or rented. But as an answer to social problems it conflicts with this deep primal desire in human beings to warmth, protection and security, which is translated to possessions, owning a house and preferably two."⁴⁸

The built environment will not be something anymore to be used forever and needs to find ways to adapt to the increasing speed of experiencing identity. The temporary nature of the Nest! settlement is most adequate in this respect. In the temporary settlement experience is not induced by mock historic building forms that are very

48 Translated from Gerben Hellinga Zelfs het tijdelijke is tijdelijk in *Het tijdperk van de tijdelijkheid* Aedes-Forum voor Inspiratie en Zingeving, Hilversum, 2003

popular today, nor does history need to deposit a sedimentary layer, giving a contemporary experience of community is enough. There is no need for a solid form that remains long after the experience is over, like a statue that stands in the park long after the memory of the person it represents has gone. Experiencing the identity of the temporary settlement changes from day to day and simply ceases to exist after a few years, together with its physical form. But parts of it will sink into the slowly developing Schuytgraaf identity.

Flexibility and Space for Experimentation

One of the problems that make neighborhoods deteriorate is that they stay static, that the structures do not include enough flexibility to adapt to inevitable change and development. Flexibility is necessary to allow neighborhoods to grow with social developments. Urban planners tend to think in terms of creating finished neighborhoods, when in fact neighborhoods are never finished, they are living organisms and need space to develop and grow.

"Growing up beside the woods gives me a lifelong need for open spaces, room to roam, open space where things can grow on their own. Even if this involves negative developments here and there. You cannot stop that also from growing, but the bottom line is growing. Development and creation are always better than over planning and hammering things down."

"You can motivate people to invest time and energy in their neighborhood by linking them around common interests and giving them the freedom and space to shape their environment accordingly."

"It is not that people don't have contact at all, but often only within their own ethnic group. The Kwakoe festival in the Amsterdam Bijlmer used to be a Surinam event but is now a place where everybody who lives or used to live in the Bijlmer meets every year. These kinds of things are not planned, but they happen if there is open space left for them."

"If neighborhoods are planned to the brim there hardly is any space to move when the neighborhood develops in its own way. The Nest Project could become quite a unique experiment in an all-too-well planned Holland."

Use of in between Time

Existing examples of temporary settlements have got a temporary character because of their use rather than by the nature of their constructions. It often concerns squatted space, of which the possibility for use could end at any given moment. This is most often unused leftover space of low value, like harbor buildings, factory halls, terrain formerly used by the armed forces, or in some cases even an entire village.

After these areas or buildings have lost the value of their old use, but before a new function or redevelopment can raise the value again, pioneers grab their chance. They use the space, freedom and cheapness that these rough edges of the town have to offer.

This seems to be something completely different than what the Nest! Project intends to do. It is certainly not the idea to squat and besides there are few empty halls or other buildings in the Schuytgraaf-area. The essence of the Nest! lies in the use of 'in between time'. This exists in Schuytgraaf as well.

When the agrarian use of the land has stopped or has become unprofitable by lack of future perspectives, but before building preparations have started, there is a period of 'in between time'.

The Nest! Project intends to use this time, because it would be a waste not to do so, because of the benefits of the use itself and because it can prelude to and prepare for the future use.

In this respect the Nest! Project is rather different from examples from the squat movement, because those resist the future use. They make use of the 'in between time' for its own sake and are by definition in conflict by whoever has interest in the new use.

The 'Nest Project' develops an innovative concept of participative planning and community development by making use of time slots in urban planning in a flexible and productive way. The proposed temporary settlement will create room for experimentation and social growth, enriching the many layers of identity involved in the building of a Vinex location.

Making use of the "in between time" will open perspectives for services that give the place identity as well.

It will be inevitable that shops and services in Schuytgraaf will follow the national trend of shopping areas becoming more uniform, because they are subject to the same economic forces. The temporary settlement could however limit the risk to the minimum by providing an optimal base for various shops to start building a circle of clients. During the period that the full neighborhood is not done yet, the scale is mainly interesting for smaller shops. In this environment where the large shops -to whom they cannot compete- are further away, they can exist and function well. During this period the area builds up a certain reputation, a place with nice, unusual little shops. This might provide enough basis for a transition into sustainability.

Drawing on the Wallpaper

Did you get the chance as a child? Or more recently, did you allow your children to use an empty wall for drawing before it would get new paint or wallpaper during a renovation? That is something completely different than the 21 by 29,7 centimeter limitations of an A4 size sheet of paper! This space and incredible luxury of being permitted to do something that is normally forbidden for children often results in beautiful works of art.

Still there is not one parent who would give out the living-room wall of a new house permanently to their toddlers for decoration. Such happens only by the grace of opportunity. It can be allowed at a space of low value that is temporarily unused.

The phenomena is not much different on larger scales. Empty harbor buildings that are of no economic use, or halls of factories that went bankrupt years ago, are a paradise for squatters. They have few requests concerning luxury or services but they are looking for cheap space, a place to do their thing. Only the cheapest is accessible to them. Because the spaces are uninteresting for the owners during many years, they can go ahead without any harm. On the contrary, such spaces often result in nice theaters, art galleries or other unexpected contributions to enrich the urban culture. Without wanting to compare these groups to children, they have in common, that they possess rare and different qualities that deserve recognition and appreciation

Space that can be used on a temporary base by those who normally do not get a chance, is dearly needed for an urban environment.

Temporality as permanent Situation

For those who take the initiative for experimentation, temporality is not so much a limiting factor but rather an aspect of a highly desired dynamism. Temporary conditions give strong involvement and activity. In a research about such spaces⁴⁹ the conclusion was drawn that people move out as soon as they look for more permanence, This happens for example because they want to start a family. If the space itself gets legalized, and as a consequence loses its insecure temporary status, the intensity of the activities reduces. The true forefront or avant-garde of this movement, considers this a concession and they move on to new spaces, looking for a space for freedom of individual expression and experiences as well as collective projects and political engagement. They are looking for temporality as a permanent situation, for the possibilities that temporality offers as a goal in itself.⁵⁰

A basic thought behind the Nest! Project is that the undeniable qualities and energy of those who strive to an 'eternal temporality' do not need to express themselves in conflict with society. This can be achieved by the temporary settlement where the 'in between time' will be used legally and productively. Those who are attracted to the space and possibilities of new frontiers, will be the first to move on to the next field.

Temporality as provisional Permanence

Many of the potential pioneers we talked with are not so much looking for a nomadic life full of adventure, but simply accept temporary situations, forced by circumstances. They are not able to find permanent housing or work. Temporality then becomes a means (for housing and saving expenses) and not a goal in itself. For them, the structure which uses the 'in between time' of different fields one after another, poses possibilities to pursue their goals.

Rather than already looking for the possibilities of new frontiers, they will be interested in the possibilities of more permanence in the present location.

Because they strive towards an ideal that is rather similar to the Vinex neighborhood they can take an advance on plans already developed in concept. Activities like tree planting or making a playground could be organized that prepare the final use of the location. Participation in the settlement from this perspective involves working towards a more permanent situation.

The Leftovers optimally used

By moving the temporary settlement from field to field (with a minimal average duration of about a field per year) good use can be made of time gaps in the planning process. In most experimental spaces the link between the temporary and the different permanent use is problematic. When the place is successful, protests will start if and when it has to give way to the permanent destination of the space.

In the Nest! Project there is no contrast between the permanent and the temporary use. There is no objection to give way towards the permanent destination because that is what is the final objective of the settlement. Besides of that there is no pressure because an alternative exists in the next temporary field.

49 Laat 1000 vrijplaatsen bloeien, onderzoek naar vrijplaatsen in Amsterdam De Vrije ruimte, Amsterdam, September 2001.

50 The book *Het tijdperk van de tijdelijkheid* of Aedes-Forum voor Inspiratie en Zingeving, that was quoted before, offers examples. Hans Plomp explores the issue in his essay "De paradox van het eeuwig tijdelijke" (the paradox of the eternal temporality). The pioneer sub-study discusses the motivations of pioneers in more detail.

Ahead of the Music

In a parade there is always a police car ahead of the music. This is something completely different than the parade and really has nothing to do with it, just clearing the way. Still the audience gets excited by seeing this very normal police car, "now they come". The temporary settlement has got such a function too. As a colorful caravan it will (slowly) move over the entire area of Schuytgraaf, announcing the upcoming arrival of the real neighborhood.

As such the settlement is a publicity vehicle for the final Vinex neighborhood. The activities that will take place there are different from the final settlement, but still the atmosphere leads the way for the image of the neighborhood to come; being at the same time an announcer and a beginning.

People like living in a neighborhood that is talked about as one of *the* places to live in. Vinex locations in general do not have a very positive image in this respect. In the case of Schuytgraaf one of the functions of the temporary settlement is that it can contribute to the image of Schuytgraaf as being different from a regular Vinex location, of being more alive and special. Schuytgraaf can get the image of *the* place to be.

Chapter 3: Pioneer Motivations

I) Introduction

The previous chapter has examined the structural framework, in which urban planning is currently set and the parameters, in which the traditional players in the field are operating. This chapter introduces the concept of 'pioneers' as a resource and new player for urban development. It looks at the different motivations that make a temporary settlement attractive to pioneers and what they have to contribute to creating high quality neighborhoods. As analyzed in the previous chapter the physical quality of neighborhoods as defined by the quality of housing, design and physical infrastructure is only part of what makes neighborhoods attractive. Regarding the inhabitants as an important resource and value and designing enabling conditions for residents to invest their skills and assets in their neighborhood is the other part. In this respect pioneers inhabiting temporary settlements can add a whole new dimension.

Providing the right Mix

In her essay "Living in Brabant"⁵¹ Irene Müller applies Bourdieus theories on economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital to urban development and argues that the quality of neighborhoods depends on a good balance between them.

In city planning a strong focus has developed on economic capital as main motor of development. In redevelopment areas attracting more affluent people (gentrification) has high priority, and new neighborhoods seem to be all about getting the financing together to build and sell high quality housing. In our approach we suggest to focus more on inspiring urban renewal and development by initiating a process where besides of the economic also other types of capital (cultural, social and symbolic) are generated and invested.

Temporary settlements counteract mono-cultured neighborhoods, they create more diversity and balance in terms of the kinds of contributions residents can make to their environment.

The different Forms of Capital in Urban Development

Economic Capital: People with money can pay high prices for housing that brings high returns to the capital investment and keeps the building industry going. Often these people invest little more than their money in their surroundings. They tend to be double earners spending a lot of their time outside the neighborhood. They are often highly mobile, their social and cultural networks extend far beyond their neighborhoods.

Social Capital: People with little money often have a large social network to substitute for their lack of buying power to purchase services. Since people with little money tend to have less choices and be less mobile, they also tend to invest their time and their social and cultural capital in their neighborhood.

Neighborhoods depend on residents investing their time, presence, social and creative capital in their living environment in order to be safe, sociable, lively and attractive.

Social capital is often also invested in small local businesses, that often can only survive

⁵¹ Irene Müller, Wonen in Brabant,

economically by drawing on the time investment of family and kin networks.

Cultural Capital: People with knowledge, competence and education, people from other cultures, artists and creative people, people with specialized skills, all have cultural capital. The more this capital is invested in the living area, the richer the neighborhood is in culture, stimulation and inspiration.

Symbolic Capital: Symbolic capital is generated by stories and legends. The image and symbolic value of a neighborhood often depends on such legends. Pioneers, innovators, the avant-garde, and often people on the fringes of society have a high degree of symbolic capital to contribute to their surroundings.

Counteracting Urban Decline

Newly built settlements that at the time were considered the best neighborhoods in town are prone to degradation and decline in a matter of a few decades. This is mostly due to the monoculture often encountered in new neighborhoods.

Urban Development Cycles

In her article Irene Müller creates a typology of urban development cycles. When analyzing the development cycles of settlements a pattern can be seen that is connected to the investment of different forms of capital:

When a settlement is new people with economic capital are dominant. Since they tend to not invest much more than their economic capital, after an initial period of stability these new settlements tend to stagnate and become less attractive. They have a mono-culture of residents, the children have moved out, people in need of care outnumber people able to give care.

The neighborhood loses its image as 'good neighborhood', rents are low compared to other parts of town, people move in with less money. The neighborhood becomes more alive, but less rich. Less money is invested in the neighborhood, so-called 'problem groups' settle there, it gets the reputation of a 'bad neighborhood', sale prices become even lower compared to other areas.

The neighborhood becomes more diverse, migrants, students, people looking for cheap accommodation settle there. At the bottom of this cycle the turning point comes when people are attracted to the neighborhood that like diverse neighborhoods and are in need of cheap space for their creative or business endeavors. Pioneers, artists, beginning businesses add cultural and symbolic capital to the neighborhood. It becomes trendy, prices start to rise, people arrive that have more economic capital to invest into the neighborhood, the neighborhood is upgraded, it becomes an expensive and 'hip' neighborhood.

Another Approach to Gentrification

From the perspective of monetary value 'living' in houses and in neighborhoods is usually regarded as diminishing the capital value, as 'using it up'. Like a product that is worth less when second hand, houses and neighborhoods are seen as becoming of lower value over time. Turning this perspective around and looking at inhabitants as investing rather than using value changes the perspective on urban planning and urban development. Then the question is not so much, where does housing need to be demolished and rebuilt in order to restructure deteriorated neighborhoods, but the question becomes, how can the value and the different sorts of capital of the residents in any given neighborhood be mobilized towards the upgrading of the area.

In post industrial society, the knowledge economy is gaining significance. Accessing resources like brains, know how and creativity is becoming crucial. Tapping into new forms of talent reserves and knowledge capital can be a valid strategy to stimulate new economic development.

The process of 'gentrification' focuses mainly on physically up-grading neighborhoods and attracting residents with economic capital. However, when demolishing and rebuilding neighborhoods, a lot of social, cultural and symbolic capital is also destroyed. To preserve, attract and mobilize these other kinds of capital, a different, less physical, kind of urban development is needed. This involves a less state driven and paternalistic approach and more room for self help, self-governance and the investment and exchange of local capital.

The Power of Presence

A common criticism of newly built settlements is that they lack 'soul' and social contact, that people have to cover large distances for services, thus making traffic a major issue. Neighborhood life can only work if there are people around to inhabit public space. When neighborhoods include a diverse range of life situations, life phases and interests, the chances for presence and the investment of all forms of capital become higher.

A way to stimulate the balance of different forms of capital is to create ways of exchange between people with different contributions to offer. Urban planning then focuses on creating structures and opportunities for exchange. Temporary settlements are a way to create such structures, a way to bring people that have different needs and different assets into vicinity.

In the context of a newly built Vinex settlement temporary settlements take up the challenge of how to introduce diversity in a narrow market range, and how to create urban liveliness from scratch, literally on a green field.

Giving Space to Pioneers

Temporary settlements require people that are motivated to settle temporarily. These people we are calling pioneers. The concept of temporary settlements is built on the assumption that not everybody lives or wants to live in one place forever, that there are phases in people's lives where temporary housing fits their life cycle and their motivation. This chapter looks at the characteristics and motivations of groups in society that qualify them as potential settlers of temporary settlements. Of course not every member of the groups we identify will be a potential pioneer. The people who actually make the move to settle in a temporary settlement will be motivated by a series of additional personal and psychological factors extending beyond the characteristics we describe in this chapter. What we do here, however, is to describe interests and motivations that make temporary settlements attractive and beneficial to different social groups, as well as potential contributions and investments arising from their social characteristics. Who has time, energy and interest in building community and building up something new? What assets and resources do pioneer groups bring to the process?

II) Pioneers and their Motivations

In our research we identified four motives as triggers for a temporary settlement. First and foremost is the access to affordable housing. Another major motive is the opportunity to build up a future. More personal motives like the opportunity to be creative and to do things yourself are also often mentioned. Finally there are motives related to an interest in community and an attractive, lively environment.

Some respondents indicated an interest in only part time involvement in the temporary settlement.

Getting out of the Refugee Centers

The temporary settlement can attract people searching for affordable housing. Students, artists and refugees are in need of cheap housing. Especially for refugees the situation can be quite dramatic.

Many asylum seekers after having become status holders remain for years in the asylum centers because they cannot find housing. They are starters on the housing market and as a consequence they do not have a good position on the waiting lists. They depend on the housing corporations, because there are few private landlords who will not require that a number of months get paid in advance as guarantee. They cannot afford high rents in order not to lose rental subsidy. Even when they have a medical indication it can take 5-6 years to be assigned housing. Because Arnhem has fulfilled its quota refugees have little chances of being assigned housing in Arnhem. They can be placed anywhere in the country, in which case they risk losing their social contacts and networks.

"I am dying to get out of the center. After 4 years of insecurity and waiting I finally got a status. Imagine having to wait 3 years longer, and still not being able to start my life here. This creates a lot of stress, it is depressing. You want to start building your future in this country, but you are stuck." (Refugee, Interview 5)

"The situation in the centers is not good, because it is not a 'white' address. You cannot start a future in Holland, until you have an address. An address is more important than a name. To get a mobile phone, to register for a course, for a bank account, for everything you need a white address." (Refugee, Interview 13)

"Anything would work to get me out of the center. A small room, anything to get me out." (Refugee, Interview 11)

"It is difficult to live with 4 other refugees in one small space. They come from different countries with other cultures, other tastes in music, cooking, other levels of hygiene. You share a kitchen, a small refrigerator, a shower. If you have guests, it is not private, people come in and want to see what you are doing. They want to borrow your clothes, your things. Sometimes they are fundamentalists and want to engage in arguments with you. Others are tired and depressed and have interest in nothing. There is no privacy." (Refugee, Interview 13)

"I have managed to find something, just recently. But it is not ideal. There is a lot of noise in the neighborhood, my neighbor upstairs works until midnight, he puts on his music when he comes home. Also the house is old and not very clean. It is a run down area, a dirty apartment. My neighbor downstairs has to do with drugs. This is not how I like to live, but is my only option, the only choice I had to get out of the center." (Refugee, Interview 8)

Saving on Rent

Even for migrants who have managed to find decent housing, the temporary settlement can be attractive as a way to save money. Rather than spending their money on rent they would prefer to save money in order to get their family over or to start a business. They would not mind living in modest conditions for a period of time if that would help them realize other priorities.

"What would interest me in a temporary settlement would be the possibility to adapt my expenses to my priorities, to my own personal calculation of what part of my budget I would like to spend on rent. If I could get cheaper rent in the settlement by repairing the house myself, or by taking care of the neighbors garden or any other need of the community, that would be attractive to me." (Refugee, Interview 15)

Being able to live on your own

Students also often have a hard time finding an affordable place to live, so that they either continue to live with their parents, although that would not be their preferred choice, they spend a lot of time traveling back and forth between where they have found housing and where they study, or they take very poor conditions into account.

"I live with my parents right now, but it is not ideal. I have to discuss all the time with my parents if I eat here or there. There is no real freedom. And I don't get along that well with my step father." (Student, Interview 3)

"I lived in a little house with three other roommates. It was not organized student housing, but a private owner, the conditions were very poor, the house was in a shabby state. Still the owner wanted to increase the rent ridiculously." (Student, Interview 1)

The Need for Space

Artists often have a need for large spaces. Their work tends to be space intensive, which mostly does not relate to the level of money they have in their budget to spend on rent. That makes them constantly on the look out for affordable space to fit their needs.

"I am an artist. I create. Therefore I need space. The kind of space I need is very hard to find." (Artist, Interview 7)

Saving for a House

A further group we identified as potential for the temporary settlement are young starting families. This group, who basically would like to live in a new neighborhood like Schuytgraaf, is less and less able to afford buying a house there. If not fitting the criteria for social housing they are in a difficult position because the availability of rental housing in the higher price categories is tight. As the housing quality of new settlements tends to be very high, housing in newly built neighborhoods tends to be expensive. Living for a period of time in a low cost temporary settlement can be a way for this group to be able to save enough money to access the housing market. In chapter 8 we explore the option for this group to access their dream by lowering their costs. In addition to saving rent by moving to the temporary settlement, participating in collective commissioning of their own house and in innovative saving schemes geared towards their future house are attractive options for this group.

In the previous chapter we looked into the more theoretical aspects that shape the situation for this group on the market. Here are experiences of people who have to deal with this reality in their lives:

"We would like to live in Schuytgraaf, but we need to know the prices. Would it be possible to rent there? We do not have a house that we can sell in order to have enough money to buy in Schuytgraaf, and the prices are rather high to put up up-

front." (Starter family, Interview 10)

"My family has been living in Holland now for 25 years. I grew up here. I would like to have a house like a normal Dutch person. And I would like to have my parents in the vicinity. We can't afford that in a nice location." (Migrant family, Interview 14)

Building up a Future

Next to primary economic benefits the temporary settlement offers further rewards and opportunities for the target groups we have identified. Refugees and migrants most often cannot find work at the level of their qualifications or aspirations. They often work way under their educational and intellectual standards and feel that their talents and capacities are not made appropriate use of in the host society. For this group having a chance to unfold their potential, use their initiative and engage in rewarding activities in the temporary settlement is a strong motivator. Those that have to struggle the hardest to (re)build their lives often have the largest potential for building up something new. The largest segment of new entrepreneurs are found amongst the migrant population.

The temporary settlement involves a wide range of opportunities to create services and small businesses. It can create a protected environment and support structures that allow pioneers to start small, to try things out and to grow and expand gradually. Also for unemployed persons or people living on welfare the opportunities of the temporary settlement to create intermediary work and build up a future can be attractive. In the economic study (Chapter7) this aspect of the temporary settlement is explored in detail.

"The only jobs I can get are in cleaning or in the kitchen of restaurants. I am qualified as a hairdresser and beautician. For me the temporary settlement might offer opportunities to work in my profession." (Refugee, Interview 22)

"I have done some work with computers over here. I wanted to go to the School of Art in Utrecht. I even took an exam and the school was about to accept me, but the COA would not let me go. I am only allowed to study on bachelor degree level and only at a school in Arnhem. I am not allowed to study, I am not allowed to work. Everything I do is voluntary. Sometimes I am so fed up with it! After all those years it would be nice to get something in return again." (Refugee, Interview 19)

"I am desperately looking for work. My diplomas, I am economist, are not valid here, so I had to redo my education in a quicker program. I am now qualified as a bookkeeper but I cant find work. At home I had been working as a journalist. Of course I understand it is not realistic to find work as a journalist here, I am not a native speaker of Dutch and in journalism you have to be fluent of course. But I don't understand why I get turned down all the time as a bookkeeper. It is a different excuse all the time and it is very frustrating. It is frustrating to be on welfare and not build up your life. I would very much welcome a chance to work on something with which I could build myself a future." (Refugee, Interview 11)

"It could give me a chance. I am often underestimated, simply because I look foreign. People think I am unqualified, because I do not look Dutch." (Refugee, Interview 13)

"I don't want to be a bother and sit down with my arms crossed. I am a productive person but here I don't produce anything. I could be, I could be a normal tax-payer, I am full of ideas for businesses." (Refugee, Interview 20)

Room for practical Experience and Experimentation

For students the temporary settlement can also be interesting in this respect. It can offer a range of opportunities to integrate practical experiences into their studies, for experimentation beyond the scope of what is possible in regular jobs, for personal and professional growth and development as well as for the realization of personal dreams. Artists as well are eager for challenges and opportunities for experimentation and innovation.

"In about 3 years I can take over my fathers shop. I would like to gain a lot of experience first. For me engaging in such a venture would work very well." (Student, Interview 2)

"In art you have to move on and change. You need constant inspiration. A temporary settlement could provide that." (Artist, Interview 6)

"It would be good as an in between phase, doing something completely different. Instead of going to Australia for a year, you could go to the Nest! for a year." (Student, Interview 3)

"Opening up a restaurant is really a great dream of mine. The settlement would be a good opportunity. I think that the people who dare to live in the temporary settlement would also dare to eat in my restaurant. Because you will not know in advance what you will eat. There is no menu, you eat 'wat de pot schaft' (whatever comes on to the table). There is a choice between vegetarian and non-vegetarian. And then there is food from different countries, so it would fit well. It would be exactly the right public." (Student, Interview 9)

Being creative, doing your own Thing

In our interviews many people expressed the lack of opportunities for doing things yourself, for trying out and applying skills outside of your profession. Especially in the field of housing and creating a home, many people express the wish to invest own ideas, to make things fit to their own wishes. Pioneers are people that like to create their own choices, that don't like to stay confined to the choices and options offered to them.

"There is not really a self help movement here, or at least not on a large scale. Everything is organized already. So if everything is there already, why do things yourself? What remains of things to do yourself is very small scaled in Holland." (Student, Interview 9)

"Things should not be too finished. I like the idea of having the freedom of designing my own house." (Student, Interview 1)

"Everything in Holland is planned and regulated. The water system, the light system, parks, everything is being made centrally. You always see a nice difference when you go to Belgium. It looks like people do their own things and the government does not bother that much. In Holland all trees are in a line, it is all planned. I don't like it. You can get more community if people have more a say in these things too." (Student, Interview 9)

"I would love to be involved in a project like that. To be surrounded by inspiring and creative people and to be able actually to do something with my ideas." (Artist, Interview 25)

"I like working with my hands, I like to make things. I would like to live in an environment where I could apply my skills, where I could add something to the neighborhood. When everybody puts their skills together, you can go real far, you can realize a lot. If you can make everything yourself, then money is not so important, it is second place. Maybe one person can build a wall, the other can do carpentry, and you can help one another. You can do things for each other. Because there is not enough communication between people, it has become more that everybody lives for themselves. These things are missing. I would make a playfield for kids, where they can play, with castles and everything. Those are the things I would like to do. Children are the future. If they have a good time, people stay in the neighborhood and that forms a good community. So if people add their skills, they add something to the environment." (Student, Interview 16)

"It would be nice to grow into a place. First with a mobile home and later maybe you build a house. If you look for a house now you look and see what is free, just what is available, what is already there. It would be nice to make it exactly as you like it to be. You can have your bathroom exactly where you want it to be, the window exactly where it is right, shaping your house and your environment." (Student, Interview 3)

"The problem is mainly money for buying the materials, because you have always friends who know to do things that you don't know how to do yourself. That is more attractive than paying high rent for a place that is all fixed and set. It becomes really your own thing. It gives you the idea that it is really yours." (Starter family, Interview 21)

"For me it would be attractive that there would be a structure but also some room to change and shape and make it your own. Flexible elements maybe, that you can determine yourself. Something left up to peoples own creativity. Like an outside place, a courtyard, a garden. A public area maybe, where everyone can contribute their ideas. That is also a good idea to get to know each other." (Student, Interview 1)

"In the plans it always is a nice picture, but in real life it is different. Like the park in my neighborhood. On the plan it looks nice, but nobody uses it, because there are so many ducks and geese and dogs that make so much shit, that you can't really sit on the grass. But nobody does anything about it either, because you wait for the municipality to do something about it." (Student, Interview 16)

"What I don't like in the Netherlands, there are so many restrictions about doing anything yourself around your house or your area. If you want to build a little shed you have to ask the government, can I build a shed, then it has to be in the local paper, and people have the right to complain. There has to be more freedom around making some things, doing some things on your own. I don't want to explain everything to everyone, there has to be some room for a more free way of living and not a lot of regulations." (Student, Interview 2)

"If there would be possibilities to develop something I really like, space to develop my own ideas. Not everything structured beforehand or by the community, but that there would be space for me to do my own thing, that would be attractive to me." (Student, Interview 1)

"I like new things. It would be nice to try, just to see how it works. It is also nice to know it is temporary. So I can try it out. It is nice to know that I can move on when I don't like it anymore, like nomads, I like that idea. A certain freedom." (Artist, Interview 7)

Liveliness and Community

Pioneer energy is also generated by the wish for community and a diverse and lively environment. The majority of the people we interviewed found their neighborhoods lacking in social contact. More contact and communication between neighbors proved to be an appealing aspect of the temporary settlement.

"Where I live there is little contact with the neighbors, we greet and that is it. If I need advice or help I go to my friends, not to the neighbors. There is not much contact here. People don't visit one another. For me the most important thing in a neighborhood is communication. Where I come from if you come somewhere new then all the neighbors come over to you with presents. Also when you have a problem everybody comes by. That might not help you solve the problem, but at least everybody shows that they are with you. Here you don't have that. I have visitors only from outside the neighborhood. The contacts here are not deep. The social atmosphere is rather cold." (Refugee, Interview 11)

"In The Netherlands you may have a beautiful house, but it is only for you. I live lonely here. People from other countries are used to having other people involved in their life. That was their way of life in their homeland. They are used to living with more social contact. Only working and earning money, where is the element of friendship, of community, of people to talk to? This could be an attraction of the temporary settlement." (Refugee, Interview 18)

"When you live in an apartment in town, you do not have much contact. I know my neighbors to the right of me. The rest I don't know. There is no social contact. You don't look at each other. When you are in an elevator, you all look to the other side, wait till it is your floor and then quickly out of it." (Student, Interview 16)

"I like people, the idea of meeting people. For me there needs to be some outside force for me to make contacts. If I have to do it myself, I shut myself up more. So I would like places where I am forced to meet other people, so that I am forced to learn about being with people. That way I can learn. A structure that forces me to be more outgoing is good for me." (Starter family, Interview 21)

"I think it is nice and interesting such a settlement. When there are other creative people around, that gives much energy. A nice mix. It could be very exciting. I imagine it to be like a student house on a larger scale. There would be many people from all different kinds of directions, doing different things. You could learn so much from one another. You would have to be outdoors more if you are smaller housed. If somebody comes home crying from a bad examination you know exactly how it feels, because we have all had that and that way you can support and that is also very inspiring." (Student, Interview 23)

"I went to public school. The majority of students were from foreign countries. I got to know a lot of things in that school from other countries. I enjoyed that. I would like a diverse community like that." (Student, Interview 9)

"It could be like the camping feeling. At home you never talk to your neighbor, but you do on the camping. You talk to people you would normally never talk to. You meet people. You are more free." (Student, Interview 3)

"In the Mediterranean cultures there is more of a public culture. Imagine for example peeling the potatoes in front of the door. It gives another social constellation. Where I live it is difficult because of the cars, but if there was space I would sit out with a beer or so." (Student, Interview 16)

"I need inspiration, need to be where the action is. I learn from communication, so a temporary settlement like that could be interesting for me under that aspect. Anything that brings new stories is interesting. I need to be exposed to new experiences, new inspirations." (Refugee, Interview 13)

"Something simple would do. Contact and communication are the most important for me. I would rather live in a tent with neighbors than in a palace with no people." (Refugee, Interview 11)

Non Pioneers

Some of the people we interviewed clearly identified themselves as non-pioneers, or went for the option of 'part time pioneer'. The entrepreneur spirit does not appeal to everybody, nor does the prospect of involvement in collective projects. Some respondents clearly had other priorities and options for their life and for others the location of Schuytgraaf did not seem urban enough and too far from the city center.

"I think I am not someone to start my own business. I think I need more safety. I would not like to have too much risk. I want to have a job for safety reasons. My own business, you need to organize so much things, I don't like to have to organize so much things. Next to my job I want to do my own things like traveling. I need space and time to do that." (Student, Interview 4)

"I want to work in my field, find a job, make money, get a position in the work world. I don't know how to place that in a community. What is my role, my position there? How would I earn my money? I want a job in my profession. What would people expect of me, when I come home from work? I also like the safety of a job." (Starter Family, Interview 12)

"I want my freedom to find out what I want. I don't want to join anything for the time being. I am still finding myself out. And when I do know what my thing is, I think I will be determined to follow through on it. And I don't know if there is a place for the kind of freedom I need and community together. I want to learn to do things on my own, to be able to do things myself. It is necessary for me to learn to manage things alone. If I want things, to learn how do I manage to get it. I basically want to learn to be somebody on my own." (Student, Interview 17)

"I like the idea and the inspiring environment it will create. The problem is that I am in a confusing period of my life right now. The temporality and active involvement in such a project at this moment does not attract me. I have got to start thinking about what I want with my life. I need my own permanent place and a solid job. Three years ago I would have been very enthusiastic, but now participating in something like that would simply take too much of my energy. I am the type of person that invests in other people when I do things and while doing I forget about myself. For me it is hard to find a balance. For me it would only be interesting if the project would offer me a place to live for at least six or seven years, so I could create my own place and see the long term results of what I invest into the project." (Artist, Interview 26)

Part-Time Pioneers

The 'part time pioneers' were mainly attracted by the entrepreneur spirit, but they had housing of sufficiently quality to not be interested in living in the settlement. The option of part time pioneer brings a further group to the temporary settlement: people who like the idea and want to contribute actively by working the land, building, planning an event

or starting a business, while not joining as a permanent inhabitant. Another interesting group for the option of part-time pioneer are seniors who enjoy the liveliness and level of services in the temporary settlement and live there periodically.

"For me such a project could be interesting as something I join when I retire, which is coming up soon. I still have a lot of energy. I might not want to buy a house there, but I could imagine renting one of the cottages there in the summer, spending my summers in an inspiring environment." (Senior, Interview 27)

"I would like to come there some times, not live there always, but maybe in summer, join things in summer, be out in nature in summer. So I would be a pioneer on a part time basis. That would interest me, take part in some projects, but not the whole thing." (Student, Interview 2)

"I actually like the idea not so much for living there, but for the activities. Is it possible also to join as a part time pioneer?" (Artist, Interview 6)

"I am attracted to the many services that a temporary settlement could offer. At the moment I don't need them, but I can foresee a time, where I would like to have the option of living at a location where neighborhood services are readily available. And maybe there could also be options for more luxurious units in the temporary settlement." (Senior, Interview 28)

III) Concerns and Issues

Long Term Perspective

The temporary aspect of the settlement can be attractive for people who like adventures, change and mobility, for people in intermediary stages in their lives or for people who have few other options and see the settlement as a welcome stepping stone, a chance to get started. For others a more long term perspective is of major concern.

"Moving is the worst thing there is, I hate it. So if I move to something, it should not be temporary." (Starter Family, Interview 10)

"What I don't like about the project is the temporary part of it. You are not a pioneer by nature, but because you have goals that go beyond the project. If I would do something like that, I would like to be sure that it is a permanent thing. Building a settlement from social structures, not from physical or economical structures appeals to me. But I would like to know that it is connected to a long term future. I like to contribute to building a community, if it is not a temporary thing, not if what you build up dies after a few years. It is your home, you have built it, it is your nest, it is part of you. So if a contractor decides to do something else with it, it is like a nest fallen off a tree." (Student, Interview 1)

Privacy

As much as a greater sense of community, more contact and social cohesion was mentioned as desirable in almost all interviews, a major concern was that this should not exclude individuality and privacy.

"There should be an area, where you can be private. If you want to be private, you can go there. And then there is a part where you can expose yourself, when you

want contact with your neighbors, that is the place where you can find them and make contact. So maybe a little area outside. A social space, maybe in nature, but also an inside place.” (Student, Interview 3)

“I think the ideal situation is when people know each other a little bit. Not too much. Not that everyone knows everything about you, or that everyone wants to have a say in your life. People should be able to do as they like.” (Student, Interview 23)

“Sharing a toilet, the shower or the kitchen, I don’t like that. When you want to have it clean, it is dirty, when you don’t feel like cleaning, the other person has visitors and it needs to be cleaned. What I like is sharing outside space, like a big terrace, a patio, a garden or a courtyard. Outside you can share everything, inside it should be private.” (Student, Interview 16)

Managing Diversity

One of the aspects that makes the temporary settlement attractive for pioneers, is the diversity that is associated with it. However, that is also a cause of concern, about how to deal with differences and potential conflicts. The fact that different groups were identified that share a common set of motivations does not automatically guarantee harmony between these groups. On many other levels their life styles, interests and motives can differ. How to create an open, non-normative atmosphere, how to prevent segregation into different sub-groups, how to create agreements and rules that work for all involved, are issues that need to be addressed in the temporary settlement, to which concrete experiences and suggestions were also related. The Neighborhood Academy described in the next chapter will have an important role to play in dealing with these issues.

“I like the idea of having different kinds of people. But there can also be conflicts. It takes a lot of communication. And you also need time for such a process.” (Student, Interview 2)

“I don’t feel comfortable sometimes with the foreign people living in my neighborhood. Their culture is a bit strange to me, they speak very loud on the street. We don’t speak with each other, I do not understand the language they speak in and it is not what I am used to. I try to understand the different habits, I think it is important to understand what is around you, so there would need to be an exchange and mutual understanding. If there would be people who give feed back, who invest in each other, who are interested to contribute and communicate, that would be good.” (Student, Interview 24)

“In neighborhoods there is always things that cause conflict. Noise, cleanliness, different habits and life styles. It would be good to have some conflict mediation available.” (Starter family, Interview 21)

“There needs to be a starting point, some project, some activity, where people can get to know each other. People change how they perceive things when they get to know each other. The Dutch people start getting more comfortable with people from different cultures and the refugees also start adapting to their new environment. They learn that things that worked at home don’t work in the new environment and they lighten up, they become more open too.” (Refugee, Interview 18)

“Will there be any guidance or process for the people that want to live there? Because it is something really new. So I need some kind of guidance to help me start, some kind of activity I can join, some kind of process that is laid out, that makes it easier to participate.” (Student, Interview 3)

"To prevent problems you need to put in a negotiation structure. You can create committees in which everyone can have his or her say and within which consensus can be reached. You can also have representatives who keep an eye on everything and if there are conflicts look for a solution based on common sense. This is done in some 'living-working' communities. It works." (Artist, Interview 26)

Freedom

Another issue concerns the amount of involvement that is expected in the settlement. For most respondents it was important that this be spelled out clearly and that there be a wide range of options from just living in the settlement to participating fully in the organization and management of the settlement and its activities. The freedom to choose the kind and intensity of involvement was strongly stressed.

"It would be a problem if one would be obliged to do something. If that would be expected of you. A project like that will only work when you do it with fun, when you contribute voluntarily and what you are good at. When you can do things you like. You need to choose for something like this." (Student, Interview 16)

"I would need for it to be free, what you contribute. Not just because you did a good job of being the disc jockey at the party, you are expected to do that every time from then on. The atmosphere should not make you feel pressed down by duties." (Student, Interview 3)

Linking to the Surroundings

An important issue people were concerned with was the issue of staying a part of overall society, not becoming a closed shop, an isolated island with no links to the surrounding environment. The attraction of the temporary settlement was seen in being something for 'regular' people, not only for an 'alternative scene'. Making sure it stays in contact with mainstream values and perspectives was emphasized.

"There has to be a link to what is outside, it should not be a closed society. The temporary settlement should function as part of the whole, something like an integrated outsider. It has to fit to what is around it." (Student, Interview 23)

"There needs to be integration between the settlement and the others, there should be things one does together. There should be things that will attract people from outside the settlement, like a good restaurant or attractive activities." (Student, Interview 2)

"It should not get too alternative, too extreme, not a complete world in itself, where newcomers would not fit in. Not a bunch of crazy people outside of society." (Starter family, Interview 21)

"I do think the settlement could work, but it would have to mingle with the citizens around. If not you get a clique of people that are considered strange and different. It could work because the activities and services will allow people to see for themselves what it is all about and that it is very different from what they might have thought before, that they would lose any prejudices." (Student, Interview 1)

IV) The ideal Neighborhood - A Village in the City

The image coming out of the interviews of the ideal neighborhood can be summarized as 'a village in the city': a mixture of the social cohesion still common in rural areas and the individuality available in more urban contexts, a combination of green and close to nature and action and urban activities. The diversity of a metropolitan center, linked to a smaller and more comfortable scale. We see the Nest! as having a lot potential to come close to this dream.

"I like when it is busy and alive and there is contact, when there are children as well as elderly, when it is very diverse, when there are always people sitting outside and a lot of activity going on. I don't like it when people do their social activities and working activities somewhere else. I think a community should have all aspects integrated. That makes it more interesting to live there. There must be chances for a lot of contact, for social activities, so that I would not have to go elsewhere."
(Student, Interview 1)

"In a way a mixture of where I come from (a small village) and the city. Some green, some nature as well as spaces to meet. That you can live on your own, but in a good social climate. So that the people who live there do not shut themselves off. A bunch of people with different backgrounds, different ways of thinking, different life styles, but living with each other, not just next to each other." (Student, Interview 16)

"I love to stand on my balcony and look at what is happening outside and which people are passing by. It is very lively. The only thing I miss is green. A park or a simple grassfield surrounded by trees where people can lay down to enjoy the weather in summer. A place to hang out and meet each other. Although there is a community center in the neighborhood, the area in my opinion lacks nice meeting places. In such a settlement you could really have both, a lively atmosphere and nature. I really like the idea and the freedom it brings." (Artist, Interview 25)

"I like variety. There should be park, water, a big space to meet. And the houses should not all look the same. If you go by bike it is depressing if everything looks the same. There should be variety in architecture as well as the kind of people living there." (Student, Interview 9)

"It needs to have a bit of everything. Central, busy, contact and people to talk to, but also peace, green, say an oasis in the midst of a busy area." (Student, Interview 24)

"I want green and quiet, but I want to live near where the action is, where I can go there by bike, only 10 minutes away. There needs to be choices. I don't want to sit on the couch every evening enjoying the nature around me. I want to be able to go out and be able to meet people easily, be a part of life." (Starter family, Interview 21)

"I think it is bad for a neighborhood if one place is only for living, and in the middle of the living area there is a big space, and this is for shopping. I don't like that. I like the idea that shops and cafes are mixed in, then you really have a living street. Otherwise the streets in the residential areas get dead." (Student, Interview 3)

"In the city the contrast between your own private space and public space is too big. There should be a midway between it. A part of your personal area that is also a public area. An area where you sit, close to home, but that also can be occupied by other people. A social part in your area, and then also a larger public space."

That is a good way to create community, that there are spaces in the neighborhood where you meet and face each other and make contact.” (Student, Interview 1)

“Not like everybody knows and controls you, where you feel bad if you open your door or your window shades 5 minutes late, but also not like the anonymous and impersonal atmosphere of big apartment houses. That you know people you can talk to or that can help you. More like a village inside a city. That people know each other without poking their nose in your life. Where people recognize you, where you have a face, but where you also can feel free to be who you are, and where people can be diverse and different.” (Student, Interview 16)

“Maybe a courtyard, a place where it is easy to make contact. Small parks, small things you could share, like a tennis court or something. I love privacy, but I also like communication with people. And that is missing the most. It is not balanced in most places where people live.” (Student, Interview 2)

“Much of the criticism of new settlements and high rises have to do with the scale of it all. It is so big that you as an individual become unimportant, you are just a number. It is important that you are not a zero in your neighborhood, that you stay a person, the person from next door or whatever.” (Refugee, Interview 11)

V) Resources and Assets

Blocked Talent and Energy

The temporary settlement opens up opportunities and structures for blocked potential in society. Key motivations of the pioneers groups we identified are linked to the fact, that they do not find regular channels in society to apply their interests and their skills. The qualification system that rules out competencies and skills that are not formally certified, the labor market that tends to be biased against migrants, hierarchical structures that limit the scope of self-expression and self determination in professional fields, can function as blockages towards resources and assets of those who get excluded by these systems. This creates a loss of talent and energy for society. The Nest! suggests to make better use of untapped talent and potential, by offering opportunities for it to enter society.

Asylum seekers are often the elite, the thinkers, the writers and the entrepreneurs of the countries they come from. They often have high qualifications, that however are not recognized by the qualification system of the host country. They also often are the ones with initiative and a lot of energy. It takes courage and determination to leave ones home country and to be willing to start anew.

Scarcity and lack of choices can spark off initiative, creativity and the willingness to invest extra time and energy. Poor neighborhoods are often vibrant with economic activities. Young people and artists often have surplus ideas and energy that do not find channels of expression through regular structures and circuits.

“I want to think about my future, I want to build up a professional future here. I taught myself Dutch on my own, at night, with a book, when I had time. I did not have the time to go to the language courses during day time. I got my certificate, I passed the exam, I made three documentary films in the time I was in the asylum seeker center, which have been shown on Dutch TV. I have made a lot of contacts, I want to get somewhere in this country. But we are only offered the lowest, most unattractive jobs.

I have 11 years of experience in TV production, also in audio and visual techniques, in sound and light, a lot of specialized knowledge, but this society is not interested.” (Refugee, Interview 13)

“All I want is the space and opportunity to do my thing!” (Artist, Interview 6)

“My neighbor is from Turkey and is trying to work his way up. He starts working in the morning at seven as a cleaner and then in the afternoon he has a second job at a fast food place. He really is a hard worker and he wants to open a greengrocer shop in our neighborhood. That is being made impossible by our local supermarket, who requests that in a radius of so many kilometer around their supermarket there will be no greengrocers. But we, the inhabitants of the neighborhood want a greengrocer, not just a supermarket. It is nice to have small shops and when there are hardworking people who are willing to go for it they should have a chance. It really irritates us to death. There are no little shops, no cafes in the neighborhood, the small cheese shop we had closed down. I am leaving the neighborhood, which I experience as quite a defeat” (Inhabitant of town extension settlement Leidsche Rijn in Utrecht)

Skills and Services

Pioneers have developed skills from different areas of their lives, from their education and qualifications, from job experiences (also in the informal sector), from voluntary activities, from work in the family and the community, from living in different countries, from cultural traditions, from building their own houses and doing all maintenance chores themselves, from engaging in sports or creative arts.

We envision a large range of services and small businesses serving the temporary settlement itself, the newly developed community at large, as well as adjacent neighborhoods. These services are provided by pioneer groups that target gaps in general services and special needs, for instance of elderly or of task combiners. Often regular services that support the combining of work and family responsibilities are not flexible enough, are located too far away or are too expensive. A range of additional close to home services could include services like baby sitting at irregular times, supervised playgrounds, dog walking, cleaning and maintenance, car washing, janitor and repair services, elder care, laundry and ironing services, health and sport services, body and beauty care, projects for youth, as well as second hand shops, a plant shop for easy to grow garden plants, restaurants, entertainment, tailor shops, interior design and other building related businesses.

“I could organize and manage a youth organization, a soccer club. Or I could organize summer camps, or cleaning up the environment events. I am very good with youngsters.” (Student, Interview 3)

“I like nature. I could do nature excursions. The Schuytgraaf area is very lush and beautiful. Marvelous nature has developed there. I could lead people around and show them the beauties of their environment.” (Starter Family, Interview 10)

“I like to organize things. I could talk to people, check on their ideas and draw up business plans. I could organize activities and events. I could also use my IT background and teach children how to use a computer.” (Refugee, Interview 19)

“We had a big garden at home, I know a lot about gardening. I would like to do something with that. Maybe organize a public garden, or grow seedlings to sell, or create a service to help people with their gardens, if they do not have enough time to tend to them.” (Refugee, 15)

"In my country I worked with street children as a volunteer. You can help them a lot by talking with them, by listening to them and by simply being with them. It is just great to work with children, whatever their background is.

I would like to pick up that kind of activity again, do something with young people"
(Refugee, Interview 20)

"At home I cooked for big family celebrations and other large occasions. I am very good at that. I also took care of an elderly uncle for years. I am good with elder people. I could use a lot of skills from working in our large family. It is what I am good at and what I like to do." (Refugee, Interview 8)

"There is a services-cluster in our neighborhood, where all child-related functions are clustered together. That is practical, but for most people it is far away. As a result people have to use cars to bring their kids to school. This gives traffic jams and everybody gets irritated and people shout. So the city says that we should be more environmentally friendly and not use cars. If you have only one child you can take the bike, but most people have two or three so they use their cars. It would be better to have services closer by." (Inhabitant of town extension project Leidsche Rijn in Utrecht).

Time and Presence

The social quality of a neighborhood depends on people who have time and presence to invest into their environment. Time and presence are resources that are often overlooked as important assets and aspects of social capital. Presence is a crucial prerequisite contributing to the safety of neighborhoods. Social contact depends on people being both physically and psychologically available, being there and having time. For neighborhoods to be secure and alive, there need to be people living there that have some degree of time and willingness to spend time in their neighborhood. The pioneers inhabiting the temporary settlement can play an important balancing role in this respect as newly built neighborhoods tend to be populated by people who spend very little time in their neighborhood.

"People who have time, make people feel at home in a neighborhood" (Starter family, Interview 10)

"When I know my neighbors and when I know people in my neighborhood, I feel safe." (Student, Interview 24)

"People want safety especially for their children, but they often do not know how to provide it all by their own small family unit. In this sense, it is important to have neighbors and people on the streets that can keep an eye on things." (Starter Family, Interview 21)

Art and Events

An important contribution to make a location well-known, attractive and alive are cultural and art events, fun and entertainment. Pioneers with creative talents and energy are looking for opportunities to apply their skills, to find an audience. The settlement could attract such potential and become a focal point for interesting cultural events. Space that can be used temporarily is very interesting for experimental art as well as for festivals, circuses, theatre performances and music events. Such events can be a strong factor in creating a positive image for the new neighborhood as the place to go, the place where things happen.

"We are always looking for occasions to have exhibitions. Why not in the Nest? It would be interesting to do something there in public space, to get into dialogue with inhabitants, to do something different." (Artist, Interview 7)

Chapter 4: Communities as Learning Organizations – The Neighborhood Academy

I) Introduction

In this chapter we introduce the Neighborhood Academy as a community development and mobilization instrument. It serves to identify and mobilize the skills and knowledge resources of the pioneers and helps the settlement grow together by organizing reflective space and collective learning processes. Communities need places to exchange knowledge and information, to consolidate ideas and visions, goals and plans. The Academy is such a place. The Academy plays an important role in creating resident participation and ownership of the development process.

The Neighborhood Academy is designed along the lines of a community development approach called Asset Based Community Development or the “ABCD approach” that develops communities “from the inside out”. It also draws on the experiences of the Grassroots Women’s International Academy (GWIA)⁵², a bottom up approach to knowledge generation. In this chapter we describe the empowering potential of a community education approach. Participants become more informed, more skilled, more confident in valuing their own experiences and applying their knowledge and talents to the benefit of the community. We outline the basic curricular elements of a Neighborhood Academy and describe how it serves to anchor the process of engaging the local community in the development of the neighborhood.

II) The ABCD Approach

Approaching communities from the viewpoint of resourcefulness rather than from a problem or needs perspective stems from the community organizing traditions in the USA. The Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) approach was developed by Kretzmann and McKnight in the early nineties as an alternative to state welfare dependency, also in light of the continued budget cut backs and restraints in federal policy.

“A strong community is a place that recognizes the capacity of every living person as a gift and ensures that these gifts are given. A weak community is a place where lots of people cannot give their gifts and express their capacities.”⁵³

Conventional social work and welfare programs tend to focus on a community’s needs, deficiencies and problems. They set up programs and services as an answer to these needs and problems. Communities thus benefit from problems; the more lamentable their situation, the more chance they have to access resources. This is still by far the most traveled path and commands the vast majority of the financial and human resources in the social sector:

⁵² The Grassroots Women’s International Academy (GWIA) was designed and initiated by members of the Mother Centers International Network (mine) in cooperation with GROOTS International and the Huairou Commission. The inauguration GWIA was conducted as part of the Expo 2000 in Germany. See also Monika Jaeckel: The GWIA Handbook and www.gwia.net.

⁵³ Quotes in this chapter are from Kretzmann, J./McKnight, J. (1993) Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community’s Assets, Chicago

"Viewing a community as a nearly endless list of problems and needs leads directly to the much lamented fragmentation of efforts to provide solutions. It also denies the basic community wisdom which regards problems as tightly intertwined, as symptoms in fact of the breakdown of a community's own problem-solving capacities. Targeting resources based on the needs map directs funding not to residents but to service providers, a consequence not always either planned for or effective... Providing resources on a needs-based analysis underlines the perception that only outside experts can provide real help. Therefore, the relationships that count most for local residents are no longer inside the community, those neighbor-to-neighbor links of mutual support and problem solving. Rather, the most important relationships are those that involve the expert, the social worker, the health provider, the founder. The glue that binds communities together is weakened.. a maintenance and survival strategy is ensured targeted at isolated individual clients, not at a development plan that can involve the energies of an entire community."

Concentrating on Resources rather than on Problems

The alternative path aims at the development of policies based on the capacities, skills and assets of the people living in a community. People are engaged as citizens (rather than as clients) to take interest and responsibility in the development of their communities. This path aims at developing strategies to involve the local community to invest their resources and efforts in shaping their environment. Communities then are not served top down or from the outside in, but built from the inside out. Hereby valuable outside support can and usually also needs to be provided. Outside resources, however, can be much more effectively used if the local community is fully mobilized and invested in the process and can clearly define for themselves what can be solved locally, and for what areas resources must be attained from outside.

"The key to neighborhood regeneration then, is to locate all of the available local assets, to begin connecting them with one another in ways that multiply their power and effectiveness, and to begin harnessing those local institutions that are not yet available for local development purposes."

Assets are defined as the skills and talents of the individuals, households and families living in the community. Very often there are many local resources that are not made use of for community-building purposes. The ABCD approach especially focuses on groups that are usually counted out, because they are considered too young, too old, too poor, culturally not integrated or physically or mentally handicapped.

Assets are also seen in the associational life of communities, in common interest groups, associations and local institutions with cultural, religious, athletic, recreational and other purposes. They can often be enlisted beyond their original intentions, to become major contributors to a community development process. Just as individual talents and skills often stay hidden and unrealized, the social capital embedded in relationships among people through social, kinship or association networks often is not recognized as a valuable asset.

Weaving the Social Tissues

An important part of the ABCD approach is focused on relationship building, on the processes that fuel local associations and informal networks and the development of a sense of interdependence and social cohesion. The approach stresses the importance of relationship building for individuals and groups in the community, and of counteracting the forces that drive people apart.

These include increased mobility, the separation of work and residence, mass media, segregating by race, class and age, increased dependence upon outside professionalized helpers.

Different groups and players in the community, often stay disparate and unconnected. Stimulating creative synergy effects, by fostering contacts between them, are an important part of community relationship building. The process of connecting groups and linking community assets to one another, can greatly enhance their power and effectiveness.

"Ancient villages often centered their lives around the village well. The well was much more than a place which offered water. It was a nerve center for the entire community, a place where gossip, stories, and information of all kinds was exchanged. Obviously, the capacity to exchange information is central to the success of community building.. As an integral part of the community building agenda, plans for increasing the capacity of the community to exchange its own definitions, plans and vital stories must be set in motion."

The ABCD approach constructs a new lens, through which communities can begin to assemble their strengths and knowledge into new combinations, new structures of opportunity, new sources of income, influence and control, and new possibilities for the future.

Using ABCD in the Nest!

The success of the temporary settlement will largely depend on the capacity to recognize and identify the skills and talents of the residents of both the settlement and the community at large, and mobilizing them for the development of the community. This involves strengthening people's awareness and confidence in their own capacities and inspiring them to contribute these capacities. Collaborative efforts for social and economic development need to be developed, that focus on and make use of the local resources. The Neighborhood Academy is designed as a major tool in this process. Creating collective learning processes is a valid way to bring out tacit social, cultural and educational capital in communities as well as to enhance community relationship building. This same process also supports the people in the community in growing together and gaining control over the circumstances of their lives and their immediate environment.

The five ABCD Steps towards Community Mobilization

1. Mapping all the capacities and assets of individuals, associations and local institutions.
 2. Building relationships among local assets, for mutually beneficial problem-solving within the community.
 3. Mobilizing the community's assets fully, for economic development and information sharing purposes.
 4. Convening as broadly representative a group as possible, for the purposes of building a community vision and plan.
 5. Leveraging activities, investments and resources from outside the community to support asset-based, locally defined development.
-
-

III) Community Education with the Neighborhood Academy

The Neighborhood Academy supports the temporary settlement by providing and organizing educational processes targeted both at the individual inhabitants as well as at the community as a whole. Community education in the Academy is part of an educational approach, where education is seen as a life-long learning as well as a community empowerment process.

Community Education as an Empowerment Tool

Community education has been highlighted as one of the nine principles of a lifelong learning strategy, as adopted by the European Council of Education Ministers. It is seen as a tool to enable individuals and local communities to cope more effectively with a rapidly changing society. It creates an enabling environment for an active participation of all citizens in democratic processes. Community education is promoted as a way to empower residents and local communities. It encourages them to take a more active part and assume more responsibility for their own (life-long) education and learning process. Finally it is seen as a way to promote a continuing social, cultural, political and economic development of the individual and the local community.

Community education is a learning system, outside of institutions and outside of prescribed educational curricula. It is an educational process aiming at a greater awareness of the internal and external factors shaping the community. It enables communities to understand the realities of their own lives and to gain the skills, information and attitudes needed to realize their own goals and intentions. Community education helps participants to develop solutions to any issues of the communities they live in.

One of the elements of approaching education as an empowerment tool is to use it to challenge and counteracts social, economic, psychological and mental structures that impede the development of full individual and collective potential. Such limitations may vary for the various groups in the community. They can grow out of language barriers, or the loss of self confidence through the experience of discrimination, prejudice or lack of encouragement. They can be caused by the lack of acknowledgement of multiple forms of intelligence or they can stem out of economic limitations and a lack of privileges and opportunities, as well as a lack of personal attention and validation for special talents. Community education bridges private and public issues by linking the roots of individually experienced learning barriers to structural issues as well as by opening up space for blocked creativity to unfold.

In Community Education methods and approaches are geared towards counteracting negative prior learning experiences or failures in the mainstream education system as well as infrastructural barriers and limitations. Programs are located in the neighborhood and are easily accessible. Care goes into designing an non-intimidating and emotionally safe learning environment. Courses are adapted to the family and life situation of participants. Timing is adapted to real life schedules, childcare needs are taken into account. Age limits or any other eligibility criteria are dropped. Methods are used that enhance creativity and confidence in personal learning styles.

The Nest! as an "Educational Campus"

The Neighborhood Academy aims at organizing a process, that supports inhabitants to identify and recognize the challenges they as individuals and as a community face. Such an approach does not start from scratch.

It draws from knowledge and skills people have acquired in and outside of classrooms. Prior experience is a vital part of the process. Experience is seen as expertise and importance is given to sharing and learning from experience. Education is delivered by becoming involved, by taking action and reflecting on the outcome.

Community education challenges the monopoly of professionals in knowledge building and knowledge delivering. Knowledge building is seen instead as an extension of expertise based on the school of life and everyday experience. Learning is not imposed by outside frameworks or agendas, but defined and driven by the interests and needs of the community. The curriculum grows out of peoples interests and life plans as well as from their concerns about their families and the neighborhood.

Inhabitants are supported in mobilizing their own skills, resources and cultural traditions to develop solutions for the challenges they face and to improve their personal and community life. An important part of mobilizing local knowledge resources involves organizing time and space for individual and collective reflection. This can take the shape of assessments of the skills and talents available in the settlement, as well as of collective reflection sessions of current experiences and situations in the settlement. The Neighborhood Academy turns the temporary settlement into an "educational campus".

The Neighborhood Academy is a space of interaction and learning across cultures and generations. It is a place to collectively envision the future, a place to link personal experience to structural knowledge and information. In the Neighborhood Academy knowledge and expertise is assessed from all areas of life. Experience and know-how from informal settings is transformed into self and collectively owned knowledge and competence. This involves a process of conscious awareness raising, analysis, and documentation of skills gathered from the full range of biographical life experience as well as stimulating new skills and learning through a process of opening up motivations and new mental and experimental horizons. The discovery that possibilities exist beyond the range of previous knowledge, beliefs and expectations, opens up new learning possibilities and supports innovative initiatives and creative endeavors.

Functions and Tasks of the Nest! Academy

- * Assessment of the knowledge resources present in the community
 - * Development of skills audits and assessment techniques for local knowledge
 - * Stimulation of creativity and pioneer energy
 - * Inclusion and integration of marginalized groups
 - * Empowerment of women
 - * Development of local leadership
 - * Monitoring of a collective community vision building process
 - * Stimulation of reflection about the neighborhood
 - * Guiding a process of prioritization and decision making
 - * Identifying the knowledge required to further develop the community
 - * Supporting the community in developing their own image and identity
 - * Supporting the community in developing economic initiatives
 - * Strengthening the community's capacity to exchange information and knowledge
 - * Strengthening and encouraging people to actively participate in civil society
 - * Developing the capacities of residents for active participation in local decision making
 - * Developing the resilience of communities to cope with changes in the community
 - * Supporting the community in planning the future
 - * Organizing residents to take the lead in further development-plans
-
-

Learning as a Process of Community Building

In the Community Academy all experiences become opportunities for learning and knowledge building. Anything that anyone in the community has ever experienced and anything that happens in the community, can become a lesson. Individuals as well as the community can learn from these experiences. Through a structured process of analysis and reflection, the community becomes a "learning organization". Community learning includes constructive criticism, and the continuous analysis of what is to be learned from what went wrong, and from what went well, and what could be done differently. By collectively harvesting the learnings generated through the activities and experiences in the settlement, the whole community process becomes constructive and educational. Education and learning become a process of enriching and replenishing community resources and competencies.

In contrast to mainstream educational systems that target the individual, the Neighborhood Academy aims at capacity building for the whole community. Education and development efforts go beyond individual and personal development. They are geared towards enhancing a sense of interdependency and mutual support, of cooperative achievement and community development. Community education develops relational processes that result in a body of knowledge that is larger than the sum of individual capacities. This includes bridging and "culturally translating" between knowledge held in disperse and unconnected sectors of society as well as between theory and practice.

Transformational Learning

Community education is geared towards facilitating people's understanding of the forces which shape their lives and the lives of other groups in the community. The community is used as a resource for learning, as is learning used as a resource for the community. Learning comes in holistic packages. It is linked to real life motivations and applied to real life situations.

Participants learn how to reclaim and access their own personal and collective knowledge and power. They discover how to actively seek and welcome new learning and new knowledge. They expand their minds and their scope of action. Knowledge becomes a living element with the potential to touch people's lives. Learning is not a process of creating a stock of commodities to file away or add to ones credentials. Learning has the power to stimulate and educate action, to inspire and make a difference.

Methods and Approaches of Community Education

- * Peer learning
 - * Experiential learning
 - * Story telling and oral history
 - * Portfolio approach
 - * Collaborative versus competitive learning
 - * Unleashing the power of asking questions
 - * Appreciative inquiry
 - * Creativity workshops
 - * Acknowledging multiple types of intelligence and learning styles
 - * Linking to skills and strengths as well as addressing boundaries
 - * Taking active responsibility for one's own learning
 - * Opening up minds and attitudes
 - * Taking time to step back and analyze experiences
 - * Quality control through peer feedback
 - * Role Model learning
 - * Ongoing learning spiral: reflect, act, evaluate, act on higher level
-

-
-
- * Linking personal experience to analysis of overall structures and conditions
 - * Linking individual coping techniques to collective problem solving
 - * Looking for resources in the community first, then from outside sources
-
-

IV) Basic Curricular Elements of a Neighborhood Academy

The Nest! Academy acts as a repository of community knowledge as well as an agent to transfer required outside knowledge to the community level. The curriculum is shaped by two processes. The Academy helps to generate and extract the knowledge resources available in the community. And it helps to identify and define information gaps and outside knowledge requirements for the development of the community. Trainings are conducted by people from within the community as well as by people from outside. A special focus of the Nest! Academy will be to link the knowledge and expertise of international grassroots groups to the community building process in the temporary settlement by conducting Grassroots Women's International Academies (GWIA).

A core curriculum as sketched out below is central to supporting the process of organizing the temporary settlement as a learning community. Many further activities and programs of the Nest! Academy will be shaped in the process of the temporary settlement

Mobilizing the Community

What often happens with public programs is that projects are implemented, but they are not sustainable, because no investment has been made in empowering the community as such. When there are cut backs in funding and jobs, the project collapses. What is needed is investment in the knowledge and skills of the community and in setting up a sustainable infrastructure for community building. That way community cohesion and the capacity to design and implement solutions of their own, can grow." (Ford Foundation, USA)

The Neighborhood Academy can be instrumental in mobilizing the community in many ways:

A central part of community development from the inside out, is to gather local information. It is important to have clear information on the situation in the community, on what interests and assets exist and what is going on. Because it is a starting up community, this is a dynamic process. The Academy has an important role in monitoring local information generation.

Developing a shared community vision is crucial for a community to develop initiative and consensus. Organizing a vision building process is one of the first tasks of the Nest! Academy.

This will be especially important in view of integrating visions and values of people from different backgrounds and different cultures.

Organizing the inhabitants around issues of further developing the settlement and the community is a further step in mobilizing the community. The Academy has an important function in assembling the expertise around the private commissioning of houses (Chapter 8), the start up of businesses and economic endeavors as well as the development plan of the community as a whole (Chapter 5).

Leadership support trainings for local leadership is an important step in community

mobilizing the community and a further task of the Academy. Hereby the focus is not only on the recognized and visible leaders, but also on hidden talents.

Economic development is a central part of community development and facilitating the economic process will therefore also be a part of the curriculum of the Neighborhood Academy. This includes monitoring surveys of the needs and opportunities of the local market as well as teaching business skills, functioning as a business incubator and matching existing skills with local demands.

Assessment Center and Skills Audits

Informal knowledge and skills become qualifications, when they are defined, documented and made explicit. Often people are not aware that the skills and qualities they have indeed have the potential to become qualifications and competencies.

There is a growing awareness in the European Community of the dimension of informal learning. The necessity to develop ways to access the skills developed in informal settings is increasingly being acknowledged. Many approaches to identify, validate, and access prior learning and tacit knowledge are currently being developed⁵⁴

One example is the skills audit for migrants developed by the German Youth Institute in Munich.⁵⁵ In this approach an assessment is made via self reflective interviews of what skills, talents and knowledge migrants bring with them to the host countries. The audit includes skills generated from formal as well as informal settings. Skills can originate from involvement in the formal and informal market, as well as from other activity areas like family, neighborhood, farming, gardening, neighborhood associations, free-time and recreational activities. First these activities are reported in narrative interviews and documented. Next, an inventory is made of the skills and competencies developed through these activities, resulting in a personal skills profile (portfolio).

On this basis strategies are developed to anchor integration, further education, economic activities and social involvement in the host country on these biographical skills and interests.

The Nest! Academy will offer a skills audit, based on this instrument to all groups in the temporary settlement. This will allow to make an inventory of the knowledge, creativity and talent available in the community. The Nest! skills audit will pay special attention to auditing skills and competencies that lend themselves to the development of individual and collective income generating activities as well as community building purposes. A further focus will be on arts and crafts and creative skills. Every community has people who are creative, who paint, write, sing, tell stories, make jewelry, pottery or quilts. These creative energies represent a central part of the added value of the temporary settlement to the urban development process. The Neighborhood Academy will have a central role in developing projects like handicraft fairs, story telling cafés or art exhibits to stimulate and harvest the creative talents in the settlement.

As part of the process the Academy will give inhabitants the opportunity to teach their skills and knowledge to others, thereby spreading skills and know-how in the community. Youth often have special talents and resources. These include time, enthusiasm, connectedness to current cultural trends or good teaching skills. Artists can stimulate creativity by organizing open ateliers, music or theater workshops. Senior residents can

54 Delors, J. (1996): Learning: The Treasure Within. Paris; Erpenbeck, J./Heyse, V. (1999): Die Kompetenzbiographie, Berlin; European Commission (1999) White Paper on Adult Education in an Era of Life-Long Learning, Brussels; Learning from Experience Trust (2000), MAPPING APEL: Accreditation of Prior Experiential Learning in English Higher Education Institutions, London
55 Jaeckel, M /Erlor, W. (2003): Kompetenzbilanz für Migrant/inn/en. Checkliste zum Einschätzen der eigenen Fähigkeiten und Möglichkeiten. DJI, München

pass on knowledge and experience. And migrants often have skills generating from the traditions and cultures of their countries of origin. One of the structural barriers migrants and refugees face, is the fact that their qualifications and skills are not recognized and made use of in the host society. Opening up new channels for these skills and qualifications to enter mainstream society, is an important function of the Assessment Center in the Nest! Academy.

Language Courses and Intercultural Learning

Despite the Dutch language courses offered to migrants and refugees on a mandatory basis, many immigrants do not attain a sufficient level of language skills to partake in qualification and training programs and to get into qualified work. Dutch language courses will therefore be a regular part of the Nest! Academy curriculum. These courses will be linked and related to areas of application in the temporary settlement in order to create motivation by offering opportunities of applying the host language.

Dialogues and events where the community can learn about the culture, traditions, values, skills and background of the different groups in the settlement will be an integral part of intercultural learning sponsored by the Nest! Academy.

Conflict Resolution

A vital function of the Nest! Academy is to offer conflict mediation and trainings in communication techniques. Conflicts are part of life and do not need to cause damage, if they are dealt with in a transparent and constructive way. Conflicts can increase social bonding, if they are resolved successfully. Conflict mediation and teaching respectful and non-violent communication methods can become a central part of community building in the settlement. By learning from difficulties, people grow together and learn how to build support networks. Many cultures have traditions of conflict mediation and conflict resolution, and customs that emphasize hospitality rather than exclusion. The Community Academy can draw on these traditions as well as introducing contemporary conflict resolution methods.

An important task of the Neighborhood Academy will be to create a comfortable and relaxed atmosphere of constructive dialogue and trust. In a space designed and reserved for reflection and communication, issues of everyday community life can be expressed and dealt with in a solution oriented way.

"In our work we place value on speaking directly to the person involved, if there is a problem. Or to bring it to the team in a calm and civilized way. This is very important. Many groups fall apart because they don't speak up front, because there is a lot of destructive gossip. It is important to come to an agreement as a group how you want to handle and deal with problems and conflicts, to have agreed on rules around this." (EKIZ Mother Center, Stuttgart, Germany) ⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Quoted from GWIA at Expo 2000

The Alchemy of Communities

The Nest! Community Academy will be the focal point where “community chemistry” will be monitored. This “alchemy” takes place by inquiring into every experience and spinning gold out of both difficulties and failures, as well as the successes. Regular community reflections and dialogues will be conducted, in which the community collectively evaluates and learns from the experiences and goings-on in the settlement and discusses community responses and next steps. The use of effective communication and dialogue methods as well as outside facilitation of the community dialogues will support broad involvement and a participatory process. This way, the full range of local problem-solving potential will be included.

The ABCD Approach to developing a Vision and a Plan

Who are we in this community? What do we value most? Where would we like our community to go in the next five, ten, twenty years? These simple but compelling questions lie at the heart of the community building challenge. Without a commonly held identity and a broadly shared vision the hard work of community building is very difficult to sustain.

In many communities, a process of community based planning provides the vehicle for defining and developing a local vision, and for attaching that vision to strategies which begin to move toward making the vision a reality. Community planning models and approaches abound and even more are being developed as localities recognize the usefulness and power of a consensus building process which leads to a plan.

Project and Skill Trainings

The Nest! Academy will support the various projects being developed in the temporary settlement. These include the Mother Center, the International Garden, the Saving and Credit Groups, the Community Businesses, the Local Building Organization as well as the cultural events. Each of these initiatives will be accompanied with supportive courses and trainings. Experience and expertise will be brought in from international projects working with similar approaches.

Skill trainings in the Neighborhood Academy will be developed according to areas of interest and prior experience of the temporary settlers. Generic skill trainings like computer skills, marketing skills, communication skills, organizational development, fund-raising, book-keeping or business management will be offered in close cooperation with the Job Agency of the Local Economic Organization (See chapter 7) Skill trainings will also be offered in areas like health care, child raising, ecology, or team-work. Special focus will be put on skills relevant to the setting up and maintenance of the temporary settlement and its development. This includes first of all trainings for building and construction that will allow pioneers to find jobs on the building sites of the development location as well as in the settlement itself.

There will also be trainings in design and project management for the privately commissioned housing projects in the Vinex settlement (Chapter 8).

Training for developing the skills for the community as a whole to get involved in the development process of the settlement will take a central part of the training program of the Academy. In an interactive process with authorities capacities will be developed to plan and monitor an urban development program.

Engaging in a Neighborhood Development Plan

The Nest! Academy will support the process of consolidating the temporary settlement and form the base for the development of the neighborhood to grow out of the temporary settlement. It will play an important role in monitoring the creation of the Neighborhood Development Plans described in the next chapter. It serves as an incubator for the community process, that leads in the end to a development plan for the permanent neighborhood development.

In order for the local community to become a partner and player in local urban planning it needs to organize itself as a community and assemble its assets towards this goal. The Academy will host this process.

Gender specific Courses

"Women develop expertise not based on professionalism, but on their practical involvement in taking care of their families and communities. They learn a lot about what an environment must look like not to destroy the vitality, creativity and confidence of children and not to marginalize dependents that are in need of care. The invisibility of this expertise leads to a negligence of the leadership potential of women in community development. Making these skills and competencies visible, reclaiming and re-owning them collectively, brings an important voice and perspective back into public life." (WomanSpirit, St. Louis, USA)⁵⁷

Gender specific learning styles and learning needs will be reflected in the courses and trainings offered by the Academy. Knowledge and expertise generated from the care giving and community leadership roles of women will be highlighted and validated. This is an important basis for developing a confident female voice and women's involvement and participation in the settlement as well as in the development of the new neighborhood. Developing income generating projects related to women's skills and priorities, as well as trainings related to women's ways of learning are important contributions to tapping into the full potential of the community. The Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA) described next will play a central role in this respect.

Developing trainings directed at male interests and learning styles as well as addressing men in their role as fathers constitute an equally important part of the gender specific programs of the Nest! Academy. General trainings and debates in gender sensitivity and gender mainstreaming will be offered to the whole community as well as to municipal decision makers.

The Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA)

There is a lot to be learned from international experiences, there is a lot to be learned from women. The Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA) brings both together.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Quoted from GWIA at Expo 2000

⁵⁸ The first series of GWIAs were conducted as part of the Expo 2000 in Germany. 60 groups from all corners of the globe presented their practices and the underlying strategies that make them work. Further GWIAs have been held during the General Assembly Special Session on Habitat plus five in the UN headquarters in New York in 2001 and in preparation for the International Conference on Aids and STIs in Africa (ICASA) in 2003. A GWIA on Engendering Local Governance as part of the World Urban Forum in Barcelona in 2004 in cooperation with United Cities and Cordaid highlights grassroots women's strategies for partnerships with local authorities and local community leadership. For information, documentation and reports on GWIA events including the GWIA Handbook see the GWIA website: www.GWIA.net .

Several of the projects incorporated in the temporary settlement, like the International Garden, the Mother Center, the Savings and Credit Groups, the concept of Community Education and the setting up of a Local Economy build on experiences and practices of grassroots groups in other parts of the world shared at the Grassroots Women's International Academy. These groups have pioneered the process of entering the knowledge generated outside of formal knowledge systems, into urban planning, community development and mainstream decision making.

GWIA is about redefining governance and development roles and reframing the use of knowledge and resources from the perspective of what works on the ground. GWIA is a methodology to secure the rich knowledge of grassroots women's groups and to make it visible to mainstream partners.

The fact that our world experiences persistent problems despite abundant natural and informational resources, points to the fact that there is something wrong with our mainstream knowledge systems. Many academic, institutional and political arrangements manage to overlook and abstract from what is really happening on the ground. This is quite amazing, considering the fact that it is there, that all knowledge needs to be implemented. It is where the ultimate answer and test to ideas and theories, validation if they apply or not, is to be found.

Traditional supply-led approaches to education and capacity building tend to impose an outside framework on the "receivers" of information and educational programs. The GWIA format was developed in a way that participants shape their own educational agenda and contribute their own knowledge. Knowledge building is rooted in analyzing and understanding own experience and applying it to enhance own priorities.

"Women need reflective space to experience themselves and mirror each other as experts on family and community life. They need to support each other, to define their issues and create problem solving strategies for themselves, their families and their environment. Such learning spaces need to include the whole universe of a woman's life. That is when you tap into women's power. When you cut women off from their every day life concerns, you cut off their life line, their power. When learning is connected to what happens in everyday life, when you do not need to tuck away your everyday concerns to learn, then learning becomes a basis for empowerment and for participation. Knowledge becomes the analysis of what is working and not working in your life, in your community, in society, based on your daily experience." (Mother Center Redo, Sarajevo, Bosnia)⁵⁹

GWIA is also designed in a way that it relates to women's perspectives and ways of operating. The participation of women is becoming one of the key developmental issues. Women's leadership often results in the benefit of the whole community as it is most often based on solid knowledge of the community.

Women deal first hand with the everyday issues of life. They often develop a concern for the living environment and the conditions for future generations, leading to long term considerations and to an emphasis on conflict resolution and alliance building across divisive social categories and traditions. In the temporary settlement it will be important to differentiate and develop awareness of gender specific differences in the effects of development plans as well as in the needs, interests, contributions and priorities. The Grassroots Women's International Academy can provide a good format to this end.

GWIA at the Nest Academy will consist of a series of thematic workshops each contributing international experiences to an aspect of the total neighborhood development plan. Grassroots groups from around the world will be invited to share their experiences and teach their processes.

⁵⁹ Quoted from GWIA at the World Urban Forum 2004

This process will pilot how experiences and lessons learned in the South can be applied to the North. In between the international workshops the process continues locally.

Partnership Building

"The reason why partnerships with community groups is important to us, is that it helps linking back to the essential goals. We as a big organization, are at risk of becoming a self serving institution. Relating to community partners is a constant call to evaluate the efficiency of the work of public services and civil servants." (Social Ministry of Hessen, Germany)⁶⁰.

Building partnerships between different groups inside the community as well as with outside forces is crucial. The success of the temporary settlement is dependent on it. Building effective and functioning partnerships, however, is an art to be learned. Partnerships with different sectors of society have different requirements that need to be balanced.

The Nest! Academy will conduct skill trainings in partnership building and host regular partner dialogues, between the various stakeholders in the municipality. The Academy plays an important role in connecting and matching capacities and assets across the different sectors of society.

Communities that develop their own resources and problem solving capacities, develop another approach to governance and municipal services. This implies a rethinking and reshuffling of the role of public authorities. Support for community initiatives and investment in community led innovations replace a client orientation. A co-producer relationship between community initiatives and local government is the goal. Learning to become a resource for community empowerment becomes an important component of professionalism and focus of local government. (See the following chapter)

Such a shift in orientation requires facilitation. The Neighborhood Academy can be instrumental in monitoring a process of redefining professional roles and qualities. It has a major role to play in teaching these skills to institutions as well as to community groups. Trainings in partnership building will be targeted at different sectors of society. The process is especially interesting because it concerns a community "under construction". The start-up of a new neighborhood and a new temporary settlement allows the process of partnership building to start from scratch.

One of the barriers for cross-sectoral partnerships in local governance and participative planning, is the lack of existing structures of dialogue. Conventionally, there is almost no communication between the local population and municipal administration. There are no established systems and mechanisms for the state or municipal government to engage directly with communities. The Nest! Academy could play an important role in piloting new venues and channels for direct dialogue and partnership building by providing a monitored process of including the local community in the planning process of the permanent neighborhood and developing supportive methodologies for the development of respectful partnerships between new and old players in the field.

This learning will constitute a product that remains after the temporary settlement has finished its existence and constitutes a learning experience that is relevant for the planning practice in general.

⁶⁰ Quoted from GWIA at Expo 2000

Lessons on Partnership Building from the Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA) at Expo 2000

- * Partnerships are sustainable when they involve a win win situation for all partners. This needs to be spelled out and made transparent among all involved.
 - * A partnership does not require that everyone is in it for the same reason, but it requires that there is an interface in which the goals are compatible or mutually beneficial.
 - * Community initiatives should be encouraged to link with as many actors and partners as possible, at local, district and national level. These linkages are important to get information on what kind of resources are available and to create discourse on common goals and strategies.
 - * It is important for community groups to understand and make explicit what they are contributing, that they are bringing assets to the table. Self organizing is a resource. Community groups know how funds can be spent to create benefits for local communities in a sustainable way. They have information that mainstream partners do not have access to. The state cannot do it all, it needs partnerships with civil society and community groups.
 - * It is important for community groups to make a conscious effort to reach out to skeptical or opposing groups and players. They are invariably in the position of either helping or hindering the process.
 - * Social welfare has become a business in which NGOs and large institutions compete for funds to sustain their own organizations. The real issues at stake can get lost in the process. Direct re-sourcing to the community level and keeping the priorities clear is an important element of effective partnerships with community initiatives.
 - * Partnerships work better the more each partner knows and understands the circumstances under which the other one is working, the aims, the scope of action, the limits. This contributes to realistic expectations and ultimately to reliability and trust.
 - * Partners need to have enough in common to understand each other. They also need to be different enough to bring unique contributions to the table. Differences should be respected and celebrated in partnerships. They can be consciously made use of, for instance by a strategic division of roles.
 - * It is important to communicate and get acquainted with each other and not to work in an anonymous way. In order to make each group feel at ease with each other, it is important to give a face to community groups as well as to bureaucrats.
-
-

Public Debates

The Nest! Academy will organize public debates on issues and innovative perspectives, as they emerge from the learning and knowledge building process in the temporary settlement. These events will contribute to public debate on issues like civic involvement and participatory local governance, integration policies, gender mainstreaming, self organization and self management, the workings of a local economy, new welfare state policies, and last not least urban planning and development from a grassroots perspective.

When inhabitants design their own houses, communities and settlements, a lot of valuable hands on expertise is generated. This will feed into public policy on designing urban environments, as well as into the work of local authorities, social workers, economists, architects and other professionals. These public debates will be disseminated as much as possible via the media and via the internet. Thus they will also contribute to gaining visibility and support for the concept of temporary settlements and the innovative aspects involved in this experiment.

Target Groups

The courses and groups of the Nest! Community Academy will be open to the temporary settlement, the settlers of the new neighborhood, as well as to the inhabitants of the

neighboring communities. This will enhance the range of programs and activities available in the neighborhood for all groups.

The Nest! Academy will include all generations. Particular attention will be given to include the youth, as the neighborhood study specifically identified a lack of opportunities for young people in the adjacent neighborhoods (Chapter11). Seniors have important knowledge and know-how to hand down to following generations. And involving children in the planning and designing of neighborhoods also can enrich the process immensely, as they often have a fresh and unique perspective.

The courses of general interest and especially the debates on urban planning and public policy will be open to the general public in Arnhem and beyond.

V) Setting up the Process

The Nest! Academy will set up a participative process of creating a Neighborhood Development plan with the following methods and initiatives derived from the ABCD approach.

Collecting Stories

The Nest! Academy will collect stories in informal discussions and interviews. These will draw out people's interests and experiences and help uncover the gifts, skills, talents and assets people have. Strengthening people's confidence and pride in their achievements will be part of the process. The appreciation of skills, talents and achievements will support people's awareness of what they have to contribute and build confidence in their abilities to become active in the settlement and development process.

Forming the Core Group

In this process a core group of activists and initiators will emerge. These are people who have shown initiative and taken leadership roles in the past and who respond with interest and enthusiasm to the project. This will represent the core group of initiators. As the project develops and people join or leave the settlement, this group may change in composition. The core group consists of people interested in further exploring the community's assets and acting on the opportunities identified. The core group will involve their social networks and thereby widen the process.

Establishing the Planning Group

The core group will form the begin of the planning group that meets regularly in the Nest! Academy. These meetings will be announced in the temporary settlement and on the website. All sessions will be open to participation of inhabitants of the temporary settlement, the emerging new neighborhood as well as neighboring communities at any time.

The planning group has a formal status and their work will be remunerated (in local currency, see chapter 7). They ensure contact and communication with the city officials, the developers and other involved professionals. They take an intermediary role in facilitating the planning process that will lead to a development plan for the permanent development. The planning group will monitor the process of developing a Neighborhood Development plan throughout the whole period of the project.

Continuous Gathering of Information

Members of the core group can be enlisted in forming an information gathering group. This group continues to systematically gather information about the community as it grows, and to map its assets. This includes a door to door interview process, as well as initiating further story telling events. In this way, an authentic picture of the situation in the temporary settlement, as well as of the larger neighborhood, can arise. The interviews can also be instrumental in evoking interest in the Neighborhood Academy and the Nest! projects. The activities will support members of the community to get to know each other and to start building community relationships. Residents of the neighboring communities (especially young people) can also be involved in the information gathering exercise.

Mapping the Resources

The initial story telling and information gathering activities, will lead to a more formalized process of skills evaluation and documentation. This will be organized as an on-going four week intensive (2 sessions per week) program at the Academy. Special focus in these courses will be given to emerging skills and assets that can be used to generate knowledge for planning the sustenance of the settlement. The important thing in this process is to ensure that people feel that their abilities are appreciated and their contributions are welcomed. Eventually a community capacity inventory is developed. This inventory will list capacities and assets in categories such as community building skills, entrepreneurial skills, teaching skills, creative skills, care skills, building skills and organizing skills.

Vision Building

It is important to start with vision building at the beginning of the process. The core group will take the lead in initiating a community vision dialogue, as starting point of the planning group. They will ensure regular "vision updates" as an important element throughout the planning process. Vision building involves reflection and consensus building on the values that are to feed the neighborhood development planning process. It also includes coming to a set of specific community agreements, on how communication, interaction and decision making needs to be regulated. With such a set of agreements, all participants can feel safe, respected and appreciated in the process.

Defining the common goals, success indicators, future scenarios, and the profile and identity of the settlement is an important aspect of the initial vision building as well as of the on-going planning process. Key to this process is to focus first on goals and opportunities that are achievable using the community resources. This brings people together and strengthens a community identity.

Parallel to the internal vision building process, a link to the city vision 'Arnhem 2015' is made by engaging in partner dialogues. In collaboration with city officials and council members, the community vision is compared to the vision of the city at large.

Interest and Support Groups

Peer exchange and support can make a big change in people's lives. The Neighborhood Academy will create space for interest and support groups related to specific life phases and life situations. These are formed by the participants themselves according to their needs and priorities. Interest and support groups can be formed for instance around issues like, health, child-rearing, the natural environment, environment friendly architecture, information and communication technology, fashion, local history, or

alternative learning styles. Though mainly based on self help and the exchange of peer experience and peer expertise, the Academy will be instrumental in organizing knowledge input to these programs from inside and outside the settlement and relating the learning developed in the interest and support groups to the overall community and neighborhood development process.

Community Task Forces

The Academy will also host task forces for various aspects of the development of the settlement. Examples of such task oriented groups could include the following:

- Setting up a library and information center for the settlement as well as the neighboring communities.
- Hosting a web-based dialogue with 'virtual' and/or part-time pioneers, on developments in the settlement.
- Developing intergenerational and inter-ethnic solutions for security and safety in the community.
- Working on housing designs in a planning group for privately commissioned housing.
- Conducting a survey on gaps in goods and services in the local market.
- Building mediation teams to help with conflict resolution in the community.
- Designing media and public relation strategies and campaigns.
- Organizing events like fashion shows, concerts, fairs, exhibitions, scout camps.

Partnering with Mainstream Stakeholders in the Municipality

In the process of developing the full potential of the temporary settlement building partnerships is crucial. This involves working out interrelationships with non-governmental as well as governmental agencies, private sector businesses, developers in the housing market, institutions, donors and local initiatives.

Mapping the assets of local institutions and agencies is a process that needs to accompany the mapping of the internal assets and resources of the inhabitants. This mapping process looks at how the Nest! can be beneficial to the local institutions and how they can be beneficial to the temporary settlement. Special focus will be on investigating for which stakeholders it could be interesting to invest in the Nest!.

The Nest! Academy as a whole will play an important role in hosting debates, round tables and partner dialogues with external partners and stakeholders. Such events can contribute to creating channels for direct engagement and negotiation between community groups and local authorities and institutions. This brings governance down to community turf and requires a communication and learning process from all sides. Such a process cannot happen when public officials and institutional actors stay inside the parameters of their own corporate culture.

The mapping of the skills and assets that are contributed locally puts the community in a position of strength in partnerships with institutions, since it can be spelled out, what the community is bringing to the table.

Accreditation and Transfer

An important area concerns the issue of accreditation of expertise and learning developed

in the whole process. The Neighborhood Academy organizes the community building and neighborhood development process inside a learning and knowledge building framework. The results of this learning need to find recognition and validation as expertise and qualification, though acquired outside of formal qualification procedures. This will require innovative work and productive partnerships with actors inside formal educational settings such as universities, professional training institutions and employment agencies.

Developing accreditation and transfer procedures for the knowledge assembled and gained in the Nest! Academy will need to include addressing a set of challenges including the question how to measure experiential learning and how to certify and give credit to life skills and informal qualifications. The issue of how to transfer informal learning into mainstream education and employment channels will play a central role in this aspect of the Academy.

Documentation

Organizing the documentation of the experiences, projects and learning processes of the temporary settlement, will be an integral task of the Neighborhood Academy. Documentation will be assembled through different approaches and programs:

In the 'story book' program, facilitation will be given for participants to develop their writing skills by "telling their stories" in writing. The story of the settlement will be compiled as a book containing the individual accounts of the participants. This will create an authentic view of the process and an attractive, reader friendly product. This book can spread and disseminate the experiences and learning on a broad level and to a wide public.

Documentation will also be used as a tool of self reflection and self evaluation. In the Nest! Academy 'journaling' program, participants will be encouraged to regularly record their process and their learning in a journal. They will be asked to take notes on what happens in their life, in their family situation, and in the settlement. They will be asked to notice and record changes in their own thinking, in their level of confidence, in their goals, scope of action and in the way they relate to their environment. They will be encouraged to observe changes in mentality, vision, know-how and interaction in the community as well.

A third level of documentation will be organized that involves external perspectives on the experiences in the settlement. This documentation process will be conducted in cooperation with universities and external agencies, in order to include outside viewpoints and to answer to external debates, questions and frameworks. An important part of the external documentation of the project will include the development of a set of indicators. These indicators can facilitate the monitoring and measuring of the success of the Nest! in terms of community empowerment, community learning, and community influence.

The documentation programs of the Nest! Academy will constitute a core element of the "learning community". They will feed into the collective evaluation debates, organized as part of the community development and neighborhood planning process. They will also feed into the certification and accreditation process organized in cooperation with outside agencies, as part of the transfer of hidden potentials and unused resources into mainstream society. Special focus will lie on describing the elements of effective participatory governance and the role civil society can play in mediating between government and the private sector.

Chapter 5: The Nest! Development Plan

I) Introduction

Making new partnerships in local governance has become more necessary than ever. The external conditions such as a shift of scale in the organization of building, and a change of roles and balance of forces have led to a crisis in urban development, to which the field has not yet developed answers. We see an answer and a solution in widening the existing partnerships, specifically by including local community partners. Only by adding a process oriented social component to the development process, can the resulting product contain the distinguishing qualities that are currently required of a competitive neighborhood.

II) Respectful collaboration

Shifting of Scale sets new organizational Conditions

For ages building was a strictly local affair. Local developers commissioned a number of houses to be built by a local contractor. Over time the scale of organization changed. Throughout the twentieth century, national government took over more and more responsibility, setting the standards and providing the means.

Over the past decade another shift in scale of organization has been taking place. Globalization, privatization and reduced governmental budgets require another organizational response to new developments.

In other fields than urban development, the shift in external conditions has led to changed organizational patterns. Infrastructure works that used to be done by state agencies are developed by globally operating private firms. An example is the mobile telephone network, where a state controlled agency guarantees quality levels and a fair competition between private firms. Such a regrouping into a new balance of forces, where government is a referee rather than the principle player, has not occurred yet in the sector of urban development. Several scholars have documented and warned against the resulting fragmentation, like Marvin and Graham in their book *Splintering Urbanism*⁶¹.

Social Problems resulting from a Partnership Gap

As we have analyzed in detail with our case example in the chapter on changing urban environments (Chapter 2), the possibilities of the public private partnerships at work in present city developments are limited. There are conflicting objectives and the division of roles and responsibilities is not always clear. The municipality does not have the strength to be the principle player it was before, nor does it have the influence to be a referee, steering from the side.

⁶¹ *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition*. Stephen Graham, Simon Marvin London, 2001

'Making ends meet' has become an important driving force. The pressure on the land exploitation budget results either in high prices or in saving on private and public space. Or both.

A recent study of the Ministry of Housing Planning and Environment⁶² concludes that town extension programs like the Vinex neighborhoods as a result risk being the social problem areas in a few decades to come. Different from the post-war reconstruction neighborhoods, they barely have any social development perspective at their base. There are social requirements in the program, but this is just one of the 'items on the list' (and not the most prominent one) instead of the guiding principle. Thus the need for a future social intervention program seems 'in built'.

The problem here is not a lack of governmental possibilities to steer the process. The possibilities to set the rules are so large, that on the contrary, there is a call to reduce the governmental influence on in this respect (See chapter 12 on Finding space for innovation, where we discuss the rules and regulations regarding the building sector). The problem is not only financial either, considering that it was there too during the economic boom of the late nineties. The point is, that local social issues simply cannot be dealt with by global technical organizations.

A town extension differs from the mentioned example of the extension of the telephone network in that it is specific for that town. It is local and it is social, otherwise it cannot result in a competitive living environment, which depends on non-physical elements like 'atmosphere' and 'identity'. The technically optimal solution will by definition be standardized, which is mortal for a social organism like a neighborhood.

Widening the Partnership

In order to overcome the problems related to the shifting organizational context, the partnership needs to be widened. The past decade has seen urban development become the realm of ever larger, more professional developing, engineering and construction companies, operating on a national or even global level. This has resulted in improved efficiency and optimal technical solutions, but on a social level the quality of resulting living environments have not improved.

As large as the operating organizations might be, in terms of partnerships the field has become more narrow. The involved stakeholders have become over time more and more professional, but fewer in number and less diverse.

It is typical that the billboards and advertisements of developers and real estate agents depict exactly those elements that a technically perfect solution can't provide: people, atmosphere, community, identity. To bring those elements in, new partners have to be involved. They need to be the experts on what makes that neighborhood tick, so by definition they need to be local.

Such an enlarged partnership can only work, if the local community is recognized and accepted as a partner contributing a substantive missing element. In this respect the municipality has an important facilitating role to play, to provide the space and the respect for the local community to play its role in a constructive way.

This requires courage from the present developing partners. They need to take a step back in power. They need to recognize the community as a valid, qualified and equal power. They need to accept that a vital part of the product they are working on cannot be provided by their own efforts. They need to realize that involving the local community

62 State of the art, Herstructurering en de sociale opgave (3 project sociaal fysieke wijkaanpak) Ministeries van VROM en VWS, Den Haag, April 2004

is not an act of gracefully handing out a gift, but gratefully accepting a contribution. The attitude and collaboration needs to change accordingly.

"Governments are characterized by uniformity, standardization and formality, seeking to establish general guidelines and regulations that will 'fit all'. It is this generalizing imperative of central governments, that is structurally at odds with creative local initiatives. And yet, it is creative local initiatives that are the essential power for regenerating community. Therefore, great flexibility is necessary if large governments are to support community building. And if this flexibility is not possible, it may be best for large governments to learn how to get out of the way of local efforts." (*Community Women's Education Initiative, CWEI, Ireland*)⁶³

Networking Governance

New alliances are needed to react to the new reality that has been existing on the ground, but that has not found its translation in organizational structures. Notions like the 'network society' and 'the creative city' have been accepted, but have not been matched yet by a networking governance or a creative management. Areas that manage to make effective use of their networking capacities will be better equipped to be competitive in a world where the 'space of place' is giving way to the 'space of flow'. In a recent essay on the re-clustering of spatial planning in the Netherlands, Luc Boelens argues that additional strategies are needed to improve the steering capacities of networks⁶⁴.

Because planning has become a multi-actor game, a reframing of the planning approach is needed. The managerial top-down approach does not work anymore. Even the entrepreneurial approach in which promising sectors are 'seduced' to invest in the town, is too limited. Boelens sees the way out in horizontal alliances of a multitude of stakeholders from economical, social, cultural and ecological fields. Such a re-clustering into alliances, will allow for networking governance. How such a connection between global and local and between government and network stakeholders will be developed, remains to be seen. Boelens sees the first seeds of a new networking governance in experimental urban practices, that take the stakeholder as a starting point.

In his conclusions, Boelens suggests to free half of the urban planning capacity, from the traditional government centered practice, to addressing the re-clustering challenges of tomorrow. The development process in the Nest! could be a perfect test of his theory. It would not need to involve as massive a claim as half of the planning capacity in Arnhem, in order to be a challenging and enriching learning experience, setting the pace for the urban development practice of the network society.

III) The Nest! as a Development Incubator

The Nest! is about introducing a new player into urban development: the local community. It is about not leaving urban planning and urban development up to professionals, to developers and local government, but to add and include the vision and expertise of the (future) inhabitants. The Nest! applies the concept of "more responsibility and participation of citizens" to the field of urban planning. For Schuytgraaf, the Nest! suggests to coordinate, plan and develop the last part of Schuytgraaf. More in general, Nest! settlements during their existence always help

⁶³ Quoted from GWIA at Expo 2000

⁶⁴ Luc Boelens, Sturen door netwerken, Voor reclusteren van ruimtelijk beleid. In S&RO 02/2004

develop a part of the newly to be developed area. Obviously the owners and developers of the sites need to be central cooperation partners in the process.

Added Value of Localizing Urban Development

Localizing urban development can assure that local perspectives get a space. Rather than building for an abstract 'market' the community develops for its own requirements. This obviously has the advantage that the resulting neighborhood fits the needs of its population, and that as a result the filing of protests and objections are avoided and that a good market value of the product is assured. But the advantages are even greater, they include giving the settlement a greater competitive edge on the market.

A neighborhood developed by the people of Arnhem will be a very local product. It will have an Arnhem identity. And whatever the Arnhem identity is, it is different from standard and different from other towns. It will differ from something that good designers alone will come up with. It will in brief be different from neighborhoods developed simultaneously in other towns. Making the difference is what is needed to attract new inhabitants and keep the existing ones. It is what is needed to sell houses, which is an argument well understood by developers.

Formulated differently, introducing the local community as a development partner implies an investment of a different nature in the project. These investments can be capitalized in real estate value. Solid social investments in the area will assure that the houses will be quickly sold, which is under present circumstances already quite something. Moreover, this investment will assure the stability of the value over time. It can assure that the problems foreseen in town extension programs like Vinex, can be avoided. The fruit of the social development, will be anchored in the physical development.

The development plan to be produced by the Nest! will be different from the plans normally produced when developing a new neighborhood. It will be wider in scope. It will contain elements that, in the view of a mainstream project developer, are superfluous and beside the point. It will also be different from plans normally made in the social sector. At grassroots level, the distinction between the social and physical realm is not so clear. A physical object like a park is understood in terms of recreation. Similarly, a social problem like security, is immediately translated to measures like speed-bumps or well-lit pathways. The grassroots level is the best level to integrate social and physical policy.

The Process of Involvement

The starting point of the Nest! development plan is not a prescribed program. The starting point is the commitment of the stakeholders to come to a development in a collaborative process and to accept the outcome of that process. Obviously, some rules and limits have to be set in advance. There has to be a fair balance between the investment and the influence of different partners. Taking ownership also implies taking responsibility. In the present situation, involvement of the community in building plans is often resented, because officials anticipate that fear of change will block any development possibility. In a collaborative effort, the power to say "no" comes with the responsibility to mediate alternatives. Rather than working with a plan that 'the others' say "yes" or "no" to, the whole exercise unfolds more gradually as a consensus building process.

The process begins with a vision building process with all stakeholders. What is the vision we have for this area, what objectives do we want to realize? Such a process brings to light conflicting interests and ideas. In order to avoid that negotiation and conflict come up before any program or project is even started, the vision building can be preceded by

a scenario planning exercise. This has been done in Arnhem in the past to come to a city vision, which makes the town a perfect testing ground for the Nest! methodology.⁶⁵ In scenarios, possible futures are explored in cooperation. This gives a completely different basis for negotiations than when an authority sets normative goals from the beginning. The exploration of possibilities leads to a good understanding of the position of other stakeholders. The end of the vision building phase (that does not need to take very long) is a common statement about the nature of the development that is to take place. The resulting vision does not need to be concrete at all, more important is to get the shared values and principles out in the open by discussing questions like what objectives do we have in common, what type of development is excluded, what are the priorities of the involved parties, what is the nature of the collaboration.

After a common vision has been defined, a programming cycle links the resources of the partners to the general vision and the characteristics of the location. This is the bit that conventionally tends to already have been done, by the time the community comes to the table in interactive planning. It is also the subject that really is the most important to come to an agreement about. It is very difficult to say "yes" or "no" to a housing plan, when you are not convinced that housing is the best use of the area to begin with. So what happens, is that people are inclined to say "NO" just to be on the safe side.

Dream and reality have to be separated in this phase. Not all objectives of everybody can be realized in every project. A program has to be drawn up, that makes best use of the possibilities of the partners in the developing coalition, as well as the possibilities of the location at hand. Clear agreements have to be set about the limits and possibilities of the involved partners.

In many cases hard conditions from outside will determine a bottom line. A participating housing corporation might not be able to invest if fewer than X houses are built, of which a certain percentage needs to be of a specific type. The municipality will be bound by agreements with the higher governance levels or stipulations of the municipal council, that certain objectives have to be realized in the area. In many cases the program seems to be set completely beforehand, by non controllable external factors. In fact the program may be pre-determined beforehand beyond the possibilities of the location. This is definitely the case to a wide extent in Schuytgraaf, where an ambitious housing program needs to be supplemented by social services, green space, parking and so forth. Even then a dialog process involving the local community can help to communicate given realities.

At first sight, it seems that getting in an additional player with additional claims only complicates the puzzle. This is the fact when reasoned from a digital logic, but the program claims that come from the Nest! are of an analogue nature. The claims and conditions are more process and relationship oriented in nature, than product oriented.

Not the "what" but the "how" is the most important focus. This may lead to a considerable saving in program requirements, rather than an enlargement.

Take for example child care. General norms prescribe so many square meters per inhabitant that have to meet certain conditions of hygiene and be staffed by personnel of a certain level of qualification.

Such standards come out of solutions that have proven to work, rather than out of the objectives behind them. Parents want good care for their children, they do not have strong opinions about square meters or child-adapted toilets, that they do not have at home either. They tend to have a very clear view, however, on what is affordable and what is not. They will settle for a facility that is smaller and has fewer options. So they will compromise on something that meets their objective, rather than having their budget inhibit access to the perfect solution.

⁶⁵ The scenarios that Arnhem has made for its future are described in the conclusions of this book in chapter 13.

This is just an example on micro-level. In general the principle is that by involving the local actors compromise making is built in early in the process. and compromise making involves the most affected: the end users. This assures that a good balance is found between "all and nothing" concerning all the important issues. Such a process avoids that more is invested than is strictly needed, or that things become unaffordable, which is well worth the extra time involved.

The expertise of professionals is enlisted to realize the plans and visions once they are defined. Social visions tend to get stuck in abstract generalities, whereas physical projects tend to lose sight of the primary objectives they were supposed to address. In the proposed process this major trap in urban development is avoided. Too often, first very general social goals get defined (if at all) and then -too soon- the practical physical development takes over. In the jump to practical measures, once the project evolves and time and money constraints require alterations. the connection to the original objectives gets lost.

When the community is involved from the start and throughout the process, this trap is less likely to occur, also because it starts well ahead of anything else to allow for a slow enfoldment.

Community Building as a Prerequisite for Community Involvement

Community building is an integral part of developing civic participation in urban planning. In the previous chapter the Neighborhood Academy is described as taking an important role in this part of the process, by organizing a community building process that generates the required knowledge, motivation, vision and consensus building of the residents.

This is not an extra, but a basic element of the necessary process. Professionals go through a learning and qualification process before they start their practice. Government goes through a dialogue and consensus building process before plans and programs are implemented. In the case of introducing the local community as a new partner in urban planning, it should not be individuals or single interest groups entering local governance or speaking for civil society. Communities need to be involved in a participative process of collective vision building and decision making and a transparent process of local accountability to be a legitimate partner.

Changing the Culture of Development

Experience when creating cross-sector partnerships show that an important condition of successfully partnering with community groups is to adjust the professional culture to a more inclusive climate.⁶⁶ This is not an easy thing to do. In the case of community involvement in development processes generated by temporary settlements, this could be done for instance by physically placing the offices of the project management in the premises of the Neighborhood Academy.

In this way the atmosphere of the temporary settlement takes the lead in the working culture of the development project. Just like the Mother Centers have been called 'public living rooms', the Nest! Academy will be a 'public kitchen table'. Very real and concrete products come out of the process, just like from a kitchen, and at the same time it has a home-like pleasant atmosphere.

Project development becomes demystified and above all, it becomes fun and exciting. The culture of professionalism that is watched and criticized from the outside, is changed into a development from the inside, for which the involved population takes responsibility.

⁶⁶ See Suranjana Gupta and Monika Jaeckel: New Partnerships for a new Millennium, Stuttgart 2002

Part III: The Nest! Approach: Good Neighborhoods are not designed – they grow

The Physical

Chapter 6: The Temporary Settlement

I) Introduction

As we have laid out in part I and II of this book, in the temporary settlement the social and economical aspects are leading. The physical structures are an instrument to jumpstart a social process of urban development and in that sense are of a lower importance than the social aspects. This is true for the urban scale.

However, on the scale level of the individual dwellings the physical aspects of the temporary settlement are extremely important. The housing units are non subsidized and intended for people who are not very rich. Therefore good design and engineering work is required to get solutions that are as cheap as possible and still offer an acceptable level of quality.

In this chapter we examine how the physical aspects of the temporary settlement can be realized as cheap as possible. The options and requirements are reviewed and an inventory is made of both the housing units themselves as well as services and conditions of the location.

No decision has been taken on the execution of the project. Therefore it is not possible to draw up a program based on the requirements of inscribed pioneers. Instead, general typologies have been made about the housing units themselves and the requirements on the services and environment. The latter has resulted in three types of plots that are described further down in the chapter.

Further more, some examples are compared in order to give a review of elements required to make the Nest! function as a settlement.

The Requirements of here and now

Housing in the Nest! should not be compared to what is available on the regular housing market, because the target group has no access to the regular housing market.

The housing should be compared to the alternatives that are available here and now to the target group and that is not much. Imagine a student who travels hours back and forth to mum and dad, or sleeps on the sofa of a friend during the week. Or imagine a just divorced man who over-stretches his budget on hotel bills. From those perspectives alternatives are acceptable soon enough.

Compared to staying with friends the solutions may seem relatively expensive, they come not for free and they are not subsidized. On the other hand the units in the temporary settlement will be a lot cheaper than the €400 per month that refugees pay for a space in a four person room, if they stay in the asylum seeker center after they

have received their status.

Target Group: Level of Acceptance

As we have discussed in the chapter on pioneer motivations (Chapter 3), one motive precedes all others in importance and urgency. This first requirement of the target group is that there is something to live in, and this 'something' must be there today. Space on the waiting list is not space you can sleep in. The next most important criteria to judge this 'something' is the price, which must be as low as possible.

The price is always important and Dutch have the reputation to be particularly keen on low prices. On this point the project is different from 'normal' housing projects. Normal is that an optimal price-quality balance has to be found where the quality is to be maximized. Here it is the other way around. The optimal price-quality balance is determined by the solution where the price is minimized. Therefore the optimal solution is the one which has a minimal price with a comfort level that is still acceptable.

What is considered an acceptable level of comfort depends on the target group. Obviously everybody needs a bed, heating and some storage space for personal belongings. For most an individual toilet, shower and cooking facility is also a requirement. Still, there are people who do not cook, or prefer saving on rent by sharing facilities. Space for activities like working, playing or studying are not important for everybody.

II) Housing Units suitable for the Nest!

This section describes the results that came out of the inventory that was made for the Nest! by Building Trend⁶⁷. The bureau researched 54 possible units, of which 20 were looked at in more detail. They were classified according to their type of construction. Out of the total typology, eight very different representative units were selected to be compared under a number of relevant points. These were compared on aspects like price and usability, as well as on the ease with which they can be set up and dismantled. Flexibility in terms of functionality, movability and possibilities for linking and stacking the units were also considered. Finally the possibilities for re-use and remaining end value were taken into account.

Price of possible Housing Options

To make the prices comparable the table next to the examples does not only give the prices of one unit, but also the price per square meter. This rental price is only based on the price of the housing unit itself. The total rent will obviously also contain other components (land, taxes, overhead) The given rental price is therefore just an indication for the sake of comparison. A rather cautious base for the calculation has been chosen, resulting in slightly pessimistic prices: An exploitation period of only 5 years is presumed. In these listed prices the end value is presumed to be nil. In practice; wearing down the value to nothing in just five years, might be a realistic assumption only for the cheapest solution Pod and Dome.

These constructions are not well equipped to withstand the Dutch climate.

Tailor-made solutions are more expensive than mass produced units. The Su-Si and the Fred even exceed the price of normal permanent housing. Such units could be interesting

⁶⁷ Building Trend is the bureau headed by HMC van der Wardt MSc. MBA. Like its director, Building Trend operates both on the field of architecture & planning as well as business.

to rent out as urban vacation bungalows, for those who wish to be part time pioneers and enjoy the atmosphere in the temporary settlement. They are taken up in the comparison also to show that temporary housing does not need to be an ugly boring box. Tailor-made solutions should not be ruled out beforehand fully on price motives.

The 'parasites' of bureau KSAR⁶⁸ prove that designed temporary units can be both attractive and affordable. Once the Nest! Project gets realized, a solution may be designed specifically fit for the project. Such a tailor made solution would need to allow for a large amount of self help building, to compensate for the architectural fee.

Caravans have a bad score on price in regard to the price per square meter. It should be taken into consideration though that they are fully furnished and that the lay-out is so compact that not as many square meters are needed. Because of their popularity, a large market of second hand caravans exists.

Category	Single house						Collective house	
TYPE	The Dome	The Pod	Single cabin SU-SI house	Extending Constructio n FRED house	Caravan	Mobile Bungalow	Collective cabins 8 bed rooms	Dismantable COA house 5 bed rooms
Unit Price €/piece	7192-11252 €/piece	2899-6559 €/piece	52500 (30m2) €/piece	33000 €/piece	12.165 €/piece	34500 €/piece	97581 €/piece	5680-7303 €/piece (1house)
Purchase price per m2	182 – 285 €/m2	66 – 150 €/m2	1750 €/m2	1834 €/m2	1028 €/m2	917 €/m2	518 €/m2	70 – 90 €/m2
Rent per unit per month	120-188 €/month	48 – 109 €/month	875 (30m2) €/month	550 €/month	203 €/month	575 €/month	2204 €/month	95 - 122 €/month (1house)
Rent per m2 per month	3 5 €/m2	1 - 3 €/m2	30 €/m2	31 €/m2	18 €/m2	16 €/m2	12 €/m2	1- 2 €/m2
Transport costs	shipped by courier max. €522 per dome in the USA	shipped by courier max. €757 per pod in the USA	€ 2800 € 94 per m2	< € 2800 < €94/m2	by car		€ 20/m2 (for 1 cabin) €14/m2 (for 2 cabins)	25 – 35 /m2
Setting up price or time	8hours 3 to 4persons without floor	6-8 hours 4-6 persons	5 hours	2 hours by crane	non	Vary	€ 122 per cab.	

Size compared to Household Size

The following table summarizes the sizes of the units. The smallest units, Caravan and Fred, are so compact in their lay-out that although they do offer the possibility for two sleeping spaces, for a prolonged period, they are only suitable for single person households. The larger types can be used by a couple or a small family. The two collective units are suitable for larger households or groups of individuals.

⁶⁸ Designers of the 'Nomads in residence' unit in Parasite Paradise; www.parasite.nl, www.ksar.nl

	Single house						Collective house	
	The Dome	The Pod	Single cabin SU-SI house	Extending Constructions FRED house	Caravan	Mobile bungalow	Collective cabins 8 bed rooms	Dismantable COA house 5 bed rooms
Width (m)			3.0-3.5	3.0	2.6	3.5/ 7.0	12.3	7.8
Length (m)			10-14	3.0(*2)	5.6	7.3/ 3.5	15.4	10.4
Radius (m)	3.7	4.0						
Height (m)	4.3	4.9	3	3.0	2.3		2.9	2.5
Surface (m2)	39.5	43.9	30 -50	18	11.8	37.6	190	81.1

Judging the size of the units should be done in the perspective of the settlement as a whole. The housing units in the Nest! are part of a settlement that contains many of the facilities that constitute a 'normal' house as collective spaces. For example students will in many cases study in the Neighborhood Academy library, eat in the mensa and watch TV with a group in the pub. Communal spaces and services are needed to be able to cope with the limited space each pioneers has individually. In a temporary settlement the use of space becomes different too. The housing unit a safe base for venturing out to a much larger realm. Because the pioneers spend more time in public than others, the privacy requirements to the individual housing unit are large as well.

	Single house				Collective house			
	The Dome	The Pod	Single cabin SU-SI house	Extending : FRED house	Caravan	Mobile bungalow	Collective cabins	Dismantable COA house
House	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Office	X	X	X			X	X	X
Storage		X					X	
Studio	X	X	X			X	X	
Academy	X						X	
Exhibition space	X	X	X			X	X	
Conference centre	X						X	

Level of Temporality and Sustainability

If rated according to their level of temporality, the collective units are amongst the most permanent. They also pose the largest requirements for foundation, transport and material required for putting them up. They look permanent and are best left on the same spot for the full five years (or two times five years) that a temporary settlement can remain in place according to Dutch regulations. Many of the units do not need much of a foundation, or one that can be transported as easily as the units themselves. This allows to make temporality a real feature in itself and to move the settlement for example from field to field, depending on the speed of the development process or on the availability of cheap land. Moving the settlement in this case could become an event, a sort of procession, combined with a festival or parade. Examples of such a mobile application are given in the scenarios in Chapter 13.

The Pod is the most temporary of the researched units. Its light fiber-board construction is flexible and expressive, but won't live much beyond 5 years.

The Dome is more sustainable with its canvas cover and floor construction and could

pertain about ten years. The Caravan and Fred are not very suitable for a prolonged stay because of their size. Caravans are, however, very mobile, flexible and independent of foundation.

Montage and Transport

Putting up a Pod or Dome can be done easily. For the units that are made up of elements small cranes are needed, because of their weight. Such equipment can be rented, or is brought in by the specialized firms that operate on the market of temporary settlements such as fairs or conference grounds.

With the exception of the Caravan (that is transported by car and put down without equipment) the ready made houses all need a truck and crane to be transported and put in place. In general the solutions that are available on the market do not require special skills to put them up.

Cooking and sanitary Facilities

Many of the possibilities include sanitary facilities and a kitchenette inside, which for most people is a basic requirement. If people choose to make use of the cheap solutions like the Pod or the Dome, it also means a choice for shared facilities in sanitary blocks. Options for shared facilities are discussed in the next section.

Density

The possible density depends in the first place on the proportions and number of floors of the units. The COA houses and collective cabins can be linked easily and are stacked to two floors. Only the very small Fred houses and Caravans permit higher densities. These densities are just an indication of the possibilities of different options. The density will be dictated mainly by the kind of atmosphere the plan should radiate, an urban setting requires a higher density than a village like green atmosphere. The examples in the scenarios in chapter 13 all use the same type of housing units, but vary largely in the used density.

<i>density</i>			Single House			Collective House		
	The Dome	The Pod	Single cabin SU-SI house	Extending Constructions FRED house	Caravan	Mobile bungalow	Collective cabins 8 bed rooms	Dismantable COA house 5 bed rooms
Houses/ ha	83	75	67-111	185	277	83	18 units 144 rooms	42 units 210 rooms

Conclusions on Housing Units

If one type of units would have to be chosen, then this would certainly not be the Pod and the Dome because they are of too low quality, and not Caravan and Fred because they are too small. However the settlement will be diverse and mixed. The mentioned solutions have advantages on other aspects. There could very well be a number of Caravans to rent out to people on holiday or for people who just need something for a couple of weeks. Expressive units like Pod or Dome can be used for exhibition space, space for the Neighborhood Academy, shops or event halls.

Five years is a very short period to exploit the units in a profitable way. Financing the units will be easier if a temporary license can be obtained twice, in other words if the

exploitation period is two times five years. Another option is to look out from the start to different locations that would be interested in a temporary settlement, or look for units that have a good end value and can be sold easily. When combining the different requirements and especially when taking the cost requirements into account, the second hand COA units currently being sold in large numbers come out as the best option for temporary settlements. Two other possibilities are explored: an option for an ideal situation and a possibility to start the project as soon as possible.

Best Option

Of the researched types the COA houses were by far the most practical and cheapest. They have an acceptable appearance, they look just like normal houses, and they are flexible in their use. They can be used by a number of individuals sharing facilities, like students, or a family, as well as by households of one or two people. The fact that this is by far the most economical option, is proven by practice. The municipalities of both Arnhem and Nijmegen had complexes of second hand COA units put up in the summer of 2004, to facilitate the housing of the first year students.

However, there is a 'but' in this solution: the availability on the market is of limited duration. During the late nineties the COA (Central Authority for Housing of Asylum seekers) had such a huge influx of asylum seekers to house, that they built a number of temporary complexes. These are at the end of their 5 years license now and the number of incoming asylum seekers has lowered dramatically. Therefore these units are sold now, but the supply is limited.

Ideal Option

In order to fit all requirements it could be considered to design a housing unit especially for the Nest! Project. This could allow for an attractive appearance in combination with good options for re-use and self- building possibilities. The units could be designed taking the site into consideration as is usual with architecture (more urban or rural, fit for high density or not). At the same time, the tailor-made solution should also optimize possibilities of the organization of the building process. If a partnership is made with a contractor or building material producer, the units could be designed to fit the possibilities of their production process. If mainstream production force is supplemented with pioneer labor, interesting solutions could be realized, that normally are not profitable for producers or impossible for a craftsman. Such units can be used for the Nest! itself, or sold as vacation bungalows, and thus provide a source of income for the community.

Start up Option

In order to start the Nest! as soon as possible, a solution for the first units can be chosen that puts the least strain on the organization. Ready made rental housing or office units available on the market can only be considered for a short period of time out of price considerations. For financial reasons (as well as esthetics) it would be better to buy a nicer looking solution from a specialized developer. Container villages are such a solution that are well tested. They are used by the Dutch army to make their bases in Iraq and Afghanistan. Specialized on the civilian market of temporary settlements is the Keetwonen Foundation⁶⁹, that produces temporary student campuses. In order to realize a container settlement that fits all regulations, about three months are needed to produce and ship the units. An additional three months are needed for the licenses making the total preparation time half a year.

69 www.keetwonen.nl Information in English on container housing is available on www.containercity.com or www.covepark.org. <http://www.containercity.com/CCfaqs.htm> contains much technical information, prices and other practical information on the concept,

III) Site Conditions for the Nest!

This section describes the results that came out of the inventory that was made on aspects related to the infrastructure for the Nest! site⁷⁰. The study deals with different technical options and the costs of putting in place the necessary infrastructure, roads, electricity, water, sewage, garbage removal, telephone as well as TV cables. No decisions have been taken yet on the implementation of the temporary settlement, so general assumptions had to be made. The developed solutions are for the Vinex town extension location Schuytgraaf in Arnhem.

The main question in regard to site conditions is how and for what costs can a temporary settlement be built, with the restriction that the costs will not exceed the benefits. The study takes into account the soil quality and other physical requirements of the site, the minimum housing requirements as well as more luxurious options. Different options for providing facilities to the plot and different lengths of duration of the temporary settlement were compared. Depending on the way the building process of the Schuytgraaf neighborhood progresses, the settlement could be fit in, when individual fields are no longer used for agriculture, but the preparation of the fields for building has not yet begun.

Facilities

The second hand COA units and the container village selected as best solutions, are fairly 'permanent' solutions from a temporary perspective. They fit into the category of 'complete settlement' of the inventory of possibilities for the site. This category provides an environment that makes a stay of several years in the settlement possible and comfortable. The simplest plot provides the bare minimum of facilities like on a camping place. This does not permit a stay for longer than a few months in the Dutch climate.

Services	Simplest plot	Semi-complete plot	Complete settlement
Sanitation	chemical toilet (pit-latrine)	Chemical toilet composttoilet	sceptic tank, sewer connection
Water	Pump + bottled	Collective tank, Collective connection	Individual connection
Gas	Gas tanks	Gas tanks	Individual connection
Electricity	Solar energy	Solar energy, generator, Individual connection	Solar energy, wind, individual linkage to network
Telephone	mobile phones	Mobile phones, telephone booth	Individual connection
TV, internet	collective facility	Collective facility	Individual connection

The optimal technical solutions are highly dependent on the duration of the settlement. The longer the settlement stays, the more affordable it becomes to provide more durable (and expensive) solutions concerning water, gas, electricity and sanitary facilities. For short term use chemical toilets in centrally located sanitary blocks are the most reasonable solution, as well as a central collection point for water, by tank or by pipe. Gas can be accessed by individual gas tanks that come in different sizes. Electricity can be accessed by installing a generator. For longer duration it will be affordable to connect sanitary facilities as well as the water supply to existing pipes in the area. The farms in the Schuytgraaf area use large gas

⁷⁰ The infrastructural study was done by Ellen Klein Langenhorst who is in her final year of Land and Water Management studies at the Larenstein University in Velp.

tanks for their gas supply, meaning that there are no pipes at the nearby roads. Nor will there be any in the future, because Schuytgraaf will be linked to an innovative system for collective heating. Therefore also for longer duration the use of individual gas tanks will be the cheapest solution. It could, however, be interesting to provide the more "luxurious" plots, that are willing to pay higher rent, with a gas connection from larger tanks to avoid having to change bottles at inconvenient moments. Such tanks can be reused at other locations and need to be refilled less often. They also do not require to be changed entirely, but are filled on the spot which is more convenient.

Electricity is available at the farms nearby, so the cables are at a nearby road. The best and also cheapest option will therefore be to connect to the normal electricity network.

Planning

When examining the Schuytgraaf planning, it turns out that several fields meet the technical requirements for the putting up of a temporary settlement. However, many of those offer the possibility only during a relatively short period of time, because of the tight planning of the settlement. On top of that the fields that could theoretically be used are available at different moments. By combining these –in principle highly limiting– elements, the idea of a "caravan" was born. This part of the settlement is truly temporary, moving from field to field in succession. This part of the settlement is especially suitable for functions like exhibitions, events and festivals. Depending on the Schuytgraaf planning as well as on the actual implementation of the planning, the settlement will stay for several months or several years on each of the fields that are available during the time before construction work starts. This caravan could start at field 8, then go to field 4, later to field 7 and in the end to field 1 (all located in the northwest). In the same period fields 23 and 24 (in the southwest) will be available too.

This sequence has been determined by analyzing the planning of the works. Some fields are simply not accessible until building activities start. Others will have ground works going on for a number of years which makes them inaccessible. The listed fields do have space, that is to say space in time. This 'space in time' gets larger and larger, the more the official Schuytgraaf planning lags behind schedule. In this sense too the Nest! settlement is a good addition to the normal development. If the same investors are involved in both the temporary settlement and the normal developments, they will see their losses caused by delays on the latter, be partly compensated by a longer exploitation of the former.

The suggestion of the moving caravan is based on the general principle of using "problems" as assets. In this case the "problem" is the limited time available until the new use of the land takes over.

This "problem" already started from the moment it was known that the new neighborhood would be built on that location. From then on it was not interesting for farmers to invest in the area. Temporary use of the land becomes less and less interesting when the period gets shorter. From the temporary settlement perspective it is the other way around. The shorter the time span available and the more difficult it is to find any other users, the cheaper the rental price will be. And exactly this cheapness is the most important factor in attracting pioneer energy. The shorter the time available, the more special the use will be. As mentioned before, the space that is available for very short periods is only suitable for the organization of special events or exhibitions. If the time span is too short, only pioneers with a rather 'nomadic', artistic attitude will be interested. So from an outside perspective it is exactly the areas that are the shortest available, that display the pioneer spirit the best. That is where the most is happening, where experimentation and creativity is high.

In size they will be fairly small compared to the total settlement, but they play an

important part.

In Chapter 13 several scenarios of possible environments for the pioneer functions of the temporary settlement are illustrated.

Density and Size

If the developers of Schuytgraaf manage to stick to the extremely high speed of development currently planned, the temporary settlement can exist for no more than four years. During this time, the settlement can vary in size from 50 units to 250 units, if the same density is followed as the permanent settlement. The density in the housing area of Schuytgraaf varies from 25 to 47 dwellings per hectare. Such a density will allow for a generously spacious lay-out, for the very simple reason that the temporary housing units are much smaller than the permanent housing.

If, however, a low rise/high density concept is followed of over 60 units per hectare, a minimum of 500 units should be possible. In fact as mentioned before, the researched units each allowed a density of well over 80 dwellings per hectare. This allows for an urban atmosphere, without losing its green character. In the example sketched out in chapter 13, field one of Schuytgraaf has about 400 units. The number of people in that example will not be so much higher than elsewhere in Arnhem, despite the high number of housing units. The pioneer houses are likely to be used mainly by single person households, whereas the average household size in Arnhem is more than two.

Soil Quality

The soil at Schuytgraaf is generally clean. There have never been any activities historically that could affect the quality of the soil negatively. The only use of the land has been agricultural.

However, as a result of the intense fighting during the battle of Arnhem, there are many ammunitions left in the soil. The marching route of the Operation Market Garden went straight through the Schuytgraaf area. The possible remains of explosives therefore have to be kept in mind in regard to any digging activities. Because of the farming in the past 50 years, however, the fields have been ploughed regularly and any ammunitions positioned in the upper layer of the soil must have been discovered by now. Since the suggested solutions for roads to the temporary settlement do not require any digging deeper than plough deep, the ammunitions are not foreseen to cause any problems. Also the foundation of the settlement will not require a clearing and cleaning of the ground beforehand. Making a pole foundation is only necessary if the units are stacked up. That is only required if a tight urban environment is selected as a location or if for other reasons a compact layout is chosen.

Roads

Concerning roads the main idea is constructing a relatively large road, (G-type road), strong enough for the longest duration and heaviest type of use, that leads to a parking. From this parking smaller pathways go to the different parts of the settlement and from there, even smaller paths continue to the individual homes. The further you come down the hierarchy of roads, the less people use the road and the less strong the road needs to be. For the foundation of the largest housing units the same construction can be used as for the G type road.

In general the facilities can be compared to those on a modern camping site, that tends to offer different service levels for different prices. The temporary settlement will be able

to provide different levels of comfort concerning infrastructural needs, ranging from more rudimentary collective solutions to private facilities of higher standard. Rents will vary accordingly, but will stay under the prices that are available currently on the regular housing market.

IV) Examples of similar Projects

Review of Examples⁷¹

It is very difficult to find Western European examples for the Nest!. The approach of jump-starting urban development that is foreseen, really only exists in informal settlements in southern countries. These settlements have an incredible strength and development potential, especially when they become legalized. The original Nest! idea stems from the positive aspects of such settlements, but the practical details cannot be compared. The extreme poverty and lack of everything, make them too remote from the Dutch situation to serve as an example.

Most of the selected examples of temporary settlements are examples mainly because one or two aspects of the project are relevant. As yet there are no examples of the total Nest! concept in the Netherlands. First of all the comparable projects are not temporary. The only exception is Parasite Paradise, which had temporality as an explicit theme. Here social cohesion and housing were not important, so this example is mainly interesting for the aspects temporality, art, architecture and design of public space.

The ecologically oriented project "Het Groene Dak" (the green roof) has shown how unusual technical solutions can be integrated into a housing project. Within a decade, thanks to the pioneer applications that have proven the value, these solutions have become rather usual in mainstream building. The project also shows what effort it takes in time and organizing power, to get unusual ideas realized.

't Groene Sticht shows how groups that are normally sidelined and considered a nuisance can become a positive force in the social development of a new neighborhood.

Many of the housing-working complexes that were established by the squat movement, are vivid examples of creating a vibrant social tissue as well as an economic and artistic development, on places that were dead spots before.

⁷¹ The following projects and organizations were reviewed and analyzed to learn from for the Nest! project. Only a few of them have been quoted in the text.

Ecodorp	-	www.ecodorp.nl
NDSM	Amsterdam	www.NDSM.nl
Gilde van woonwerkgebouwen aan het IJ	Amsterdam	www.woonwerkpenden.nl
De Vrije ruimte	Amsterdam	www.vrijeruimte.nl
Cultuurhuis Hotel Bosch	Arnhem	www.kultuurhuisbosch.nl
Sidhadorp	Lelystad	www.sidhadorp.nl
De Grote Broek	Nijmegen	www.grotebroek.nl
Het groene dak	Utrecht	www.groenedak.nl
De Kersentuin	Utrecht	www.kersentuin.nl
Parasite Paradise	Utrecht	www.parasiteparadise.nl
't Groene Sticht	Utrecht	www.groenesticht.nl

't Groene Sticht

Origin and Objectives

The priest and parliamentarian Ab Harrewijn did not live to see his dream realized, he passed away suddenly in 2002. 't Groene Sticht started as a 'home for the homeless' to be run in self management. The idea was to use the virgin grounds of a town extension Vinex location to settle and find neighbors who are sympathetic to homeless and want to get involved. A nice mixture of idealism and necessity, of economically strong and weak participants was realized.

Location and Program

The 12 (ex-)homeless inhabitants live in an old farm that is left in the Vinex location Leidsche Rijn near Utrecht. The farm runs a restaurant and the former manure-storage has been transformed into a neighborhood atelier. The complex has 32 rental apartments, 12 housing units for youth, one group house and a second hand shop.

Organization and legal Status

Four groups who work with people who risk being excluded by mainstream society worked together on making 't Groene Sticht happen. The local Emmaus community, a Catholic recycling community, De Rafelrand, a national organization of church related anti-poverty drop-in centers, the Utrecht self-managed night shelters, and the foundation De Tussenvoorziening, that provides temporary housing solutions for people on the way to independent living. The housing corporation Portaal has built the new housing. The project employs a full time coordinator who organizes activities like a weekly market. All inhabitants are required to join the association of inhabitants.

Financial Aspects

The project has not been more expensive for the housing corporation supporting it, than a conventional social housing project. Rental apartments of an average of 74 square meters cost €374 per month.

The second hand shop is run by an Emmaus community, which provides for its own needs by recycling the high quality wastes of our affluent society, keeping an extra to support projects.

Community Building

The core of the project is to offer a space for community building, for people to live together, be it out of idealism or pure necessity. The adjacent Vinex inhabitants can shape their social responsibility by helping out and assisting the weaker to reintegrate into mainstream society.

Documentation: www.groenesticht.nl

The Role of Goals and Values in the Examples

What all examples have in common is that they are created by the needs and aspirations of the inhabitants of their constituency. Their building program is not provided by mainstream providers, therefore they organize to provide for their needs themselves.

Organizing Force

	Price, availability	Social cohesion	Art, space, freedom	ecology	Spirituality	Other:
Hotel Bosch	X		X			
Squats	X		X			Common enemy
Sidhadorp					X	
NDSM	X		X			
Ecodorp				X	X	Community
Het groene dak		X		X		
De Kersentuin		X		X		
Parasite Paradise			X			
't Groene Sticht		X				Integration of homeless people

What all cases have in common too, is that this turned out to be difficult. There are a few very supportive partners (like the housing corporation Portaal who participated in several of the projects), but in general such projects are met with a certain amount of caution and distrust. For example squat groups who want to buy the complex in which they operate, have a hard time obtaining mortgage as a group with the real estate as a backing. Often a double backing with individual income is required. More often than not a long struggle goes on before the project is realized. This distrust is often mutual. There is an 'us against them' kind of atmosphere, especially in the squat movement. Having a common enemy, or at least struggling for a common goal tends to be one of the binding forces that holds the groups together.

Besides of the common struggle, the projects tend to have another base that holds the group together. It can be a social spirit, space for artistic experiment, a common care for environmental issues or spirituality. At any rate there is a common issue or even ideology. The participants try to keep that spirit alive over the years. They have a strong motivation to realize this aspiration as a permanent part of their living environment. This is often difficult to maintain once new people come in with different motives from the original group. In the squat movement it is not uncommon that the most strongly motivated at this point move on to new horizons. There is a shift between people who settle down, get children, change their lifestyle and those who continue to seek new experiments.

Difference between the Examples and the Nest!

On many of the points mentioned above (ideology, common enemy, struggle) the Nest! concept is rather different. It is not only conceived out of the interests of the inhabitants, but out of a partnership perspective. So not only the individual motives are leading, but how they can combine and serve interests of the community at large. Both sides win from an equal exchange. The authorities do not oppose the initiative.

Nor do they graciously allow the project in a social desire to help a disadvantaged group. Everybody involved in the Nest! does so out of their own interest, which is a very healthy businesslike base of collaboration. The interests of individuals and groups (such as municipality, developers, investors) are combined for reinforcement.

The interests of all involved in the partnership is the starting point of the process. It is not a hurdle to take (as in public private partnerships) or a subject of bitter confrontations (as in the squat movement). Implicit in this process is the recognition that the city and investors benefit from the settlement, just like the pioneers do. The vitality and social network the Nest! creates are not the primary reason it attracts pioneers. Still, the social cohesion and effects on the housing market are effects on a larger scale that make it of interest to the municipality.

Most important difference to the quoted examples is that the Nest! has no ideological base. There is no selection of participants, they do not have to adhere to a certain culture or lifestyle, nor are they required to participate in anything. The possibilities that the Nest! offers are not gifts of charity, but opportunities and chances. Nothing more nothing less.

I scratch your Back, you scratch mine

"How do you attract the right kind of people?" is a question we are often asked. The answer is that whoever is attracted to the settlement is 'right'. The conditions are such that self-selection happens.

The settlement is a temporary addition to existing facilities and housing. It is not a social project, that has the obligation to provide for a certain target group. Everybody is

welcome, if the offered solutions suit them. The rules of supply and demand apply here, the free market forces determine the settlement. Not everybody will be able or willing to live in the settlement. The housing units will be small and for example not automatically accessible by wheelchair. When pioneers with special needs want to participate, provisions can be made. This may make the housing unit more expensive, but it may also lead to a complete new branch of services being developed in the settlement.

A reasonable rent has to be paid for the housing units, an average of €250 per person is targeted. It is not subsidized social housing. It is cheap accommodation with very basic standards. That is one of the reasons why it has to be temporary. It serves needs for a phase in people's lives, that is also temporary. In our individualistic society the idea of moral obligations reminds of a long gone past. Chances and opportunities, however, can be fun.

Those who make use of the opportunities and openings to actively participate, contribute to the liveliness of the Nest! They make it into a place that provides good services, a pleasant ambiance and a vibrant social life. For them it is an unintended 'side effect'. They do what they do, because they earn with it, they build up future perspectives and/or because they enjoy it.

The 'side effects' however, are why other partners are interested in the Nest! Project. Developers will be able to sell more houses in the new neighborhood. The municipality will appreciate the improved social quality and the better image of the town. Contrary to former squats the contributions of the pioneers will be publicly recognized, appreciated and validated.

Scale

In order for the Nest! to be interesting to the municipality, it needs to have a certain scale, it needs to go beyond a neighborhood initiative. In order for the whole newly built settlement to get a reputation of being different and well serviced, there needs to be a critical mass of pioneers, since not all pioneers will start businesses and activities that are of benefit to all, many will just live there, there are no obligations just chances.

The size of the temporary settlement is fairly open ended on the upper end. Because the renting out of the units is determined by free market forces, it will find its maximum size simply when units remain vacant. Considering that these are the simplest and smallest possible housing units, they will also be the first to remain vacant when there is no more acute shortage on the housing market. The maximum size is also determined by the location. A village of 2000 inhabitants cannot host a temporary settlement of 800 units, that would be too overwhelming and too different in atmosphere. As a rule of thumb the maximum amount of housing units should be no more than 10 percent of the number of inhabitants in the environment. In the case of Schuytgraaf that would mean that 1000 pioneers would be the maximum. In the examples described in Chapter 13, the numbers are kept well below that maximum.

A minimum of pioneer presence for the process to happen is more difficult to indicate. In theory 10 charismatic personalities will already make a difference and bring life to even such a vast area as Schuytgraaf. It is however highly unlikely that all pioneers will be such people, because there are no criteria whatsoever that pioneers have to meet. Not everybody will start up a little business, not everybody is a social motor. A certain critical mass of people is needed to bring things to life. If the temporary settlement is about five percent in size of the number of inhabitants in the environment it would still work. Less could mean that the settlement would have barely any noticeable social effects.

Composition of Units and Population

The type of housing units can steer to a certain extent the type of pioneers that are attracted. It would be important to have enough 'larger' units to allow families with children to participate. In the ideal situation at least half of the pioneers consists of starter families. This includes newly arrived refugees, who may have much older children than the Dutch starters, but are nevertheless starters on the housing market. Around 30% of the housing would be units that are suitable for students and other young people, living independent and alone or in groups. Around 10 percent of the settlement could consist of units that are practical for artists, artisans or other creative professions to work at home. The last ten percent of the settlement would consist of units for a varied range of "part time pioneers". These can be pensioners or people on holiday enjoying the place for a week or so as an outing. It can also be people who are in a temporary situation that requires housing, like a divorce, waiting for a new house to finish, expatriates on home leave and so forth. Considering that less than half of the people working in Arnhem actually live there, there could finally be a market for 'pieds a terre' where people could stay during the week instead of commuting.

Larger units (or a combination of units) are also needed for common projects like the Neighborhood Academy and the Mother Center or for some of the businesses.

Parasite Paradise

Origin and Objectives

Parasites are Prototypes for Amphibious Readymade Advanced Small-scale Individual Ecological Houses. Parasite Paradise was mainly an exhibition of the state of the art on mobile architecture and temporary urban form. It was commenting on the nearby Vinex location, challenging reflection and dialogue. It made the current debate in the leading architectural magazines on mobility and flexibility visible on the ground. In doing so it has widened the professional debate to a large audience and given off a clear statement for the unplanned, unusual and flexible. It has displayed the role of nomadic artists in creating new space and atmosphere of freedom and the unexpected.

Location and Program

Like 't Groene Sticht, Parasite Paradise was located in the largest Vinex neighborhood, Leidsche Rijn. It lasted throughout August and September 2003. The program consisted of 26 objects, of which some were created especially for the occasion.

Most were installations by artists from all over Europe, that were brought together for the occasion to give a full display of the state of the art.

The "Nomads in residence" an artist's work and living space as well as a skate ramp and a neighborhood center remained in use on different locations, after the exhibit.

Organization and legal Status

Parasite Paradise was organized by the art initiative of Leidsche Rijn, Beyond. The foundation for Art in public space SKOR was leading in providing the conditions for the content. Several years before a process was started in cooperation with the Amsterdam Art Foundation AFK. They provided amongst others prizes that allowed a number of the units on display to be developed. The manifestation itself was organized in cooperation between the Utrecht municipality, Beyond and SKOR.

Financial Aspects

Financing the exhibit has proven difficult. Main sources were the IPSV fund of the Ministry of VROM and foundations and other subsidizing agencies that are active on the field of art, the K.F. Hein Fonds and Elise Mathilde Fonds.

Community Building

Though Parasite Paradise had several housing units in it and was also used for an architect's office during the period of its existence, housing and work were not the main functions of the exhibit. The audience was not necessarily the community around it either. Leidsche Rijn was more the passive topic of the exhibit, than the active participant. Community building was one

of the objectives of Parasite Paradise but this did not materialize beyond the inhabitants of Leidsche Rijn curiously using their free entrance tickets.

Challenges

Getting the initiative off the ground has proven difficult. Real access to the organizational structure of Leidsche Rijn and a lasting influence on the method of shaping the new neighborhood has not been possible. It has more been a publicity stunt, a nice display that was tolerated safely away from the mainstream. As successful as the initiative was as an event, a manifest and a work of art, it has not managed to enter into the general process in which the new Vinex location is shaped.⁷²

Documentation: Parasite Paradise, pleidooi voor tijdelijke architectuur en flexibele stedenbouw, Nai Uitgevers/SKOR 2003, www.parasiteparadise.nl www.beyondutrecht.nl

V) Planning the unplanned: the Conditions to be met

The concerns and issues mentioned in the pioneer interviews like privacy, freedom, managing diversity as well as the image of an ideal neighborhood being “a village in the city” point towards important conditions that should be met in the temporary settlement. Although hot-houses of creativity, as well as the generation and investment of social, cultural and symbolic capital cannot be planned and directed top down, they can be supported by realizing favorable structures and conditions that support their development. The main condition that needs to be met, is to offer incentives and opportunities for pioneers that fit their motivation and that create a possibility for them to invest their energy in their living environment.

Unplanned Space

What the temporary settlement has to offer, is the use of unplanned (temporary) space. This is the basic prerequisite for a creative development process. People who have ideas and surplus energy need space to develop their creativity and projects. Artists are attracted by innovative settings and stimulating challenges. They want space for experimentation, for creating new functions, meanings and ideas. Creating a new perspective on urban planning and giving new meaning to a town extension Vinex location could provide such an attractive challenge. In the Nest! the pioneers and small entrepreneurs are not part of a protest movement, but enter the development process “through the front door”. They are part of a new strategy of urban development, that recognizes and creates enabling structures for the potential of residents to unfold in developing and sustaining a neighborhood.

The Nest! also offers many opportunities for visibility, publicity, recognition, prestige and becoming known, which are also interesting aspects for artists and cultural event producers.

Options of Participation

The proposed temporary settlement is structured in a way that creates participation opportunities for a wide range of groups. By providing different housing options both people who are interested in a more temporary lifestyle, as well as those who prefer a more long term perspective can join.

The settlement gives room to find affordable housing, to economize on rent, supplement

⁷² “Parasite Paradise was nice to look at, but had no effect whatsoever on the settlement. It is very much an art thing. You don’t see many people going there. Maybe they go once to look, but no interaction happens there. It does not link with their concerns, their world.” (Inhabitant quote)

the family budget, participate in community, as well as to do things yourself, try things out, give things your own identity, gain experience or realize your dream. The settlement also offers possibilities to transform a temporary phase in life into more permanency, by setting up businesses or privately commissioning housing.

The level of commitment, of predictability and risk taking, of short or longer term involvement will be defined and will be over-seeable by the participants and pioneers themselves. The settlement offers a large scope of possibilities for participation ranging from full time living in the settlement, to part time participation to simply offering support, and ideas as "friends of the settlement". The option of only living there and paying rent is just as valid as using it as an opportunity to gain a living or to gain experience. Living there only in the summer or not living there at all, but only participating in a certain project or a certain event is also possible. It will not be an "either - or", "all or nothing" choice, there will be a lot of middle ground.

This wide range of options can contribute to diversity and a "good mix" in the temporary settlement as well as to attracting outside groups willing to invest in the settlement.

Economic Opportunities

Key factor in making the temporary settlement work, is that it is cheap. The availability of cheap rent at a decent level of comfort, privacy and hygiene is a major factor of the settlement. The scope of housing between the caravan and the rooting down settlement will offer a range of choices to fit individual needs, preferences and price/quality balances in this respect. The development of services and small businesses will contribute to the creation of an animated location as well as serving a range of needs in the environment, for instance for shopping or transportation.

Weaving the Social Fabric

Community, social cohesion and diversity management are stimulated and supported by creating meeting places, where people can interact and get to know each other. Opportunities and occasions for people to get in contact with each other outside of their houses generate the community feeling and the investment of inhabitants into their neighborhood. The proposed Mother Center and the International Garden as described in later chapters, as well as the Neighborhood Academy create such occasions and spaces both indoors as well as outdoors, where people can meet, and where ideas and peer exchange and support as well as community involvement can be generated. These projects can quickly become the "heart" of the settlement and therefore will be situated centrally.

The International Garden and the Mother Center are projects that hold the greatest potential for intercultural integration and exchange, as well as integrating children into public spaces. The Academy will contribute to creating space for reflection and knowledge building, as well as for developing conflict resolution and mediation systems. These projects will also set up support structures like business incubators, legal advice and cultural orientation. They will offer spaces like tool libraries, spaces for prayer, meditation and religious ceremonies, for family festivities, for music and dance, playgrounds and second hand shops. They will organize regular community events, like regional markets and bazaars, parties and celebrations, workshops and public debates. Responsibility and reliability (for instance in maintenance chores) will be supported by the fact that activities will not be expected on a purely voluntary and unpaid level. Instead, they will be compensated and remunerated as described in the following chapter.

The temporary settlement will not be an unregulated space. Basic public regulations and requirements will be valid and respected. It will not, however, be an over-regulated and over-planned space. Objectives, rules, agreements and strategies of compromise will be defined by the people living there and be worked out in a participative process as needed. The Mother Center, the International Garden as well as the Grassroots Academy

offer many tools and models for such a process.

Realizing the Dream

By combining nature with culture, allowing space for self-initiative and creative ideas, creating lively meeting spaces, initiating community building projects as well as business activities, creating housing on a comfortable scale, generating diversity, providing for a wide range of events and activities, attracting artists and avant-garde productions and combining living spaces with options for work and creation, the temporary settlement comes rather close to realizing "a village in the city" which is described as the ideal neighborhood in the pioneer interviews.

The Economical

Chapter 7: The Local Economy

I) Introduction

The plan introduced in this chapter⁷³ is intended as a sketch of what the economic structures in the temporary settlement could look like. It is an idea, built with building blocks of various elements taken from existing and often successful examples. Although the plan is presented as a blueprint for a Local Economy Organization (LEO), this is done for the sake of clarity, to go beyond abstract concepts and sketch something concrete. The real economic and financial structures in the settlement will need to be adapted to the people and organizations involved, and to the financial means available.

This plan should therefore be read as a carefully selected set of ideas that can contribute to the success of the Nest!. Special emphasis is put on how the combination of these ideas creates new opportunities. What this study demonstrates, is that by working together things can be achieved that would not be possible otherwise.

Goals and Gains of a Local Economy

In this chapter we develop a plausible economic structure for the temporary settlement for the time of its duration. The specific aims of this economic structure are to make the best possible use of the available capital and capacities in the temporary settlement as well as in the developing neighborhood, to allow equal exchange between the efforts people put into the community (in terms of work and time) and in terms of financial capital, to create new possibilities for validating the work people do and as a result to improve the quality of life in the community.

The Local Economy Organization is intended to be tightly linked to the Euro economy - it is not the intention to create an isolated local economy which is economically separated from the rest of the world. The economic structures described here are not alternatives to mainstream economy. They provide *additional* financial facilities that are strongly linked with the national economy.

Strengthening social Cohesion

Nowadays, most economic and financial structures have become huge institutions. Although technically they may be efficient, socially they are not. Bigger is not always better. Sometimes smaller structures perform better - even economically - because they require less bureaucracy, have a stronger involvement of clients/participants and not only achieve their direct goals but also build a stronger community.

Doing as much as possible with own Resources

Instead of turning to subsidies immediately it is often much better to see what you can do yourself. People have much stronger commitment to things that are achieved by their own efforts. By working together financially people can make use of their collective economic power, and various new opportunities arise.

⁷³ The design of the Local Economy Organisation presented in this chapter was done by Loek Hilgersom and Pascal van Wanroy from Stichting Andergeld www.Andergeld.nl

Economic Empowerment

People with limited financial means also have limited chances to get something off the ground economically. Often they don't have the knowledge and confidence to start something like a business. But even if they do, the chances are big that banks are reluctant to co-operate. Different economic structures are needed to provide the necessary coaching, support and access to financial means for economically less strong groups.

Time Gaps as Economic Opportunities

In the postwar reconstruction period it was accepted that initially bus lines in a new area would function at a loss. Nowadays public transport is not available till it is profitable – and by that time people are used to their cars. The same applies even stronger to services and shops that today are larger in scale and therefore need a larger population before they can function. The result is that the first inhabitants suffer and that the start of a community in the neighborhood is difficult.

During the time period that the neighborhood is not finished, which coincides with the existence of the temporary settlement, small-scaled community businesses and services can thrive that under normal circumstances could not (or barely) exist. They can fill the vacuum and temporarily have a monopoly, a situation that gives a good head start for consolidation into permanence. The type of business can vary, fulfilling needs for the time pressured households in the new area, who are also likely to be able to afford them. The time gap between the arrival of the first inhabitants and the full operational functioning of shops, services, transport and other businesses can provide a market niche for small scale economic initiatives.

II) The Local Economy Organization (LEO)

The Local Economy Organization, further referred to as LEO, is the organization that runs the local economic and financial structures in the settlement.

The general goal of LEO is to improve the economic and social well-being of the local community. In the first stage, the local community will be people involved in the temporary settlement (inhabitants, businesses or people otherwise related to the settlement). In a later stage, the local community may also include the permanent residents of the new neighborhood.

The concrete tasks of LEO are:

- to provide affordable temporary housing for people, organizations and businesses in the settlement,
- to organize co-operative saving structures that allow people with low incomes to build up own capital reserves,
- to provide investment capital for local business start-ups,
- to run a local currency scheme that guarantees sufficient means of exchange for healthy local economic interaction to develop,
- to support local exchange and interaction, both economic and social.

In order for LEO to be run effectively, these various tasks need to be separated in four different functional parts. To a large extent, the different parts can operate independent from each other, but in some respects they all rely on each other. Linking together the

different functions creates opportunities that would not be there otherwise; the total is more than just summing up the parts.

This will become clear in the detailed descriptions further on.

The following functional parts or branches of LEO can be identified:

1. Housing Co-op
2. Local Currency Fund
3. Savings and Loans Division
4. Local Job Agency

In theory, each of these branches could become an entire organization. This depends entirely on the size of the settlement. LEO can develop and grow gradually along with the settlement. In the beginning the Local Economy Organization is more likely to exist of one active coordinator and a hand full of people being part-time involved in the different aspects of the work.

Pioneers as Developers – The Housing Co-op

The Nest! Housing Co-op is an essential factor in the whole settlement project. It is responsible for acquiring, setting-up, renting-out and maintenance of the temporary houses and it is responsible for developing the privately commissioned housing described in the next chapter. These are the major economic factors in the settlement. The capital and financial flows involved will form the basis of the Local Currency and the local saving schemes.

The Housing Co-op is the developer for the temporary settlement. It takes care of the whole process of buying the temporary houses, laying foundations, setting up the houses, preparing a minimum of required infrastructure and facilities (roads, water, electricity, etc.) and managing the renting out and maintenance of the temporary houses. A high degree of involvement of the pioneers in all this is possible and desired.

Financially, the Co-op will buy the temporary houses. A bank loan will be necessary to do this, but also pioneers who have some money or outside investors can buy shares in the Co-op. The Co-op has expenses for all work involved: build up, maintenance, and administration.. On the income side, the pioneers pay rent for their temporary houses to the Co-op. The price of the rent includes the capital costs of the bank loan (interest), rent costs for the land, set-up and maintenance of the temporary houses, insurance, legal costs and costs for running the organization of the Housing Co-op.

Strengthening Local Exchange through Local Currency – The Local Currency Fund

The Local Currency Fund is responsible for printing and safeguarding the proper functioning of the Local Currency. It issues the Local Currency and keeps track of the way the local economy evolves and the currency is used.

To start up a Local Currency system various aspects are important: the issuing (who creates the currency and how?), the backing (what guarantees the value of the currency?) and the circulation (why would people use it?).

The Local Currency is issued by the Local Currency Fund. The value of the Local Currency is backed by the Housing Co-op in form of temporary houses, by the Local Currency Fund based on the future value of the Co-op and through sales at cultural events and in the various initiatives in the settlement.

When calculating the amount of Local Currency to be issued the different levels in which it is backed, need to be taken into account.

Backing by Temporary Housing

The Housing Co-op uses *Local Currency* for all its payments within the settlement. It can do so because the people who receive this Local Currency also need to pay rent to the Co-op, which they would have to do with Euro otherwise. In fact, the Local Currency is nothing but a piece of paper saying "this is worth 1 Euro when you pay it back to me".

The Local Currency directly represents Euro.

The big advantage is that the Co-op does not need to borrow these Euros from the bank first. The Local Currency therefore reduces the bank loan required by the Co-op, and consequently reduces the level of the interest payments. It is of direct economic interest of the Co-op to involve people from the settlement.

This part of the Local Currency is backed by the main 'product' the Co-op offers: housing. The Co-op accepts this currency for rent payments. This is a very suitable form of backing for a currency because rent involves a considerable amount of money, and it is something everybody needs. People in the settlement will therefore have no problems accepting the Local Currency, because for them its buying power is as good as Euro as it can buy a "product" they use on a daily level.

Backing by Future Value

The second level of issuing Local Currency is based on the value of the Housing Co-op after the estimated period of 5 to 10 years that the settlement will exist. The Co-op has bought the temporary houses and the necessary infrastructure for the settlement, which no doubt represents a considerable capital, even after several years of use. By the time the bank loan for the initial investment has been repaid, all this property belongs to the Co-op. The amount of this capital, that can be guaranteed, can be used as backing for issuing more Local Currency up-front.

This way of issuing has several advantages. In the first place part of the capital, that is invested in the temporary houses, can be made liquid again, so that more can be done with limited resources.

Secondly, because more Local Currency can be created from the very start of the project, enough can be issued for a healthy local economic exchange. The first type of issuing is limited by the amount of work the Co-op can commission locally, and this may not be sufficient to facilitate other local trading in the settlement.

And thirdly, the Local Currency Fund is free to decide how to spend this currency. It can therefore be used to pay for various tasks done in and around the settlement, including various social tasks. The Local Currency Fund thus can provide subsidies to local initiatives and establishes a local subsidy commission to decide what initiatives should be granted subsidies in Local Currency.

This part of the Local Currency is backed by the future value of the Co-op. The backing therefore represents a value in Euro - which is a condition we tried to meet throughout the entire plan, but a value that can only be accessed at the end of the settlement, when the Co-op is dissolved and the houses are sold. The Local Currency issued in this way can not be changed back to Euro directly. It can be paid back when the Co-op is dissolved at the end of the settlement. This means the Local Currency can become an attractive way for saving for the future. This is by no means a limitation on the practical use of the currency. The limited options for directly changing it to Euro may even stimulate people to spend it faster: if they have the choice to pay Euro or Local Currency, most people will probably use the Local Currency first.

A consequence of issuing Local Currency in this way is that under certain conditions a limitation may have to be built in for how much Local Currency the Co-op can accept for rent payments, e.g. a maximum of 50% in Local Currency and the rest in Euro.

However, if the currency gets used for various other kinds of trading in the settlement, such a limitation may not be necessary after a while.

Backing by Euro

If many people visit the settlement for events which are organized there, the Local Currency can be used for buying consumptions. The currency can be bought for Euro by anyone, both pioneers and visitors. It can be used like the special coins you buy during events to get a drink. As such, this already has advantages: you have an internal medium for trade and at the same time you generate Euro to buy goods outside the settlement.

Extra advantage is that visitors may not always use all their Local Currency, or they deliberately keep some as a souvenir or even a collector's item, which creates extra income for the settlement. Of course this works best if the coins or notes are made attractive in some way. At the Heineken Music Hall, for instance, they make new coins for every concert with a print of the musicians playing that night. They probably make a good extra profit on people keeping the coins as souvenirs.

If the settlement attracts sufficient visitors, it can be interesting to attach an extra social fund to the Local Currency. For visitors nothing really changes, they still pay 1 € for 1 unit of the Local Currency. But from every Euro they spend, 10% goes into a social fund for local activities. Such a fund can for instance support a local environmental project, a playground or any other social activity in the area. When any of the businesses or initiatives that earns Local Currency wants to convert it back to Euro, they get 90% back in Euro. The Local Currency can now be promoted with a slogan like: "Support the environment! Use Local Currency!".

For the currency issued this way the backing is very simple: outsiders buy the Local Currency with Euro, so these Euro directly form the backing. If the event organizers need Euro to buy goods from outside, they can change the Local Currency they receive as payment from visitors back to Euro at the Local Currency Fund.

Other ways Euro enters the system are when services are paid in Euro at the Job Agency or when down-payments are made in Euro in the privately commissioned housing development project described in the next chapter.

Circulation

With these three levels of issuing in place there will be a considerable amount of Local Currency circulating within the settlement. The Co-op will be a main factor in this. For all work to be done, the Co-op will hire pioneers as much as possible and pay them in Local Currency. Pioneers will have no problem with accepting relatively big amounts of Local Currency because they can use it to pay their rent.

The Local Currency has even more positive effects if it supports the local exchange of goods and services. A few conditions to stimulate this are already built in: within the settlement it is relatively easy to earn Local Currency (for most people probably easier than earning Euro), while for spending it there are less options to choose from. The value of the Local Currency is the same as the Euro, but you can not get everything with it. People will therefore be inclined to use the Local Currency when they have the choice. If these factors are properly balanced, the Local Currency may get a very high circulation speed.

The challenge will be to extend the use of the Local Currency to various other services and trades. The local job agency will therefore facilitate the exchange of services and tasks, which can all be paid at least partially in Local Currency.

If there are sufficient options for trading and other services offered against Local Currency, then workers will be able to accept even more of their payment in Local

Currency than their monthly rent because they will still be able to spend it.

Changing back to Euro

With rent payments being accepted in Local Currency, not many people need to change it to Euro. Only some businesses and initiatives are allowed to change the Local Currency back to Euro. This is controlled by the Local Currency Fund and can only be done under certain conditions. The main condition is that the backing of the Local Currency remains in place. Businesses will obviously have to change Local Currency to Euro when they need to buy supplies or hire labor only available outside the settlement. This will be made possible. Under normal circumstances, however, exchanging Local Currency back to Euro is not possible. Only when the project ends and all capital of the Co-op is sold can everything be changed back to Euro. However, this would mean the end of all Local Currency and may not be desirable at all if the currency is successful.

The whole idea of the backing for the currency is that you do not need it when people already accept the Local Currency and rely on it. But in order to achieve that situation, especially in a temporary setting like this, we need to provide transparent and easy to understand security.

Not all Local Currency can immediately be changed back to Euro because of the combination of the different forms of backing: a reserve in Euro, rent payments and the value of the Co-op. The first part can be changed back instantly, the second part month by month, and the last part only when the project ends. For this reason also visitors can not change back Local Currency to Euro, unless specially marked currency is sold for this purpose.

Ways for Pioneers to save in the Temporary Settlement – The Savings and Loans Division

The Savings and Loans Division manages the various saving schemes applied in the settlement and handles the loans and subsidies given out to local projects and businesses.

The Housing Co-op as a Saving Scheme

The Co-op as described above already is a type of saving scheme. All participants pay rent, but by doing this they slowly increase the value of the Co-op, of which they themselves are the owners. With every bit of the bank loan that is repaid, the Co-op increases its value. In the end, the pioneers have a valuable share in the Co-op. What happens after that depends on how things will continue. Maybe the used temporary houses and whatever other goods of value that belong to the Co-op will be sold and everyone gets their share. And now they get that share in Euro!

Because of the co-operative structure with the pioneers as members (as opposed to a privately owned housing company), the pioneers gradually become the real owners of the Co-op with every bit of the bank loan that is repaid. Indirectly, they become owners of their own houses and thus of the capital that represents.

This also allows the equal exchange of human and financial capital: people who have enough money can pay their rent in Euro, those who are active in the community can earn a lot of Local Currency and use this to pay (part of) their rent. At the Co-op this is of equal value with Euro. Because the Co-op requires both Euro and Local Currency, it is good to have both types of people in the settlement.

As long as enough people pay their rent in Euro, others can be allowed to pay the full 100% in Local Currency.

Saving for permanent Housing: the Building Society

The value of the temporary houses is much lower than that of permanent houses (an average of €6.000 to €25.000, against at least €150.000 for permanent houses). Additional saving opportunities are required for people who want to save for a permanent house, possibly in the newly developed settlement. The method of the Building Society is very useful for this purpose.

The aim of the Building Society is to provide financial means for affordable housing. All participants in a Building Society profit from saving collectively instead of individually. Suppose a house costs €120.000. Without a mortgage, one person would need to save 500 every month for 20 years to be able to afford that house. If 10 people all save for a house it would take each of them 20 years to buy the house. But if they put their money together, then already after 2 years they would have enough to buy a house for the first person, in another 2 years the next, etc. Only for the last person it would still take 20 years, but the average time to get a house has already gone down to 11 years.

If new people join at a later stage, their savings contribute to help the last people from the first group to get their houses faster. People who access their house the first can be required to pay more than the monthly 500 for the rest of the period the Building Society exists, for two reasons: because they have the advantage of having their house before others, and because they have their house now, they no longer have to pay rent.

Building societies have a history that goes back to the mid 18th century in England. Most of the early building societies were so-called terminating societies, meaning that they were dissolved when all members had been housed. They were typically started as community initiatives. Nowadays building societies can be found all over the world, but especially in English speaking countries. Due to their success and the high level of regulations to comply with, building societies have grown into large institutions that have in many cases lost their community character. Nevertheless, many societies are officially still owned by their membership. Nowadays, besides mortgages, many building societies also provide various other financial services. Although this may have contributed to the alienation of the membership (because it usually involves further growth of the organization), it is a logical development that has most likely been supported by the members themselves.

The Building Society is an effective way to collect financial means for buying houses out of people's own resources. It is a co-operative organization form and a form of community banking, which fits perfectly to the ideas and principles of the Nest!. Because the Local Currency is entirely backed by Euro, savings in either currency are treated equally. No limitation is required for how much Local Currency can be accepted by the Building Society.

Learning from the South: Saving and Credit Groups

In Asia and Africa neighborhood saving groups have a long tradition as a means of economic empowerment. Through international grassroots women's networks and the Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA) conducted during Expo 2000 (see chapter 4) the approach has also been transferred to neighborhood groups in Northern Countries,⁷⁴ and is included as one of the economic empowerment strategies of the Nest! Project.

A local Saving and Credit group consists of 10-15 people that commit to saving an agreed on sum of money (for instance €50) each month. This sum is collected every month at a group meeting. At the same meeting, group members present requests for a loan and following discussion in the group, decisions are made as to who will receive a loan that month. Repayment procedures, time spans and interest rates are also

⁷⁴ See documentation (in German) of the savings and credit group "Hot Money" in Stuttgart, Germany. Can be ordered at stuttgart@mine.cc.

discussed and determined collectively. Occasions for which loans can be given include for instance education and further training, paying off of debts, business investments, furniture and equipment, travels, or medical bills.

Over time the group funds increase steadily, in terms of savings accumulated by each member, in terms of the amount of funds available for giving out loans to group members, as well as in terms of funds acquired through interest. These funds can be used to give out business loans to other members of the temporary settlement or to support projects. The more loans are given out, the more financial capital is acquired by the group. This stimulates the development of ideas, plans and projects.

If some people save in Local Currency and others in Euro, loans are possible in either currency, or in a combination of both. This can further strengthen the Local Currency.

A set of rules and agreements needs to be developed by the group to give the process structure and continuity and as precaution to potential conflicts. These rules need to address the following issues:

- ✓ How many members should be in the group?
- ✓ How long are the monthly meetings and where are they to be held?
- ✓ Which sum is saved every month by members?
- ✓ How much should the interest rate be?
- ✓ How long are members required to stay in the group?
- ✓ When are the savings reimbursed, after a member leaves the group?
- ✓ Do the group members earn interest or is interest reserved solely to the benefit of the group fund?
- ✓ What is the procedure, if a group member cannot make it to the monthly meeting?
- ✓ What majority is needed for loan decisions?
- ✓ In what time span do loans need to be paid back and in which rates?
- ✓ How are track records to be kept and who does the book-keeping?
- ✓ Should it be possible to save additional sums of money or not?
- ✓ What is the procedure if payments are late?
- ✓ How and when are decisions made on how to use the interest?
- ✓ What agreements need to be made regarding confidentiality?
- ✓ Where are group funds placed and who has access to the account?
- ✓ What rules and agreements are needed to assure participative and open communication structures?

Benefit of Saving and Credit Groups for the Temporary Settlement⁷⁵

Saving and Credit Groups can support the Local Economy in the temporary settlement in many ways:

1. Local Saving Groups support the building up of regular savings for inhabitants of the temporary settlement. Being able to use the Local Currency as savings is a further incentive and facilitation to engage in saving. The experiences in Southern countries and also in Germany show that saving collectively in a group is a very effective way of creating the motivation and discipline needed to save regularly, also in groups with no or low saving habits or track records. This opens up financial opportunities and long term financial planning.

"I have become much more disciplined with my finances. I never thought it was possible to save so much. The discussions in the group make me realize where I have unnecessary expenses and how I can keep better track of my money."

⁷⁵ Quotes from the Mother Center Hot Money Saving Group in Stuttgart, Germany

As a result I have been able to realize some dreams and ideas I never would have otherwise."

"Simply talking every month about my finances is a great support. It keeps me on top of things and has made me aware of many more ways I have to both earn and save money. Many taboos and issues I had around money have cleared up. It really helps to share experiences and views on these things with others."

"Our group is much more than a savings and credit system. It is a training scheme for handling money and an empowerment scheme in dealing with money."

2. Local Saving Groups are a low threshold means of accessing loans for groups with little or no collateral or for everyday life issues that you usually do not go to a bank for to get a loan. The way the local saving groups work is that group cohesion and group control provide the loan security usually maintained by financial assets. World-wide experience in local saving and credit groups show that the repayment rate – even among economical risk groups - is far superior to regular bank loans.

"Sometimes an everyday crisis situation like the break down of your car or an expensive visit to the dentist can create financial tight-spots. You don't want to go to the bank or to friends with such issues. Our saving group is just perfect for such occasions. It is a great back up system for my family finances."

"A bank is something anonymous. But in my saving group I have to look the others in the eye every month, so I have a completely different motivation to hand over my monthly payments. I know the other group members, who depend on it. It is my own group I am paying to."

3. Local Saving Groups have an amazing effect on social cohesion and social bonding. They generate openness, trust and transparency as well as confidence and mutual support. These qualities are generated in the groups not as a response to good will and good intentions, but as a result of the intense and sincere communication required in the process of deciding who will get loans out of the collective savings or how to ensure that every member in the group contributes their monthly saving and/or repayment rate.

"Since we are putting our money together, we need to create reliable relationships among each other. This causes a very different communication than in other groups. Money issues require honesty. In the beginning this was not so easy, but together you grow into it. You really get to know people when you learn about how they handle their finances. Over time we have developed a lot of trust and respect for each other."

4. The funds accumulated in the local saving groups are a valuable asset for investments and loans in local businesses or projects of the temporary settlement. This is a further way of assuring that local resources can stay in the community and be used to benefit the economic development of the community.
-

Micro Credit Schemes for local Projects and Business Start-ups

The Housing Co-op as well as the various saving schemes may be acquiring considerable amounts of capital. This capital can be applied for loans to local projects and business start-ups. Naturally, proper economic judgment is required to deal with this.

A micro-credit initiative can be started including various kinds of coaching and support for starting entrepreneurs, thereby limiting the risks of defaulting loans. Organizing this requires knowledge and experience. Whether it will be useful to set this up in the settlement depends on the amount of business start-ups and the demand for such loans.

The different schemes described in this chapter provide more than individual and collective savings. They provide awareness building, group building as well as training for economic literacy and the handling of money. The Savings and Credit Groups are more suitable for small groups whereas the Building Society works for bigger groups and the Micro Credit scheme can work even for individuals. All schemes support economic empowerment.

Participating in the Labor Market-The Local Job Agency

The local job agency is responsible for linking the demand and supply of services, for mobilizing the capacities in the settlement, and for finding and possibly also training people for much required skills. This will be organized in cooperation with the Neighborhood Academy (Chapter 4) on site. As such, the local job agency is a combination of a volunteer job exchange like in a LETS-system, a vocational training office and a job referral agency. By not separating these functions, opportunities are opened for people to slowly grow into real jobs.

The Local Job Agency links the wants and offers for jobs and services. If people from inside or outside the settlement, especially the inhabitants of the newly developed settlement, need services like babysitting, gardening, or various kinds of handyman tasks, the agency will try to find people for this. The services will be paid for either with Local Currency or with Euro. People doing the jobs receive Local Currency.

To match demand and supply various means are used: a notice board in a central place with little notes is the simplest form for communicating wants and offers. A web-site makes it also possible for people a bit further away to check the ads and write their own offers or requests.

A coordinator works proactively to find the best possible ways to apply the skills and capacities available in the temporary settlement in ways that are needed. The skills audit applied in the Neighborhood Academy will support this process by providing documentation of the expertise present in the settlement as well as boosting confidence and motivation on the side of the pioneers to apply their skills and talents. The coordinator links up people who can be of use for each other. When useful, the coordinator can also look for training opportunities and coach people in their job experience and job performance. This process can have a very empowering effect on people who have been out of the job market for a longer time. By trying certain tasks on a basis that is not too formal and demanding, people can re-discover what they want to do and what they can do, without having a formal full-time job immediately.

If the settlement is not all that big, the role of the coordinator may function largely informally. People will know each other and probably ask each other for help when needed.

If it gets bigger, more organization and communication will be required. For people from outside the settlement to make use of the capacities in the settlement, an active job agency will be required from the beginning.

III) Organizational Structure

The Local Economy Organization

The Local Economy Organization (LEO) is the umbrella organization and consists of 4 branches. Each of them has its own legal structure and organizational requirements. These will be lined-out briefly in the tables below. The LEO itself can best be organized in a foundation. That ensures that the over-all goals of the settlement are kept throughout the project and it may be instrumental for receiving subsidies on behalf of different branches of the organization, e.g. for job re-integration or business start-up programs (which would be a combined effort of the Local Job Agency and the Savings and Loans Division).

Legal structure:	Foundation (with the aim to improve the general social and economic development of the temporary settlement and the new neighborhood as a whole)
Tasks:	front-office Information, press services
	back-office Strategy planning Fundraising Monitoring project progress
Finances:	income Subsidies
	expenses Organization costs

The organizational structures and requirements for the four branches of the Local Economy Organization are outlined below:

1. The Housing Co-op

Legal structure:	Co-operative (owned by members who rent a house or building from the Co-op, some may work for the Co-op) Buying shares through investments is also possible.
Tasks:	front-office Reparation and maintenance service of temporary housing Management of privately commissioned permanent housing development Marketing: press contacts, finding new inhabitants, communication with members Service desk: complaints, questions, suggestions of members
	back-office Administration (membership, finances, running the office) Management and maintenance of the temporary houses and infrastructure Management of building process Development of new ideas concerning housing
Finances:	income Rent (partly in Local Currency)
	expenses Repayment bank loan for investment in temporary houses and infrastructure Rent of the land Maintenance temporary houses (partly in Local Currency) Organization costs (staff, overhead, partly in Local Currency)

2. The Local Currency Fund

Legal structure:	Foundation (with strictly set goals: controlling the proper functioning of the Local Currency)
Tasks:	front-office None
	back-office Management of the Euro Fund Financial administration: keeping control of the amounts of Local Currency in circulation Printing and issuing of the Local Currency Co-ordinating Local Currency subsidy commission
Finances:	income Earnings on capital investment
	expenses Production of Local Currency Organization costs

3. The Savings and Loans Division

Legal structure:	Association: will function like a credit union or membership bank
Tasks:	front-office Service desk: request for loans, sales of Local Currency, savings deposits Marketing: press information, membership recruitment, communication Advice about savings, loans, conditions
	back-office Membership administration Financial administration, balances, payments, debts Pre-credit management: checks and controls for loans Post-credit management: dealing with defaulting loans Office management
Finances:	income Service costs Earnings on capital investment Subsidy for micro-credit scheme
	expenses Organization costs

4. The Local Job Agency

Legal structure:	Association (membership consists of pioneers and people from outside who make use of the facilities)
Tasks:	front-office Coordinates information on supply and demand: notice board, newsletter, web-site Job co-ordinator: actively links needs and requests to existing capacities Coaching: workshops, courses, training, business-incubator for starting businesses
	back-office Administration and publication of wants and offers

Interactive on-line demand and supply web-site

Finances: income

Payments for jobs and services (partly in Local Currency)

Service costs/surcharge (partly in Local Currency)

Subsidies for re-integration

expenses

Payment to people performing jobs and services (in Local Currency)

Organization costs

IV) Practical Examples in the Settlement

Some short descriptions of how various activities in and around the settlement can make use of the economic structure are presented here to demonstrate the concept.

Setting up the Temporary Houses

The start of the settlement will be marked by the arrival of the first temporary houses. The Co-op will borrow money (from banks and share holders) to buy the houses and necessary materials. For the work involved in setting up the houses the Co-op will try to hire as much as possible people from the settlement and pay them with Local Currency. Euros are used whenever materials are needed or specialized work needs to be bought from companies outside. As a result, all work commissioned within the settlement results in lower capital costs (because less Euro have to be borrowed).

Training a local Electrician

The houses require connection to electricity, water supply, possibly gas. Many practical technical skills are required for setting up and maintaining the temporary houses. If there is nobody in the settlement with the skills for e.g. electrical installation, somebody may be trained for that job. A skilled technician can be hired as supervisor for one or more trainees.

The supervisor probably has to be paid with Euro, but in the future more of this work can be done by the local trainees. Government support may be possible for the trajectory to train people with limited job-opportunities. The co-ordination of this training trajectory can be done by the Local Job Agency in cooperation with the Neighborhood Academy.

Mother Center

The Mother Center (see chapter 9) is a combination of many activities. It offers childcare, a social meeting place, workshops, and even some of the functions of the Local Job Agency and a business incubator may be integrated into the Mother Center. All services at the Mother Center are paid with Local Currency, and the expenses the Mother Center makes will be spent locally using Local Currency wherever possible.

The Mother Center rents a building from the Co-op for which it can pay in Euro or in Local Currency, but it first has to earn the latter. Local Currency can be earned from pioneers using facilities at the Mother Center, and it can be entitled to receive subsidies from the Local Currency Fund for its activities.

Local Pub

The pub would work like any other pub or café, except that here you can buy your consumptions with Local Currency. The pub is allowed to address the Local Currency Fund to change the Local Currency it earns back to Euro in order to buy food and drinks. The rate for changing back to Euro is 90% (1 local unit = € 0,9). The other 10% creates a social fund (in Euro). The 90% rate is also a motivation to spend as much as possible locally. If, for example, the pub needs to hire a bookkeeper, it would be cheaper if somebody can do that locally.

Where the pub would normally be run by volunteers, they now get paid Local Currency. If the pub becomes a full-time business, payment will need to be a mix of Local Currency and Euro because the Local Currency will not be able to buy everything required.

Babysitting

Babysitting can be provided as a service to pioneers as well as to the inhabitants of the newly developing neighborhood. People who need these services can get in contact with the Local Job Agency (possibly combined with the Mother Center) to get in contact with a suitable babysitter. For payments, people from outside the temporary settlement change Euro for Local Currency, or pay Euro directly at the Job Agency. The Job Agency subtracts a small fee and pays the rest in Local Currency to the babysitter, like any other job-agency.

Of course the same goes for any other service offered by people in the settlement. If costs (in Euro) are made for doing these jobs, these costs are paid for by the Job Agency and will be charged to the clients.

Small Businesses

The principle of the baby sitting will work the same with any other small business like a local delivery service, a carpenter, or a tailor. The main difference being that for them this income is not additional, but may soon be their main income. For that reason payments cannot remain only in Local Currency. Such businesses may also require investments (in Euro). Businesses of a bit larger scale will therefore need special considerations.

If the business earns partly Local Currency and partly Euro, they may not have any problem with that at all.

They can spend the Local Currency on renting a building (a local business center could even be founded) and partly to pay the worker(s) who also spend it for the main part on rent.

If certain businesses earn more Local Currency than they can spend, then special exchange agreements can be made with the Local Currency Fund. Since all Local Currency in this plan is backed by 'hard economic value' it is very well possible to allow various exchange possibilities.

Businesses may also be interested in loans, maybe in Local Currency, but most likely in Euro. If the Local Currency and the different branches of LEO work properly - especially the savings schemes - they will be creating capital reserves that can be used to provide business loans for the settlement.

V) Conclusion

The plan presented in this chapter has many different aspects. The entire construction is rather complex, but not everything has to be implemented, and not necessarily all at once.

Central element in the plan is the choice for a Local Currency that is entirely backed by 'hard economic value'. This gives the currency a guaranteed value for the participants which will enhance its acceptance, but it also adds a considerable amount of complexity.

However, since the main aim of the local economy is to provide ways in which the human capital of the people in the settlement becomes exchangeable with the financial capital of others, the choice for a backed currency seems totally valid.

Further details can be provided when the concepts are adapted to the concrete conditions in practice. Whether it can work economically depends on various factors like the prices of the land, the temporary houses, and the required infrastructure. At that stage it will be possible to give an exact estimate of the economic feasibility of this scheme and the scale of the different aspects of its economic structure.

Benefits

The benefits of the Local Economic Organization come on many levels.

Creating Value

By introducing the Local Currency, economic opportunities are created for the temporary settlement to create value by exchanging skills and talents inside the settlement. The more the Local Currency is exchanged back and forth, the more value is created.

The Local Currency can be expected to circulate more and faster within the local economy for two reasons:

1. It can only be used locally, so it won't leave the community.
You can not buy everything with Local Currency, so whenever people have a choice, they will spend their Local Currency and hold on to their Euro'. This effect is known as Gresham's Law, "good money drives out bad money" which is more accurately expressed as "cheap money drives out dear, if they exchange for the same price."

For example: If the circulation speed of the Local Currency is quick enough to go back and forth 12 times during a year, then 300 Local Currency units are enough to pay rent for one housing unit for a whole year.

Validating Work

With Local Currency all forms of work can be measured and rewarded, even those which are normally not paid for in Euro and even when there are no Euro available to pay for it. The Local Currency provides the local community with extra spending power, so it has more room for valuing what it finds important. And somewhere down the line the value created by this kind of work could also be measured and paid for with Euro, since the Euro-value of the community increases over time.

The Local Currency system provides an opportunity to valorize forms of work that are usually not considered work, that stay invisible or are kept outside the formal economy. Especially for women, who contribute enormous amounts of unpaid work, this opens up interesting perspectives. The Local Currency can become a valuable tool of awareness building and contribute to more gender equality by bridging the chasm between productive and reproductive work. on which gender hierarchy is greatly based. But also

for many other groups, whose skills and talents stay outside of the formal economy, like youth, or the elderly, or for whom it is difficult to access paid work, a Local Currency, that links to the Euro system provides new opportunities.

Including the Excluded

A group for whom the Local Economy System in the temporary settlement can open up doors and perspectives that otherwise seem totally blocked or unattainable, are asylum seekers, who are not allowed to work in the formal economy, until their status has been cleared.

These groups could contribute their skills and talents in the temporary settlement and get paid in Local Currency, which, however, they can only exchange back to Euro if and when they have obtained legal status as refugees. If not, their contributions go into the community fund.

The Local Currency can also create space for negotiation and innovation in regard to the regulations around supplementing welfare subsidies with community work.⁷⁶

Economic Empowerment

The local economy system is designed in a way that makes use of and validates the contributions of all groups in the temporary settlement. Every hour that is contributed, every person that participates, strengthens the local economy. By creating a link to the Euro System, every Euro that is introduced into the system raises the backing of the Local Currency. By allowing unlimited Euro to come in, but limiting the amount of Euro that can leave the Local Economy, skills and resources are kept inside the community, contributing to local development and economic independence. Economic growth of the system both benefits all individual participants in the Local Economy as well as creating opportunities for collective investments in collective projects. Investments or subsidies from outside partners are met by a community that has mobilized its own assets and resources, as well as identified service and business gaps in the local market.

Examples of Services

- * Babysitting
 - * Cleaning
 - * Laundry and Ironing services
 - * Dog Walking
 - * Home Sitting
 - * Janitor and Repair services
 - * Moving services
 - * Gardening
 - * Car Washing
 - * Pick up and transport services
 - * Grocery Delivery Services
 - * Tailoring and mending services
 - * Shoe repair
 - * Small shops
 - * Health, Beauty and Wellness services
 - * Eldercare
-

Economic Development of Individuals

The Local Economy supports self development and economic empowerment for groups who have difficulty accessing affordable housing or accessing jobs that link to their skills and interests. It does so by offering a wide range of opportunities including cheap rents, as well as opportunities to acquire skills, start businesses, save money, contribute to building your own house, or find work. For some, the temporary settlement can provide

⁷⁶ See the recommendation for a “new welfare mix” coming out of the lessons of the Mother Center experience described in Chapter 9

the room and inspiration to realize a dream, for others it can provide the necessary support to try out skills and gain enough confidence to get off welfare and realize economic self sufficiency.

Enhancing social Cohesion with economic Tools

With the Local Economy Organization described in this chapter financial sustainability is balanced with social sustainability. The interests of individuals are served while at the same time strengthening the economic power of the community as a whole. Money is used in a way that links people and creates social bonding rather than separating and dividing people. This is especially prevalent in the collective savings systems, where getting together with other people becomes the prerequisite and the means for individual economic empowerment, and where individual economic empowerment comes in the package with collective economic development.

Chapter 8: Privately commissioned Housing

I) Introduction

This chapter looks at how the temporary settlement can grow roots into the permanent neighborhood through the development of privately commissioned housing.

The organization of building in the Netherlands has changed considerably since the housing corporations were made independent of state support in 1995. The thinking about responsibilities and roles has changed too. Before 1995, government had a clear responsibility in providing housing. The corporations have inherited the task to provide social housing, but their market share decreases as more housing is provided by 'the market'. In recent years, a third possible organizer of housing projects is subject of heated debate: the 'consumers' of the houses themselves. This will surprise people from other countries where it is considered normal that people hire a contractor and maybe an architect and other advisors, if they want a house that fits their needs. Especially in rural areas it is common to have housing constructed tailor-made or even to put in large chunks of the work yourself.

In The Netherlands, however, it is quite uncommon, despite governmental stimulation and guidelines. There is heated debate, not on the question how this strange situation can exist, but more on the topic if it is desirable to begin with. Many professionals fear, that more freedom for individuals, will lead to "situations like in Belgium". For a Dutch eye, the only Belgium regulation seems to be that a house should be different in size, style and materials from the adjacent houses on either side. This is not considered positive or pretty. For the promoters of privately commissioned housing on the other hand, Belgium is referred to exactly as the example of a place, where at least you can shape something as personal as housing the way you want it.

This chapter briefly explores how this strange and exceptional situation can exist in The Netherlands and why it is so resilient. For despite the fact that there is a large desire to change the situation, not much comes about as yet. Abundant supplies of information, guidelines, case studies and experiments are available, but the concept does not get beyond the status of pilot projects. It has yet to become a normal approach.

People who commission their own house, are looked at as heroes, a bit strange and most presumably rich. It is fairly usual, however, to privately commission works like bathrooms and kitchens. This chapter looks at how this practice can be up-scaled to larger chunks of the building exercise. It will look at how the Local Economy Organization (LEO) of the settlement can play an intermediary role between private and commercial developers.

Objective of this chapter is to see how the development of the temporary settlement into a permanent one could be realized by privately commissioned work. Principle is that like anywhere else in the world, here too, houses will have a better price/quality relation and will fit peoples wishes better, if they are commissioned privately. So the objective is not to investigate private commissioning for its own sake, but only as a means to lead to a better price/quality relation. This chapter describes how to get there by splitting the building process up into different phases such, that only those parts are privately commissioned, that are interesting and feasible.

II) Private Commissioning is about Politics

State Guidelines on private Behavior

The day before municipal election changed the political landscape in 2002, the national and municipal governments signed a concept- agreement on urbanization. Because of large shifts in national politics the final contract, signed in 2004, was less broad. The original agreement included a wide range of measures. The most shocking of which to the cities was, that from 2005 onwards, one third of the housing production should be commissioned by individuals. In Arnhem this was at the time around one percent. The present government has stated that the numbers are not that important, but that what matters is the underlying principle of being able to influence your housing. This requires a large shift in the organization of the housing production.

The new emphasis was made possible by an interesting coalition of right and left wing political forces. The Secretary of State, who drafted the agreement, was motivated by the freedom of choice objectives of his liberal democratic party. The amendment of the quota of privately commissioned housing was brought in by the social democratic party. For them, the motivation was to bring house ownership within the reach of a larger part of the population. Blessed by such a wide political support, the principle as such has become undisputed, but the large question is *how*. How can national and municipal government sign an agreement on the behavior of private individuals? How can this be organized? And *if* it can be organized –which is seriously doubted by professionals- how to avoid that a complete mess results? The debate has not slowed down yet. A large stream of publications, symposia, experiments and pilot projects has been initiated. Rather than evaluating those, in the following we will explore how this challenge to the administration could be turned into an opportunity for the temporary settlement.

How the Minimal became Standard

In the first decades of the twentieth century Dutch architecture was world famous. One of the specialties was the skill with which social housing was being optimized. With limited resources and minimal space, optimal and especially for that time remarkably good housing was created. Generations of architects have been trained since to get the most out of the smallest budgets, a skill that is highly appreciated in a country known to be thrifty. For decades housing has been cheaper than in neighboring countries, but it has also resulted in more uniformity. It is not uncommon to find the most exclusive and expensive of apartments with the same ceiling-height as is common in social housing. Minimal measurements of sanitary facilities, staircases, doors, corridors, or storage, have become standard.

It turns out that many people who build their own house are simply motivated by the fact, that this standard does not fit their needs, which are not extravagant in any way.⁷⁷ Forced by those personal requirements, they have the choice between paying a disproportionate amount for 'extra's' or going through the effort of arranging for their needs themselves.

⁷⁷ Jacqueline Tellinga *Heilige Huisjes; Bewoners als Opdrachtgever* Nai Uitgevers, 2001. This inventory of privately commissioned housing in the Netherlands shows that most are motivated by the limited choice on the housing market. Their household differs from the standard nuclear family, they have special needs or in one example an inherited cupboard that does not fit the standard ceiling height. In most cases the requirements are not eccentric at all, just not average.

The last Stronghold of Collective Welfare

Despite the fact that there is clearly a need for more tailor made housing, and despite the conviction that houses should be determined primarily by its inhabitants, not much happens. The people who do help themselves and organize to provide for their housing needs are few. Everybody complains about housing (the prices, the quality, the waiting-lists) but few feel the urge to do something about it. Even fewer are aware that it is actually possible to do something about it (other than squatting) when you are not rich.

There is a deeply rooted conviction that housing is a collective responsibility. So the larger the problems become, the louder everybody complains about the housing corporations who in turn blame the government. In practice not much changes, except for the volume of the complaints and the repetition of the concerns. The situation is somewhat comparable to post-socialist countries, where it took a while before people realized that self-help is an option. The Dutch have lost both awareness and know-how on how to go about building your own house. Very hesitantly the first 'building buddies' are offering their services and the first housing catalogues are made, but there is not much experience on the matter yet.

The Role of intermediary Organizations

Experience is not only lacking on the side of the individuals but also on the side of the municipalities. Nor do they know how to find the capacity to deal with increased numbers of building applications. So in order for private commissioning to be successful, it is desirable that an intermediary organization exists. This organization can also lump up individual building plans and thus limit administration. The Nest! project provides such an organization. The Local Economic Organization (LEO) has a housing branch where expertise on housing is available (see previous chapter). The Neighborhood Academy (Chapter 4), supports the process of bringing the interested people together, and assists with the knowledge needed to come to a plan.

Intermediary organizations are common in the only area in the Netherlands where privately commissioned housing is normal: the popular gardens. Near railroad tracks and other odd pieces of land around the urban centers complexes of garden plots can be found. They often have nice small houses on them. The law allows buildings of up to 28 square meter, where people may spend the night in between April and October. The intermediary organization is the confederation of garden clubs. They administer building permissions for the garden houses and the individual garden clubs deal with the municipality to get permission for garden complexes. No private individual landowner can ask the municipality to build a garden house.

III) Private Commissioning is about Houses

The Balance of Individualism and Chaos

The debate around privately commissioned housing is mainly about the looks of it. Critics fear rows of houses where each has different colors and details that are not in harmony and thus prevent a holistic urban entity. This is considered undesirable both for esthetic and more ideological reasons and these two logics get mixed up in the debate.

Because norms about esthetics are subjective, an important argument for approving building plans is that it 'fits in'. This means that proportions, scale and use of materials does not cause disharmony with the environment.

Such a logic works in favor of plans that are standard and minimize individual expression. "Just act normal and you are crazy enough" is a popular saying. The desire that the authorities keep extravagant building of others in bounds, obviously contrasts with the increasing desire to express ones individuality through ones style of living. Individuality has become more important and is increasingly connected to the right to express this individuality, as a sort of '3D freedom of expression'.

Despite this changing attitude towards more individualism, as far as housing is concerned, the basic pattern continues to be one of basic trust in collective forces. This is different in Belgium where there is a basic distrust in the motives and functioning of governmental forces. In Belgium people telling how they tricked the tax system constitutes common small talk. Tax evasion happens in The Netherlands as well, but in silence. The State is not seen as much as the collective enemy. The different attitude in Belgium: "that you have to organize things yourself in order to get it done well" explains why more people build their own houses. It also explains why once the Dutch start building their own houses, it is not likely to produce the same "chaotic look" as in Belgium. The main interest for the Dutch is a house that works for them, not a statement of individual taste.

The individual House and the Arrogance of Taste

Even though experience shows that privately commissioned housing looks no different than housing constructed through any other organizational formula, the professional debate remains skeptical. This displays a paternalistic, if not arrogant attitude from the side of the professionals. A diploma is no guarantee for good taste, nor will the lack of it give people preference for ugliness. The debate about looks is slightly beside the point. The political issue of privately commissioned housing is not about matters of taste, but about a wider range of choice and quality for the individual. That, however, poses a direct threat to those who work in sectors related to building. Their work will become more difficult or at any rate different. They will loose part of their status. Matters of taste have always been the specialty of architects and others who are now fiercely debating privately commissioned housing. If the main focus and function of a house is to fit the needs and lifestyle of the owner, looks lose importance. If it is terribly ugly to general professional standards. It can still be acceptable if that ugliness works for the owner in his own social circles.

Learning from Fashion

Like clothing, housing is a nice way to express ones individuality. But like clothing, it is fairly expensive to have this individual expression designed and produced just for you. Confection in clothing offers more options than its housing equivalent. Stores that specialize in very cheap clothing have yet to get their housing equivalent. After having become almost extinct, tailor shops are popping up again in the large towns. They are mostly run by migrants who do manage to offer tailor-made clothing for confection prices. Fashion magazines contain patterns and a full description for making the shown models. Whoever wants to make their own clothing, can do so step-by-step. Such publications exist for furniture and small home improvement, but in The Netherlands not for housing.

IV) Private Commissioning is about Money

For the Rich or for the Poor?

Although in most parts of the world 'building your own house' is associated with poverty, in The Netherlands it is rather seen as something for the rich. Recent examples prove that it is not necessarily something only for millionaires. But even if you do not have to be rich, it does certainly help. For without money, you need a fair amount of either knowledge, time, skills or a good network to get the job done.

Building your own house is ill advised, if lack of money is your sole motivation. The ten percent that is won (as an estimated price for the intervention of the developer) is lost by scale disadvantages. Just as Dutch architects are shrewd at getting the most out of a limited surface, so are Dutch builders good in optimizing building costs. The building process is fairly well optimized and large scaled, both in procurement of materials and the work itself.

Not much can be won either by putting in your own labor. The experience of Polderdrift, a project in Arnhem, showed that the tasks people could do themselves were limited, so that the difference in price was just a few thousand Euro on the total house. In return for that saving a large time investment was required. So the idea that substantive financial gains can be made is an illusion.

In the Nest! we are trying to get away from the dilemma that private commissioning is either a headache, expensive or both. By operating as a group the scale advantages that developers have, can be won back. Even though financial gains of private commissioning might not be enough of a motivation alone to start a complicated process, they are not to be neglected totally either. And even though there is no miracle solution, through which even the poorest can become home-owners, participating in the Nest! still brings home-ownership within reach of a larger group.

Filling the Gap between Rental / and Ownership Housing

In practice the temporary settlement will mean that owning or renting are not as strictly separated categories as usual. Because the pioneers are co-owners of the Housing Co-op, they are already more than just renters. (This is in theory the case in every housing corporation but in practice the link has become very indirect) The Nest! Housing Co-op will be dissolved after the duration of the settlement and its value given to the shareholders, the pioneers. Their rent thus becomes partly a saving for the future, (though this end value will certainly not be enough to buy a house).

There are three ways in which owning a house at the end of the Nest! period can get closer, which we describe in the following scenarios:

Saving:

Pioneers who choose to pay more than their rent, use the Nest as a savings-account. This can be done by participating in the savings schemes described in the previous chapter. If during the time they live in the temporary settlement they live more modest than normally, but still put aside the same amount for housing as they paid before, they can save towards buying a house. (Scenario 1)

Actively Participating in the Development Project of the Housing Co-op:

By working as a group for the future development of the permanent neighborhood, each of the participants brings their own house closer. Even those who do not manage to invest enough to buy a house, can participate and earn Local Currency and experience. (Scenario 2)

Gaining Profit:

When the Developing Group does not only develop new housing for its own members but also for people who do not live in the settlement, it earns a profit. That will come to the benefit of all participants, because it raises the value of the Local Economy Organization :LEO.(Scenario 3)

Scenario 1: Saving

Case Example: Joining the Building Society 78

Imagine a couple with a budget for housing of €750 per month. If they get a mortgage of €200.000 with an interest rate of 4.5 %, they spend that amount completely on interest payment. ($200.000 \times 0,045 / 12 = 750$). Because Dutch tax law subsidizes home ownership, interest payments come partly back through tax-advantages. (This advantage might not exist forever in a unified Europe but at the moment it still exists). In this case, the only capital they can build up, is if the house raises in value for they will never pay off the €200.000, they can only pay the interest.

They can, however, also spend €750 for a house in the temporary settlement, of which €250, is for rent and €500 the monthly input into the building society. This means that for a period from one month to eight years (an average of 4,3 years) they are housed small and modest. They accept that because they do not have children yet and are not home much, they still live like students. If the temporary settlement exists for 8 years and 4 months ($8 \times 12 + 4 = 100$) they will have saved €50.000.

This means that on the mortgage they get once they move, they pay €562,50 on interest ($150.000 \times 0,045 / 12 = 562,50$) and have one quarter of their housing budget left to pay off the mortgage and build up capital. The houses in the town extension project Schuytgraaf for instance that are profiled as being ideal for starters, in this way do come within reach of budgets like this.

For example "Heusden 410" costs €181.500. It is a row house of 97 m² (350m³) on a plot of 125 m². It has a garden facing South with a storage shed. The house has two bedrooms as well as an attic that can be used as a study, or an additional bedroom once there are children. It is advertised as ideal for starters.

With an interest rate of 4.5% this house could be obtained within 26 years and with an interest rate of 4.0% it would take 23,5 years, which is considered a reasonable time span to pay off a mortgage. The same house would take 55 years to pay for (at an interest rate of 4.5%) if the family would not take part in the building society.

This is just an example. Interest rates for mortgages vary⁷⁹ and so do the options banks offer to pay off a loan. Fact is, however, that in order to buy a house for instance in Schuytgraaf one will need around €200.000. If that full amount is borrowed, housing expenses become too high for most people. (The demand on the housing market is highest in the category of up to €150.000.) So for those who do not have other reserves, saving them together through the building society is an option. Banks will also be more willing to give a loan to people who bring in €50.000 they have saved already.

Scenario 2: Contributing Work

Participation in the development project of the Nest Housing Co-op (option 2) does not necessarily mean that one owns a house in the end. This depends on the amount of

⁷⁸ For a description of the Building Society Saving Scheme see Chapter 7.

⁷⁹ They have been well over 7% on average over the last 15 years and above 10% in the early nineties according to the Nederlandse Bank. This concerns mortgage rates for which the interest has been fixed for five years.

capital one can bring together. Part of this capital, however, can be different from Euro. As described in the previous chapter, the Local Economy of the temporary settlement offers a possibility to transfer ones personal resources like skills, knowledge, time and savings, into Local Currency. This Local Currency is backed by real estate (temporary houses) and therefore as good as money. Maintenance work in the temporary settlement is paid for directly in the form of Local Currency, which is linked to the value of the temporary settlement, as is described in the previous chapter.

The real estate and development work described in this chapter is a bit different. The housing and urban plans that this part of the Housing Co-op develops for the permanent neighborhood, are not there yet. So the value of the Local Currency that participants of the development project earn by working for it, is not backed until those houses are there. The amount of Local Currency that is earned through this work, can therefore not be calculated and paid yet. Instead it is put on a time savings account that can only be transferred to Local Currency, if and when this backing does exist, when the permanent housing has been developed and sold.

For those who participate, this will mean that when the houses have been sold, their time input is transferable to Local Currency and thus to Euro. This option is most interesting for those who have a direct interest in the houses that will be built, the people who want to live there. By participating in the group commissioning the houses, they make their future house the way they want it, and they earn Local Currency at the same time to make it more affordable, which they can only access, but also only need to access, when they are actually buying their house.

The houses that come out of this process are not necessarily cheaper than other houses on the market. It is just that the pioneers buying it, will be able to pay part of it in Local Currency, depending on the input they were able to give in terms of work. The more you do yourself, the cheaper the house will be. This can be described as a sort of "leasing a house" scheme. By participating in the development project of the Housing Co-op people work towards constructing their own house, while they continue to rent. Through renting cheaply they also save for the ownership of the house they are building.

Scenario 3: Investment Options

Some pioneers participating in the development project might drop out in the process, and no longer want to acquire the house they developed. Or the group decides to build more houses than they need for themselves. These houses can be sold to outsiders. This is option 3. Developing houses for people that are not members comes with a profit. That profit will benefit all pioneers, because the end value of the Local Economy Organization will be higher. How much they profit depends on how much time and savings they have invested in the Local Economy Organization.

Contributing money and capital to the Local Economy Organization can be an interesting investment opportunity also for people who are not living in the temporary settlement, even though the interest will be paid in Local Currency. People who want to commission a house, but who do not want to live in the temporary settlement or get actively involved in the work to realize it, could choose for this option. Rather than just buying the house when it is all done, they could get involved from the beginning, by investing their money and participating in planning meetings for which they have time to attend. This can be designed as a kind of shareholders scheme and creates win-win situations for both sides. The Nest! needs less (more expensive) bank loans and private investors can get a better deal for their money as well, while supporting a meaningful, promising and innovative project.

Case Example of an Investment Possibility

Parents of grown up children have savings that they do not dare to invest in stocks. The savings account only gives 3% interest. They choose to participate in the Housing Co-op with €75.000. They earn 4% interest on this in local currency (250 per month), which they use for their son's housing in the temporary settlement while he is studying. The temporary settlement is happy to have investors who –as the parents of one of the pioneers- are involved with the settlement. They also have less need for a more expensive bank loan. The couple is happy to earn more on their investment than at the bank and see their son housed well.

V) Private Commissioning is about Organization

Filling the Gap between Handyman and Developer

Even in The Netherlands people find it perfectly normal to commission small construction works like bathrooms and kitchens. They get it done by a small local firm, who assists with the design and paperwork as well. Full buildings are just a step too large for such firms. It requires a specific skill to organize a building process, a skill in which project developers specialize. Over time building processes have grown in scale and thus the gap between the local handyman and the large developers or corporations has grown too. There are commercial enterprises who fill this gap. These firms called building buddies provide the knowledge needed to navigate the building jungle. The Housing Co-op does the same on a non-commercial basis.

Surfing for a House

The first area that the Dutch government tackled when it declared private commissioning a priority, was information sharing. The National Project dealing with the subject consists mainly of a website (www.iceb.nl) that tells it all. The information and the links inform people where land is available, what is important and where they can find help. If the task seems too big you can hire a building buddy, a bureau that specializes on coaching individuals to build their own house.

Making good Use of the Temporary Settlement while it is there

Starting up the temporary settlement will be a rather complicated task because in The Netherlands there is not much experience in the type of work involved. The Housing Co-op is designed to fulfill this task. The experience gained in setting up the temporary settlement can be used to assist the pioneers in consolidating their existence after the duration of the Nest!. The time that the settlement is there, say five to ten years, is long enough to develop a good housing project. The longer time span that participative projects tend to have, does not constitute that much of a problem. All participants have the possibility to live already in the area where they will develop their new house. Regardless if they are still in the temporary settlement or the new house has already been delivered, they can start their social life in the neighborhood.

The tasks of the temporary settlement in organizing the process of consolidating a permanent housing project include the following:

Tasks to be done by the Housing Co-op:

- * Provide the legal entity for those who are interested in building their own house to join as a member
- * Represent those members in any formal situation (meetings, but also PR)

- * Coordinate the planning and design process
- * Provide knowledge on building, planning and legal issues
- * Negotiate with municipality, landowners, contractors etc. on behalf of the members to obtain all that is necessary (building permits, land, etc)
- * Commission the works that have to be out-sourced
- * Coordinate the work that can be done by pioneers
- * Provide housing during the process

Tasks to be done by the Savings and Loans Division

- * Attract investors for the plans
- * Coordinate the building society
- * Administer the savings that have been made by the savings groups

Tasks to be done by the Neighborhood Academy

- * Organize the interested individuals into a group
- * Coordinate the learning and planning process
- * Provide outside knowledge input for the process

A two-Phased Building Process

As mentioned before housing design and production in The Netherlands is fairly well optimized. The houses that are being built, work the best for the way the building industry is set up. The other way around this means that anything different means complications for the builder and higher prices for the consumers. It is not unreasonable that developers ask relatively high prices for the extra's they provide with standard models.

For them it means deviating from the highly mechanized and optimized building process. It means putting in more expensive labor.

This is exactly the point in which the Nest! is different. Putting in work means saving Euro, means supporting the Local Currency. And, since the building process the pioneers specialize in is small scale, labor intensive dealings of little design details here and another kind of material there, do not take extra effort, but are the normal process. By its nature, the development process in the Nest! is more fit for building tailor made solutions than the general practice. This tailoring advantage plays out, however, mainly in the design and planning phase and the final stages of the building process itself. That is why it is suggested that the Nest! works together with developers, who have their comparative advantages the other way around. In this way the Nest! can concentrate on the most labor- and participation intensive parts of the process, while traditional developers can contribute the more standardized and mechanized parts.

A new Market for Developers

The Housing Co-op will hire normal contractors for all large scaled and mechanized works. Developers could be interested to start producing 'half-houses'. This could take the shape of "sites and services", a very common solution in third world countries. These are plots that have all connections to public services, as well as a foundation and floor-slab.

In the case of the Nest! project it could be the rough frame of an apartment or even a complete building with roof and outside walls, but no finishes.

Either way, the building process in this set-up has two moments of delivery:

- * The traditional developer delivers rough frames to the Housing Co-op, or directly to its members. They are thus assured of a fixed quantity of work under clear conditions. Obviously general design decisions need to have been finalized, like number and grouping of apartments, surface and entrance point of utilities. The larger the chunk of work that goes to the traditional developer, the further the level of detail of these kinds of decisions.
-
-

-
-
- * In an interactive process with the members, the Housing Co-op then develops tailor made apartments inside these frames. This way the private commissioning is only done for the part of the work that is most interesting to develop this way. The traditional developer does not have to deal with a large number of consumer wishes and can still keep a certain volume of work going.
-
-

The Nest Housing Co-op will do an inventory amongst its members to see what competencies there are, that could be useful in this process. This involves several levels: It is important that all participants reflect and gain insight on their own wishes. This is not a kind of knowledge that can be capitalized or saves on the building costs, but it is important to improve the quality of the end product in the eyes of the owners.

Then there is the technical; knowledge of those who have experience in planning, design and organizational processes. These kinds of skills save the group from having to hire outside expertise. That has the double advantage of saving expenses and a larger involvement of participants. Involvement in the process assures a larger flexibility in changing plans. For example: if during the process certain elements turn out to be complicated or expensive, the group can decide to either leave it out or do an extra round of money gathering. Such an outcome is only acceptable to people who have gone through the process and understand the reason behind the final decision. This kind of involvement usually does not exist in a normal process where the end users are anonymous clients.

Next to the expertise in the design and development process, members can also contribute to the building process itself. This constitutes the most interesting option in the venture of adapting the building process to its organization. Certain expertise, like plumbing, electricity, or carpentry is always needed, but for the rest the plans can be adapted to the skills available in the temporary settlement. If there are good masons it is logical to work a lot with masonry. If there are no particular skills available, just a lot of enthusiastic people, the expertise of a labor-intensive building method could be hired from the outside. If for example the group has an interest in environmentally friendly building experiments they could use constructions with mud and straw. For this, an experienced foreman could be hired from outside, who has the task of instructing and guiding the pioneers working with him.

The skills do not need to be available amongst the people who want a house, nor does everybody who participates in the construction need to move there once the houses are finished. Construction work is simply one of the services that the Housing Co-op engages in and hires labor for. The only difference is in the payment of the work. Outside expertise is paid in Euro and should therefore be limited as much as possible. Construction or planning and design work that is done by pioneers who do not want to obtain a permanent house after the settlement, are paid in Local Currency. In order to pay them, this amount of currency needs to be backed by real value, by the Euro that those who want a house, will have to save. The work they put in themselves is paid for in Local Currency on a savings account. They will not know exactly what the value of that savings is until the houses are finished.

Easy to build wooden Construction

The picture shows two engineers from the Dutch dhv consultant company, who visited Canada in the fifties. They did a research to see if the at that time in Canada commonly used balloon or platform method for wood construction for housing could be used in The Netherlands. Despite their enthusiasm and the influence of this company the Dutch builders have preferred to stick to bricks and concrete they work so well with. Wooden constructions can, however, be

very practical in small scaled projects. Not much specialized skill or equipment is needed, which makes it popular in North America amongst those who build their own house. These qualities, combined with the flexibility it offers, would make it a most useful building method for privately commissioned housing.

Flexibility in Development Speed

A problem of new neighborhoods is often the chaos inhabitants need to endure, when moving into an area that is still a building site. This problem seems to worsen if the work is not being done by a few large firms but by a large number of individuals. Whether they are cooperating in the same temporary building corporation or not, they might all have a different speed in getting their act together. This does not need to pose a problem if there is a split between the rough construction to be done by the large developers and the finishing. Once the rough phase is finished in a large scale mechanized process, the finishing of the urban space can be done at any given speed. The work that follows is no different from renovations and can be done without heavy equipment that ruins the sidewalks. In such an environment it does not really matter if some are quicker in finishing their house than others. The neighborhood simply becomes more like a living organism, growing into adulthood. Some may live in a half finished house for years until they have enough money to put in their dream kitchen. This does not cause any disturbance to their neighbors.

VI) Private Commissioning is about Learning

Doing by Learning

The Neighborhood Academy has an important task in monitoring the consolidation of the settlement. It does so in organizing the settlement as a learning community. (Chapter 4). In starting up the temporary settlement, the Housing Co-op will undoubtedly gain an enormous amount of valuable experience and expertise. One way of making sure this experience does not leave with the settlement after a number of years, is to promote the concept for other development projects in other towns. Another way is to consolidate and feed the knowledge of the temporary settlement into the development process of the permanent settlement. The Neighborhood Academy constitutes a good organizing platform for bringing together the everyday life expertise that is needed to make houses and neighborhoods fit well to the needs of the inhabitants. Too often our cities and houses are made by professionals who have their own situation as primary reference. That is by definition not the perspective of a toddler, a senior, or a housewife⁸⁰. Plans become richer when they reflect a multitude of perspectives, because they give space to a multitude of lifestyles. The Nest Academy facilitates a process to get to that kind of quality in planning.

Individual Motivations for collective Learning

Participating in the development process has different motivations. For some it is a way to earn wages. Others want to realize their dream house. Either way the participants have a strong motive getting involved in the participative planning process organized in

⁸⁰ The VAC, or Women Advisory Committees of the Dutch Council of Women, have successfully intervened in this myopic perspective, by giving practical user advice on building plans. It has taken a while before "these housewives" were seen as serious partners, but in general their advice makes building projects more practical for the users.

the Academy: they personally benefit from it. This is rather different from the people who show up at sessions in which building plans are presented that are made the usual way. Most often they fear that they will lose by the plans, that are forced on them. Their time is not compensated, which puts them into a different position from the paid professionals presenting the plans. By way of the Local Currency all time invested in the development process is compensated.

Building a house is something you probably do only once in a lifetime. It is a pity if the carefully scraped together knowledge is lost afterwards. In the Academy the knowledge will be applied, documented and passed on to others.

VII) Private Commissioning is about Community Building

Private Interests as Basis for Participating in Community

In the foregoing five different ways of looking at privately commissioning a house has been described. You can build a house as a political statement or simply as a beautiful piece of architecture to live in. It is a way to invest your money or requires at any rate a fair amount of it. You can look at it from an organizational perspective or as a learning process. Of course it is all of the above. In the Nest! private commissioning is first and foremost about community building. The whole project is about community building and private commissioning is an important element and instrument to assure that the experience of the temporary settlement consolidates into the permanent neighborhood.

Those who build their house in the permanent settlement are the vital link between the experience of the temporary settlement and the neighborhood that will come afterwards. The majority of the pioneers will not settle in the permanent development once the temporary settlement is dismantled, but for most of them it is not the reason to participate in the first place.

Depending on their budget wishes and possibilities, the families who do buy a permanent house made by the Nest Housing Co-op participate in the settlement in different ways:

The most passive participants are those who in the end, when the houses have been developed, show up and buy one, just like any other house on the market. They will not notice any more of the community building process that took place in the settlement than what they see in the place where they will live and in the books and video that were made of the process.

Other people have heard beforehand about the possibility of privately commissioning your house in the Nest! and have inscribed.

They may have a busy life that does not permit them to take part in any of the meetings. Instead they contribute financially. Pioneers of the design team visit them at their house on several occasions to interview all family members on their needs and wishes. The resulting requirements for this family are further developed and represented in the meetings by these members of the design team. They are quite glad to do this, because they earn Local Currency that helps them finance their own house. On top of that it is a good opportunity to clear their own process and they get to know a future neighbor. Although this family does not take part in the development process in the Neighborhood Academy, they are involved through their interaction with the members of the design team. They do give their input on how they would like their street to be like. Occasionally they visit the website of their future neighborhood and sometimes they go over to visit an event in the temporary settlement. This way they start feeling linked with the place, before they have even moved there.

Most of the people who commission a house participate more actively. Even if they do not live in the temporary settlement they will want to get their vision in as much as possible. Being able to influence their future living environment inspires them to go to meetings and give input. Where they can they also put in their skills and get paid for it.

The most active are obviously the families that move to the temporary settlement preceding their move to a privately commissioned house in the newly developed neighborhood. They are familiar with their new neighborhood long before they move into their house and most probably become focal points and play key roles in the developing neighborhood networks in the newly built settlement.

Also pioneers, who at the start do not foresee that they will ever be able to buy their own house, might take part in the transition to the permanent neighborhood. They can join one of the collective saving schemes and save the down-payment needed or they might get contacts that give them a possibility to rent from one of the people building a house.

Filling the Gap between the Social and the Physical

Whatever the motives are for participating in the process, it assures that more people get involved in urban development. At present it usually is only a physical project, put down by contractors from outside. Involving residents by allowing space to realize personal goals and dreams, by giving them influence and inviting their investments in form of time, work and money allows for a positive and larger social involvement to enter urban planning.

The overall process benefits tremendously from resident participation. Such a process exposes the physical forces to a social dynamic that can improve their quality greatly. The construction business has the reputation of "only being interested in selling huts". Not really a motivation you desire as the driving force for those who are responsible for creating something as important as your home. Involvement in the process keeps the development business close to their social responsibility and gives them an economic opening to enter into a social process that is normally outside of their perspective. For example, they can participate by building the core frames, that are the starting point for the privately commissioned housing or they can provide work to pioneers.

The part of the new neighborhood developed by the pioneers will show a diverse image and will take a while to materialize. But in coming alive it really comes alive. It inherits the spirit of the temporary settlement. In the process a large number of people who normally do not participate in building jobs have gained valuable working experience. But most important of all, the people that have a house there, have realized it themselves, exactly to their wishes, with the optimal result possible within their budget. They have worked on that dream together with the people who live in the same neighborhood. They have gone through conflicts and successes with them, they have gotten to know each other. There is social cohesion in such a neighborhood, because in the process of working on it together people have bonded.

The Social

Chapter 9: The Mother Center

I) Introduction

Mother Centers are self managed public spaces in the neighborhood, where mothers and their children meet on a daily basis. The atmosphere is informal. You join by having a cup of coffee in the coffee shop or by a visit to the Mother Center second hand store. Childcare is offered on a drop-in basis for all ages throughout the opening hours of the center. Mother Centers are based on participation. Their motto is that “everybody is good at at least one thing – that they can contribute”. Mother Centers are places where mothers can relax, focus on their needs and interests, exchange knowledge, information and experiences with peers, receive personal support, take or give courses, and initiate services like childcare, eldercare, catering, healthcare, laundry or other household services.

This chapter introduces the Mother Center as one of the central meeting points for families with young children to be created in the temporary settlement. It will attract families moving to the developing new settlement and families from the adjacent communities as well, since public places for mothers to gather with their children are lacking.⁸¹ The concept is well tested and developed and has become a “success formula” in many countries for creating alive and caring neighborhoods. This chapter describes the history and the concept of Mother Centers and introduces ways it can be implemented as part of the Nest!

Background

Mother Centers are self managed spaces in the community for women, children and families. They were a totally new concept when introduced to family and youth welfare policy in Germany in the beginning of the eighties by the German Youth Institute, a federally funded research institute that regularly consults the government on its family and youth policies.⁸²

The research team of the institute created the concept of Mother Centers drawing from their research on the conditions of parenting in contemporary societies. Low income families were interviewed on their coping strategies, their relationship to parent education programs and what they would welcome as support in their daily life. On the basis of the results the team was able to mobilize initial federal funds as start up support for three model centers for the first three years.

During this time public support by municipal and regional funding, by welfare institutions and by private foundations was secured to keep the centers going. The concept of preventive family policy was formed following the rationale that it is cheaper to help families help themselves than to pay the high public costs resulting from dysfunctional family socialization. Many social problems of crime, juvenile delinquency, failure in school

⁸¹ See the needs assessment presented in the neighborhood study in chapter 11.

⁸² See www.dji.de

or lack of integration into society can be addressed by strengthening the family system and its coping capacities. Rather than targeting the family along the lines of special issues like poverty, childcare, school, or debt management or along the lines of individual members like children, youth, or elders, addressing the family as a whole can build on and strengthen the family as a system. This is especially true in the context of migrant families, where a holistic approach to family support programs can build on family ties and kin networks which form a major component of the coping strategies in migrant cultures. Supporting families in their social interaction is a way to strengthen family relations as well as to prevent social exclusion and marginalization by enhancing their social capital.

Welfare institutions and family support programs consistently report that they are generally reaching a very small segment of middle class families, and that their programs are ineffective with low income and migrant families and especially with families at risk. The research of the German Youth Institute portrayed that the lack of response to institutional parent education and parent support measures is strongly due to the institutional atmosphere, the school-like and paternalistic structures many of these family support and welfare programs convey. The research team suggested a different route. Rather than focusing on problems and deficiencies and what professionals can do to fix these, the focus turned to competencies and capacities of the "target groups" and what can be done to support their potential of helping themselves and each other. Creating peer learning and peer support structures in the neighborhood was suggested as a low threshold alternative strategy. The success of the concept, the daily stream of mothers and children into the centers, the creativity and ideas that were generated there, and the subsequent expansion into the neighborhood soon made people wonder why Mother Centers hadn't been there forever.

Yet the concept, however natural and obvious it may seem in daily practice, challenges traditional principles and structures of institutional welfare agencies, who may experience the competencies of families as a threat to their professional identity. This can happen, when experts expect contributions from mothers to be either given for free, or on a subordinated "assistant" or "junior" level, or when the interests of children are seen as separate and disconnected from the interests of their mothers. These prove to be deep rooted mental barriers, which need to be overcome in order to effectively implement Mother Centers.

From Model to Movement

Over time the success of the centers and their rapid replication created a momentum towards a change in attitudes and towards further public funding resulting in new legislation and funding procedures, allowing for funding titles explicitly earmarked for Mother Centers in family and youth welfare programs. This was the result of extensive lobbying of the countless Mother Center initiatives in communities across Germany. Public support for family self help and peer learning structures is now anchored in German youth and family welfare legislation, although accessing funding and support locally still continues to be an on-going and tedious struggle. Each Mother Center initiative needs to spend much of their time and effort on securing funding, especially in times of cutbacks in social welfare.

A key strategy responsible for sparking off a Mother Center movement, that has since spread over the borders of Germany into 15 countries⁸³, was the fact that the research team did not publish their results solely as an academic book but facilitated a process where the women involved in the first three Mother Centers wrote down their own

83 Mother Centers currently exist in 15 countries, in Germany, The Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Bulgaria, Bosnia Herzegovina, the Czech and the Slovak Republic as well as Canada, USA, Kenya, Rwanda and the Philippines.

stories, creating an authentic and animating book⁸⁴ (which has since been translated into English) by which women felt inspired and encouraged to replicate the model for themselves. Currently there are about 750 Mother Centers world wide.⁸⁵

Mother Centers exist in the Netherlands since 1992. They were inspired by the German centers and applied the concept to target especially migrant families. Currently there are over 30 Mother Centers and 20 Mother Center initiatives in Holland, which have formed a national network. The Network has been active since 1995 and brings together the experiences of all the Dutch centers. Main activities include initiating and developing innovative projects, publications and studies, organizing national meetings, conferences and workshops, consulting Mother Center initiatives, development of quality criteria and quality control, publication of the Mother Center National Network newsletter, as well as providing information and documentation to everyone interested in the concept. Special focus is put on promotional and lobbying activities on national basis to improve the operational conditions for the centers and initiatives. The Dutch National Network for Mother Centers reaches over 3000 women in Holland, active on a daily basis.

Mother Centers have created an innovative shift in the field of social work and social welfare. A shift from families as clients of professional programs to active participants in local problem solving and local governance. They have widened the scope of welfare policies as well as of governance and gender policies.

II) The Concept

Based on qualitative interviews of 144 parent education programs and a quantitative survey conducted with low income families, the researchers of the German Youth Institute found, that the hierarchical and institutional culture of parent education programs are a major disincentive for low income families, whose status in society is due in large parts to low or moderate success in the school system and who often experience professional attitudes as stigmatizing or devaluing.

Institutional and professional activities often use a patronizing approach. They want to teach mothers how they can play better with their children, how they can feed the child more healthy, or how they can better support the child's development. They seldom look at what enabling conditions are needed to put these insights into practice. Women with small children are often hesitant to commit to fixed schedules or ongoing courses, because of the many unforeseeable events of family life, sick children, school problems, needs of elders and other family emergencies. These realities are rarely accounted for within the formal structures of associations and institutions, even those of established women's organizations.

Families not reached by institutional social work are not looking for top down educational programs that make them feel "back in school", inadequate or lacking. They are specifically looking for recognition for what they are accomplishing, despite of their problems and disadvantages. They want to experience themselves with their children positively and with self confidence. They are looking for exchange, knowledge and information on a peer level, for informal structures of learning and communication. And they are looking for practical support and concrete relief in their daily family chores.

84 Monika Jaeckel, et al: (HG): Mütter im Zentrum – Mütterzentrum, 3. Edition, Weilheim 1996. Gabrielle Bryant, Monika Jaeckel, Andrea Laux (Editors): Mothers in the Center – Mother Centers, Munich 2003.

85 Mother Centers have received international attention and acknowledgement. The Mother Center International Network (**mine**) has been accredited by UN-Habitat as Best Practice and won the Dubai International Award for Best Practices to Improve the Living Environment.

Drop in Approach

The Mother Center is a place where families find practical support, where they are welcome with their children, where they can relax and refuel, and find an open ear along with a cup of coffee. It offers a welcome break from daily chores as well as opportunities to relieve the family budget by cheap but good second hand clothing, a toy library or by earning some extra money in the center. While there are on-going courses and activities, mothers can also just come in, have a cup of coffee and watch a while, while their child sits on their lap doing the same, or gets involved in the children's program happening in the adjacent room. There is no need to make appointments or define any problems or issues as reason for coming. Participation can follow family rhythms and personal timing. Each woman can take her own time in developing her involvement in the center, without the feeling of committing to yet another obligation or of exposing family problems by coming there.

Mothers as Every Day Life Experts

At the same time the Mother Center approach is based on the assumption that women have a lot of knowledge and skills from practical experience, and that what is lacking is a place where this knowledge is valued and can be shared. The principle of the Mother Centers is that each woman can do at least one thing really well, that she is an expert at at least one thing and that it is the task of the center to help find out what this might be and how she might contribute and develop this ability. This is discovered in relaxed and unthreatening conversations. Women can invest different quantities of time and take on tasks and chores in the center to the degree their family situation, the age of their children and the development of their self confidence allows for. They can start with smaller contributions and gradually upscale their involvement.

Self managed public Space

Mother Centers are public spaces controlled and managed by the participating women. This creates a sense of ownership and supports identification with the center as well as allowing for an open and participative structure. There is a constant flux of new women bringing in both new impulses as well as challenges by which to grow. This keeps Mother Centers alive and lively, and makes them melting pots of creativity, innovations and integration in the community. Discussions, conflicts and negotiations on differing sensibilities regarding order, punctuality, or child rearing are a continuous and integral part of collective self management. Settings where women can meet once a week in a local church or a local neighborhood center, without being able to influence or define the structural conditions, do not have the same effect. Collectively defining and working out how things should be done in the center and what are to be the rules, is a profound way of getting to know each other and of learning to reach out, listen to each other, make compromises and find solutions that work for all.

Children are welcome, but the Focus of Attention is on Mothers

Contrary to many mother child groups activities in the Mother Centers evolve around the interests and needs of the mothers. This creates a different kind of childcare than in most institutional settings. It creates a public space that is co-inhabited and shared by adults and children, where both sides learn to deal with each other's presence. Children are an integral part of the centers and their activities, but they are not the center of attention. Nevertheless or maybe just because of it, children also benefit enormously from the center.

They learn to associate and deal with children of different age groups and they learn to

deal with a wide scope of adults in public situations. They experience their mothers in responsible roles outside of the family as well as a general public atmosphere that is welcoming, competent and patient towards children.

Paid Work

Tasks in the Mother Center like running the coffee shop, co-ordinating activities and programs, instructing a language course, minding the children, cleaning, accounting or organizing the second hand shop are shared by the mothers and are paid. Remuneration can be in the form of regular or temporary jobs, honorariums on an hourly basis, or when there are not enough funds, take the form of free educational courses and trainings or free use of Mother Center services.

Earning money not only contributes to the family budget and serves as legitimization towards spouses or other family members for spending time in the center, it also contributes to a learning process of taking care of ones own needs and taking life into ones own hands. Earning own money means a lot for the development of self value and the awareness of ones skills and talents. It is a strong motivator to further develop life plans and perspectives. Experience shows that volunteer work is regularly contributed in addition to the hours paid, often in equal amounts, which is remarkable, considering that Mother Centers reach women who usually do not engage in voluntary work.

Although not constituting an equivalent or substitute to regular employment, remunerations in the centers constitute an invaluable bridge over the split between family and public life. They contribute to making visible and acknowledging the work mothers do. Paying for activities in the centers creates room for "non-working mothers" to try out their skills, to raise their self esteem and to develop an orientation towards re-entering the labor market.

III) What do Mother Centers look like?

Facilities

The facilities of Mother Centers consist of shop window rooms in the neighborhood, harboring a café, a children's room, a kitchen and space for meetings and activities. Access to a garden or playground is ideal. Opening hours are geared towards family rhythms and are fixed by the participants themselves.

Participants

Participants come mainly from the neighborhood and reflect the population of the community. Families from middle class as well as working class backgrounds, single as well as married mothers, local as well as migrant families are reached. During the day women and children dominate the scene, evenings and weekends also include events for the whole family. On average the centers are visited by more than 300 parents and children on a weekly basis.

Activities

Activities follow a wide range of educational, recreational and economical interests and are developed according to the needs, interests and skills of the participants.

They include courses on job training, legal issues or parenting skills, on nutrition, playing an instrument, using the internet or handling tax declarations, or on self defense, theatre, or conflict solving. Services like hair cutting, homework support for school children, eldercare, ironing or repair services are developed and outings and celebrations, sport activities, family brunches, children's games and vacation programs are regular events organized inside and outside the premises of the Mother Center. On-going groups like savings groups, diet groups as well as lectures on a variety of issues like health or environmental issues are further examples of activities harbored in the centers.

A constant unfolding of ideas, activities and projects are sparked in the drop-in café, where participants gather, where contact, communication and group building takes place. Most of the educational value happens outside of the planned programs and activities, but rather as part of the peer communication and peer learning going on while organizing the daily life in the center.

Children are an integral part of the center. Child care is offered throughout opening hours. However, it is also possible for mothers to have their children around during their activities in the center and keep an eye on them themselves.

Mother Centers develop neighborhood services that are geared towards gaps in the local infrastructure. Babysitter referral services, janitor services, catering services, pick up and transport services, mending and laundry services, health care, beauty services and body work are examples. Especially in the area of childcare a whole spectrum of Mother Center programs has been developed. This includes the simple drop-in type care during opening times, as well as mini clubs for babies and toddlers, pre-school groups, and even full time or part time child care for working parents. In addition there are many other forms such as play groups with or without parents, baby groups, hourly child care when parents need to run errands, emergency childcare, breastfeeding groups, child gymnastics or arts and crafts programs for children of all ages.

Basic Agreements

Over the years many Mother Centers have developed a set of rules and agreements that support positive interaction. In the Dutch centers the most important rule is that the language spoken in the center is Dutch. Many centers work with the Leadership Support Process, a method developed in the USA for neighborhood women's projects, that carefully designs a set of agreements to help sustain a positive, enabling and respectful climate in the centers.

"If something is bothering you, you should speak up, not wait until problems get old. Every day between 9.00 and 9.30 in the morning we are only sitting with the team and we talk, how are you doing. We ask if there is anything people want to bring up, anything they are concerned with. This way things can be talked about in a normal way, not with emotional tension having built up for a long time. It is a kind of daily group hygiene, and it works.

Another agreement is that everyone may say what they have to say, without being interrupted. They can either speak or write it down. This makes the statement that what women have on their minds is worth reading or listening to. It gives everyone an equal say and everyone feels important and part of the process.

A further "rule" is that everybody is prepared to change anything in the organization or the way of doing things, when it is needed. That people are prepared to at least give it a try. That way the project can move forward. That cannot happen if people are rigid about things." (Luna, Arnhem)

"Talk about yourself, not others, that is an important rule to limit gossiping in the centers. We also have made an agreement with each other to continue to communicate, no matter what happens." (De Koffiepot, Den Haag)

Peer Learning

Learning happens on a peer level and on an informal basis. It is often not defined as such, but all the more effective. Witnessing how an experienced mother of 3 deals with a child's tantrum and exchanging opinions and experiences on child rearing over the coffee table are important aspects of "parent education". Getting information on what has worked for others on health issues, on solving marital conflicts, on how to survive with very little means or on dealing with school problems widens one's own scope of action. Being exposed to different cultures and life styles opens up mental horizons and perspectives. All this happens in the centers without involving diagnostic language, a formalized consultation setting, or a self image as a problem case. Nevertheless a wealth of educational information is transported and tremendous capacity building, personal growth and development is triggered.

Consultation in the Mother Center takes place spontaneously, in daily situations when issues present themselves, and in a role model format from woman to woman, without the barriers often found in institutional counseling services like bureaucratic and intimidating procedures or long waiting lists. If necessary Mother Centers make referrals to professionals and establish the first contact. Women are encouraged and supported in finding support and in getting answers to their for instances at doctors offices, or welfare and employment agencies.

Support for re-entry into the labor market happens directly through job trainings, qualification programs and ideas and incentives for self employment, but also by a general boost of self esteem, self confidence and meta competencies that are generated through the involvement in Mother Center activities.

In the centers the women discover or reinvent their skills, capacities and resources, they create new balances for reconciling the responsibilities of work and family life and strengthen their courage to plan and build up their future.

Participating in a Mother Center usually results in diverse personal and social contacts, as well as an increase in knowledge and information. Even an occasional visitor in the center will come across all kinds of important information for families, like recommended local doctors and clinics, kindergartens and schools, educational and cultural programs and details about the local situation.

Multicultural Approach

The Dutch centers have developed a more multicultural approach and are frequented to a larger extent by the migrant population. As a consequence men are more strongly excluded in the Dutch centers, since that is a major precondition for women with Islamic religion to participate.

The multicultural approach is reflected in the program and activities of the Dutch centers. Next to the basics that are common to Mother Centers all around the world like childcare, handicrafts, drop in cafe, and the second hand shop, the Dutch centers focus on activities like literacy programs, language lessons, bicycle lessons or international cooking. Women from the Arnhem center Luna have developed an innovative Dutch language course that has become very popular with many institutions, who send the women undergoing the obligatory Dutch language training to the Mother Center.

The Mother Center courses combine learning the language with a practical activity like making tea bags or tulip decorations. The participants learn the words and concepts related to these activities, which makes it a lot easier to understand and remember them and in the end they also have a nice product to take home. At the same time they are exposed to the center as a place for social activity that they can reconnect to. Since the lingua franca in the centers is Dutch they have a strong motivation to learn the language, in order to be able to communicate with the other women and understand and participate in what is going on in the center. Integration happens in the Mother Center in an organic and informal way, more as a side effect of dealing with daily issues of the family and the neighborhood rather than as a programmatic intention of an "integration course" or program.

Public Living Rooms

Mother Centers are experienced as a safe and caring place for families from all walks of life. They have an informal, caring atmosphere often described as "public living rooms". There is a strong orientation towards personal needs and well being. Relationships are personal, nurturing and non hierarchical. Families that can't afford public restaurants or commercial recreational and cultural events can find community and contact and a wide range of easily accessible activities in the centers. Most activities in the center are not merely consumptive, but activate own involvement and creativity.

Social bonding is generated by working together as well as by celebrating together. Laughter is shared, as well as tears. In crisis situations and emergencies direct and immediate support is offered in a familiar setting.

Gains + Benefits

On the individual level dimensions gained include support to find employment perspectives, more self confidence, vitality and improved gender equity. Capacities developed include organizing and negotiation skills, communication and relationship skills, improved stress resistance, capacity to work in teams, increased willingness to take responsibility as well as to develop tolerance and flexibility.⁸⁶ Mother Centers have a positive impact on improving family relations, especially when the fathers take part in the family events in the evenings and on weekends.

The longer a Mother Center exists the more there is a tendency to widen the scope of activities to include the whole neighborhood. The most evolved Mother Centers have developed into intergenerational centers including programs for all generations and the participation of young as well as old. Eldercare services have been developed in many Mother Centers that both address the care needs of elderly as well as integrating what they have to contribute into a community setting.⁸⁷

In an evaluation study conducted by the German Youth Institute the following responses were received to the question what effects the Mother Centers have had on the lives of the participants:

- ✓ 80% of the respondents felt that the Mother Centers enriched the neighborhood.
- ✓ 75% saw the centers as an expansion of the social and physical opportunities for their children.
- ✓ 70% learned more tolerance.

⁸⁶ See DJI pro to join as a member ject Evaluation der Familienselbsthilfe, München 2000

⁸⁷ Jaekel, M. and Gupta, S: New Partnerships for a New Millennium – the model of the Intergenerational House West in Stuttgart, 2002 and Schooss, Hildegard: Alles unter einem Dach, in Sozialpaedagogisches Institut im SOS Kinderdorf e.V. (Hg): Die Rueckkehr des Lebens in die Oeffentlichkeit, Neuwied 2000

- ✓ 67% affirmed that the Mother Center had influenced decision making in their communities.
- ✓ 58% said they learned to participate and raise their voices.
- ✓ 55% answered that they learned to cope with every day life with more calm and confidence.

IV) How Mother Centers differ from the Dutch Neighborhood Centers

"We are very different from a neighborhood center. They are composed of different courses and programs. They have different kinds of activities for different kinds of groups. It is all organized around special interest groups, where people meet only other people like themselves. When no course is going on, the rooms are closed, there is nobody in the center. There are no spontaneous visitors there. In the Mother Center the women receive personal attention. They can bring in all aspects of their lives. They are involved in all aspects of the center. They can always find an open ear and someone to talk to about anything that is going on in their lives. A woman is always welcome with her child. At the neighborhood center childcare is only available at certain times and for certain courses. And if you come at another time, the child is not welcome. Then you are told that it is not a good moment to bring your child. You are told, today the center is closed for children. Today it is only for adults. This does not happen in the Mother Center. Women can always bring their children. Participants are not just visitors, they have a say in what is going on. What they have to say counts. You can also see it in the way the place looks. The Mother Center is more personal, more colorful. In a neighborhood center everything is done from the perspective of efficient organization, not so much from the perspective of how the rooms make people feel. We have organized open lunches for people from other institutions for them to get a taste of the different way we work. One remark that people have made is that the atmosphere here is that of a living room. People feel at home here. The centers are a safe place for women. They can be as they are, they can learn their own way." (Luna, Arnhem)

Neighborhood centers (Buurtcentrum) were created in the Netherlands in the sixties and are to be found in most cities throughout the country. They have institutional funding and administer services and programs for the neighborhood. Nowadays they are used by a small section of the population.

The Mother Centers differ mainly in their demand driven and participatory approach, in their focus on the needs of (especially migrant) women and in the low threshold character of their open door, drop-in programs. Mother centers appeal to the talents and skills of women and do not focus on their problems and deficiencies. The practice of self management in the Mother Centers counteracts bureaucratic and paternalistic approaches, which have developed in many of the neighborhood centers.

V) Effects of Mother Centers

Mother Centers have wide reaching effects on many levels. They benefit the women involved and their families, they benefit the neighborhood and they benefit the community at large. The following list summarizes the effects of Mother Centers on these multiple levels. For the temporary settlement the effects of the Mother Centers on the neighborhood and on the social cohesion of the community are the most relevant.

Mother Centers:

- ✓ break through anonymous and isolating structures of residential areas
- ✓ create an opportunity for children under kindergarten age to meet and interact
- ✓ are a switch board for information, skills, support and resources for everyday life issues
- ✓ create a platform for talents and skills to be brought into the community
- ✓ develop the leadership potential of women in the community
- ✓ bring together citizens of diverse class and ethnic backgrounds
- ✓ strengthen tolerance and democratic attitudes in civil society
- ✓ create a structure for integration, social peace and community cohesion
- ✓ develop social solidarity and mutual support networks
- ✓ are incubators for new ideas and local problem solving
- ✓ enhance the quality of life for families
- ✓ support the parenting skills of families with young children
- ✓ support the reintegration of women into further education and the labor market
- ✓ serve as preventive measure against maladjustment and delinquency
- ✓ bring marginalized and excluded groups into social participation
- ✓ generate innovations in professional and institutional programs
- ✓ empower women and contribute to gender equality
- ✓ create income generating opportunities
- ✓ create a rich reservoir for informal learning
- ✓ create a community net for families at risk
- ✓ offer direct and non bureaucratic assistance in crisis situations and emergencies
- ✓ serve as links to institutional programs

In their own Words ...

"It is intercultural cooking day, 10 women take turns in letting each other enjoy the smells and tastes of their cooking. The kids are at school or in the day care room. Nothing is in the way of a nice and inspiring morning. We exchange ways of cooking and basic recipes. I have never heard of a turnip. What can you do with it? A timid one very soon gets a potato peeler into her hand, and she participates too, very happy, she can take part so quickly. Mieke says she cannot contribute much to cooking. But she knows Dutch and makes use of that. While cooking we talk about our lives, our children. We understand one another, we have the same issues we face in our everyday dealings with the children.

The kids get picked up from school or from the day care, the table is decked and it is time for communal eating with all that are present that morning in the center.

At the end of the cooking course we will have a party, in which everyone can invite 5 people of their choice. That way there will be enthusiasm for the next course. The party will involve all kinds of dishes, music, dancing and a lot of laughter." (Malle Molen, Haarlem)

"I must stay busy, if I sit at home I become crazy. I must meet people, that is why I am so active here in the Mother Center. The raising of children is something

important to me. It is good to do real activities with them and this happens in the center. At the children's cooking cafe they are allowed to cook and do things not allowed at home. It is fun to see tough boys sitting down sweetly making meat balls." (Mamma Mia, Nijmegen)

"Mother Centers support women, so that they can grow, gain self confidence and make something out of their lives. Women develop greatly during their time in the center. They move on to get education, then to paid jobs. This is a place for development and growth in every possible way. The women have a lot of talent and potential. The center is a very dynamic, buzzing and alive place, and also very caring. You can always find a woman there who has time for you. You are personally seen in the center, not as a case. People see you for who you are and the talents you have, regardless of what education or school certificates you have or not have." (Malle Molen, Haarlem)

"Mother Centers are a very unique approach to integrating migrant women, often the only public place they can access and the only public contact they have with the host society. We offer language courses, but we also offer creative activities, that all women can participate in, regardless of their language abilities. That creates a non intimidating and low threshold atmosphere. Our language lessons are also more popular than elsewhere, because you can learn Dutch here, by applying it too. You can meet women in the same situation, you learn the language by speaking and doing things together." (Alida, Den Haag)

"In the center, people get to know each other from different nationalities more than anywhere else. Elsewhere segregation is a big issue. People stick to their own ethnic groups. This has become even stronger since the attack on the world trade center in New York. Not so in the Mother Centers. The women learn to understand each others backgrounds and become friends. It is not always easy, there are also conflicts and prejudices against each other. But we work on having a climate of mutual respect and basically it works because we all have the same problems in the neighborhood. We find each other as women with children. We basically have similar issues, problems with the children in the school, struggling with a tight family budget, living in a low income neighborhood. We celebrate the holidays of all religions. And we celebrate international women's day. Being together in the Mother Center has also changed the climate in the neighborhood. People mix more and there is not so sharp a segregation." (Malle Molen, Haarlem)

"Basically we are the same. The one from Marrocco might wear a scarf, but she doesn't have to keep her mouth shut. We make the same kind of jokes.. We talk. We have met. I know now why she wears a scarf. We are comfortable with each other." (Mother Center Initiative Leidse Rijn)

"It enriches the center to have women from different cultures. We learn from each other, from other cultures. It broadens our view. We talk about things. How do you do things in your culture? We talk about Ramadan. What is the meaning of it? We learn to respect each others traditions.

What we have learned from the women from other cultures is that there is more togetherness in their culture. Everybody stands up for each other. The other cultures have added a sense of togetherness to the center. A certain warmth has been added to our group. When you are ill, when something has happened, the women really are concerned and take interest.

Women from other cultures have also learned from us. When there is a disagreement or an irritation, they have learned to talk about it. They might ask for coaching first,

but they have learned to speak up. Dare to speak up, dare to have ideas. Also dare to ask for help. There is also a lot of humor, things are talked about with humor. And it has become easier to get ideas through. To look at the positive side of things, not only seeing that things won't work, or can't work." (Luna, Arnhem)

"The center plays an important part in the neighborhood. For instance when the streets needed to be changed, the municipality wanted to ask the opinions of the people living on the street. Usually it is very difficult to get any response in low income neighborhoods. People don't answer written questions, they don't come to citizens hearings. The Mother Center women went out and knocked on the doors of all the houses on the street and invited the families to a meeting in the center. And they came. There were 100 people there and they indeed had opinions and something to say to the issue.

The same happened when the municipality wanted to change the playground. Civil servants always complain that it is difficult to get participation of the population. They do not really know how to connect to the people who it really concerns. It needs a place like a Mother Center, where women are not intimidated and where they can convene and reflect on their ideas about their environment and the neighborhood. It is important to have these kinds of meetings. It makes women aware of their environment and makes them aware what participation means, and that they do have views and suggestions to contribute. At an official council meeting you will never see the women who come here. At those meetings there usually are only men, 50 years and older." (Malle Molen, Haarlem)

"The centers are often a kind of last resort for people who are excluded in society and who fall through the safety net of institutions. In many instances they have become a recruiting place for institutional programs. They often operate as important partners of other programs. Throughout these partnerships they have also started influencing the way institutions work, bringing their approaches down to the ground. Now also other institutions shape the language courses more to the needs and life styles of the women, they now include childcare, or offer transportation support, or are conducted closer to the residential areas to give easier access." (National Association of Dutch Mother Centers)

"In the Mother Centers you can first learn how to crawl, then you walk and soon enough you have learned to run and to get to wherever you want. You start with the basics of life and then you realize that the world is open to you. A Mother Center is often the only place a woman from my culture can go to, the only place where she can be as she is." (Mother Center Alida, Den Haag)

VI) Added Value of a Mother Center in the Nest!

The Mother Center contributes in many ways to the temporary settlement as well as to the developing new neighborhood.

It supports community building by creating a meeting space and opportunities to get to know each other along the lines of shared everyday life activities, common interest groups, festivities, and excursions.

A Mother Center also creates a space where issues concerning the well being of women, children and families are addressed. In their role as the daily caregivers for children, the frail and the elderly, mothers learn much about what an environment must look like in order to meet the needs of dependants. The Mother Center generates first hand knowledge on issues like family friendly housing, transport and safety. that can be

channeled into the neighborhood development process.

The Mother Center in the temporary settlement is well equipped to create an environment where the worlds of the new inhabitants of the developing neighborhood, the adjoining communities and the pioneers of the temporary settlement can meet and integrate. Issues concerning children and the family have a strong cross cutting potential. The interests of mothers of small children are often very much the same, despite differences in cultural or class backgrounds. Children themselves easily cross class or ethnic barriers when relating to each other.

The Mother Center also creates a broad scope of social and economic activities. It generates access to information on quantitative as well as qualitative service gaps in the community and can respond with initiatives like grocery services, laundry or mending services as well as care services like babysitting, sick care or eldercare according to the interests and talents of the participants. The Mother Center serves as a community space for both the supply and the demand of services.

Especially in regard to childcare the center can develop a wider range of more customized family services: These include for instance childcare in the evenings, at irregular times, before school, after school, lunch tables for school children, help with homework, games and sport activities in the afternoons, as well as pick up and transport services for cultural and recreational after-school activities.

Demographic trends are pointing towards the need for more eldercare. Family resources for the care of dependants are diminishing, while professionalism often lacks genuine care quality. The greatest structural problem of professional care work has proved to be the lack of personal involvement, that can not be repeated over and over again outside of personally motivated structures. The Mother Center provides the opportunity of creating a new mix: it develops childcare and eldercare services for the community that are integrated into neighborhood networks, that are embedded in the family like culture and support systems of the Mother Center. Such services are more flexible and person oriented and develop a more personal care quality than professional care systems usually can provide.

Especially for two income families the provision of childcare, household and eldercare support, is a strong factor in the decision making process of where to settle and where to obtain property. The Mother Center makes a big contribution to the quality and attractiveness of the new neighborhood.

VII) Implementation

The Mother Center is a central piece of the Nest!. The center should begin as soon as the temporary settlement is set up. The initial phase will involve identifying an initiator group, rooms and funds.

Initiators

Initiators are a core group motivated to create a Mother Center for their own needs and interests. This group needs to spend time on developing the mission, goals and implementation strategies of the project as well as on growing together as a team, understanding who has what talents and contacts and how they can best be applied. Talents that the group of initiators should cover are negotiation and communication talents, writing and organizational talents, fundraising talents as well as the talent to motivate and inspire others. Initiators need to be positive thinkers, have trust and confidence in the resources and capacities of Mother Center participants and the know-how and dedication to bring these out. Founders of Mother Centers need to be able to

support each other through tough spots and give each other strength and courage as well as be able to shoulder the project on their own through phases where group cohesion slackens or becomes noncommittal, or when there is a change in active participants, until the group comes together again and there is again a strong team. Mother Center initiators need to identify with the Mother Center concept and to be able to communicate it convincingly both inside and outside the Mother Center.

Spreading the Word

Information about the project must be spread widely, both inside and outside the temporary settlement, targeting both potential visitors and participants as well as the media, businesses, founders and institutions in the neighborhood.

Partnerships

Finding allies among politicians, welfare agencies, equal opportunity commissions and among municipal departments and local authorities is an important step along the way. Partners need to know about the structures of the local administration, about funding programs and current trends in social, integration and gender policies as well as have good contacts with local decision making structures.

Rooms

Mother Centers depend on rooms that are at the full disposal of the project. These rooms need to be central, easily accessible, affordable, have high public visibility, and be spacious enough to allow for the activities of both the mothers as well as the children. The minimal space needed includes a café, the children's room, a kitchen, a toilet and a room for projects. Optimal facilities include an additional room for children to have an afternoon nap, a bathroom including a table for diaper change, an atelier room for creative activities, a room for a second hand shop, a small office space, a garden for the children to be able to play outside and a big meeting room for celebrations and general assemblies.

Insurance

Dealing with public space and different groups of people including children calls for security nets in form of insurances for the building, for accidents as well as for the people engaging in activities in the center. Insurances that offer packages for self help groups need to be identified and contacted.

Start-up Process

Regular meetings open to all who are interested need to be conducted from the start, where participants are involved from the beginning. Renovations, furnishing, activities, programs and schedules as well as the operating rules and agreements are developed along the way, together with the participants and according to their needs, interests, ideas and competencies. This allows for a maximum of participation and contribution of the participants in the shaping and running of the center and a sense of identification, ownership and belonging can develop. Out of these meetings a Mother Center co-ordination team arises that co-ordinates the Mother Center program and activities.

Space for Reflection and Development

Daily life in the Mother Center needs reflective space in form of trainings and seminars to accompany the practical work and to process and reflect on the daily experiences. Regular times for reflection of individual and group processes as well as of project developments are an indispensable support structure for the work of the Mother Center and the learning processes involved. Seminars, workshops and peer learning events, that allow for reflection space as well as for targeted capacity building will be conducted on a regular basis in cooperation with the Nest! Neighborhood Academy. How to solve problems and conflicts constructively, how to motivate and encourage participation and self development, how to deal with different interests, different levels of ability and self confidence, or with culture clashes or informal hierarchies are issues that can best be

addressed outside of the daily hustle and bustle in the setting of a seminar or retreat. Outside facilitation and coaching can be of great support in this process and partnerships with competent trainers that understand the concept of the Mother Center as well as the value and elements of peer learning should be built in as an accompanying structure to the work in the center.

Funding and Remuneration

The Mother Center need funds to pay for rooms, for furniture and equipment, insurances, for the remuneration of daily tasks and activities, for publications and publicity and for personnel development and training. Since the core concept of the center is to offer support and budget relief to families, the prices of services and consumption in the center are kept low. As a rule of thumb the money raised by the activities in the center can cover about 20% of the yearly budget.

Funding can come through the Savings and Loans division of the Nest! Local Economy Organization or from outside sponsors. The core activities in the Mother Center like the drop in café, childcare, cooking, cleaning, educational courses, accounting, etc. are paid on an hourly basis in Local Currency.

Integrating the Surroundings

The Mother Center constitutes an element that can also be established independently of the temporary settlement. Since families with young children will be an important part of the new settlement the Mother Center provides a central service. It is a good way to integrate the new settlement and the surrounding neighborhoods.

VIII).Enabling Policies and legislative Framework

The development of the Mother Center movement raises issues of welfare policies and welfare legislation of a larger nature. Mother Centers are extremely successful on the ground. They reach families who are not reached by welfare institutions, they bring out capacities and competencies that are otherwise lost to society. They answer to many issues that are currently high on the agenda of public debate, like strengthening the participation of civil society, especially of women, integration of different cultures, social cohesion in neighborhoods as well as improving the quality of family socialisation and child rearing and accessing undeveloped talent and potential. Their success, however, is not matched to the same extent by political and administrative recognition and financial support.

A Governance Paradox

In her article "Dominieren of Faciliteren"⁸⁸ Joyce Hes analyses the situation as a "political governance paradox", arising out of the fact that governmental top down welfare approaches do not fit the needs and parameters of bottom up self help initiatives, so that the very formula that creates the success of the Mother Centers generates resistance from the institutions and organizations, where the money, recognition and support should come from.

Hes identifies the following factors as major barriers:

- ✓ bureaucratic orientation that allows for little or no flexibility, autonomy, or consideration for context

⁸⁸ Dr. Joyce Hes Dominieren of Faciliteren in: Moedercentra, November 2000

- ✓ managerialism, the attempt to align social development to the cost and effect principles of the free market, including an increasing competitiveness of welfare organizations for ownership and credit for successful initiatives
- ✓ segmentation and specialization
- ✓ centralization in large welfare institutions, top down steering from a distance

In order to support self help initiatives another governance model is needed, one that fits better the work on the ground, one that can enable rather than block and hinder bottom up solutions.

In the following we present lessons from the Mother Center experience concerning four areas where legislative and policy reforms can enhance the effectivity of social welfare policies.

Holistic Approach

A weakness of the present welfare system is the degree of specialization and segmentation that has developed in delivering support and services. Increased professionalism has resulted in the slicing up of life into social issues, target groups, specialized themes and funding titles.

"Dutch society is cut up in many pieces. There is a specialized social worker for every target group and specialized funds for every social issue. Women, children, youth, the elderly, the disabled, migrants, refugees are all addressed by different programs and different specialists. The Mother Centers by contrast use a holistic approach. In the Mother Centers all these groups come together. This creates a lot of difficulty in accessing funds, because there are practically no funding titles for such an integral approach." (National Network of Dutch Mother Centers)

"Subsidies are specialized. You get them for refugees, for volunteer work, for work with unemployed, or with the youth. But never for the integrated way that the Mother Centers work. So you can get one or the other activity in the center funded, but not the whole project. There is a government rule, that you can not get more than three subsidies of government money. That limits our possibilities and the result is that not all the activities of the Mother Center can be paid, because what happens here definitely includes more than three given sectors. We have to always be careful that the funding policies do not kill our concept, that the way we work is not altered by the lines of financing imposed by the government or the city council." (Malle Molen, Haarlem)

Much of the success of the Mother Centers is due to the fact that they follow more of a family than an institutional approach. Addressing the family as a whole, rather than children, youth, women, the elderly, in separate approaches, reflects and builds on the synergy of the family as a system. Especially in the context of migrant families an integrated approach is crucial in order to build on and enhance self coping energies and strategies, which are very much linked to family and kin networks.

Recommendation for enabling Policies:

A more organic and holistic approach to social welfare needs to create programs and funding titles that allow for non-segmental, integrated bottom up approaches. Channeling state support and public subsidy directly into the system of family and community self help networks can increase the range and quality of social policy by including and enabling the problem solving capacities and resources of the target groups themselves.

Decentralization

A big issue that hinders the development of innovation and creativity in social welfare is the tendency towards centralization and large welfare institutions with increasingly bureaucratic structures. The further away decisions are taken, the more likely it becomes that they are not in tune with what works on the ground. The Mother Center movement has many examples of such miscommunication and misalignment between the work of the Mother Centers and the attitudes, procedures, requirements and regulations of host welfare institutions.

"A big problem is that our center cannot get independent funds, only channeled through our host welfare institution. They get all the subsidies and pass them on, so we always need to convince this big and rather bureaucratic institution of our work. We cannot do our own business, grow and expand as it is happening in our own process. The welfare institution divides the money evenly among all the projects, regardless if they are equally successful and expanding or not. This is an advantage for unsuccessful projects, but for the Mother Centers it blocks our development. It would be better if the Mother Centers could get subsidies directly, on their own." (Molle Molen, Haarlem)

Recommendation for enabling Policies:

Decentralization can be enhanced by creating legal and financial procedures by which grassroots projects can become direct partners with founders and social welfare programs. This constitutes an important step away from bureaucratization and a patronizing approach in social welfare and an important step towards improving the effectiveness of social welfare programs and how the increasingly limited money available is spent. Through more direct communication channels between decision making, funding procedures and the implementation level, funding can be more fine tuned to the real requirements on the ground, which more often than not also reduces costs.

Deregulation and wider Margins

Innovations are often difficult to fit into a very regulated and bureaucratic system of rules and requirements. When the effect of rules and regulations is no longer evaluated against the basic intentions for which they were originally formulated, they can become a barrier and a block to good social policies.

In the case of the Mother Centers this is true in regard to regulations and legislative plans concerning childcare. The Mother Center concept involves a new kind of (informal) childcare in the presence of parents and other caring adults. This is different from formal public childcare arrangements, where parents are substituted by professional child minders. Public childcare arrangements involve a wide series of requirements like the need for child size toilets, separate chambers for sleeping, or security tests for play equipment, which are not required in a family or family like setting.

"Plans on new childcare legislation threaten to centralize responsibility for public childcare and to submit informal childcare settings to the same regulations required of formal public childcare. This can make the practice of childcare in a community and neighborhood setting like the Mother Center childcare system illegal, which seems counter productive in regard of the fact that sufficient childcare is lacking in Dutch society and there is a need to enhance rather than limit the supply.

We are therefore negotiating to receive a specific Mother Center status within this new law." (National Association of Dutch Mother Centers)

Recommendation for enabling Policies:

Working with wider norms and wider margins that leave room for context orientation, innovation and decentralized initiative and responsibility appear more suitable to ensure that services, in this case childcare services, are offered in such a way that they are accessible to those who most need them, while at the same time ensuring the standards of quality that the rules and regulations are intended for.

New Welfare Mix

The European public welfare system is targeted towards public solidarity and state responsibility in those areas that are least ensured by market forces. The third pillar on which society rests is civic engagement in the form of voluntary work and citizen's initiatives. In times of a shrinking labor market a redistribution of tasks and responsibilities between the market, the state and civil society needs to be considered and there are currently many debates, political initiatives and proposals that attempt to do that.

The Mother Center experience contributes to this debate by introducing the concept of subsidized self help. Mother Centers bridge the gap between public and private, between productive and reproductive tasks, between paid and unpaid work, labor market involvement and welfare subsidies. They cannot, however, survive on a purely voluntary basis, although much voluntary work is generated and contributed in the Mother Centers. They can also not survive on a purely commercial basis, because the care needs and services involved are so time and labor intensive, that it is not possible to provide them on a self sustaining profitable basis, if they are to stay as personal as they are in the context of the Mother Centers and still affordable for wide segments of the population. And finally Mother Centers risk endangering the quality of their services as well as their empowerment potential if they are conducted purely on an employment basis and submitted to labor market laws and logic.

Enabling structures for the kind of civic involvement and social services generated in projects like the Mother Centers therefore require "a new welfare mix".

Barriers in existing legislation include the tight limits in regard to the remuneration of tax free voluntary work (€700 per year), the limitations to engaging in remunerated work while receiving social welfare, the practice of limiting subsidized work to labor market programs.

The practice of subsidizing work programs as labor market re-entry incentive has been introduced to counteract unemployment rates. Such programs cannot solve the issue of the structural decrease of employment due to post industrialization. They have, however, successfully introduced the concept of subsidizing work, of creating a "second labor market" outside of market forces.

The lessons coming out of the Mother Center experience point towards carrying this redistribution, or re-balancing of state, market and civic forces one step further to include subsidies for work and services provided in the context of neighborhood and community engagement.

"Because of the complexity and ambition of our project we need partners in politics. We need help in getting financing innovations, in getting recognition, also for the transfer of the model to the whole region, as basic infrastructure for families. There needs to be a good co-operation with public policy makers to make the necessary legislative changes, both national and municipal" (Luna, Arnhem)

Recommendation for enabling Policies:

Creating direct funding titles for family and community self help initiatives, increasing the margins of tax free remuneration for civic work and creating opportunities and incentives to supplement welfare subsidies with paid work in the community, constitute strategies of a new welfare mix, that can both counteract negative effects of unemployment as well as generate stronger civic involvement.

Chapter 10: The International Garden

I) Introduction

"We realized that what we missed most from home were our gardens. We decided, why shouldn't we have gardens here?"

International gardens are spaces in the community that residents turn into and make use of as gardens. The space is prepared collectively to be suitable for use as a garden (cleaning the area of waste, ploughing, fencing in, installing water etc.). Families or individuals are then assigned a plot, that they cultivate according to their own wishes and ideas. Communal space is reserved for a playground for children as well as for a leisure area to sit together and for common activities, events and festivities. The agreements and 'rules' of managing the garden are collectively discussed and developed.

International Gardens⁸⁹ were started in 1995 by a group of female Bosnian refugees in Göttingen, Germany. They were dissatisfied with their life as passive recipients of social welfare. They were looking for ways to take life back into their own hands, to feel useful and contribute to society. They wanted to take root in their new environment by actively participating in integration, rather than 'waiting to be integrated'.

The group found partners who supported them in getting a piece of land from the municipality they could use for their idea. Collectively, using their skills and experience from home, they turned the vacant piece of land into a garden. The idea quickly sparked interest and attracted other families (refugee and local) as well as supportive partners and institutions. Today in Göttingen, more than 300 families from 20 nations cultivate 12000 square meters in five gardens to grow organic fruit, vegetables, flowers and herbs.

Meanwhile the project has spread into other communities. In 2003 the foundation 'Stiftung Interkultur' was formed as a network of the 10 at that time existing international garden projects across Germany to respond to and support the numerous initiatives and requests for information. Meanwhile they have spread further, also into neighboring countries.⁹⁰

An international garden is an ideal project for the temporary settlement as it creates public communal space in the open and facilitates communication and interaction and integration in an easy going way. International gardens counteract isolation and alienation in settlements and contribute to social cohesion.

Of all the elements of the temporary settlement, the international garden, like the Mother Center and the Neighborhood Academy, is one of the more easy ones to realize, because

⁸⁹ This chapter is based on interviews with the initiators of the international garden in Göttingen and the Foundation Interkultur as well as on flyers, brochures and written sources, specifically the book by Christ Müller: *Wurzeln schlagen in der Fremde – Die internationalen Gärten und ihre Bedeutung für Integrationsprozesse*, München, 2002

⁹⁰ The international gardens have received public recognition and acknowledgement as a model for integration, a model for the strengthening of civil society as well as for the development of environmental awareness. They have received numerous prizes, among them the 'Integration Prize' of the German government (2002), the 'Award for Democracy and Tolerance' (2002), The Local Agenda 21 Prize' of the city of Göttingen, the national award 'Active Civil Society' (2001) and the 'Prize for Environmental Awareness' of the German Federal Ministry for the Environment. (2000).

it does not even depend on the temporary settlement itself, but could be started independently.

With its enormous potential for (non-verbal) communication and contact, international gardens contribute greatly to community building in newly developing settlements and to integration with the neighboring communities.

II) A Place for Integration

International gardens are a 'best practice' for integrating refugees into host societies. They literally develop common ground for families from diverse national, cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds to relate both to each other as well as to their new environment. They create a focus point in the community at large, for neighborly activities and exchanges. They also offer opportunities for economic development.

Finding the Language to communicate

International gardens create a common denominator: gardening and the cultivation of the earth. This becomes an understanding without words, or a 'green language', as it is called in Göttingen, that has the capacity to create bonding across social and cultural differences. At the same time, the motivation to communicate and learn the language of the host country is sparked. The lingua franca with which the international gardeners make themselves understood amongst each other is the host country language. As many migrant studies have shown, the motivation to learn the language of the host country is developed when there are opportunities to apply it in everyday life. The international gardens supply such opportunities.

Sowing the Seeds of Integration

One of the challenges of creating alive neighborhoods and social cohesion in communities is overcoming individualized and anonymous residential structures. The international gardens are community gardens. They are in the open and thus visible, they constitute animated public space. By participating, or by casually exchanging greetings or gardening tips in passing, by buying the produce or by visiting one of the garden festivities and events, residents get to know each other. People in the settlement get faces and names, have histories, become familiar.

Neighborhoods develop through common activities and common experiences. A community garden can create such moments of common experience. Activities that involve direct collaboration and have tangible results and benefits for the participants tend to be more successful in engaging residents to grow together as a community, than projects that state 'communication', 'encounter' or 'integration' as their explicit goal. Gardening and interacting with nature provide a common reference point, a focus for common interests and values, for the sharing of knowledge and experience, for co-operation and shared learning⁹¹. Not finding common reference points is what often can cause anonymity, indifference or hostility.

The love of nature has a universal quality, and can be transferred to any environment. Plants and nature are perceived as meaningful, as fulfilling and valuable in all cultures and traditions and can serve as a basis for commonality and understanding. Gardens are associated with and respond to the wish for beauty, for recreation, for health and healing as well as providing a basis to be productive, to contribute to subsistence and daily life needs. Growing organic and healthy food in the international gardens also stimulates the

91 The study by the Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau of June 2002 *Zekere banden, Sociale cohesie, leefbaarheid en veiligheid* confirms this. In the chapter 'sociale cohesie bij individuele burgers' a common hobby, together with education or profession, are found to be the most important factor for bonding with others, more than proximity, religion or political views. (p.71)

care for the environment.

Gardening tends to have a healing and therapeutic effect for people dealing with high levels of stress in their lives, as well as for refugees that have traumatic experiences to cope with.

Creating Continuity in Migration

For refugees and migrants being able to link to own skills, traditions and resources and being able to actively contribute to and shape their new social environment, are important elements of integration, of taking root in their new life situation. The international gardens create bridges between the old life and the new. Plants that were familiar at home can be grown in the new earth, thus providing an element of continuity. Gardening techniques and traditions that are part of the agrarian and cultural heritage can be handed on in the new environment, thus providing elements of ownership as well as of sharing, that constitute key aspects in the process of redefining and rebuilding identity in the new context. Being able to contribute something meaningful, having something to offer are important elements of developing a sense of belonging, of 'having arrived', of taking part in and being part of the new country.

For refugees as well as for an increasing part of the migrant population that enter host countries as family members, these elements are not readily available through participation in the labor market. Retreat into ethnic communities, lack of contact with the host society, and lack of motivation to learn the host language are one of the results contemporary integration policy is challenged with. Neighborhoods have consequently become more important as focus for social contact and social integration. International gardens create low threshold and inclusive public space for encounter and contact in the neighborhood. Everyone can participate, whatever social, ethnic or religious background they may have, whether they are employed or not, whether they are young or old, whether they are man or woman, whether they are locals or migrants.

Gardening and preparing the harvested food provide opportunities for a culture of hospitality and an easy way to connect and communicate. Everywhere in the world people connect around food, sharing meals are one of the main rituals of social life in every society.

III) What happens in International Gardens?

Since most people are interested in growing and cultivating plants they are familiar with, as well as in increasing their knowledge on gardening, the international gardens are characterized by a vivid exchange of plants, recipes, traditions and gardening tips from all corners of the world. Ingredients needed to prepare dishes from back home are planted, herbs and plants from other cultures are encountered and tried out. Stories, harvest rituals, ways of celebrating are shared. Information on what makes soil fertile and plants grow, on non-chemical ways of conservation and on different ways to prepare produce are exchanged.

Women play a leading role in the international gardens due to their traditionally strong position in subsistence production. Their competencies and skills in growing and processing food are respected. The garden constitutes public space that is inclusive of women and children. The participative decision making practiced in the international gardens supports the development of gender equality.

Activities in the international gardens expand according to the interests and skills of the people involved. Family activities and events like family brunches, collective preparing of food, and garden parties are regular events. Projects like a bicycle shop where bicycles

are repaired are developed. In the winter gardening activities tend to be complimented by various artesian activities. People teach the arts and crafts they know from their homelands to each other. In Göttingen participants have built a stone oven for making bread and the various ways it is done in different cultures are shared. Building and repairing structures on the compound that are needed to harbor the garden tools, to provide shelter when it rains, to enhance the play opportunities of the children are regular winter activities.

The international gardens become focal points for the exchange of all kinds of information relevant to the participants, like rights and regulations, access to training and jobs, cultural customs, health issues, childcare or school issues.

The international gardens also initiate education programs of their own, like language courses, courses in literacy and in environmental awareness. This develops as a natural outcome of the activities in the garden. The motivation to learn the host language and develop literacy develops out of the interest to communicate with the other participants in the garden, and to participate in the new society. The motivation to understand the laws of nature develops out of the motivation to understand the cause and effect of ones own activity as well as out of the interest to grow healthy food.

For participants from the local population the gardens represent opportunities for recreation and social contact, for stress reduction, for exposure to cultural variety and diversity, for getting to know, understand and be at ease with the backgrounds and traditions of the migrant part of the population, and for learning about gardening and subsistence production.

For refugees and migrants many integration barriers are addressed in the context of the international gardens. This includes the lack of language skills, the lack of basic literary skills, as well as the lack of knowledge of rights and regulations, and of the labor market and skills requirements in the host country. Difficulties in transferring from a rural to an urban society, the need to adapt to a different cultural and social environment, restricted access to education, as well as healing trauma are issues that are dealt with in the communal life of the gardens.

The international gardens in Göttingen are intent on making the garden a site for intercultural living and learning. They make it a point to include a wide range of people from different ethnic backgrounds and cultures. In order to avoid dominance of any given group they have created a quota system, which they follow when accepting new members, in order to keep a balance between nationalities and ethnic groups and give space for diversity.

IV) Effects

Counteracting Isolation

The international gardens counteract isolation and anonymity in settlements. They are places that easily create a feeling of familiarity, a feeling of being at home.

"My daughter always said to me, mama, let us go outside. But I said, where should we go? Now it is different. Now we have the garden and the people of the garden. My daughter now has many aunts, uncles, grandmothers and grandfathers. And I feel part of a community of people."

"It is not that I don't have friends. But it is different in the garden. There is a special

atmosphere of familiarity and warmth there. I can come to the garden anyway I like, wearing sandals or with a soiled shirt. That does not bother anybody. In the garden people feel free."

"The gardens are a place to get physical exercise, a place to meet people, and a place to get contact with nature. I am unemployed. If you always stay at home you get ill. The gardens are a way to get out. I am outside the whole day, that is healthy. We laugh a lot together."

"One family brings some self made cookies, another tea or juices made from our fruit harvest. We exchange recipes. At our festivities everybody cooks their own specialties, everyone brings their own music. We show each other our dances, but also our seeds, plants, herbs and fruits."

Increasing social Capital

The international gardens provide a frame and arena where the skills and talents of elderly or of unemployed people can be reintegrated into community life. Knowledge is accumulated by learning from each other. When negotiating different interests and activities in the garden, handling misunderstandings and conflicts and co-operating in the daily requirements of running a garden, social competencies are developed and the social capital grows in the community.

"It is interesting to make contacts with many different cultures that I was not aware of before. I have learned so much, also about things I know and can show others. You get to meet many kinds of people and learn different ways of doing things. You learn to get along"

"There is a lot of knowledge in the international gardens. Some of us are illiterate, but they know a lot, for instance on ecological issues. This often stays tacit knowledge until it is asked for, until it is in demand. In the gardens we make it a point to ask for the knowledge of the participants, we make it a point that the participants themselves become aware of what they know."

Solving Issues of daily Life

For migrants the international gardens help solve many issues of daily life.

"We can look back at many achievements. A majority of our migrant members now speak the local language, many people, especially women learned to read and write, many families were stabilized in the process of participation. We have created job possibilities for some. Many harvest their supply of fresh vegetables from their plots. Many local people visit the gardens and enjoy the friendly atmosphere there."

Access to affordable healthy Food

For many families the gardens provide access to affordable healthy food. Organic and fresh food is not easily available or affordable in industrialized countries. Prices in health food stores are often twice as high as in regular shops.

"Our participants, guests and customers, are often attracted by the quality of our products. We are happy that we can provide healthy food for ourselves and our neighbors, that we do not need to buy our vegetables in the supermarket."

"At home all our goods were fresh. Here there is a lot of poison in the food. At home everything in the market came fresh every morning. The chickens were still alive on the market. Good and wholesome food was standard. That is not the case here. Here it is expensive to have quality food. With our gardens we can live more like we did at home."

Trust and mutual Respect

The international gardens make visible that migrants do not come with empty hands, but bring competencies and resources with them. This constitutes an important basis for developing trust and mutual respect and a change in attitude between new comers and the host society.

"Having something to offer, being able to give away products I have grown myself and made myself, gives me dignity, makes me feel more human, more integrated, more an equal part of this society. The gardens give me the opportunity to offer hospitality, that makes me feel more at home."

"I did not realize until I became part of the garden that I had knowledge from my homeland about how to protect plants, about the fertility of earth, about ecologically sound cultivation practices and the healing powers of herbs and flowers that proved relevant and valuable in my new surroundings."

"Who has decided to live here needs to take active part in shaping their surroundings, needs to contribute in developing possibilities and solutions. Everyone needs to do their part. With the gardens we did our part. There is no other way to integration. We cannot be refugees forever."

Ecological Awareness

Ecological awareness often correlates with community awareness. People identify with collective goods such as air, water and earth when they feel part of a collective. People take care of their surroundings when they identify with where they live, when there is a sense of ownership and belonging, when they see a future for themselves and their families in the community they participate in. Planting and gardening are investments in the future, they support awareness of the importance of sustainability.

"In the gardens we talk about how to protect nature. We talk about how we relate to nature in our native traditions. We found out that the word for erosion is the same in the curd and the Amharic language. Literally translated it means 'scratching off the face of the earth.' The word for re-plantation means 'Giving the earth her natural clothes back'. We share proverbs from home that teach how to protect and take care of nature."

"The garden is a place of transformation. People associate peace, health and well-being with it. People learn to care about the earth, about each other. They start to invest in and care for their surroundings."

V) Implementation

How does one go about starting an international garden? What is needed to implement this project in the temporary settlement?

Initiators

For an international garden to start you need initiators who want to make it their project. This can be one individual or a group of individuals. They can come from inside the temporary settlement or from the surrounding communities. Their qualification lies in enthusiasm for the idea, some knowledge in gardening, organizing talents, and most of all the capacity to encourage, motivate and support self confidence in others. Openness to diversity, intercultural experience and understanding of cultural differences in customs, traditions, ways of expressing opinions and emotions as well as competence in problem solving and conflict mediation are further important qualities for initiators. Where possible, it is recommended that initiators consist of both men and women to allow for gender homogenous sub groups which in some cultures are an important prerequisite. Ideally the group should be composed of migrants as well as locals.

Land, Partners and Sponsors

The first task is to negotiate a suitable piece of land in the area as well as sponsors for the project. An area of about 1500 square meters is a good size to start an international garden. The individual or family plots should have the size of about 40 square meters. Depending on when the international garden starts, the beginning investment costs could be funded from the loans division of the temporary settlement or from outside sponsors. Involving partners and sponsors from the surrounding communities and involving the developers (who could for instance supply the machines to prepare the garden grounds) is a good way to gain support from the environment for the Nest! and to start the integration of the temporary settlement into the development process.

Involving Participants

Involving participants (from inside the temporary settlement as well as from the adjacent communities and from the developing new neighborhood) should begin right at the start. Especially for the preliminary work of preparing the plots for gardening it is important to include the participants as much as possible. Experience shows that the identification with a project is higher the more participants were involved in the beginning stages, and the more they contributed to building up the basic infrastructure.

Basic Infrastructure

The basic infrastructure that needs to be put into place involves the preparation of the plot for gardening. This includes work like cleaning, shifting earth, fencing, improving the quality of the ground, fertilizing, maybe digging more ditches, setting up an entrance and path-ways, planting trees and hedges, solving the question of access to water as well as access to electricity, building or renting toilets, building a playground, a shelter against rain, a shed for tools, building garden furniture, as well as negotiating accident insurance and fire insurances.

Keeping an open area for group events, celebrations and meetings is essential. The whole area should not be cultivated at once. Starting small and gradually expanding

step by step in a transparent and manageable way, taking the whole group along, is the best way to go. This also applies to the individual plots where people are encouraged to start in one corner and gradually in their own timing cultivate their whole plot.

Budget

To implement the international garden a basic start up investment is needed. The budget includes posts for renting machines for planifying the plot, digging a well, or setting up a toilet, as well as for purchasing gardening tools, benches, material for the sheds and fences, equipment for the playground, as well as tools⁹² for wood and stone work. Two (part time) co-ordinators, preferably a woman and a man should be recruited, paid with Local Currency, to support the initiation as well as the on-going process in the international garden.

Agreements

The international gardens typically bring together different biographies, languages, religions and cultures. To create a common vision as well as continuous co-operation requires discussing and setting up a framework of agreements that all participants adhere to. An important agreement to make the international garden work, is that the project is kept politically and religiously neutral. All political or ethnic positions, arguments and conflicts need to be kept outside of the garden.

Another crucial basic agreement is that the common language in the international garden, is the language of the host country. Other agreements can address goals of the project, how problems or conflicts in the group are to be solved or what values like respect, tolerance, co-operation the project is to be based on and should reflect.

Group Process

Taking time and attention for group discussions and the group process is very important. How the land should be cleaned and prepared, how the plots should be divided among the participants, what rules should be set up, and what should be the rights and duties of the participants constitute important themes for collective debate and decision making. How often to have meetings, what projects should be started, what events and celebrations should be planned as well as what trainings should be conducted also need to be widely discussed among the participants and constitute a continuous element of group building and group cohesion. Differences in cultural attitudes and values need to be addressed in this process and carefully negotiated. Starting with a debate on visions and values is a good way to find common ground and consolidate group identity.

Partnerships

From the start the project should seek to find and build partnerships with supporting groups and institutions in the area as well as in the municipality at large. International gardens are a project with a large potential for partnership building and networking. Partners can be found in local gardening or citizens associations, ecological groups, women's groups, asylum organizations, migrant organizations, churches, universities, housing corporations, developers, the media, as well as with local authorities and institutions. Such partnerships can form a good basis to develop intercultural dialogs and

⁹² It is advisable to invest in good quality equipment in the beginning in order to prevent tools from soon breaking and having to be renewed.

debates on issues of integration. It is important to have partners right from the start that support the international garden: financially, with subject related knowledge and technical assistance as well as with the capacity and willingness to open doors for institutional dialog and change. The task of identifying and contacting supporting partners is a vital one.

Scenario for an International Garden Schuytgraaf

The International Garden in Schuytgraaf consists of two parts, an international garden, in which plots are rented out to residents of the temporary settlement, as well as of Schuytgraaf and the neighboring communities and a public garden space for picnics and barbecues, including an herb garden, which is open to the general public to harvest herbs. Opportunity is also given for some plots to be entertained by schools in the neighborhood for gardening projects with children.

Each part of the International Garden has 1500 square meters. The public part consists mainly of a field of grass and a play area for children. This area also includes a barbecue space and an herb garden. The area for individual garden plots is planned for 30 plots, of 40 square meters each. These are rented out on a yearly basis. Renters have the opportunity of earning back their rent by contributing to the maintenance of the garden paths as well as the public garden area including the herb garden.

Education and Training

Training programs as well as study visits and excursions can greatly support the project. Themes include garden architecture, education in (ecological) gardening like differentiating mushrooms, making compost, or recycling waste as well as language and literacy courses, or trainings in various handicrafts. These trainings can be offered both by participants as well as by outside experts and are developed as part of the Nest! Neighborhood Academy.

Conflict Mediation

The international gardens are not a conflict free zone. Conflicts are to be expected as a regular aspect of the work. By participating in the gardens, however, participants engage in sensitive and culturally appropriate ways of how to handle conflicts in everyday life. Positive conflict solving is an important element of the process, that can bond the participants stronger together and can greatly contribute to the success of the project. Practicing a positive attitude towards conflicts and examining and trying out different conflict solving techniques, which participants can contribute from their traditions as well as which can be introduced through workshops and trainings in cooperation with the Neighborhood Academy constitute important aspects of the social climate and culture of the international gardens.

Economic Development

The international gardens include strategies for economic development. In addition to the economic benefit participating families have by harvesting food for their own consumption, marketing strategies are developed to set up a network for selling plants and produce in the new settlement and in the region as well as to partnering groups and organizations. This can be enhanced by setting up green houses on the terrain. The project involves a lot of potential for the creation of small businesses: for instance starting a catering service for churches, schools, municipal agencies, and private parties,

setting up a repair shop for garden tools and agricultural machines or creating a gardening service to take care of the gardens of double income families in the new settlement, who don't have much time to tend to their gardens.

Growing Roots in the new Settlement

With its potential for initiating both social as well as economic community development the international garden constitutes one of the key elements of the temporary settlement. It is also one of the projects with a high chance of being taken over as a community project in the permanent settlement after the temporary settlement is over, since it includes not only the pioneers but integrates participants from the newly developing neighborhood as well as from the adjacent communities from the start.

Chapter 11: The Neighborhood Study

I) Introduction

The Nest! feasibility study was targeted at the municipality of Arnhem with special focus given to the Vinex town extension location Schuytgraaf. Though the implementation scenarios are developed for four locations in Arnhem relating to the municipality's vision 2015 (Chapter 13), the neighborhood study presented in this chapter is applied and developed most extensively to the case of Schuytgraaf.⁹³ In this chapter we explore how a temporary settlement can fit in with the surrounding communities. We develop this argument for the Schuytgraaf case.

Schuytgraaf is surrounded by the neighboring Arnhem communities Elderveld, De Laar and the village Driel, belonging to a neighboring municipality. Each of these communities has a different profile, but they do have in common a rather reserved and negative attitude towards the Vinex town extension neighborhood to be developed next-door. Many fear that they will not only lose the nice open area nearby, but that the new neighborhood will get its services at the expense of their own.

Thirty years ago these Arnhem neighborhoods were the nicest and newest parts of town, attracting young families. Today they show signs of their age and a lack of maintenance. More and more people, because of age, need care facilities. Physically, the neighborhoods surrounding Schuytgraaf are not up to date any more and some also show first signs of social decline. In one or two decades these areas might face similar social problems as the neighborhoods from the fifties and sixties have now.

A large part of the population in Elderveld lives in rented apartments and houses. Provisions for childcare and eldercare are good. Citizens are quite active in Elderveld and there are a number of volunteers who have developed neighborhood services for the elderly population.

De Laar has a different atmosphere. The major part of the population lives in owner occupied houses. De Laar has less services and provisions than Elderveld. Residents are less active in the community and keep more to themselves. The astute identification as a middle class house owner community is developed somewhat as defence against the perceived discrimination of Arnhem South, to which these communities belong.

Driel is a small village with strong continuity and social cohesion. People live there since generations and even the young people want to stay in the community. Almost everyone belongs to at least one local association.

The following neighborhood study describes the neighborhoods surrounding Schuytgraaf under the aspects of social composition of inhabitants, existing assets and facilities, social climate, issues and concerns, service gaps as well as the opinions and attitudes towards Schuytgraaf. Conclusions are drawn in regard to possible challenges for Schuytgraaf and how they can be addressed and in regard to how the neighboring communities can be integrated into the social process.

Though the neighborhood study presented in this chapter examines a local case, the

⁹³ This chapter is based on the neighborhood study prepared by Ginette Beets on the basis of statistical analysis and qualitative interviews

experience described is global. People fear change. Developments of new settlements need to be accompanied by socially integrative measures and strategies, involving the surrounding communities. The temporary settlement is well equipped for this task.

II) Elderveld

Facts and Figures

Elderveld was built in the early seventies. The neighborhood was planned with much space for public green and waterways. In the beginning a large number of young families settled in Elderveld, although the level of services was low. It took a few years before there was a neighborhood supermarket and a reasonable number of busses stopping there.

Meanwhile Elderveld has a population of 10 028 people. 32% are under 25 and 24% are over 55 years. The average persons per household is 2,33. 39% of the households include children. 6% of the population are single parents. 3% of the Elderveld residents are unemployed and 3,3 % live from social welfare. 22% of the population of Elderveld are immigrants. The mean income pro year is €23 400 which is slightly above the average income in Arnhem. At the last local elections the local Populist Party Zuid Centraal, which fights the perceived neglect of the Southern part of Arnhem, received the most votes. 61% of the dwellings are rented, 39% are owned.⁹⁴

The community has 3 general practitioners, 3 dentists, 4 physiotherapists and a pharmacy. Besides a care office, a medical dispensary and a home for seniors, there are also two special housing units for mentally disabled.

Elderveld has 3 primary schools, a public school, a Roman Catholic school and a Protestant school. All three schools also harbor a kindergarten. In addition the community runs 3 toddler groups as well as 6 daycare centers that also offer after-school care. Elderveld has a youth centre, a boy scout club and a holiday program for children during summer holidays. Twice a week a mobile library targeted at youth stops at two different locations in the district.

There are several sport and play facilities in the district: the centrally located playground Spelderveld, several small playgrounds in the residential areas, the sports hall Elderveld, sports park Elderveld, a squash centre and the sports centre SHK. These locations harbor a wide range of sports clubs including badminton, checkers, gymnastics, handball, fishing, hockey, basketball, rugby, chess, squash, table tennis, tennis, football and volleyball. The Salvation Army and de Kandelaar (a center for religious ceremonies and celebrations) have buildings in the community. Elderveld also has a neighborhood center and a community garden, as well as a service center for seniors. There are two local policemen who have their consulting hours once a week.

The district association organizes events in Elderveld and offers adult education programs as well as courses targeted at the youth, for example break-dance or circus acts. The district center offers physical space for neighborhood events. There is also a district platform, which is a consultation body composed of several local groups. Elderveld has a large potential of volunteers. Supply and demand are co-ordinated by the volunteers agency run by the chairman of the district association.

Social contacts and networks in the neighborhood are mainly built via the kindergartens and primary schools, via the many sport associations in the community or by volunteer

94 Source: Statistisch Jaarboek gemeente Arnhem 2001/2002

work There are many families in Elderveld who live there since the beginning, whose children grew up together. In the parts of the community where inhabitants have lived for a longer period of time, there is more contact than in the parts where there is more fluctuation.

Elderveld can be reached by 3 main roads and has 2 bus connections with the city centre of Arnhem.

The shopping centre Elderhof is known as the heart of Elderveld, but is in urgent need of renovation. Generally during the last years there has been a decline of facilities. The bank is already gone, the post office is gone, the shopping center that is left, is under economic pressure. 5 of the 12 shops have closed down and the empty spaces have not been filled again. Just recently the district association has moved into one of the vacated shops. Elderhof currently consists of two supermarkets, a bakery, a butcher shop, a florist, a hairdresser, a boutique, a drugstore, a small bookshop with a small post office, a shop for household goods, an animal shop, a Chinese restaurant with a take-away, and a café with a cafeteria. There is a weekly market every Tuesday morning on one of the surrounding parking lots. The municipality plans to renovate the shopping centre Elderhof.

The local newspaper Elderveld Nieuws is issued a minimum of 6 times a year and is printed in 4500 copies. The local website is a further source of local information and communication.

Issues and Concerns

Inhabitants of Elderveld are content with the spaciousness of their neighborhood and that there is so much green. On the other hand the parks have become a burden because of the poor maintenance by the municipality. Poor maintenance is a big issue in the community, also concerning housing. A questionnaire distributed as part of an interactive municipal program to improve public space revealed that this is one of the top priorities, together with the renovation of the shopping centre Elderhof. Elderveld residents very much want the heart of their district to be renovated. Elderhof is of great importance for the inhabitants, especially for the many elderly people. A large number of signatures have been collected in the neighborhood, urging the municipality to renovate the shopping center, since for the rather large group of elderly people and for the disabled living in Elderveld, who are less mobile, it is very important to have sufficient shopping facilities in the neighborhood. Some people also think that specific shops are missing at the present shopping centre (green grocer, bicycle repairman/bicycle shop, discount supermarket) and hope that this may change with the planned renovation.

Other issues include the wish for more playgrounds, the lack of facilities for the migrant population, safety, support for resident initiatives and a work of art for the neighborhood.

Things that are most missed in Elderveld by the population include a discount supermarket, targeted facilities and events for youth and in general more art and cultural opportunities. Despite the local youth center, many inhabitants see the youth as a nuisance on the streets and there is a call for more police to increase the safety in the district. Elderveld has received the status "deprived area" and has been assigned two local police officers and a higher budget because of this status.

Relationship to Schuytgraaf

A protest group was founded against the fact that there only will be one road leading to Schuytgraaf. All the traffic from the already existing districts of Elderveld and de Laar

make use of this road, but the inhabitants of Schuytgraaf will be completely dependent on it. Many people believe that this one road is not enough for all inhabitants to use on a daily basis, and problems of noise, disturbance and congestion are anticipated. However, there are no other options. The protest movement was able to delay the building of Schuytgraaf for about 10 years but recently lost its case in the Supreme Court. On the whole the inhabitants of Elderveld are not happy with the coming of the new neighborhood. In addition to the anticipated traffic jams they are afraid that when Elderveld inhabitants move to Schuytgraaf, people from the renovation districts in Arnhem, which are considered "problem neighborhoods" and "hard to integrate" will move in, importing their problems (youth, unemployment, poverty, criminality) to Elderveld. There is a general concern that Elderveld can become the "dumping grounds" for dislocated residents of other districts in Arnhem that are being demolished and redeveloped.

Conclusion

Elderveld has a considerable potential of volunteers willing to invest time and services for others, coordinated by a central voluntary referral agency. Elderveld (like De Laar) is a dormitory neighborhood, but despite of this, people are willing to think about their neighborhood and invest time in their community.

Although the general attitude to the new neighborhood Schuytgraaf is rather skeptical, this potential of volunteer energy and involvement could be linked in, if the image of Schuytgraaf over time develops more positively and if Schuytgraaf offers attractive elements to its neighboring communities.

III) De Laar

Facts and Figures

De Laar was built in the late seventies. When it was first built it attracted many families with children, although services for children were not in place yet. The first children who lived in de Laar were forced to go to the schools in Elderveld. It was not till later that the three De Laar schools were opened. The same goes for the kindergartens.

De Laar⁹⁵ currently has 13 435 inhabitants. The population of De Laar is younger than the population of Elderveld. 35% of the population is younger than 25, and 12% are above 55 years of age. 23% of the residents of De Laar are immigrants. 43% of the households include children. 8% of the populations are single parents. The average persons per household is 2,38%. The percentage of owner occupied dwellings is slightly higher than in Elderveld (44% versus 56% rented dwellings). The number of registered unemployed in De Laar is 4% and 3,8% live from social welfare. The mean yearly income is €23 300 per family, similar to Elderveld. 41% are single earners. Also in De Laar the local Populist Party Zuid Centraal received the most votes in the last elections.

De Laar has 5 general practitioners, 4 dentists, a cluster of physiotherapists, a pharmacy, a care office and a medical dispensary. There are 3 schools, one public school, one Roman Catholic school and one Protestant school; all including a kindergarten. In addition De Laar has 2 day care centers, 2 after school programs and a toddler group. There is no youth centre, only a bus for youngsters which comes once a week and the youth mobile library that comes twice a week to two different locations in the neighborhood.

95 Source: Statistisch Jaarboek gemeente Arnhem 2001/2002

There are not many sport facilities in the district. The residential area has some small playgrounds and the sports hall De Laar offers indoor sport facilities and harbors a basketball, volleyball and a badminton club.

De Laar has a district center next to the sports hall, where there is a center for social work and the local police officer has his consultation hours. The district association offers courses like modern dance, acrobatics and digital photography. For the youth there are specific courses like freestyle skating and acting classes, and for the younger children there are courses like painting or drawing. Recently a Mother Child Group has been initiated that meets once a week in the rooms of the district association.

Most people in De Laar have lived in the community for a longer period of time: 10 years or longer is no exception. Despite this fact, people do not know each other very well. Especially in the areas where there are expensive owner-occupied houses and both partners work to pay the mortgage, people do not have much contact. In some areas there are street festivities, like a barbeque or an afternoon during which the small parcels of public green are collectively maintained. It is possible to obtain subsidies from the district platform for neighborhood events, such as a neighborhood barbeque, if it includes activities for children.

"I was a very busy working mother with one child. Now, as a full time mother of two it is a very busy life as well, but it is also boring. Enlisting my child in the childcare center is too expensive, now that we only have one earner in the family. Therefore I was very pleased with the opportunity to start a mother child group as part of the program of the district association. I miss being with people. I miss the social life. I need to have a place to go to with my children." (Initiator of the Mother Child Group De Laar-West)

De Laar has a small shopping center including a supermarket with a small post office and a bakery, a stall with flowers and plants, a hairdresser, a video shop, and a cafe with a cafeteria. The neighborhood can be reached by 3 different main roads, and there are 2 bus connections with the city centre of Arnhem.

The social climate in De Laar is rather anonymous. Both the chairwoman of the district platform as well as the chairman of the district association claim that the potential for volunteers is very low. People tend to live their own lives and do not want to get involved with things that are going on in their neighborhood. The physical set-up of De Laar alongside a major road can also be seen as an obstacle to communication and social interaction. De Laar lacks a natural center. Mainly people with young children in kindergarten or primary school age maintain social contacts in the neighborhood. The district association organizes events for children, like a Santa Claus party or a lantern procession on Saint Martins day. These events are attended by many people with small children.

The local paper in De Laar is issued for a minimum of 6 times a year in 4500 copies. The De Laar website, wijkvereniging.delaarwest.nl, can be reached through the homepage of the city of Arnhem, but it is not maintained very often.

Issues and Concerns

The youth is considered a problem and a nuisance on the streets, particularly those who drive around the neighborhood on scooters and play loud music. This is especially a complaint of elderly people.

Another issue is the lack of money machines in De Laar West. There is one machine in De

Laar Oost, but there recently have been a couple of robberies, so people are afraid to go there.

The city council of Arnhem has promised to negotiate with banks to ensure that money machines will come back to the district.

Like in Elderveld, maintenance issues have high priority in the neighborhood plans of the city council. Other items on the list include: facilities for youth, support of resident initiatives, as well as public transport and safety. There have been a couple of initiatives to improve the safety for children, especially in the vicinity of the schools.

Facilities that are missed include a library, a hospital/emergency room and a discount supermarket. For people with children it is important that there are enough facilities for the youth. There are also some ideas to start a walk-in center, where elderly people can meet. In contrast to Elderveld facilities for elderly people are almost non-existent. The district association wants to change that, in co-operation with the city council.

Inhabitants of De Laar think of their district as a dormitory neighborhood but seem to lack willingness to invest time and energy to change that. Social contacts and cohesion are lower than in Elderveld and are anticipated to decline even more with the expected influx of people from other districts of Arnhem in the wake of residents of De Laar moving to Schuytgraaf

Relationship to Schuytgraaf

Inhabitants of De Laar seem well informed of what is going on in Schuytgraaf, especially the young people who think of moving there. Many inhabitants fear being bothered by increased traffic and Schuytgraaf inhabitants looking for sneak routes in their neighborhood. Many express the fear of a social decline of De Laar when well-to-do residents move to Schuytgraaf and people with less income from the Arnhem "problem districts" move into the neighborhood. Some people in the district welcome that they will benefit from the fact that a small train station will be built in Schuytgraaf. Others say they will stick to their cars when they want to go to the northern part of Arnhem, where most of the facilities and institutions are situated.

Conclusions

The inhabitants of De Laar are hard to motivate to take initiative in their neighborhood. There are not many volunteers and social contacts and networks are rather weak. For the larger part of the neighborhood people hardly know their neighbors and do not show interest in what is going on in their community.

When residents are asked to join in with events or to fill in a questionnaire, the response is minimal. Even with festivities organized by the district association in co-operation with the district platform where nothing much is expected, people tend to stay at home. It is therefore not very likely that inhabitants from De Laar will be interested in participating in projects in Schuytgraaf. The exception, however, are young people and parents of young children, for whom opportunities for social contact and social activities are lacking. There is also a demand for services for seniors.

IV) Driel

Facts and Figures

Driel⁹⁶ is a small village belonging to a neighboring municipality. In 1995 Eastern Driel was ceded to Arnhem so Schuytgraaf could be built there.

Driel has 3890 inhabitants. 32% are under 25, and 10% are over 55 years of age. The average persons per household is 2,71. 93% of the population of Driel live in 1 household buildings. The percentage of migrants in Driel is 2%. The mean yearly income per person in Driel is €10 300. The percentage of low-income households is 39%.

There are two general practitioners, a dentist, a physiotherapist, a cesar therapist, and a language therapist. The village has a home for elderly people, afternoon meetings for elderly twice a week and a daycare facility in the village house for the mentally disabled.

Driel has three primary schools (all including a kindergarten), one public school, one Roman Catholic school and one Protestant school. There are 2 further locations for day-care including after school care and 1 toddler group in the village. There is no medical dispensary anymore; people have to go to the neighbor village for this service.

Driel has a village association and a village council as well as the village house where events for residents are held. The village association has no special program. Two women's groups, of which almost all members are over 60, meet for theme evenings once a month. Driel also has a music school with ballet lessons. The mobile library was discontinued in May 2004. It was not used much, because it came during school hours and the elderly people considered it difficult to climb into a bus.

Driel harbors several sport and play facilities including a football club, a volleyball club, a badminton association, and a tennis association. Furthermore there are two riding schools and a training centre for horses. There are several small playgrounds in the village which are maintained by volunteers. Plans exist to create more play facilities, but at this stage this seems more wish than reality.

Driel is a village where families live since generations. Only when a family has lived there for more than 3 generations is it called "native". The division between new-comers and locals is marked, even in a geographical sense. The new-comers live in the newer parts of the village (built in the seventies), the locals live in houses that have belonged to the family for centuries. The young people of Driel like to come back to their home village after they have finished their education. There is, however, a shortage of housing. Plans exist for a new part to be built in Driel to meet this demand, consisting of 200 dwellings. Unfortunately, ground prices have risen dramatically after the municipal reorganization. It is therefore not at all certain that young people from Driel will be able to afford these houses. There may be a slight chance that they shift to Schuytgraaf, but the prices in Schuytgraaf are high as well and most of them want, if possible, to stay in Driel. The quality of housing in Driel is good. The rental houses have been recently renovated, so they meet the demands of modern times. The owner-occupied houses are for the most part well maintained.

Inhabitants of Driel are socially very active. They participate in the local clubs and associations and in the active church life of the community. Almost everyone takes part in at least one association in one way or the other. Social cohesion is strong. People know each other.

96 Source: CBS, Kerncijfers wijken en buurten 2002

The shopping centre of Driel has recently been renovated. It includes a supermarket, a bakery, a florist, a real estate agent, a clothing shop, a butcher and a garage with a fuel pump. Driel can be reached by three main roads. The Rhine river flows on the northern part of the territory. There are 2 bus connections to the city centre of Arnhem, and a bus connection to the neighboring village Heteren.

Issues and Concerns

Among the facilities that are being missed most in the village is a library. There used to be one, but it became too expensive to keep up. It was decided to exchange it for a mobile library, which proved not to be profitable either so this facility has had to stop as well. Almost the same is the case for public transport. The number of buses had to be reduced. Now it is difficult to get out of the village, especially for the elderly since train taxis do not drive in Driel and existing transport facilities for the elderly tend to not be very punctual.

Another major gap is a discotheque and other facilities for the youth. There used to be a discotheque, but there were some problems with youth from outside the village. Also the costs were too high, so it was closed. The village council and the governing board of the village house are looking at possibilities, but it will be difficult because of anticipated inconveniences for the rest of the village, especially for the elderly, as the home for elderly is situated in close vicinity to the village house.

With the making of new pavements, the whole square in front of the village house was rearranged. Young people are assigned a special corner on this square, so that the "nuisance" is restricted to a minimum. But the youth want more, they want a place where they can be without having to worry about being a bother and where they can do whatever they want to do.

Like in Elderveld and De Laar, a discount supermarket is also being missed.

Relationship to Schuytgraaf

Generally people who reflect on Schuytgraaf are not happy with the arrival of the new neighborhood. They fear that by the arrival of over 6000 inhabitants in close vicinity the rural character of their village will be lost. Only the local shopkeepers, sporting associations and churches are looking forward to the new inhabitants as prospective clients and new members.

Conclusion

The inhabitants of Driel are happy about the fact that almost everyone knows everyone else in the village, if only by sight. They expect that the inhabitants from Schuytgraaf will do some of their shopping in the village, or make use of other facilities, especially in the beginning stages of Schuytgraaf, when not everything in Schuytgraaf will be in place yet. The sporting associations hope to welcome a flow of new members and the churches in the village look forward to more church-goers. In general, however, Driel inhabitants are rather reluctant about the changes to the village atmosphere they foresee. Even the coming of a new district in their own village is reluctantly accepted because otherwise the problem of lack of housing for the young people can not be solved. The inhabitants of Driel are happy with the way things are in their community and are not looking forward to any changes at all.

V) Implications for Schuytgraaf and for the Temporary Settlement

Schuytgraaf is faced with many challenges. It is under tough competition with a neighboring Vinex town extension location. It is dealing with adjacent communities that are not looking forward to it and in general do not show much willingness to welcome the new neighborhood. And it is seen as the cause of possible social decline and social problems in the neighboring districts.

Finding ways to deal with these challenges is of importance for the development of Schuytgraaf. One way could be to create services targeted at the gaps in the neighboring communities in order to be perceived as a benefit and enrichment to the region. What is mainly missing in the surrounding neighborhoods of Schuytgraaf are facilities and activities for the youth, as well as discount supermarkets and a library.

Creating attractive shops and small businesses is a strategy that is already being deliberated by a unique program foreseen for Schuytgraaf, in which small entrepreneurs are being given start up chances instead of the big companies as it is usually done.

It also seems important to invest in social projects contributing to community building and integration, that radiate beyond Schuytgraaf and can create points of social interaction with the adjacent communities. This applies both in regard to the current situation in the adjacent neighborhoods, especially in De Laar, as well as in regard to the anticipated difficulties when a new population moves to the neighboring communities in the wake of current inhabitants moving to Schuytgraaf.

Schuytgraaf can strongly benefit from creating a special profile, that distinguishes it positively from other Vinex locations.

The projects and activities foreseen in the temporary settlement like the Mother Center, the International Garden and the Neighborhood Academy seem well equipped to meet these requirements. The temporary settlement can offer many attractions and events for young people as well as opportunities to get involved, along with services for the elderly, for instance transport services for the older people in Driel or general eldercare services for De Laar.

From the perspective of the temporary settlement many issues of the neighboring communities can be seen as assets. The potential for instance of the migrant population in Elderveld and De Laar, and also the unoccupied youth, who form a big reservoir of time, talent, energy and creativity when engaged in a productive and constructive way. Parents represent a relevant part of the population of the neighboring communities. Co-operation can easily be envisioned between the Mother Center and the Mother-Child Groups in De Laar, as well as between the International Garden and the Community Garden Association in Elderveld. Co-operation opportunities can also be foreseen between the volunteer agency in Elderveld and the temporary job agency in the temporary settlement.

The temporary settlement has an important role to play in linking the new development to the adjacent communities. Though this chapter focuses on a case study of a specific location, the social integration with surrounding neighborhoods is a key challenge in any new development project. The many social and community building aspects of the temporary settlement make it well equipped for this task.

The Legal

Chapter 12: Finding Space for Innovation

I) Introduction

This chapter looks at two sets of legal frameworks relevant to the Nest! Project: the regulations on building and construction and the regulations concerning migration. The regulations on building and construction are an important factor to take into consideration for the realization of temporary settlements. The laws on migration relate to a potential group of pioneers and to diversity management and integration as one of the social issues to which temporary settlements can contribute solutions.⁹⁷ Problems and paradoxes of the existing regulations are analyzed and suggestions developed both to create more flexibility in the building world, especially in regard to enabling temporary settlements as well as to create a more productive and pragmatic handling of migration and refugee issues, avoiding many of the unwanted consequences of current refugee policies. The Nest! offers solutions to the pressing housing problems of status holders as well as opportunities to integrate and build up a future in the host country.

Conforming Reality to the Rules

Laws and local regulations more often intend to avoid the negative than to stimulate the positive. Local enforcers show a similar focus and carefulness to avoid the unwanted, resulting in ever more detailed and complicated regulations that sometimes end up being counter-productive to the original intentions.

This is the case in the field of building regulations. Early 2002 the national task force housing production in The Netherlands concluded that the disappointing production figures were connected to complicated, contradictory rules and regulations.

This is even more the case in the legal framework surrounding migration. The execution of the latest legislation is limited to minimizing the influx of refugees. Little or no attention is given to the question of how to make use of the capacities and qualities of those who do enter.

There are two main possibilities for government to make reality conform to the rules. One is to focus on strict enforcement. This path is taken in current policies concerning refugees. The aim is mainly to avoid the negative. When this appears to be virtually impossible, the regulations are strengthened and simplified. The approach focuses on stricter supervision, centralized guidance and stricter enforcement of the rules. In this case differentiation disappears, which can result in sheer denial of the existence of whatever doesn't fit the rules.

Another way of conforming reality to the rules is to detail and specify the rules in order to enclose exceptions. In this approach an increasing number of specifications are created.

⁹⁷ Since the temporary settlement idea has been applied to the case scenario of a Dutch location, the regulations examined in this study concern the situation in the Netherlands. Similar legal scenarios exist, however, also in many other European countries.

However, a too differentiated approach might in the end reach a deadlock. There are simply not enough experts to fathom the rules and even the government gets stuck in its own regulations. This happens in the field of planning.

Although several successive governments have promised to simplify the rules, the situation is getting more complicated.

As a middle road between the narrowing down approach of migrant policies and the detailing approach of spatial planning, the new building decree is a good example of differentiation. There is a clear set of negative cases that must be avoided, notably anything that can lead to fire, collapse and health risks. Those matters are not to be treated lightheartedly and the requirements are equal for both new buildings as well as existing constructions. However, when it comes to stimulating desired matters like durability and energy conservation, the requirements for newly built constructions and existing buildings differ considerably. Such a differentiated approach offers perspectives for the Nest! project.

Playing by the Rules

In this chapter we identify the legal context and margins for a temporary settlement and lay out how the settlement can be realized within these margins.

Principle is that nothing illegal happens and that possibilities and limits are explored in close cooperation with the authorities.

The following questions are examined:

What are the rules concerning temporary housing and infrastructure?

What are the rules concerning the living and working conditions of asylum-seekers?

What are the goals and objectives of the regulations?

How can innovative solutions be realized within the margins of the regulations?

Can useful suggestions be made to widen the margins?

II) Regulations concerning Spatial Planning

The approach being used in regulations concerning spatial planning is an increasingly detailed differentiation of rules and regulations. Confronted with a reality that does not comply with the rules, those rules are being increasingly detailed down to enclose the existing exceptions. Instead of piling up everything into a large pile, several small piles are being created. Subjects like the protection of endangered species for instance are enclosed in guide-lines, that change so rapidly, that the builder who is specialized differently, can hardly keep up. The sector therefore complains about the rules being too complicated, attuned badly to practice and sometimes that they are even mutually contradictory.

Too much differentiation might in the end lead to reaching a deadlock, which seems to have happened by now. The national task force on housing production concluded early 2002 that the disappointing production figures were connected to complicated, contradictory rules. Six months later the National Council of Local Authorities VNG, presented the brochure *Speed up the rules- Eight VNG-suggestions for a higher building production*, in which the organization drew the same conclusion. Six months later the new minister agrees on the matter in his speeches and official publications (for instance the cabinet's position paper on spatial policy). It is the same old tune over and over again: this can not go on like this, a deadlock is being reached, there simply aren't enough experts to fathom all the rules, we need quick, bold actions.

But what is actually being done about it?

While the building sector as well as the citizens blame the municipality for complicating the situation by holding on to an endless stream of obligations and licenses, municipalities in turn blame the national government. After all it is 'The Hague' producing fragmented policies in the separate fields of archeology, spatial planning, environment, ecology, water management and urban renewal, each field having its own set of regulations. The VNG-publication mentioned before, uses the Arnhem town extension project Schuytgraaf as one of their case studies to point out the importance of a coherent system of regulations specific to the building process. In the appendix a list of 22 licenses at 9 different institutions was included necessary for the building of a temporary road to be used for one of the 25 subprojects of Schuytgraaf. It is an open question whether or not central government will be able to simplify this complicated situation other than by adding an extra layer in charge of improving communication and 'streamlining'. So far the main governmental action has been the installation of committees offering expertise to navigate the most complicated situations.

The complicated regulations are there of course for a reason. In the past the health or even the lives of construction workers were often endangered. Construction caused danger and pollution, they were a threat to the surrounding area, the ground water or archeological sites. The objective of rules that result from such situations is to prevent danger and damage.

Objections and Appeals

It is important that all involved can object and appeal against a license. We should wonder though, what exactly it is that people object against. For example someone objecting to a license to cut down a tree, might be attached to this particular tree. However it could also be, that the person does not object the cutting down of the tree as such, but rather the plan that requires the tree to be cut down. Then objecting is mainly a matter of 'nagging the project'. In Nijmegen for instance, someone took legal action up to the highest courts, to prevent a plan, that was a precondition to expropriate this person. He was the only one to protest this plan and postponed the project for two years, causing large losses even though his objection obviously concerned the expropriation and not the plan itself. It would be more logical if objection were only possible when it is aimed at the objected changes directly.

This example shows that in the end there will always be a way to carry a project through. Objection in such indirect ways, only causes delay. Reducing the appeal possibilities might not be the best way out of the impasse. Although it is not desirable to let someone with motives unrelated to the issue, abuse the possibilities to object, it is not good to curtail this fundamental right either.

It is not true that everyone has equal access to this right by the way. Because the regulation is so complex that only experts know how to deal with it, it is mainly neighborhoods with a high 'lawyer density' that manage to endlessly postpone plans. The regulations in this area kind of miss the target: they have a limited accessibility, but are responsible for many delays and costs because of improper use, in contrast to relative few examples in which injustice was prevented by canceling projects.

The new Building Decree

When in 1992 the housing law had been revised, the new building decree came into operation as well. This building decree contains nationally valid standards about safety, health, use, energy and the environment. Starting in 2003 a fundamental change in the

system of the building regulations has been introduced that simplifies procedures. Regarding content not much has changed.

A few prescriptions have been changed or deleted in response to governmental promises to dramatically simplify building regulation. The idea is to avoid as much useless rubbish as possible.

The new building decree includes regulations from laws other than the housing law. That way in the end, when all laws are integrated, all regulations related to building can be found in one place, which before was not the case. An important change that has been introduced is the application of the degree of occupation of a place. Until now only ventilation requirements were related to the amount of people using the building. But the presence of more people demands for instance also larger escape routes. So now the building regulations say that the applicant should specify how many users will be in different parts of the building and the license will be issued accordingly. Once a certain 'grade' has been requested there can not be a higher degree of occupation later on.

So in the new system it is not the type of building that defines the demands but the use of spaces. The license applicant makes known, which space will be used for which purpose. There are twelve different functions, including for instance living, meeting (restaurant, nursery, church), office, shops or sports. The 'living function' is divided into three sub functions notably 'living functions in a house', living functions in a trailer' and 'other living functions'.

Objectives of the new Building Decree

Within the regulation we can make a difference between the basic prescription necessary for maintaining life and health of the users and rules that aim at stimulating desired matters like durability and a low level of energy use. Although a few requirements are relatively new, most requirements concerning safety are as old as the rules themselves. The prescriptions on safety concern, besides the construction itself (the building should not collapse), mainly the risk of fire. After a café in Volendam burned down, nobody questions the necessity. Nevertheless architects fear the fire brigades test, which is extremely strict.

The objectives of the prescriptions are clear:

The chances a fire can start or spread must be minimized.

A fire must be restricted to a small area (hence the rules on creating compartments).

People inside burning buildings must be able to get themselves to safety (hence rules concerning escape routes, related to the degree of occupation in utility buildings).

Before houses needed doors that could withstand fire for twenty minutes to prevent people from being surprised in their sleep, with too little time to escape. But because doors are often open, the new prescription demands an optical fire alarm instead located at a central place in the house. With these alarms present in every house it is expected that twenty human lives will be saved each year. Thus the dwellings in the temporary settlement, however modest, need to include such a facility.

Many rules in the building decree are not so much aimed at preventing unhealthy or dangerous situations, but at stimulating positive matters like durability or saving energy. When it comes to this there is a much larger difference between the requirements for existing buildings and newly built houses. Stimulating desired matters through the building decree is a rather indirect method, a license will not be granted until a building meets certain qualifications.

Acting on the Demands of Time

The new building decree aims at facilitating certain developments within society, like a larger demand for quality and energy conservation. Because many elderly people desire to live at home as long as possible, the requirements for stairs for instance have changed: they need to be wider and shallower. And since the Dutch people have grown taller the minimal ceiling height has been raised from 2.40 meters to 2.60 meters. The minimal height of doors, hallways and toilets has risen from 2.10 meters to 2.30 meters.

This way the average Dutch person who becomes older, taller and according to the governmental housing policy more focused on quality, is taken into account. The system is rather static; only once a license is requested for this average Dutchman who is supposed to use the building in a fixed way for a specific purpose. For example using the attic as bedroom later on when the kids become teenagers, is not allowed. This despite the fact that it is very likely to happen, since the structure of a family inevitably changes over the years. Using a dance school as a discotheque when it changes owners, will probably not be possible either. Although the use of the building is comparable, there will be more people present in the new situation, and therefore larger escape routes are needed.

The dilemma is that the government has the possibility to supervise only once. Once the license is granted the authorities can't come and check all the time to see if everything still meets the requirements. So authorities will check very carefully and with great detail, for they give a license till eternity. This way of avoiding the negative, may lead applicants to do only what is necessary to get a license, instead of addressing the actual safety objectives behind the requirements. This is different from the situation in already existing buildings. Positive measures like information and subsidies will stimulate owners to adjust their building to the requirements.

Solutions within the Margins

It would be naive to think that the temporary settlement could be realized merely by using a so called article 17 license (for temporary use). The exact number and kind of licenses to apply for will become clear only during the design process, but they will be many. Each and everyone of them is undoubtedly useful and necessary. That is why we conclude that because of the great deal of complexity a self-help project in The Netherlands is impossible. Expertise is necessary and needs to be hired. Project development seems to be feasible only by specialized firms.

It is discouraging to realize that only big firms that have profit as primary objective, are in charge of building the future of our cities. We are convinced that this is not necessary when institutions that uphold the rules cooperate. If plans and their background motives are discussed from the beginning, the involved parties can point out what their interests are and help to make sure the plans will fall within the margins of the licenses. If plans are discussed with the authorities from the beginning or created in close collaboration, there is no need for 'using the emergency break' (withholding a license).

Exactly the same goes for the objections that can be expected from the neighbors. A large project like ours can always count on criticism and objections. In reality people mainly object change as such, they protest against everything potentially threatening the status quo. Even improvements will be accepted only after they are being explained. New houses for instance, even if they are very beautiful or good, will bring more people, cars, playing children and therefore annoyance into the neighborhood. The people already present do not have any interest in that whatsoever. Therefore it is no surprise that the only instrument they have will be used: they will object and complain. At least, that is if the traditional method of project development is followed.

If the realization of the Nest! Project depends on using the legal system to force its way through, it will miss its target. Therefore the Nest! Project has included several projects that include the involvement of the residents of the neighboring communities and also address their needs. (See Chapters 4, & 9 -11).

Consultations with the authorities who supervise building and housing in Arnhem, resulted in the advice to think of existing buildings to realize the temporary settlement as several buildings will become available in the upcoming years, that no longer can be rented out as offices and as it is much more simple to grant a license for the use of an existing building. Something new, even the simplest barrack, needs to meet the requirements of the complete building resolution.

An existing building, hard to rent out because it lacks computer cables for instance, can be easily adjusted to another function. Because the diversity of requirements depends on the intensity with which the building will be used, it is simple to meet these requirements by bringing down the amount of users. The municipality stimulates the use of buildings that are about to become empty and grants licenses easily as soon as the safety and health requirements are met. In collaboration with authorities it is possible to use this space, when it serves a social goal.

For the general idea of temporary settlements this is a valid option. In the case of the Vinex town extension location Schuytgraaf however, the problem is that at the location of the temporary settlement there are no empty office buildings or factories.

Recommendations for Widening the Margins

The fact that a new construction can not be used for the same purpose for which an already existing building would meet the requirements, remains awkward. It results in a contradictory situation: everything is planned and unchangeable for eternity, even though it is clear from the start that there will be change. The temporary settlement will after five or ten years either disappear or be consolidated and meet the requirements.

Therefore it seems sensible to grant a license for a limited period. Hereby the constructions have to meet the basic requirements concerning safety and health that are also being applied to existing buildings from the start. Only after the initial period there will be a second test to check if the requirements for newly built houses are being met. In the meantime the construction can be improved notably, so that a full building license can be granted. When this turns out not to be feasible, the temporary construction has to disappear within a period everyone involved agrees upon. This way the government can keep an eye on the situation. Besides that, there will be less dependency on the once-only everything-or-nothing decision. This actually meets the process and character of a temporary and developing settlement.

Challenges of Migration

For centuries refugees have been an active force in the building of cities. People don't migrate for fun. Forced by circumstances, migrants are the kind of people who know how to take matters into their own hands. The Dutch moving to Canada or Australia in the nineteen fifties for instance, helped to build prosperous societies. Conversely, the prosperity of the Netherlands in the Golden Age, was partly owed to Huguenots and Jews, bringing knowledge and pioneer energy to start a new life into the country. It takes courage to leave everything behind and build up something new in another, unknown country. Nevertheless there is a negative connotation to the present day examples. The term 'asylum-seeker' seems to have become synonymous to 'parasite' or 'fortune-seeker'.

Motives for Migration

Throughout the centuries people did not migrate with the intention to build up the host country, but simply to save their backs or become more prosperous. Newcomers had to sort out their own business. Because not any state resources were spent on them, it wasn't important whether someone migrated to offer their children a better future (like Dutch migrants in the fifties) or to escape prosecution in their home country (like the Huguenots and Jews). Nowadays however there is a clear distinction between migration intended to work -temporarily or permanently- in the Netherlands, and migration to escape the situation in the home country. The first form of migration is unwanted ever since the government decided to stop inviting migrant labor; this despite the need for more labor in agriculture and the care sector. Labor migrants are now called 'economic refugees'. Other 'real' asylum-seekers on the contrary are still welcome. They are taken good care of.

It is important to keep in mind the difference between these two groups, especially since the costs of 'real' asylum-seekers are €13,000,- per person per year. The asylum procedure is aimed at getting the true story and at checking whether the asylum seeker has a solid reason for fleeing his/her country. Subsequently people that do not meet the criteria can be excluded from the expensive facilities for asylum-seekers.

Current Rules Surrounding Asylum

In the field of asylum, jurisprudence gives rise to rapidly changing regulations. According to specialist Van Huijstee there hardly are any possibilities left for asylum-seekers. "Not even for those asylum-seekers that are traumatized or have been tortured. About seven years ago this group could apply for a residence permit on humanitarian grounds. The application was often accepted when you could support it with a report by Amnesty International or an attending doctor. Nowadays the legislation defines, supported by jurisprudence of the highest State Council, that torture and trauma must be reported during the first interview: exactly what most asylum-seekers are not capable of. Besides of that, nobody asks them about such matters clearly. When you try and prove it later on in the process, by showing reports and letters by doctors, the case will not be accepted unless this is evidence that did not exist at the time of entry. The same argument is applied to political evidence. This way it has become impossible to repeat an asylum request. A large number of traumatized and political asylum-seekers are subsequently being refused."⁹⁸

An asylum solicitor is allowed to spend fifteen hours on one case. However, to do this decently, one needs six to ten times more hours. Asylum solicitors therefore work overtime. Since nowadays all courts are qualified to handle refugee cases, there is a discrepancy between the capacity of asylum solicitors on the one side and the IND officials (Immigration and Naturalization Service) on the other. As a result the backlog in refugee cases is being eliminated at high speed, meaning that asylum claims are systematically being rejected. This results in fewer people needing to be taken care of; or rather fewer people that can claim the right to lodging.

Lowering the Reception Capacity

Since 2001 the amount of people taken care of by the COA⁹⁹ has declined considerably. On the one side this is because the number of people applying for asylum has decreased;

⁹⁸ *Nee heb je, ja kan je niet krijgen* Stichting ASKV/Steunpunt Vluchtelingen en de Associatie van Vluchtelingjournalisten en -schrijvers, januari 2003

⁹⁹ Central Organ for the reception of asylum-seekers. The information in this paragraph is based on public information of the COA, e.g. the website and several brochures.

from approximately 2000 persons a month in 2001 to 600 persons a month early 2003. On the other hand the asylum procedure nowadays takes less time. Within 48 hours one will be notified whether or not the application will be taken into consideration. If it is, one is entitled to be taken care of during the procedure. But in eighty percent of the applications this is not the case. So only one out of five newly arrived persons will use the COA facilities for more than 28 days. Since early 2003 no more than 150 persons per month enter the COA facilities compared to 2000 persons before and at the same time the files of a greater number of people in the procedure are being completed.

The consequence is a decreasing need for places, from 80,000 in 2001 to 70,000 in January 2003. According to the COA the amount of places needs to be reduced to 50,000 places in 2004 and 30,000 in 2005. To realize this, temporary centers have closed already and several other centers will be closed soon as well. In Arnhem the center Rosorum Arnhem (135 places) has been closed down already and the asylum center Arnhem Oost (200 places) will be closing soon.

Use of Asylum Facilities by Status Holders

In a letter dated January 27 2003 to the new government in the making, the COA argues that people applying for asylum should not need to stay in an asylum seeker center for longer than necessary. Approximately 6,500 refugees (meaning people that already have a temporary or permanent resident permit) still live in asylum seeker centers, because there is no affordable housing available. About nine percent of the COA capacity is being used by people that officially do not belong there any more.

In Arnhem even a third of the largest asylum seeker center is taken up by status-holders, who can't find appropriate housing. The city of Arnhem has housed already twice as many refugees as legally required according to the number of inhabitants. The city is in this respect far ahead of any other town in the province or the national average. As a result the COA encourages people to look for lodging in other municipalities, use their networks and in general try as much as possible to find something on their own because they can't offer much help in this respect.

Self-Care Arrangements

During the years of an exceptional high influx of asylum-seekers when the COA was not able to handle the amount of applications, they started Self-Care Arrangements (ZZA; Zelf Zorg Arrangementen). The arrangement exists since April 1998 and ordains that asylum seekers can receive a budget for finding their own accommodation. Because this group of people doesn't know their way around in the tense housing market, the Dutch Council of Municipalities (VNG) called it the "sort-it-out-yourself-arrangement". It would lead people straight into the arms of obscure landlords. And indeed, for a number of people the process of finding a place to live in was an unpleasant experience.

However, if an affordable alternative could be offered legally, this arrangement could be interesting to the Nest! Project. Lodging by the COA costs well over €400, - per person per month for a room shared with three other people. For the same amount of cash the planned temporary settlement could offer an interesting alternative.

It offers people (who can handle it) a chance to integrate directly. It gives them the opportunity to take a big step and become responsible for their own lives. Unfortunately this arrangement has been discontinued as space in the asylum seeker centers has become available.

Outside the Asylum Seeker Centers

Taking care of people whose asylum-procedure had a negative outcome and who are no longer welcome in the Netherlands becomes more and more problematic. In 1997 approximately two percent of asylum-seekers were being refused, early 2003 the figure is eighty percent. Most of the time people are sent out on the streets, with a note ordering them to leave the country within 28 days. Often it is difficult for them to follow suit without money. In many cases their embassy does not cooperate either. In 2003 five times more people in this situation have asked for support than in 1998.

When someone refuses to leave the country out of his or her own free will, he or she can be forced by law and put into custody. This implies that one ends up in prison, surrounded by common criminals. Such 'foreigners custody' is being imposed on people who do not have the right to an asylum procedure but who do try to enter the country, as well as on people who are arrested for an offence like being in the train without a ticket and who appear to be illegal. According to the Service Judicial Institution DJI, 1300 persons were being detained in the beginning of 2003 on grounds of illicit residence in the Netherlands and the expectation that they wouldn't leave the country voluntarily.¹⁰⁰

In 2001 the DJI had a formal capacity of 13,000 places. Taking into account the lack of cells in the Netherlands, it is remarkable that ten percent of the space in prisons is being reserved for people wishing to migrate. The background of this policy is probably that it will have a discouraging effect. However people who have been imprisoned, most likely will be embarrassed and not talk about this after return to their home-countries. As a message to the Dutch population that firm action is taken against illegal migration this does not work either, because these facts are not well known and there might not be much appreciation for scarce prison capacity to be used for non-criminal individuals.

Specialists in the field of criminal law object to this form of freedom restriction, which in criminal law is only a last resort. Suspects of criminal acts may be held in temporary custody for a maximum of 106 days, while the detention of asylum-seekers can be unlimited. The annual report of the Commission for Supervision on Police Cells in the Region of Amsterdam shows that asylum-seekers too often end up in police cells, sometimes for a long time. According to this commission, this is both unacceptable and offensive.

When putting in a second appeal for asylum, one has no right to housing and pocket-money, but one is not allowed to work either. Still such people have to find a way to sustain themselves and travel to Rijsbergen or Zevenaar once a week, in order to get a stamp and stay in the procedure.

Reaction of Local Governments

The new migration law causes a widening gap between national policy and local reality. Municipalities are confronted with a growing group of people putting in a second appeal who on one hand legally inhabit the city waiting for their procedure, but on the other hand have no right to basic facilities and who are not allowed to work to support themselves legally.

In many instances local officials offer help, mainly to keep the peace or protect public health. A while ago the chair of the CDA Womens Council, Marjan Bijsterveld, went as far as to invite a group of people to stay at her place overnight.

Municipalities dump people on the streets, not because they are convinced that it is the right way of dealing with the situation, but simply because the government tells them to

100 Ibid. p. 62

do so. Sometimes, right after eviction, municipalities get in touch with support organizations and ask them to take care of the evicted families on their expense. A number of municipalities refuse to send people out on the streets when there is no guarantee that they will be expelled from the country right away. They refuse to have homeless families living within the borders of their municipality. There (still) is not an official ban on offering help to people whose asylum procedure has terminated.

Costs

According to the COA the costs of asylum-seekers has not changed in years. It is about €13,000,- per person per year. 30% or €3,900, (€325,- a month) is spent on food, medical costs and payments to the municipalities, 40% or €5,200,- (€433,- a month) is spent on housing and 30% or €3,900, are staff expenses.

Now that the number of asylum seekers decreases, the relative share of staff expenses will increase, because 70% of COA staff have a permanent contract. Besides that, the amount of money a refugee receives for clothing and food has not been adjusted to the official norm for years. Asylum-seekers have less clothing and food money than they should have according to the national norms. In their appeal to the new government the COA suggests to raise this contribution to the minimal level.

The ASKV, a small-scale organization that supports people that are expelled from COA facilities, has 25 places offered by private persons. Approximately 100 individuals make use of this care yearly, which costs €17.000 in total or €680 per person per year.

A public Paradox

Asylum-seekers are allowed to work twelve weeks a year. According to the COA this is not enough. A great part of the income that comes from this work flows back to the COA. The COA uses the money to cover the costs of housing the asylum seekers.

This creates an awkward situation. A group of people is not allowed to work, but (ever since the abolition of labor migration) these are the only people prepared to perform certain tasks, like for instance peel bulbs or harvest asparagus.

In the Netherlands there is not as much of a shortage of high-tech labor, but rather of 'high-touch labor', of low paid, labor intensive jobs in agriculture and care. Without immigration the welfare state becomes unaffordable.

The paradox is, that the costs that are presumably the reason to distinguish between the two groups of migrants wouldn't be there, if this distinction would not exist to begin with.

Objectives behind the Regulations

An important objective behind the refugee policy is making a distinction between real refugees (and making sure they integrate as soon as possible) and economic refugees (expelling them). Because of the huge mistrust concerning refugee stories and the growing amount of application refusals it seems that another important objective is to limit the influx of migrants. Especially since September 11th the fear of strangers has increased as well as the notion that the Netherlands is getting too 'full'.

Besides of humanely taking care of a limited amount of refugees, the regulations intend to stop a growing influx of unwanted migrants. During the eighties and nineties, the number of people claiming to be refugees grew explosively. Apparently the conclusion in

regard to these high numbers was, that an increasing percentage of migrants abused the asylum procedure, because of the excellent facilities for refugees. Therefore the existing rules were applied more vigorously, leaving no space for exceptions.

This one-dimensional focus on excluding the negative diverts attention from the objectives of the regulation in regard to stimulating the positive. The necessity of offering care to 'real' refugees is agreed upon even by supporters of the strictest policies, if it were only because this is an obligation under international law.

Consequences of the Regulations

In general there are two large blind spots in Dutch migration policy:

On the one hand there are the unwanted consequences for society of large groups of people without the right to a resident permit. These problems cannot be taken away by simply declaring these people illegal. On the contrary. They form a threat mainly because they are illegal. They depend on illegal housing (often in neighborhoods that already are under pressure) and illegal employment (including prostitution and crime). The chances of ending up in a criminal environment is bigger these days, because the law requires a valid residence document for employment and insurance. Homeless people roaming the streets uninsured and without legal employment, are a greater danger to security and public health, than people working hard to build up an existence.

On the other hand, The Netherlands needs a continuing influx of people prepared to do the dirty, heavy and labor intensive jobs for little money. Asylum-seekers are, despite their often high educational level, prepared to do almost everything, especially those declared 'illegal'. By denying their existence, the existence of the work they do is denied as well. It would be misleading, however, to measure for example the amount of cleaning work done within Dutch households, from the income-tax revenues of domestic work. That this work is done illegally is common knowledge and it is widely accepted. There is a growing amount of other types of work that depend on low cost migrant labor. This needs to be acknowledged. Newly arrived migrants are not a burden, but an important link in the economic chain and the society owes them as much gratitude as they owe society gratitude.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Because asylum-seekers are subject to national policies with narrowing margins, there is little space left for innovation. Nevertheless, municipalities and individuals being confronted with the consequences of the mentioned blind spots feel an increasing moral obligation to offer help. Because of existing legislation it is not to be expected that asylum-seekers will get permission to take part in the temporary settlement, even if this would imply more cost effective housing than in an asylum-seeker center. Therefore an important group of people motivated to be pioneers cannot take part in the Nest! Project.

However, it is possible to offer housing in the temporary settlement to status holders, who from sheer necessity still live in the asylum-seeker centers. This helps municipalities in fulfilling their target on housing refugees and the COA will be relieved of the burden of housing people who are not part of their responsibility.

The people involved will be happy to leave the center in which their privacy and possibilities are being reduced to those of pupils of a boarding school. Status holders are most often eager to take their lives into their own hands again. Besides of that, as long as they live in a center, they cannot participate in an integration course, which makes it hard to find a job.

Even people who have a resident permit and who have a place to live might be interested, if living in the temporary settlement is cheaper. Newcomers on the housing market not always manage to lay their hands on accommodation of favorable price and quality. Besides of that, many prefer to save on rental expenditure and live in a more modest house in order to consolidate an existence as soon as possible and save money to allow family members to join them from their home countries. Another motivation for this group of people might be the possibility of literally building up something and participating in the consolidation of the temporary settlement into a permanent one. This could make living in a town extension neighborhood a realizable option for them as well. (See Chapter 8).

Avoiding the negative is an important motivation of migrant policy. Following this intention in our opinion should include limiting the number of people costing money while not contributing anything useful. If given the chance to work and contribute to society, asylum seekers would not cost so much to begin with. Society could take advantage of this situation, not just because refugees are motivated people willing to do the hardest jobs, but also because these are people having knowledge and skills that are scarce or even absent in Dutch society.

A lot of misery could be prevented if the Netherlands would provide a temporary working permit and a temporary social fiscal number to people for the duration of their asylum procedure. This could even involve a 'second-rate' status, obliging employers to only hire the person when a vacancy cannot be filled for a certain amount of time by regular staff. This already is the case when employers hire seasonal labor in construction and agriculture from Ireland or Poland. This way competition and envy can be prevented and employers have a legal way of hiring labor without salaries disappearing from the Dutch economy. Asylum-seekers themselves could be offered a worthy way to shape their personal responsibility and gain working experience.

This suggestion generally is refuted on the grounds that it causes a split between first class and second class labor. This indeed is the case. However, the difference already exists. A measure like the one mentioned above will not only make this difference visible, it will also reduce it notably. Denying the existence of this difference comes down to spasmodically maintaining an 'ostrich vision', an everything-or-nothing situation in which a small group has access to first class employment, while second class employment is delegated to the realm of illegality, thus widening the cleavage between first and second class employment.

Because this project does not have the ambition to adjust national regulations, suggestions for pragmatic local solutions are being offered in the chapter on the local economy (Chapter 7). The suggested local currency to be introduced in the temporary settlement offers people the opportunity to work legally and earn value by obtaining a currency that can only be used inside the local community. The inhabitants of the by now closed asylum seeker center in Woudrichem successfully used a similar system. This suggestion does not widen the margins, but makes better use of the existing limited space within these margins.

The Lets Circle in Woudrichem, The Netherlands

Several years ago asylum seekers were housed in a boat near the small town of Woudrichem. They were isolated there. Some citizens of Woudrichem came together and asked themselves how they could help to integrate the asylum seekers and support them to be a productive part of the community. They came up with the idea to found a Lets circle (Local Economic Trade System) finding activities where refugees could engage in and get to know the population that way. A small group of people came together to try it out. It turned out that both groups, the asylum seekers as well as the residents of Woudrichem found more than they had expected.

The asylum seekers went to work in the gardens or in the homes of Woudrichem residents and were remunerated by a local currency called Druppels that they could exchange against services from the locals like language lessons, or translations of formal letters. Over time the whole project included 350 people. Slowly a friendship atmosphere was built up. People that at first had said: "We don't want these foreigners here!" became less hostile and more accepting.

In the beginning a local fair was organized for the population and the refugees to trade Druppels, but it was soon realized that the direct barter system did not work very well. The local population did not earn enough Druppels to trade for the amount of services they requested. And the refugee population wanted other rewards for the work they had put in than the kind of services the local population was offering. At this point a shop was integrated into the system that served as a valve for indirect barter. The local population could choose to pay for services in hard currency to an intermediary organization who used the money to buy goods. They asked a surcharge to run a shop in which the refugees could exchange their Druppels for goods like telephone cards and groceries.

Although the boat has closed down meanwhile, the project is seen as a big success and is being transferred to other communities. The local Dutch population had gotten used to interacting with other cultures. When the boat closed down they did not want that taken away from them, so they opened a Fair Trade Shop. Here handicrafts and things from different cultures are for sale. The shop is frequented by locals and by tourists.

For the asylum seekers the project proved an enormous support for their process of integration into the host society. It helped them learn Dutch and the necessary cultural techniques to navigate their way in the new environment. In the places where they came afterwards, the people from Woudrichem proved significantly better integrated than others.

What the Woudrichem example shows is that the mentality and attitude of people around issues of migration and diversity can change over time, if productive ways of interaction and integration are created.

Part IV: Conclusions

Chapter 13: Case Scenarios – Four Examples of the Nest!

I) Introduction

This chapter makes the Nest! concept concrete by developing four different possible applications. They are developed for four different development sites of the city of Arnhem and integrated into the municipality's vision. Each application highlights a different aspect of the Nest!. Together they show the full potential of the concept.

II) On the road to 2015 – Implementing the Nest! in Arnhem

Basic requirements for making the Nest! a regular part of integrated urban development, have been met by the Arnhem municipality. The town has developed a general vision about the desired direction of the city, both in terms of social, economic and physical development. This was done in a participative process by citizens, businesses, officials, NGO's, institutions, in brief by everybody who felt related to Arnhem. It was a in an engaging interactive process. The resulting vision, called Arnhem on the road to 2015, has been the basis for sectoral development plans that have been made since, like the structure plan, the municipal traffic plan, plans for green and water, developmental visions for specific areas, as well as the social vision and the housing vision.

Each of these plans and visions are ambitious and innovative, both in the process that led to them, as well as in the goals and visions they pursue. Each of these documents, however, is fairly abstract too, in specifying the precise vehicle that will lead to this luring destination. If these challenging visions are being treated as 'business as usual' the resulting developments are likely to be 'usual' as well. In fact, as much as the 2015 city vision is remembered as a fascinating process, it has not become a living practice in day to day reality. There is a risk that it will become normative document, to which simply an obligatory reference is made in each of the –segmented and non-integrative- projects that are started.

To avoid that embarking on a long-term vision degenerates into lip-service to hollow humbug, the city council has decided to review and revive the vision. This is a marvelous opportunity for the vision building process to become a living reality of the city. This is the moment to implement a Nest! and make Arnhem the first town that implements urban development in a participative process.

The metaphor that has been used in the Arnhem city vision was one of travel. The town is not static, it is on the road, traveling to 2015. Four scenarios have been drawn up to describe possible end destinations of this journey. In the following, four scenarios describe four possible journeys leading to these end destinations. In each of these journeys, the temporary settlement is a vehicle, an additional motor for development, that makes it plausible that the destinations can be reached.

Four Scenarios, four Destinations, four Vehicles, leading to one Vision

Because readers from outside Arnhem are not aware of the vision building process that took place there in the late nineties, a short review is given below¹⁰¹.

Vision Building in Arnhem¹⁰²

It is 1997. A small, active team of creative minds, puts up base in one of the commission rooms in the city hall. The mission: get an interactive process going that will lead to a vision for the city. During the following months, this commission room is the nervous system of one of the largest and most interactive processes that the municipal organization and Arnhem as a whole, has ever known.

Thousands of inhabitants participate in the evenings in 'Muis Sacrum' to discuss about the different scenarios for the future. Four scenarios are drafted up, Euro-dynamic Arnhem, Limitless Arnhem, A well cared for Arnhem and Big Arnhem. These are ideal prototypes, not necessary the future reality, but images of a plausible, possible future. The exposition that is made around the scenarios is a big hit. In the building that now houses a grand cafe the "Hotel 2015" is established. It has a room for each of the four images of the future, that you can walk through and give comments about.

This process has led to the vision Arnhem 2015, which answers questions like: "what do we see as our direction of growth, what are our ambitions?" Since that time, Arnhem 2015 is the guideline that determines all municipal action. The final version of "Arnhem 2015" has been drafted up from the material of the discussion about the four scenarios. It is this vision that at the moment is being 'refreshed'.

In 1997 the nervous system for the innovative process was the commission room at town hall. The proposal now is to take this process one step further. By making the Nest! Neighborhood Academy the nervous center of the process, the balance shifts from the municipality to a community led process. The exercise also moves ahead by not stopping with the completion of the vision, but continuing into programming and project development.

The Nest! methodology is applied to ensure that the city vision has the largest possible chances of becoming reality in 2015. For that to happen, a location for both the temporary settlement itself, as well as the area to develop as an end product needs to be selected. These have to fit to the parameters of the city vision. Because this vision is being updated, no final suggestion can be made yet as to what would best fit its content. Instead, suggestions are made that fit to the scenarios that were at the base of the city vision. Each of these represents the end of the spectrum of possibilities of a number of parameters.

The four scenarios are represented by a location that can be called characteristic for that scenario. For example, "Big Arnhem" has a strong emphasis on a pleasant working and living environment, for which Schuytgraaf can be symbolic. In order to grow towards a Big Arnhem future, we explore how the Nest! could be applied in the Schuytgraaf setting. Who would live there, how would it be started, function and be organized, what would be the permanent project developed in the settlement, how would it end? Going through this exercise in four different case examples gives an illustration of the range of possibilities of the methodology. It also sketches the scope to facilitate a decision on the best application of the Nest! in order to realize the final city vision Arnhem 2015. The Nest! thereby serves as a new urban development methodology and as an additional vehicle supporting the realization of the city vision.

¹⁰¹ More information (in Dutch) can be found on www.Arnhem.nl as well as in the publications of the process. These were printed in limited edition only.

¹⁰² Adapted version of the web-site text of the Arnhem municipality:

Possible Futures

The four scenarios that are at the base of the 2015 vision are explorations of possible futures. Their nature is not normative (this is how it should be), but explorative (this is how it could be). These explorations are based on the most important driving forces that shape the future of the town and are put in the form of "if-then". So one story will tell what the future will be IF the driving forces develop in one direction, and another story will describe the consequences if the forces go the opposite direction.

At the start of the process an inventory is made of all the driving forces that determine the future and how they work. Then, a classification is made to see which of these forces are most determining for the future. The level to which the behavior of these forces can be predicted is also explored. After all, some elements like the climate may be important but do not vary. Combining the different investigations gives the "key uncertainty", the element which is very important in shaping the future and which can develop in several directions.

The key uncertainty in Arnhem is the social economical orientation. The central question is:

How will Arnhem orient itself towards its social-economical Environment?

Will there be a European oriented perspective with trade, transport and logistics?

Or will the future show a more locally and regionally oriented town with services as its main economic activity?

The answer to this central question is different in each of the four scenarios. The resulting orientation described in the four scenarios can be characterized as follows:

Limitless Arnhem	Global social-economical orientation
Euro-dynamic Arnhem	European social-economical orientation
Big Arnhem	Regional social-economical orientation
A well cared for Arnhem	Local social-economical orientation

A second core element on which the scenarios are different is the way, in which the growth that was expected at the time, is being dealt with. This growth can be met in a dynamic active way, or reacted to in a more passive way. 'Limitless Arnhem' and 'A well cared for Arnhem' are characterized by this more passive, relaxed reaction to growth. Growth is only pursued if this enlarges the quality of life. The dynamic attitude towards growth can be found in 'Euro-dynamic Arnhem' and 'Big Arnhem', the opportunities are used for expansion, for a change in scale level.

These two pairs of scenarios also show similarities in the way the organizing capacities are shaped, and what governance model is followed. The central question here is:

How does Arnhem deal with social Dynamics and how does this translate to the Governance Model?

Will there be a grand collaborative effort, with large projects being realized in partnership?

Or will the future show a more local focus, where neighborhood improvement is important?

'Euro-dynamic Arnhem' and 'Big Arnhem' show a level of organization on urban or even regional level. 'Limitless Arnhem' and 'A well cared for Arnhem' are characterized by a much more local orientation. In 'A well cared for Arnhem' this is the result of conscious choice to be close to the citizens, whereas in 'Limitless Arnhem' the municipality as an organizing force has almost disappeared.

In the four Nest! scenarios these different dynamics are mirrored back by the main actor that takes initiatives for development. Of all forces that determine the future of the town, one emerges as the most prominent in each of the four scenarios. These “driving forces” are rather different, resulting in an interesting variation in the scenarios:

In Limitless Arnhem,	the individual is the driving force
In Euro-dynamic Arnhem	European competition is the driving force
In Big Arnhem	regional collaboration is the driving force
In A well cared for Arnhem	the green image is the driving force.

The economic elements that are most characteristic for the scenarios result from the workings of the most important forces in each of the stories. They are the following:

Scenario:	Determining element
Limitless Arnhem	Knowledge, technology, internationally operating companies
Euro-dynamic Arnhem	Transport, logistics, distribution
Big Arnhem	Tourism, recreation, good collective services
A well cared for Arnhem	Housing, care, services

Possible Nest! Locations

To display what the four scenario’s of Arnhem 2015 look like, four locations have been selected, for which plans exist or have existed. The scenarios below describe how these locations will be developed in tune with the character of the 2015 scenario. In each case, the Nest! is an important additional element in making the project happen.

The descriptions below are not the Arnhem 2015 scenarios themselves. These are about the town as a whole, not about one location, and they describe also elements like the cultural climate, traffic and nature. The four scenarios below show how the driving forces and the characteristics of each scenario influence the way in which urban development takes place. They also show how under these circumstances, a temporary settlement can exist and how it can contribute to realizing the final image as described in the scenario.

Of the four locations, three are at or close to the Rhine River. The fourth location, the Saksen Weimar, is instead on the higher grounds of the edge of the ‘Veluwe’ national park. In this sense each of the four locations has natural features typical for Arnhem. Two of the locations are in the existing town, in or near the center, and two are on the edge of town in a rural environment. This gives an illustration of the variation of environments where a Nest! could be applied.

The projects that are or were foreseen on the four locations are in different stages. Building has started in the Schuytgraaf area in mid 2003. The Rijnboog project is in an initial phase. Adaptation of a master plan is foreseen in 2004. The Art garden project is in an initial stage as well. The project Geitenkamp Noord, however, does not exist any more. For several years plans were developed to build north of the ‘Beukenlaan’.

Because these plans were elaborated to a fair level of detail, it is plausible that at some time similar developments could be reconsidered in that area. At the moment, however, the situation is such, that building is impossible on most of the grounds around the Saksen Weimar former army base. That is why this scenario describes how the Nest! could function and what sort of project it could develop, without specifying where these houses would be located.

In summary, the locations and projects are the following.

Scenario:	Location	Project ¹⁰³
Limitless Arnhem	Coberco factory grounds	Art Garden
Euro-dynamic Arnhem	'The Blue waves' waterfront	Rijnboog
Big Arnhem	Schuytgraaf field 1	Schuytgraaf field 23, 24
A well cared for Arnhem	The Saksen Weimar base	Geitenkamp Noord

The four Nest! scenarios do not only describe how in the four possible futures for Arnhem, an urban development is realized through a Nest!. They are also illustrations of some of the elements that are part of the Nest! and of the functioning of the Nest!. For example each scenario describes how the Nest! starts, what stakeholders are involved, and how the settlement is ended. Each of the four examples features one target group in particular, as an illustration of a set of pioneer motives and of the input of this group to the process. Some features, like the International Garden and the Mother Center are highlighted only in one or two of the scenarios, to avoid repetition. Other elements like the Neighborhood Academy and the Local Economic Organization are mentioned in all of the scenarios, to illustrate how these can be shaped differently to fit the circumstances.

Because the scenarios vary on so many points, there needs to be a basis for comparison as well. The four urban plans that have been developed for the different locations are therefore displayed on the same scale. The physical elements for both housing and other functions are the same as well in all of the locations. These units are the containers that are currently also being used for student complexes. They form a good base for comparison, because they are simple units of space, like Lego. They can be applied both scattered out like on a camping place, as well as in a dense urban setting by stacking them five stories high. This choice has only been done to make the four plans easy to compare. In practice a differentiated choice has to be made, that is well adjusted to both the location and the participating pioneers. These choices can be made once a decision has been made about the realization of the Nest!.

III) Scenario One: Limitless Arnhem - Nest! in the Art Garden

On a warm August afternoon in 2015, a helicopter lands on 'Koningspley', the strip of land in Arnhem, where the IJssel river splits off from the Rhine. Out comes the director of Europe's largest investment firm. He is just in from London, for the half hour that it takes him to do the official opening of the latest project of his firm: the Bruntlandt Park for sustainable businesses. In the audience watching the ceremony is the mayor of this part of town, who remembers the days that governmental officials would be leading or at least be prominently present during such occasions.

The stormy developments on and around the industrial area had started about eleven years before. A coalition of partners had made plans to redevelop the area around a former milk factory. Despite the magnificent location on the waterfront next to the downtown area and the Rhine bridge, the developers had their doubts. The area did not have a good reputation amongst the people of Arnhem, the city was basically turned with its back to the river. The nightmare that was anticipated was, that after a huge investment, the expensive offices, penthouses and lofts, would remain empty.

¹⁰³ More information about the content of the foreseen projects can be found at the web-sites of these developments, www.Rijnboog.nl and www.Schuytgraaf.nl. For information on the present use of the Coberco grounds: www.humotions.nl.

So they decided that it was important to lower the risks of the investment, by first stimulating a gentrification process. Their big example was the waterfront development in Amsterdam, where artists had altered the image of the empty harbor halls into the hip place to be. So in order to attract a good set of pioneers, the developers placed 200 container units on the grounds and in the empty halls of the former factory.

From then on the area ceased to be the favorite hang out for junkies. There were people living in the area now. There were ateliers, shops and galleries attracting even more people. The artists organized exhibits and performances. First their events and activities were the discovery of just a few people but over time it got well known that the Nest! was there.

People visiting the famous Arnhem bridge noticed the two stories of container units lined up on the side of the street next to the bridge. You could walk in underneath a few containers forming a kind of gate. Throughout the factory ground were other constellations, terraces ateliers and shops, forming an adventurous kind of 'souk'.

It became an instant hit and not just amongst tourists. For some people the atmosphere in the Nest! was a bit too avant-garde to be really appreciated, but in general what was happening there was seen as exciting, different, creative and fun. Things were different from the mainstream. Not necessarily always the best artists had settled there as pioneers. Some were top of the bill creators, others were simply unusual shopkeepers selling nice kitsch. What all the pioneers had in common was that they together created an unusual and pleasant atmosphere.

The developer who put down the first 200 containers did not do more than that. The day to day management of the Nest! was in the hands of the pioneer community itself. The organization of the complex bears resemblance with the internet. Many small businesses are active in what at first sight seems to be a chaos, but what upon closer examination turns out to be a well organized network. The temporary housing corporation functions as a society of owners. Some pioneers rent their container, others lease and others own it; they have a mortgage with the temporary housing corporation. This corporation assures the maintenance of the public space in the complex and for the rest everybody deals with their own space, where they organize their own activities.

Most artists belong to a cooperative that organizes joint promotion activities. It organizes the large events that take place on the grounds of the Nest! settlement. Every time there is such an event, one of the artists makes a design for the "eggs". These eggs are the coupons, or local currency, that is being used in the settlement to buy drinks and goods. That makes them, just like stamps and telephone cards, a nice collectors item or souvenir. For the participating pioneers, the eggs are more than a nice gadget or a way to avoid too much cash being around during events. It is their pride, a source of identity and recognition, like a flag and at the same time it is also a good source of income. Once people have changed Euro into the "egg currency", they easily spend the colorful pieces of paper on small items that are cute and pretty, but might not have been purchased if "real" money were to be used. Earning such eggs keeps down expenses, because the (already low) rent can be paid with it. This is a welcome addition to the welfare check many artists depend on, if they do not manage a breakthrough into the big galleries.

In 2007 IKEA comes on the market with a modular container system "Conny". It can be put together just as easy as bookshelves and has elements for sanitation, kitchen furniture and decorations. Before long you see container units pop up everywhere, not just in Arnhem, but Conny is seen anywhere from Greece to the USA. This is related also to the liberalization of the governmental system in general and the regulations to obtain building licenses in particular. It has become just as easy to get a five year land lease and building permit, as it is to get a driving license.

This legal possibility permits a wild growth of the Nest!. The artist village is extending along the Rhine quay. A number of very exclusive 'beach cabins' are lined up on the nicest spots along the river. They are owned by rich people who like to have a place to stay when they come by in their yacht. Designing these compact but luxurious cabins has become a fad amongst both architects and famous furniture designers. The temporary housing corporation provides service contracts that are a lucrative source of income for the pioneers. Such contracts do not only include the maintenance and cleaning of the unit, but also taking it off the spot by crane when the water rises. Besides of this base contract, arrangements can be made to suit the most exquisite wishes, like an artist barman or cook for a private dinner, fresh flower arrangement service, organization and guidance for excursions, as well as more basic services like shopping and laundry.

Anything goes in this joyful play of free market forces. The ruling of market forces has not led to a cold and hostile atmosphere, on the contrary. The Nest! Academy becomes the focal point of social life in the area. Many people participate in courses simply to be a part of it all. Especially the open atelier sessions become well known in the art scene. Occasionally famous musicians join in the open podium sessions, to be able to enjoy making music, away from the lime light. The Nest! Academy also serves as an atelier for the pioneers and entrepreneurs of the industrial area to collaborate on developing the run down district. The unusual partnership and the innovative way of working in the Academy assures that creative visions are being developed. The many projects that start coming out of this process from 2008 onwards display an interesting mix of styles. Small and large complexes are being built including both housing and business space. In many instances the realized space is really just unspecialized space with facilities and infrastructure. In a very flexible way the space can be used for a while for housing, offices, recreation or shops, depending on the requirements of the ever changing needs and fashions of the moment.

The municipality is a partner in these new developments but not a very strong one. Vigorous cutbacks in governmental spending of the two consecutive coalition governments led by prime-minister Zalm, have left the municipality severely weakened. The city was forced to withdraw to its core business like granting licenses and maintaining the roads. City development was no longer organized and steered primarily by the municipality. This vacuum was filled in by changing coalitions of various players coordinated in the Nest! Academy. A new kind of networking governance was explored in the process.

The big jump came in 2009, when the owner of the large Koningspley area came to Arnhem and attended one of the vision workshops. She was enchanted by the creative atmosphere and entrepreneurial spirit. When approached in the past she had never shown much interest in selling her land, but the idea of bringing a flexible learning organization to the development process appealed to her. So right there and then a contract was signed to have a temporary settlement on her land with an assignment to develop the site in the course of five years. Just three weeks later the big move took place. Just about all cranes and lorries available in the region were chartered to load and replace all units of the Nest!. The moving parade went both by road and by water, upstream the Rhine where all traffic had been stopped for the day. A large dance festival accompanied this "Floating City Parade". Besides of the moved container units, six hundred new temporary housing units were added on the new location of the Nest! settlement.

As soon as the Nest! had moved, works started to renovate the former milk factory. The apartments that were realized there were not really that spectacular in themselves. But they had a great location right at the river front. More important than that, they profited from the reputation of the Nest!. Because of this snob appeal, it was fairly easy to sell the apartments to Yuppies settling in Arnhem.

The Nest! settlement can't enjoy the green and open river side space of its new location very long. The location is being developed into a business park on the basis of sustainable development. Already in 2012 the settlement has to start shrinking down, to be dismantled completely towards the end of 2014. That does not really pose a problem. The concept of temporary settlements to jumpstart development has not remained unnoticed. The nearby city of Nijmegen has been trying for many years to redevelop its industrial area. This large scaled 'Course West' operation has not managed really to pick up speed. The Nest! is being approached to help this off the ground and attract capital to the area.

This coincides nicely with the decreasing pioneer presence in the Arnhem project. A large number of the original pioneers do not make the move. In the many years that they have lived in the Nest! they have moved up high enough on the waiting lists to find a rental home. There is also a fair number of pioneers who have saved so many "eggs" over the years, that they manage to obtain a house of their own, in one of the projects the Nest! has been developing. So the new settlement in the neighboring community Nijmegen winds up attracting mainly new young pioneers. This is all the better, to bring in fresh new ideas and give this temporary settlement its own local identity.

IV) Scenario Two: Euro-dynamic Arnhem, Nest! in the Rijnboog

In 2015 the ambitious Rijnboog project is almost completed. A complex of offices and apartment buildings has risen around the terminal where the high speed train links to regional modes of transport. The downtown area of Arnhem has been revitalized, and got rid of its bland post-war reconstruction image. The town is connected to the station area as well as to the Rhine river; a stunning waterfront has been created. This ambitious development is the pride of a town that counts, both on a European and a global level. In 2015 it is hard to imagine that it took so long to get this project going and that at some point it met with so much resistance.

Things started to move in 2004, when the municipal council decided to locate a Nest! settlement in the area. This decision was only taken after a long and heated debate. When the positions of 11 different parties got more and more entrenched, the Nest! proposal came as a helpful breakthrough to sidetrack the attention a bit and delay final decisions about the permanent development of the Rijnboog area.

Just before the start of the academic year 2004-2005, a container campus was opened. This was a great relief for especially the first year students, who feared long travel distances and having to stay with mum and dad throughout their student years. The 400 cheap rental units took some of the pressure from the housing market. They also took away the irritated atmosphere amongst city council members who feared that not enough new, cheap housing came on the market.

The campus was located on Peter Struykens work of art 'Blue waves'. This public space around the roads going up the major Rhine bridge had lost most of its charm over the years to become a windy parking lot. The opening of the campus immediately changed that to a pleasant atmosphere buzzing with life. The downtown area profited from the security of having people around in the area, while nobody was bothered by the noise the road-surrounded campus could make at times. The campus was immediately popular amongst the students of the Arnhem Academy for the Visual Arts that just opened its new school nearby. The ground-floor containers soon had little galleries and fashion ateliers, where the young artists were trying to sell their first creations.

Others went for less ambitious sources of revenues, by selling secondhand books and household goods. A small sandwich kiosk and an ice cream parlor opened up their doors soon enough as well.

The Nest! could be built up so quickly, because it was organized in a business like way. One of the market parties involved in the Rijnboog partnership had embraced the idea of a temporary settlement as a way to jumpstart the developments. They put up the settlement just as quickly as they were used to set up the temporary offices near a building site. This Nest! is less of a social project. The students rent their containers from the Rijnboog partners and that is it; they are not very much involved in the management of the settlement.

It was not just students, however, who opted for a cheap unit in the Nest! settlement. The 'Hoofdkwartier' (Headquarters) across the road was reaching the limits of its space. This center for art and media had been rather successful in the two years since the opening in combining artistic expression and a business like approach. It was not a given any more for young designers to move to Amsterdam the day after their graduation. Several tried a start-up in the inspiring, low-cost environment of the Nest!. It was not just the artistic minds that saw the advantages of the spot. Young graduates in technical studies used the cheap rents, hip image and proximity of the main business centers, to start up their own company. They developed software for application in transport and logistics that soon become popular.

The companies that obtained a World Trade Center license, held office in the Nest! from 2005 until their new building in front of the rail terminal was ready in 2008. This World Trade Center is one of the first elements of the ambitious Rijnboog development plan to become reality. Because the WTC could already operate while the building itself was being realized, the start-off goes smooth and quick. This seems to be the turning point, that allows Arnhem to shed off its image of a slightly boring provincial town. Arnhem is on the map again and 'recession' seems to be a word of a long gone past.

The Nest! does not only profile itself as a business incubator. First and foremost it serves the student population. The Thursday parties they organize develop into important events for the youth culture in Arnhem. An additional scene to the near by leisure area 'Korenmarkt' is slowly coming up. The 'River Rave' dance events attract students from Nijmegen as well as from the Arnhem region. Several items on the event calendar of the Nest! are organized in close collaboration with the management of the Art Academy HKA. Especially the yearly exam exhibits of the fashion students attracts attention from trend watchers and leading magazines.

This combination of bohemian avant-garde and successful businesses hits just the right note. More and more leading companies settle in the central area of Arnhem. Several are operating in the field of transport and logistics. Others are in trade but also ICT companies settle in the Rijnboog area. A number of companies from Nord Rhein Westfalen choose Arnhem as a base for their Dutch offices.

In the wake of this business renaissance, small consultants, accountants and other services are establishing themselves, creating employment and putting a large demand for space on the Rijnboog partners, who have a tough time developing enough suitable housing and work surface for the demanding customers.

These new companies and their employees are not just customers. They are taken serious as the major asset of the town and treated as such. The Nest! Academy serves as a base where newcomers and long-time Arnhem residents alike, are invited to participate in the Rijnboog development. Interactive workshops fine tune the program better than professionals on their own could have ever done. The process leads to more than just plans for the area, it is inspiring challenging and

constructive for all participants. The slogan that Arnhem has adopted of being a learning city, really comes true.

The success of the formula resonates in circles of management development and several of the publications of the Nest! Academy become international bestsellers.

As a result of the involvement of participants of the Nest! Academy, the contents of the original Rijnboog plans are shifting. The jump in scale of the area is a bit larger and of a different nature than foreseen. There are more offices and general business spaces being planned, and above all, more leisure surface: shops, cafes, restaurants, saunas and all these things that the rising 'creative class' requires. This pushes out the cultural functions that were originally foreseen as the backbone of the development. In city wide workshops the character of different areas is redefined. In 2012 the regional archives, library, cinema center and other elements of the 'culture boulevard' are finalized around the Gelredome stade on the other side of the river. This way the Northern and Southern town centers both have their own specialization. The Rijnboog area focuses on work, housing and leisure, whereas larger cultural elements are centered across the river.

Because of the temporary settlement, the people of Arnhem have been getting used to a higher building mass in the area. The five stories high stacks of containers have become an accepted and appreciated element of the Arnhem waterfront. Although the program has been changing, the design concepts of the urban plan made by De Sola-Morales for the area gets embraced by more and more people and is being executed. This implies major engineering works to make a new harbor and alter the Nelson Mandela bridge, of which from now on only half will be used.

The Nest! itself is changing too. After five years the temporary license expires and the settlement has to move. The area where it was located is being used now for the construction of permanent buildings. The containers are moved to the part of the bridge that is not being used for traffic any more. Instead of little towers they are spread out to a line up of one or two containers high, along the length of the bridge.

Because the works for demolishing obsolete buildings and making the harbor are bringing upheaval in the Rhine front area, the place where people go for a stroll has shifted. After shopping, during lunch break or just like that, people take a walk on the Mandela bridge through the linear Nest! settlement. It becomes a popular place, not just for young people or the business community, but really for everybody to hang about, drink a coffee, see and be seen and look out over the construction works taking place in the Rijnboog area. The Nest! has not only changed location, the function and atmosphere have changed too. It is not so much a business incubator anymore. That role has been taken over by the newly reconstructed area around the World Trade Center, where one person businesses as well as large companies can find convenient space. The Nest! is primarily a multicultural area for leisure. Besides of the many cafés, galleries and shops, about three quarter of the containers are still being inhabited by students. Despite their moderate size, the units are extremely popular because of the great view and excellent atmosphere in the campus. Everybody wants to be where the action is.

In 2014, however, those students have to start looking for a place in one of the complexes nominated for demolition in the reconstruction area Elderveld. The Nest! is ending. The municipal council is deciding over the closure proposals for the temporary settlement. This contains several very attractive options. A number of competitive offers have been made by housing corporations for buying the containers. An even more interesting option is the bid of a municipality in the Ruhr area of Germany. They want to buy the settlement plus the project development concept. That is very interesting for some of the pioneers who can start off their careers by moving with the settlement and taking on the jobs being offered for five years in the German development project.

The profit of the foreseen transaction does not only cover the expenses of the temporary settlement, also the redevelopment of the bridge could be paid from it. Still, the municipality is considering to alter the original plan of a boulevard that, without the temporary settlement, would have little social control at night. Instead the "BES", the interest-group of entrepreneurs of the red-light district, wants to rent the space. Their 'eros-center' in the industrial area has never really functioned in the 8 years it has been there. Now the pimps are looking for a new location, that is close to the downtown area and where nobody will be bothered. The municipality likes the idea of freeing the businesses in the industrial area of their unpopular neighbor, and gives permission to construct a "Lorelei-lane" on the bridge. This transaction provides the means to finance the ongoing restructuring of old neighborhoods as well as several new social projects.

V) Scenario Three: Big Arnhem - Nest! in Schuytgraaf

Just before Saint Nicolas day of 2015, the keys of the last house to be finished in Arnhem's city extension Schuytgraaf, is handed over to Peter. This is a nice gift for his tenth birthday which he is celebrating today. It is a rather symbolic gesture, Peter was the first child to be born in Schuytgraaf so in a way he marked the birth of the neighborhood, and now his birthday marks its completion. His mother Carla remembers the long and sometimes difficult road they have been on to finally settle down permanently in their beloved corner of Arnhem.

It was in the summer of 2004 that it all started. The Public Private Partnership that was developing the area, GEM Schuytgraaf, opened up the "Freedom Village". It really was a temporary hotel accommodation, but there were also a number of quite affordable chalets and caravans. It was the name that did it: Carla was ready for some freedom! She had enough of the small room she was renting for a sum of money that was not small at all and she was ready to be freed from the sounds of the stereo of her rap-music loving neighbor. Most of all she wanted to grab the opportunity to move in with her boyfriend Henk. He was still living with his parents, so getting some privacy was really a big issue for them. The fun thing was that in that summer only the first hundred houses in Schuytgraaf were finalized. Other families had been waiting for many years for that. Now Carla and Henk could move in to their own little house in "Freedom Village" just like that, at the same time as those others.

The GEM Schuytgraaf could not have put this up all alone in such a short time. The actual building of the village, and most of the planning and engineering, had been done by the C-101 Genie Battalion of the Dutch Royal Army. They had been putting up such completely self contained settlements in the years before, in much more complicated circumstances in Bosnia, Iraq and Afghanistan.

The municipality of Arnhem, the army and the GEM Schuytgraaf joined forces in organizing a large event in the area of Schuytgraaf. It was this area, that exactly sixty years before, was the scene of one of the major battles of the Second World War. Memorial events were organized along the marching route of operation Market Garden. The theme was freedom, liberation and transformation. It was fascinating to see the documentaries and exhibitions that were made on the occasion and realize how both the place and the society had been transforming towards freedom. Guided walks and bicycle tours were organized. Carla thought that getting in touch with the people who had made it all possible was most fascinating.

The veterans and their families had shown up in large numbers, because they realized they would not live to see many more of such events. Most had preferred the Freedom Village for residence and not only because the hotels in the region had been booked out. The Village was right in the midst of it and had an atmosphere of its own. It had

something of army barracks, but with modern comfort, and the freedom of which at the time they were not sure yet if it could be won. Besides of the solemn memorials, most veterans enjoyed a vacation with their family and the attention they were getting in the Nest! café.

That place was not only about enjoying a good beer, there were story telling afternoons, where the oral history of the veterans was recorded and a nice exchange was possible with the young people who were settling now on the grounds they once fought for. The event tent was more the realm of the young people. It was always full of life there and festivities and activities were taking place regularly. One such event was the wedding of Carla and Henk later that year. Almost all the inhabitants of the new Schuytgraaf neighborhood, as well as the Nest! pioneers were present to celebrate this first couple of their community to get married.

This big event made Schuytgraaf known to the public in a positive way. Up till then the area had only gotten negative publicity, there had been legal procedures, endless delays and people were starting to get the impression that if anything were ever built, it would be accessible only for the rich. The marketing strategy of the GEM in engaging so actively in the battle of Arnhem memorials turned around that negative spiral. With the Freedom Village they were showing that Schuytgraaf was more than 'just' a bunch of beautiful houses, that it was a way of life. After the initial summer the hotel accommodations are used as temporary housing. A vibrant Nest! community of pioneers moves in, consisting of starter families, migrants, students and artists. They develop a large range of services, events and activities for the beginning Vinex settlement. Schuytgraaf gets a name as an attractive living environment. The number of people who move out of Arnhem to the nearby Vinex settlement of Westerraam starts to decrease. In the course of 2006 and 2007 there is a distinct increase in the number of inhabitants from Arnhem. Also people who had been commuting before, now decide to take up residence in the town of their work. And for good reason; this place is different from the average new neighborhood, it has more atmosphere, more services, more life to it.

The Nest! settlement gave a possibility for starters on the housing market, like Carla and Henk, to at least for the time being, settle down in Schuytgraaf. All together the result was, that the housing market got back on its feet much quicker in Arnhem than in other towns of the region.

The Nest! and Schuytgraaf are not just pleasant places to live, there is also more and more small scaled business activities coming off the ground. The Local Economy Organization combines activities that would not be profitable or feasible by themselves, but in the cooperative form they do work. The Local Job Agency offers a wide range of services on the community website and you can also go there if you have a special request, like help in the organization of a children's birthday party. The Nest! childcare facilities, the repair-service, the dog-walking service and other services that make busy working life easier, do good business. For couples, who both work, it is simply too much to get everything done and still keep some time for sport or other leisure activities. And the services of the Nest! are quite affordable.

The Saturday morning plant exchange is very well visited. New inhabitants come there not only to get ideas for their garden, but also simply to meet the people who live in their new neighborhood.

A number of people who have no time or interest to get into a new hobby, leave the design and set up of their garden to the Nest! pioneers altogether. The International Garden of the settlement is located on the utmost southwestern corner of Schuytgraaf, in field 23. It has both individual plots and a communal garden that serves as a public park in these first stages of Schuytgraaf when not much of the public facilities are ready yet. The International Garden is located so close to the first houses of Schuytgraaf, that a good link between the temporary settlement and the permanent neighborhood is possible. It is an open and informal place that makes it easily accessible and a low

threshold place to make new contacts. For the children it is an opportunity to play and meet other kids, for their parents the garden is an inspiration to get going on their own garden.

The park like part of the garden will continue to exist in the final situation as the public green around this field. The individual plots will give way in some years to come, to the development of the last houses to be built on this "Freedom Field". Together with "Global Village" next to it, these two last fields of Schuytgraaf are the exercise for the Nest! Neighborhood Academy to develop. The Nest! pioneers, together with Schuytgraaf inhabitants and people wanting to shape their own living environment, are working together there with the GEM Schuytgraaf. The plans made for these fields take longer than those that were made for the others, but it is a bit hard to compare. It is not just that the partnership working on these last two fields is larger, the task they have taken up is much wider too. Not just the physical living environment is developed, the vision building workshops with the future inhabitants also start building up a community long before one stone is put down. The future communities of both the Freedom Field and the Global Village are very alive. They have developed an interactive virtual community on their website and participate actively in children's vacation activities and family barbecues organized during the summer in the Nest!. The development of the housing, the facilities, the design of public space and social programs of these two fields are getting more and more fine-tuned to the wishes and needs of their inhabitants.

Carla and Henk make use of the low rent they pay for their cabin to save for their own house. They take part in the Building Society to get together a part of their mortgage. Besides of that Carla is member of the 'Hot Money' saving circle organized by the Mother Center. That turns out to be quite a bit more than just saving 50 Euro per month to be able to face up to disasters like broken down washing machines. Putting your money together and discussing financial issues, requires a trust and a strong bond that you usually do not develop that easily with your neighbors. It also helps the young family to be in control of their finances and Carla and Henk do not have to skip outings anymore towards the end of the month.

From the start they are part of the building group, which is a collaborative effort between the Temporary Housing Co-op and the Nest! Neighborhood Academy to develop the two last fields of Schuytgraaf. They work on the plans for the house they want to build there for themselves and they also participate on developing the houses that will be sold. There are endless debates about the level of sustainability and technological innovation to save energy compared to the height of the investments that is still acceptable. It is fun to participate in these discussions and witness how compromises are being made, like on the number of parking spaces compared to the amount of public green space. It is transparent to all how they have come about, so everybody can live with the outcome.

The building group is also a small source of additional income. Especially Henk enjoys using his 'golden hands' to make dream kitchens to size and participate in other building activities the group is engaged in. Carla is more into the activities of the Mother Center. Especially when Peter's little sister is born, their cabin is getting rather small to hang around 24 hours a day. Besides of that she would get completely insane if she never got to see other adults besides Henk. So Carla can be found in the "public living room" as the Mother Center is often called most of the time. She is there either as a guest or on Wednesday morning and Tuesday afternoon as the hostess, which brings her some extra Local Currency. After a while she gets courageous and organizes a yoga course. This is quite a success and a lot of women participate.

From 2009 onwards, the temporary settlement starts to shrink. The frontier of Schuytgraaf itself is coming closer and closer. The first neighbors are starting to move on to their finished house in other parts of Schuytgraaf. Every month one of the participants of the Building Society is selected by the notary to collect all savings of that month, so

they can move on buying a house. Others have been on the waiting list for a rental house long enough and move out to another part of Arnhem. Those are relatively few. Once you have been getting used to having the green, the community, the security and space of the Nest!, it is hard to settle for less.

So there is quite a number of people who postpone going for permanent housing and decide to move to the temporary settlement that is being started in Nijmegen to get some speed into the Vinex location 'WaalSprong'.

Even though the Nest! settlement is shrinking in size, the atmosphere stays. After all, the people take their pioneer spirit to their new house elsewhere in Schuytgraaf. They keep on visiting the Mother Center and other facilities of the settlement, the 'Ne(s)t-work', the network of pioneers, remains active for quite a while after the settlement has ceased to be and forms a solid base for the new Schuytgraaf community. The end of the Nest! comes in late 2013. The temporary lease of the land is ended and the Temporary Housing Co-op is dissolved. The remaining housing units are sold to the Nijmegen settlement and the remaining capital of the Local Economy Organization is transferred to Euro and divided amongst the pioneers and other shareholders.

Henk and Carla don't feel like moving to the temporary settlement in Nijmegen. They want to stay where the children go to school, where they have their friends and where all the facilities are; they don't think a moment of leaving Schuytgraaf. So they rent one of the apartments in Schuytgraaf, while awaiting the completion of their dream house. This is the last house, on the last row of the last field of Schuytgraaf. It took them over ten years to obtain it, but it is all theirs, they built it almost with their own hands. Over the years they saw the plans growing, from something that was far beyond their horizon, to a possibility within reach of their financial capacity. The mayor handing over the key to their son is a beautiful ending of their voyage to conquer a new horizon, they have made it!

VI) Scenario Four: A well cared for Arnhem - Nest! in the Saksen Weimar Base

In 2015 an elderly Mies Bouman, the same popular TV personality who opened the famous Arnhem "Village" for the handicapped in the sixties, opens the "Care Community" together with the Minister of Care. The Northern part of Arnhem, ranging from the Zoo to the neighborhood "Geitenkamp", has been transformed into a luscious well being zone. North of the Beukenlaan is a beautifully landscaped 18 holes golf-course. There is a Spa, care facilities and housing, tucked away in new nature development. The municipality has developed this area over the past decades to the point where Arnhem can really live up to its reputation of a pleasant place for well to do pensioners.

It started in 2004. There had been a long period of uncertainty about the direction to go with the Northern part of town. Several plans, like a hotel, a parking and transfer facility, as well as housing development had been suggested and rejected. To get out of the deadlock and at the same time postpone final decisions, the municipal council decided to establish in the meanwhile a temporary settlement in the area. There a platform with all stakeholders would be organized to come to a balanced decision about the best course of action to take about the different interrelated issues playing a role in this part of the town. Besides of that, the temporary settlement provided cheap accommodation, which was more than welcome, especially amongst refugees who had to start at the end of the long waiting lists of the housing corporations, once they had received their status. Despite the large number of social housing units in Arnhem, there was a shortage in this segment of the market. By providing temporary housing, the time could be covered till the houses were ready that were needed at the upper end of the market for people no

longer in need of social housing to move out.

The Nest! temporary settlement was put up on the grounds of the former army base "the Saksen Weimar". The old buildings already housed a number of artists, resulting in a nice exchange between the old and the new population of the base. There are communal meals with an interesting international cuisine being organized as well as multicultural disco parties. When no events are taking place, the Mother Center is the favored meeting place, also for people who do not have children, but simply like the atmosphere. Especially people who have not been very long in the Netherlands and do not master the Dutch language yet, come here and see the world go by. Consumption here is affordable. Nobody makes a fuss if you sit for a long time just reading the newspaper or looking at the information material.

Over time, if you are not drawn into the social interaction by your children breaking the ice, then you might be approached by the hostess on duty for a little chat. This way newcomers feel at ease and get involved in the activities going on and the courses being offered by the Nest! Neighborhood Academy in their own timing. Especially the Dutch course following the Luna method (named after the Mother Center where it was developed) is popular: it is not school-like, but a fun way of getting to know people and learning the language so you can communicate with them.

The starting capital for the Nest! settlement has been provided by a housing corporation in the region in the form of an interest free loan. This way the Corporation can use its surplus capital in line with its objectives on a project of its own choice, without running the risk of the Housing Ministry assigning binding guidelines for investment projects. The Nest! is a collaborative effort of the corporation, the Municipality of Arnhem as the leading partner, and local and provincial care institutions. The expectations about the preventive effects that the settlement may have are rather high. There is a lot of attention for the initiative, that is closely monitored and documented both by universities and governmental welfare institutions.

They do not have to wait long to note results. The participation and integration levels amongst Nest! pioneers is much higher than average. The marks in Arnhem on the compulsory exams on the Dutch language and culture are the best in the country. This is rewarded with an extra bonus for the integration budget of the city. Much of the success is related to the fact that the Nest! pioneers easily find jobs. The Local Job Agency provides for a real need. Mouth to mouth advertisement spreads the word that in the Nest! reliable eldercare, skillful handymen, and devoted gardeners can be hired. The services are legal and at the same time low in price. Because of the peer control in the organization, a constant level of quality can be maintained. This is what many people in Arnhem had been waiting for and soon enough one third of the households in the area subscribe to one or the other of the Nest! services.

Most of those pioneers leave the Nest! after a few years. They learn the language and the social and technical skills that are needed to find a job on the regular labor market. Their know how to find their way in society has increased; they have larger networks, master the language and have developed better social skills as well as more self-confidence thanks to the courses and activities in the Nest! Academy. As a result they can find a place to live after a while and are not solely dependent on what the housing corporation has to offer.

And after all, the temporary housing units are a bit small and do not have a very high status. They want to move up in society. The empty places in the Nest! are quickly taken up by citizens from the new EU countries like Bulgaria and Rumania.

Through this process of social mobility, the Nest! has given the city its function back as a motor of emancipation. People move from rural areas to town and work to establish themselves, saving as much as possible on the expenditure for daily living. The Nest! is a pleasant place, it is a cheap place and offers plenty of start-off opportunities and chances

to do something and make something of your life. The Local Job Agency encourages initiatives and the Savings and Loan Division of the Local Economy Organization gives small business loans if you come with a good idea. Part of these loans come in Local Currency, so you can hire the expertise available in the Nest!. The loans in Local Currency can also be paid back fairly easily, because there is always work available for active pioneers. This dynamic is not only appreciated by new migrants. The whole of Arnhem enjoys the services and care provision that is being organized by the creative collective of small entrepreneurs from the Nest! settlement.

The success of these services gives the municipality the idea to profile the city with it. In 2008 one of the city councilors launches the plan to focus the city branding policy fully on care. Arnhem is to be the Florida of the Netherlands. The Dutch weather might be hopeless, but at least the social climate turns out to be adaptable, it can be made quite a bit warmer.

The green image that Arnhem has always had, together with the good services and care being offered in the Nest! make it the ideal place to open a spa. The concept of "Luscious Living" is introduced, and Arnhem is promoted as the ultimate place to do so.

The development of the premises takes a fairly long time. The first building activities start as early as 2010, but the total concept is not ready till 2015. It is ideal timing. The baby boom generation has reached retirement age so there is a growing interest to explore the possibilities of the new life cycle they have now entered. The Nest! development plan for the care village offers perspectives that are simply way out of reach of the capacities of other towns.

The market for the Arnhem Nest! pioneers expands. Members of the building group travel all over the country to take inventory of the needs and requirements of those who want to invest in a "Living Arrangement Lease". These leases include first of all a house, that is being commissioned to the wishes of the client. Such a house consists of several components. Additional rooms, like guest rooms or hobby space, are mostly sold on a time sharing basis, which allows the customers to have a rather small core apartment. This way people do not have to worry about the maintenance of space that is barely used anyway. Many people choose the option to rent the garden, so they can easily get rid of it, if at some point the maintenance becomes too hard.

The border between real estate and services is starting to blur. "Transport" of a certain level of intensity or luxury is being purchased with the house. This may include a normal garage for your own car, but it can also be a guarantee that either a rental car is available in the communal garage, or that transport by taxi or other public transport services is provided, whenever needed.

Service and care become rather synonymous. The project attracts a lot of people whose physical condition requires extra care and assistance from medical professionals. Most of the people who inscribe for the care package, want to make sure they can get good care if they may need it in the future and in the meanwhile just like the luxury of well serviced living. Especially in summer there are quite a number of people who join the Nest! for a couple of weeks, by simply putting down their camper on the Nest! grounds.

Shortly after the opening of the Arnhem Care Village, the temporary settlement is closed down completely. Ever since 2012 it had been decreasing in size and a large number of the housing units had been shipped away already as donations to social projects in developing countries.

When the Nest! is ended, the remaining containers are sold for a very affordable price to a sister town of Arnhem in Kazakhstan. Because of this low sale price, the ending balance of the Nest! Local Economy Organization comes to zero. There are no losses, but also no profits to distribute amongst the pioneers. They do not really need that either. They have

found their way and can find work and housing elsewhere easily.

The Care Village has given a large supply of good quality housing in the upper segments of the market. This has resulted in a loosening up of the congested housing market. People are moving again and especially in Presikhaaf there are a lot of very affordable good apartments for rent to be found without having to search or wait too long.

That does not mean that the Saksen Weimar base gets torn down completely to make way for the facilities of the Care Village. The architecture of the buildings is much appreciated and it is turned back to its original function by housing youngsters who do their draft service. In 2015 the obligation of a year of service is reestablished for both men and women of 18 years. It is not a military service but a social service. The management of the Care Village happily uses this opportunity of state provided labor to keep the expenses of the complex affordable.

Chapter 14: Results and Recommendations

I) Introduction

Good neighborhoods are not products or commodities like a car that can be engineered by experts on the drafting table. They need to grow on their own, like a plant. Investments in terms of money alone, are by far insufficient to develop a new neighborhood. Other forms of resources, like time, social networks, or creativity, are necessary. Houses can be bought and sold like commodities, but homes and neighborhoods must develop, they must grow. Because the physical elements are not the only aspects of neighborhoods, developers cannot be the only ones responsible for creating them. Neighborhoods need to come alive through a process of inhabitant involvement and community building. The social aspects, the development of social cohesion and community participation need to be supported and strengthened in urban planning and development.

This also shifts the perspective on the value of neighborhoods. If value is defined solely in physical terms, then "living" in houses and neighborhoods is regarded as diminishing the capital value, as "using it up". However, unlike a product that is worth less when second hand, houses and neighborhoods often rise in value, like for example housing built in the twenties.

In this book we have developed a perspective on urban development where inhabitants are not seen primarily as consumers, but also as producers of neighborhoods, investing their money as well as their time, and their social and cultural activities into their surroundings. In this perspective the value of neighborhoods is not only judged by the state of their physical units and demolishing and rebuilding the physical is not the primary perspective to the development and upgrading of neighborhoods. Maintaining and strengthening the social networks of neighborhoods is seen as key and the Nest! is developed as a strategy to this end.

II) Innovative Urban Development

Principles of Urban Planning

The Nest! project is based on a set of observations and principles that shape its innovative approach to urban planning:

General Principles include that people are not primarily considered as clients or as social problem cases, but as the richest asset municipalities have and that human development should therefore guide the process of urban planning. The best plans are made when those with the primary interest – the future inhabitants – are involved in developing them. Neighborhoods develop from a community process, rather than out of an engineering product. In this process diversity and an open and gradual development are important elements. Another element is bringing together different stakeholders so that they can reinforce one another, create a process of synergy and widen the scope of development. Planners and decision makers have much to learn from the grassroots. All inhabitants can contribute to urban development, no resources should go to waste. Productive partnerships between actors with different roles in society, for instance local

authorities and the community, require a cultural and mental reorientation as well as enabling structures and training, but the process of city development benefits from including all.

Key element of the Nest! approach is to make productive use of vacant land, planning gaps and other unused assets in urban development. Another principle which has guided the design of the Nest! is that countries of the North can learn from the experiences and expertise of countries in the South. In industrialized countries of the North poverty exists both on the level of economically and socially excluded groups, as well as in form of qualitative poverty, the poverty of social relationships. An important development task in industrialized societies is to re-integrate the culture of care into public life.

Specific principles applied in the Nest! approach include that the project is implemented inside the existing legal context, and that limitations are explored and margins expanded in close collaboration with the authorities in charge of enforcing them. In the Nest! approach all people involved benefit and nobody is harmed in their interests. Costs involved for participants and partners do not exceed the benefits. Financial sustainability is in balance with social sustainability by making non-monetary assets and contributions visible and exchangeable with monetary assets and by stimulating economic exchange in a way that supports cooperation, social cohesion and community building.

Areas of Innovation

Adjusting the social/physical balance in urban planning by up-grading the social aspects involves innovations in several areas of social policy. The Nest! as developed in this book contributes strategies and solutions to key dimensions and areas of social innovation:

*** Investing in Human Resources**

In post industrial society, the knowledge economy is gaining significance. Accessing resources like talent and know how, is becoming crucial. Ways of identifying and developing talent reserves are a valid strategy to stimulate economic development. This implies acknowledging skills and competencies arising from informal settings and finding ways to mobilize and access them. It also points to the necessity of creating stimulating environments through urban planning, where creative minds like to dwell. This includes a social climate that acknowledges and stimulates diversity and creativity. Temporary settlements offer a way to create experimental space in urban centers that offer these qualities in a fashion that is both systematic and flexible.

*** Resource orientation in Migration Policies**

The need to access untapped resources applies double in regard to socially and economically excluded groups, like migrants and refugees, people whose access to the labor market is blocked despite of the fact that they have many competencies. Current migrant policy is not equipped to channel the wealth of skills and talents which migrants and refugees bring with them into the host society. This is a challenge that needs to be addressed, even if the political goal may be for refugees and migrants to return to their country of origin: Studies show that it is those who do well in host countries who are more inclined to go back and contribute to the development of their home societies.

Migrants come from a background, where community orientation and care are part of everyday life and are embedded in strong social networks, something that is disappearing in the Northern countries. Acknowledging these orientations and skills as resources and providing channels for them to be integrated and contributed into the setting of host countries, is a challenge relating to key concerns of modern societies.

The Nest! offers ways to tap into these resources and engage them in productive development.

* **Community Economy**

An important part of the resource orientation developed in the Nest! relates to innovative economic strategies. The dominant orientation towards market forces has created a duality between a highly productive labor force working ever longer hours and those excluded from productive work. This causes issues of polarization and social exclusion. The concept of a community economy is developed as a strategy to bridge this gap. Community economy is an economy that makes use of and validates all resources in the community. Within the parameters of a local economy, different resources and assets, like time, money, knowledge, or care, can be validated and made exchangeable. In the Nest! the economic power of neighborhoods is enhanced by linking and making optimal use of local resources that under normal circumstances are not being accessed.

* **Paradigm Shift**

New economic strategies like a community economy also involve a shift and readjustment of the balance between the social and the economic. The market economy tends to undermine social life rather than sustain it. Yet the world is growing towards greater interdependency. Awareness is increasing of the need to develop forms of associative cooperation that create win-win situations and take responsibility for the whole. Ways how economic value can be created by cooperation as well as how cooperation can be created by economic structures need to be further explored. The Local Economy System developed in the Nest! project suggests one way of how this can be done.

* **New Approaches to Governance**

Another area where innovation is needed to provide for the requirements of modern cities involves new strategies of local governance. Blockages in urban development in industrial countries are not caused by institutional weakness, but rather by the contrary. It is because of exactly the strength and success of urban planning in the Netherlands for instance, that there is an institutional blindness to other actors and resources. The development potential of other actors or coalitions of actors, as well as the assets and contributions of inhabitants are not recognized, let alone used to their full potential. This calls for de-institutionalization and a strengthening of self help and citizen involvement. It also requires a shift in the role of governments and local authorities, from being key decision makers and service providers, to being facilitators of a governance process. In such a process, currently being discussed as "networking governance", inhabitants need to find ways to articulate their interests, mediate their differences and bring in their skills and resources. With the Neighborhood Academy the Nest! develops a strategy to this end.

* **New Welfare Mix**

New governance as well economic strategies have implications for the welfare state. In times of a shrinking labor market the need for a redistribution of tasks and responsibilities between market forces, the state and civil society has become evident. In societies with a tradition of well organized and all-encompassing governmental services like the Netherlands, both the disincentives as well as the incentives and enabling structures for the stimulation of civic engagement and self help need to be carefully examined.

Studies show that voluntary work and engagement builds on acknowledgement (also monetary) of people's skills and contributions. Voluntary engagement seems to happen as an extra to paid work, not as a substitute. This points to the need to reconsider the sharp boundaries and demarcations between state, market and the voluntary sector and to find ways for finding new combinations of employment and welfare, paid and unpaid work, primary and subsidized labor markets, which include subsidies for self help activities and the remuneration of voluntary work.

People are on welfare because they lack possibilities to contribute their capacities inside the formal economy. They can find themselves in this situation because they have no or the wrong diplomas, have mental or physical challenges, are too young or too old, are ill at ease with the structures and working environment of the labor market, or are at home taking care of dependents. These groups have few alternatives of actively transforming their talents and capabilities into monetary value, which leaves huge and much needed potential to go to waste.

This calls for the reduction of institutional and legislative barriers to economic activities outside of the formal economy, as well as for the loosening of regulations around applying work inside the welfare economy. In general, it calls for new concepts of welfare and stronger linkages and openings between the formal and informal sectors of society. The projects developed in the Nest! develop pilot strategies of combining voluntary and remunerated work and the formal and informal economy that give important pointers for the reform of the welfare state.

Contributions of the Nest!

In this book we explore the idea of setting up temporary settlements in urban development locations in the time gaps when the old use is discontinued but (re)development has not yet begun. The results of this exploration confirm that temporary settlements indeed relate to many of the above mentioned innovation needs and can contribute solutions to many of the major challenges in contemporary urban development.

Temporary settlements as developed in this book create exchange and win-win situations between groups and systems that usually are not linked. They provide affordable housing and temporary solutions to temporary weaknesses in the housing market.

They create a framework and opportunities for active participation of inhabitants in the development of their neighborhoods, thereby demonstrating how the concept of "more responsibility and participation of citizens" can be applied to the area of urban planning.

In the Nest! approach grassroots involvement is supported in a proactive perspective based on positive visions rather than as a protest movement. Community building is placed at the center and at the start of urban development. Settlements are structured as learning organizations thus contributing to a perspective of "learning cities".

The Nest! mobilizes local resources, skills and talents, creates possibilities for validating all contributions and opens up ways to trade different forms of contributions and resources, on an equal basis. Favorable conditions for attracting pioneer energy and creativity are created as well as enabling conditions for developing the potential of informal learning and entering them to formal education as well as decision making processes. The Nest! is a learning laboratory for new ways of partnering in city development, and how to bridge as well as broaden public private partnerships.

Temporary settlements are a valuable contribution to the image and profile of the town in which they are located. They stimulate integration and social cohesion and contribute to high quality living environments by providing new services to families, elders and double earners.

III) Innovative Processes

Making Cities family-friendly

The Nest! is a project of the Mother Center International Network **mine**. It basically upscales the principles of the internationally successful Mother Center model to whole neighborhoods.¹⁰⁴ Mother Centers developed because parents understand that it takes more than loving parents to raise children. It takes a supportive environment.¹⁰⁵ Children need caring surroundings not only inside but also outside their homes. In the Nest! Project the challenge is taken on, to design whole settlements and cities as family friendly environments.

The City is for all – including Children

The structures of public life have become more and more exclusive of children. They are relegated to “islands” in society, like childcare centers, playgrounds, or entertainment parks and events, which specifically target their needs. In the rest of society, they are basically structurally unwelcome. Traffic has made it too dangerous to play on the streets, increased distances have made children dependent on adults to chauffeur them around to the pockets in society intended for them. The scope in which children can autonomously explore their own environment has become increasingly limited. Mobility and a “footloose” society have created residential environments that become anonymous to the degree that inhabitants seek and live their social networks elsewhere. Children and other dependents are the ones most vulnerable to a society that has de-linked social contacts and social networks from neighborhoods and urban space. The urban environment has become adapted to those who are the strongest. For children and other dependents, environments are safe and supportive as well as stimulating, when there is adult presence, when people feel a basic responsibility for each other, when everyone watches out for each other. This is no longer a given. It takes conscious efforts and policies to reconstruct this kind of quality in our urban environments.

The Nest! project attracts people willing and able to spend time in the neighborhood, bringing life, services, small businesses, diversity and cultural richness to the settlement. Through the community building projects like the Mother Center, the International Garden and the Community Academy, inhabitants get to know and interact with each other, anonymity is reduced in the neighborhood, and trust and social cohesion is built up. The Nest! ensures that in new developments a social structure is in place when the first people move into their new houses.

Present alternatives often demand a choice: either a neighborhood is urban and has aliveness, but too dangerous for children to grow up in, or it has (parking-) space, comfort and a green environment, but is boring. The Nest! combines the best of both worlds, a village in the city.

This is the kind of surroundings children need to be safe, to be able to explore their surroundings autonomously, to build up their own contacts and networks in the neighborhood and to receive many impulses and learning opportunities from their immediate environment.

Quality Services for Families

Families face a lack of support services for the care of children, elderly and other

¹⁰⁴ The principles that are at the base of the success of the Mother Center model include: Children are always welcome, everyone can contribute, activities in the center are remunerated, self organisation, ‘public living rooms’, and family like quality of public services for families. The Nest project upscales these principles by creating family friendly neighborhoods, making use of all resources of the community, stimulating self help in urban development and creating a village in the city.

¹⁰⁵ In Africa this insight is expressed by the proverb: “It takes a village, to raise a child.”

dependents. These gaps are both quantitative and qualitative in nature. In trying to juggle ever more complex roles and realities, and a changing demographic composition of society, families face a growing need for affordable services. Such services are often too expensive if organized by commercial forces. Institutionalizing care services by the state welfare system has proven to have quantitative as well as qualitative limits. Institutional services are often seen as lacking in flexibility, and, especially in the case of eldercare, in personal involvement and individual attention.

Mother Centers have developed a range of services to meet this demand, ranging from babysitter-referral services, drop-in childcare, eldercare, hot lunches, pick-up, transport and accompaniment services for children and elderly, delivery services, janitor services, or household and gardening services. What characterizes these services is that they are affordable, flexible, customized to local and individual needs and that they have a family-like quality.

In the Nest! Project these services are up-scaled to the level of the whole settlement, involving all groups of residents both on the supply as well as on the demand end.

Empowering Women

Women are central to urban planning and development, as they are both key users as well as key producers of residential environments. Due to a gender specific division of labor, it is mostly women who take on the majority of care work and reproductive tasks and responsibilities in families and neighborhoods. Women tend to spend more time in the homes and in the communities than men. Thus they often have a lot of practical knowledge of what is needed in the built environment, the local infrastructure, and the design of public space and public services, in order to meet the needs of all members of the family. It is important to include this knowledge and expertise in neighborhood planning and development.

Especially internationally, women's participation and leadership is becoming one of the key developmental issues. Long term community processes are seen as more likely to be holistic and sustainable, when women are central to the process. UN Habitat has made the involvement of women a key indicator for success. Women's leadership in local governance has proven to often be more inclusive and more effective. This is because women tend to take the perspectives and needs of all groups into consideration, not only the views of the quick, the articulate, the most powerful and influential. Women create alliances across divisive social categories and traditions. They often take the lead in peace building and weaving the social fabric of neighborhoods.

Unfolding the knowledge, expertise and leadership potential of women is an integral part of the Nest! Project. The Mother Center and the Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA) are places where women can gather, exchange their daily experiences and views, strengthen their confidence and raise their voices to influence the local community and public decision making.

Integrating Generations

The trend to compartmentalization and segmentation among generations in contemporary society contributes to the alienation of neighborhoods. Multigenerational meeting points and activities are rare. Homogeneous neighborhoods generate mobility. People go elsewhere for the various functions in their lives. As neighborhoods and their inhabitants grow older and less mobile, homogeneity and the need for mobility becomes a greater problem. On the long run diverse neighborhoods in terms of population, age and interests, can adapt better to (demographic) changes and challenges. They develop

more opportunities for complimentary needs and services. Current debates often paint negative scenarios of an over-aging society. At the same time, government involvement and budgets in caring for the elderly are being reduced, leaving more work for family members.

The Nest! provides in-between solutions. The available means for care-giving are spread over a larger group of informal care-givers in the neighborhood, thus providing family like care without over-burdening families. The Nest! Project contributes to a vision of multigenerational living, in which the interests and needs of young and old do not necessarily contradict or mutually exclude each other. The Nest! pilots a perspective on urban planning that integrates the generations, by providing housing options to all generations and by creating new concepts of care and innovative close to home services.¹⁰⁶ . Such a perspective is also shaped by including opportunities in the Nest! design for active contribution and participation on a multigenerational basis and by not limiting economic and social validation of contributions to “high achievers”.

IV) Benefits of Temporary Settlements

Added Value

In the field of construction and urban planning it is not only the visible factors like the physical environment and building-style that guide consumer choices. To a great extent the more soft factors like the social structures of neighborhoods, their image, their identity determine the choice where people settle. People like to live in a neighborhood that is considered “in”, that they can take pride in, that people talk about.

The temporary settlement adds community and liveliness to the neighborhood. It creates attractions and events, that give the area prestige, recognition and visibility. The activities in the temporary settlement go beyond cultural events and leisure activities, they create a social anchoring point in the neighborhood that can prevent decline. They allow for a build up of ‘history’ of the location and for a continuous flow of inhabitant involvement and creativity, the soft investments of neighborhoods.

Services

Inhabitants of newly developed neighborhoods often find themselves under double pressure. They have to combine a busy job and care tasks in an area that is often not (yet) ready to provide services. There can be quite a time gap between the arrival of the first inhabitants and the full operational functioning of shops, services, transport and other businesses.

The strong points of the temporary settlement is time and flexibility. It attracts people with the necessary skills and networks to identify needs and locate resources. Gaps in the planning and delivery of services can be filled in on the spot by people with the ambition and energy to invest into their surroundings, and with the creativity and ideas to design unusual solutions. The temporary settlement can offer targeted services that help residents cut themselves loose from the viscous circle of having little time, working a lot, travelling far and having even less time. Services are available from the start before residents have found their (high)way to services and businesses outside of their neighborhood.

Presence

The temporary settlement ensures that especially in the beginning stages of a new development there is presence in the neighborhood. This is important for security as well

¹⁰⁶ See especially the scenario a well cared for Arnhem in chapter 13

as for social cohesion and liveliness. The temporary settlement functions as a kind of social “warming up” of a neighborhood, creating a range of small businesses, places to meet, social and cultural events and activities that ensure that public space is animated also outside of traffic rush hours.

The temporary settlement offers a range of possibilities to participate in community life. Some residents will be interested in joining the various projects and activities. Others will mainly be interested in the available services and not in getting active in the neighborhood. It does not take the whole of a population to create community life and a social climate in a neighborhood. It takes an active segment, to which others can link to in a more consumer way. The temporary settlement can provide this active segment and provide easy access for others to link up to community.

The Folding Chairs of the Housing Market

First and foremost, the temporary settlement provides housing in the sectors where the shortage is felt the most acutely. Temporary settlements create low cost housing for starters on the housing market and allow for flexible solutions to supplement existing processes. On the longer term the real shortage is in the upper segments of the market, so it is only appropriate that the solution be temporary. Meanwhile accessing an undeveloped potential on the housing market can help bring back more speed into the housing production.

Creative Neighborhoods as an Element of City Branding

Temporary settlements open up spaces for experimentation and are a way to attract and involve creative forces into urban development. This gives municipalities a competitive edge, and helps attract creative people to the city. The city can profile itself as an innovative and a learning city.

Outsourcing Problems

Temporary settlements in development areas also open up possibilities of lessening the burden in other neighborhoods by giving groups whose potentials are blocked a place to go. It is like an outlet or outsourcing strategy, so that challenges are not concentrated in one neighborhood. Problems in one part of town can become part of the solution in another part of the town.

Increased Quality of permanent Housing

The building organization for self commissioned housing suggested in the Nest! Project (Chapter 8) allows for more individual choices, attracting families who like to have more say on the design and details of their future home. This allows a direct link to clients, they are not an anonymous market, but become partners in building, thus allowing a more targeted adjustment to their wishes, preferences and priorities. Houses can have a better price/quality relation and fit peoples wishes better if they are commissioned privately.

Participation

The Nest! Project involves a strategic approach to citizen involvement and participation. It creates engagement and participation of the inhabitants by creating a sense of ownership, identification and belonging. By organizing a process, where inhabitants actively shape and invest in their neighborhoods, an additional player is introduced to urban planning. By serving their own interests and realizing their dreams, inhabitants have valuable perspectives and contributions to offer to city development. Such a process can expose the physical forces in urban planning to a social dynamic that can greatly improve the quality of city development. Participation opportunities also give potential opponents a way to voice their issues and can integrate opposing energies into a constructive process.

Finally, opening up civic participation in development processes give traditional

developers and construction businesses new partnership opportunities. They can get involved in processes outside their normal professional realm. They are given an economic opening to be closer to social processes, that often stay out of their perspective, but that are very important if "houses" are also to be "homes".

Knowledge Generation

The temporary settlement involves tools to develop citizens skills like self initiative and collective responsibility. Local knowledge and talents are transformed into a development resource by making them accessible and operational. This result or "product" of the temporary settlement is not temporary. It enriches the city beyond the scope and duration of the temporary settlement itself. The focus on knowledge building and documentation provided by the Nest! Neighborhood Academy ensures that the community building and respectful cooperation involved in the process are not lost, but become a source of municipal know-how for continuous growth, development and innovation. Lessons learned and skills obtained in the process can continue to inform urban planning long after the temporary settlement itself is gone.

Integrating Youth

The issue of youth is a prevailing concern for many neighborhoods. If there are not enough activities and opportunities for young people in a neighborhood they quickly tend to be seen as a "public nuisance" hanging around in the streets and making noise with their scooters. Youth can be a great resource too, if they are able to link up to interesting endeavors and use their energy in a constructive way.

The temporary settlement creates a range of attractive projects and activities in the neighborhood, to which young people can contribute their time, creativity, energy and ideas. Motivating and engaging the next generation in active participation and shaping of the urban environment, is a crucial contribution to the stability and sustainability of urban settlements. The Nest! has the potential to score highly in this respect. Especially since this can be done in an intergenerational context, in which the talents and skills of different generations can inspire and cross-fertilize each other.

V) Economic Development

Besides creating more balance between the physical and the social in urban development, the Nest! also stimulates economic development by accessing unused resources and opening up new markets in the field of housing and services in a variety of ways which we summarize below:

With the temporary settlement, land that temporarily lies idle before development, is put to use productively. Human resources that are blocked or hidden are mobilized and entered into economic channels. Groups who normally only consume, become producers. Economic force is consolidated by assembling and matching local resources, by federating and associating, by developing new partnerships and by encouraging economic initiative:

For groups whose access to the formal labor market is difficult, the Nest! offers opportunities to apply their knowledge, skills and resources. This way they can grow towards economic self sufficiency and develop economic initiative in a semi-protected environment. By linking entrepreneurial activities in the framework of local networks, economic chances are expanded.

During the time period that construction of a new neighborhood has started, but is not yet finished, small-scaled community businesses and services can thrive that under

normal circumstances could not (or barely) exist. They can fill the vacuum and temporarily have a monopoly, which gives them a good head start for consolidation into permanence.

In the area of privately commissioned housing the strategy introduced is to divide the development process into two phases. Large scale mechanized works are commissioned by the temporary housing co-op and done by traditional contractors. More customized building is commissioned by individuals, assisted by the housing co-op. This way the headaches of privately commissioning are reduced to a minimum, while maintaining the maximum of advantages in terms of price and freedom of choice. At the same time this type of organization opens up a wider field of construction work to local craftsmen and small scale businesses on the building market. In this set-up the Nest! acts as an intermediary organization between private customers and contractors and officials. This makes privately commissioned housing more manageable on both sides. It also opens up a way for traditional developers to be involved in private commissioning while still applying their comparative advantage of scale and working method.

On the individual level the Nest! offers possibilities to consolidate family finances by engaging in income generating activities. There are also possibilities for building up savings, both by saving rent as well as by participating in the collective savings schemes. Saving in a group is an effective way of opening up financial opportunities beyond the scope available on individual level. It also is a way of creating the motivation and discipline needed to save regularly, also for people with no or low saving habits and track records.

For market forces the Nest! opens up new investment opportunities on both ends of the housing market. On the lower end the Nest! introduces low cost housing for groups like students, migrants or starter families, who have a hard time finding housing on the current market. This market segment has been monopolized by housing corporations. On the upper end of the market new packages of real estate and services will find an increasing demand.

There is an additional interesting point for market forces in the Nest! Project. Besides of more products that can potentially be marketed, the Nest! offers larger groups of people access to the existing ones. The group of potential customers for newly built housing increases. Starter families find in the Nest! possibilities to build up the means necessary to purchase a unit in new neighborhoods, through saving schemes and living cheaply for a few years. The interim housing opportunities in the temporary settlement also provides solutions to avoid losing clients in the time it still takes to get the newly developed settlement completed.

By making use of land prior to development in form of temporary settlements, delays in planning and development are not lost time (and money). Instead, during the interim period the land is made productive, by the economic activities and investments in the temporary settlement.

Delays in the development process mean that the settlement can remain longer in place, making the investments there more profitable. The temporary settlement from that perspective becomes an attractive investment to at least partially compensate for losses.

VI) Answers to frequently asked Questions

What happens to the Inhabitants when the Temporary Settlement is dissolved?

It is difficult to imagine temporality in a context where permanence is the norm. Although that should not be a reason to not do the experiment altogether, a solid risk management is needed to avoid dramas during the closure of the settlement. Reasons why the settlement would indeed be of a temporary nature are in the nature of the settlement itself, its organization and the pioneers.

The settlement consists of the most basic dwellings, that in a Dutch context in general will be described as 'sub-standard'. When the housing market loosens up, they are the first to remain empty. The rental contracts are to be very clearly temporary, but more importantly, the organization of the Nest! will stimulate mobility. The temporary housing co-op works from the start on being dissolved. This implies finding buyers and possibly new locations for the housing units, but also assisting pioneers in finding permanent housing. As difficult as the market might be, five years tends to be more than enough to find a place well beyond the quality of a trailer-home.

The clearest prediction on the fate of the inhabitants can be made by looking at their motives for coming to the settlement in the first place. Basically the temporary settlement will attract two kinds of inhabitants. People who are interested in temporary housing as a stage in their lives and people who are interested in temporary housing as a step towards realizing permanent housing.

Examples of the first category are for instance students, for whom temporary housing coincides with a temporary period in their lives. After their studies they move on to other locations and other phases in their life. Artists as well are often interested in temporary space and arrangements as a life style, in order to move on to other challenges and continuous inspirations. For the group of pensioners, that use the temporary settlement on a part time basis, the housing will function like a summer vacation place. Such second houses are used for a limited period of time and alternatives are widely available when the settlement discontinues.

Groups belonging to the second category will be interested in the temporary settlement as a stepping stone towards their goal of permanent housing. These are for instance starter families, who use the low rent to grow towards a more permanent solution. Growing towards this permanent solution in another setting is one of the objectives the settlement is actively working on. This makes it different from for example a squat, where maintaining and upgrading the squat itself into permanence is of importance. The more support the pioneers get in moving on, the less likely they will be to have any interest in remaining on the stepping stone. For the low income groups amongst the starters, like refugees, it is the most difficult to move on and find permanent housing. It cannot be predicted yet if and when the housing market will loosen up. Still their chances are increased by the networking skills they obtain in the Nest!. An important aspect of risk management in the temporary settlement, involves actively supporting the pioneers to access social housing, while they live in the temporary settlement.

A final reason why it is unlikely that problems will arise in ending the settlement, is in the character of the pioneers. The squat movement has been made up of a protest potential, that is more willing to enter conflict situations than the pioneers foreseen as the inhabitants of the temporary settlement. The Nest! pioneers will be co-owners, which also increases and stimulates a responsible behavior.

Does the Temporary Settlement have an Ideology?

The question about ideology is often asked in regard to what is required of inhabitants that are interested in moving to the temporary settlement. Do they need to commit to a communal way of living? Are there expectations and demands regarding the amount of time and engagement they invest in the temporary settlement?

The answer is very simple: no.

There is no mandatory idealism, no ideals to sign up for or participation commitments required to live in the temporary settlement. The Nest! offers opportunities that are taken on, because they link to self interests. Participation in the projects and activities of the Nest! is voluntary and will happen to the degree that it can be linked to personal interests. For many the temporary settlement will simply mean an affordable place to live, a good balance between low price and acceptable quality. For others there will be other aspects involved that attract their interest and participation: income generating opportunities, entrepreneurial opportunities, saving opportunities, education and knowledge building opportunities, creative opportunities, opportunities to take initiative, voice opinions and take influence, opportunities to meet and interact with others, opportunities to experience community. Often even motivations that seem more "ideological", like "making a difference" or "contributing to society" might very well be the wrapping of a self interest, like adventure, having fun, meeting people, or being where the action is.

Nonetheless the temporary settlement will have social effects. These are the consequence of these self interests, the result of people following their inclinations and priorities. This can be demonstrated by the example of the Mother Centers. Participants in Mother Centers are attracted to the project, not because they want to contribute to the social cohesion in the neighborhood, or to the integration of migrants, but simply because they are looking for an inexpensive cup of coffee in an environment that welcomes children. Their self interest is that they feel isolated and are looking for communication and contacts, or they want to lower their family expenses by finding cheap second hand clothes or toys. This self interest is a perfectly valid reason for attending. In fact the first person who goes to a Mother Center in order to integrate or contribute to social cohesion has yet to be found. Still, the effects of participation and activities in a project like the Mother Centers is a strengthening of the social fabric of the neighborhood, bridging diversity and bringing more social interaction and social bonding into the neighborhood.

What stays in the new Neighborhood, after the Temporary Settlement is gone?

The temporary settlement is planned as a way to jump start social life and community in the newly developed neighborhood. Do the elements of liveliness, presence, social cohesion and interaction collapse, when the temporary settlement is gone, or what are the lasting effects in the new neighborhood?

To a certain extent the sparkle and the magic, will be gone once the temporary settlement is dismantled. That is no drama, because by that time it has played its role in bringing life to the new development.

Still, not all is gone with the pioneers, simply because some pioneers will stay in the neighborhood, and because of the experience and products the project leaves behind.

The projects like the Mother Center, the International Garden and the Neighborhood Academy have good chances to be taken over into the permanent settlement. Participation in these projects is open to all. They are attractive also to the inhabitants of the newly developed settlement as well as to adjacent neighborhoods.

Some of the service businesses might also be successful and flourish to the extent that they are consolidated and strong enough to continue business on another location after the temporary settlement is over. Through the events and activities over the time period of the temporary settlement, many neighbors of the new settlement will have gotten to know each other and social networks will have been established in the neighborhood.

Besides of the permanent neighborhood being exposed to the Nest!, a number of the pioneers will also remain in the permanent neighborhood. They will take along the Nest! experience as they move into one of the self commissioned houses or the rental houses in the neighborhood. This way they transfer the community experience, the spirit and social networks built up in the temporary settlement to the permanent neighborhood.

Finally, there is the learning experience of the Nest! that remains. That in the end is the major accomplishment of the Nest!. During its existence it will generate a body of knowledge that is being put in practice on the spot, in the plan developed by the settlement, including a permanent housing project, which will reflect the learning experience in built form. The Nest! will shape the concept of a learning city as a permanent product.

VII) Key Recommendations for Municipalities

The Nest! Approach to “Gentrification” and “Mixed Neighborhoods”

Attracting well-to-do inhabitants is a strategy for physical and social sustainability in urban planning. The Nest! takes this approach one step further. For a period of time, groups of people are attracted, who under different circumstances could become part of a problem. In the Nest! they are considered “well-to-do inhabitants” in regard to the qualities required in that environment, notably to socially jump-start the neighborhood. “Mixing” is looked at in terms of attracting a mix of population in urban neighborhoods with different and exchangeable assets.

Supporting pioneer projects brings “gentrification” in a longer term. Innovations started by pioneers often develop into quite successful and established projects, resulting in a rise of status and real estate value of the area. This approach involves the following requirements:

Recommendations:

- ✓ Municipalities should create and support as integral part of their spatial planning pockets of experimentation in their cities, “hot-houses” of creativity and innovation, that are allowed to operate with less rules and regulations than usual.
- ✓ Temporary settlements should be enabled and initiated wherever time and space gaps in urban planning allows for them.
- ✓ Risk takers and creative people need to be actively approached and involved, their contributions officially recognized and acknowledged.
- ✓ Municipalities should support and create enabling conditions for a local economy, for small shops and small-scale businesses.
- ✓ Municipalities should support neighborhood initiatives like Mother Centers, International Gardens, Neighborhood Academies.
- ✓ Municipalities need to invest in ways to make use of the talents and skills of migrants and refugees.
- ✓ Opportunities and incentives need to be created to supplement welfare subsidies with paid work in the community.

- ✓ Inhabitants of temporary settlements need to stay inscribed for social housing while living in temporary housing and be encouraged to move on, when the market for social housing opens up.
- ✓ Temporary housing should have addresses, in order to allow the receiving of rental subsidy.

Inhabitants as Urban Developers

Next to the municipality and commercial developers cities need to be developed by citizens. The “users” of housing and cities are an important but neglected resource for urban development. This resource can be accessed by supporting enabling conditions for the development of self-help and citizen involvement. This involves allowing more space for inhabitants to provide for their own needs and develop their own solutions. It also requires equitable partnerships with community initiatives in spatial planning. This is not a question of friendly intentions and non-committal hearings and forums, or one-time consultations. This is a process that implies structural and long-term participation and commitment of inhabitants, which includes a re-balancing of influence and decision making, as well as the flow of resources and power.

Such an approach involves the following requirements:

Recommendations:

- ✓ Municipal regulations need to allow for the direct involvement of the users in municipal decision making, especially in the first stages of urban planning. Participation in decision making should include the allocation of resources.
- ✓ Supportive infrastructures like childcare, transportation, peer exchanges, or leadership support systems need to be part of involving residents in municipal planning.
- ✓ Capacity building trainings in partnering skills need to be offered to all stakeholders in the process of participatory urban development.
- ✓ Outside facilitation should be hired to accompany partnership building processes between mainstream and grassroots stakeholders in urban planning.
- ✓ Direct funding titles for self-help initiatives need to be established, independent of established welfare organizations, housing corporations or state and municipal agencies.
- ✓ Municipalities need to invest in finding ways to accredit and certify knowledge derived from everyday experience and informal learning settings.
- ✓ Community education needs to be recognized and resourced as a sector in its own right.
- ✓ Monitoring, evaluation and audit mechanisms and indicators on the success of involving inhabitants in municipal policies and on the responsiveness of municipal policies to inhabitant priorities need to be established.

Two Phase Process towards Implementation

The Nest! approach is targeted towards engaging inhabitant participation in community development and urban planning. This is a phased process. In the first phase an intermediary agency is necessary to initiate the project. Tasks of the intermediary organization is to identify a location, as well as to identify and engage development partners and pioneers for the temporary settlement.

The intermediary agency has an important role in the initiating stage of the Nest! Project. It acts as a facilitator of the process and as a focal point in developing a network of contacts and co-operations to implement the project. The result of this initial phase is the

creation of an organizational structure, composed of the pioneer inhabitants of the foreseen temporary settlement and their partners. After an outside “scaffolding organization” supported the pioneer organization to get established, the normal project management cycle can be run by them. The pioneer organization negotiates the setting up of a temporary settlement and manages its legal, economic and administrative functions.

Transferability

This book describes a case study targeted at a specific municipality. The Nest! approach, however, can be used and adapted to suit the local conditions anywhere. It is a methodology rather than a project for a specific location.

Part V: Executive Summary

"We sell houses, but people are buying homes" (Thom Dieben, Dieben & Meyer
Communication Consultants, Arnhem)

Overview

The book "Nesting Communities – Temporality and Community Building as part of Urban Development" consists of five parts:

In **part I** (Chapter 1) of the book we introduce you to the general concept of temporary settlements as integral part of urban development.

Structural Analysis

In part II (Chapters 2 – 5) we give a structural analysis of current development processes and show how the temporary settlement can answer to many of the bottlenecks and challenges in urban development.

We describe the current players in the field, their interests and assets, and the challenges they face. We identify the obstacles to innovation, the logic behind them and how they can be addressed. We show how new protagonists can be attracted as new players and what they can contribute. We lay out where interests and resources can be linked to create win-win situations and how development can unfold as respectful collaboration between inhabitants and institutional partners. Finally we describe the role community education and bottom up knowledge building can play in the process.

Shifting the social/physical balance more in favor of social aspects (less capital input, larger human input) through players who normally are not involved in city development enhances urban livability and creates competitive advantages while also improving governance by transforming municipalities into "learning cities".

The Temporary Settlement

In **part III** (Chapters 6 –12) we develop the idea of the temporary settlement in four aspects. The physical, the economic, the social, and the legal, together constituting the Nest!.

We analyse existing temporary units on the market that meet the requirements of being low cost, allowing a basic standard of comfort and being both easy to set up as well as to dismantle. We design a local economy that develops an exchange system between the temporary settlement and the new neighborhood, creating opportunities for new groups to make economic use of their resources and facilitates. We describe how social best practices can contribute to creating a an environment conducive to community building and social cohesion.

And finally we show how the temporary settlement can be fit into the existing legal structures.

Summary and Conclusions

In **part IV** we draw conclusions and give recommendations. And in part V we give an executive summary

Part I: Building Communities

“To make a neighborhood you must assure social development before laying bricks” (Bert Geurtz, Arnhem Municipal Council Member, 29.10.03)

Chapter 1: A Bird’s Eye View of the Nest!

In this chapter we give a general introduction and describe how the concept of temporary settlements can change the way urban development is done.

Goal: Reconciling the Social and the Physical in Urban Planning

Planners and developers look at urban development mainly in terms of investments and as designing, building and selling houses. Social cohesion and community are hardly part of the process. With the Nest! **mine**¹⁰⁷ has developed an approach to urban planning where building community is the key. The Nest! aims at reconciling the social and the physical in urban planning by designing community building as integral part of urban planning and social cohesion as integral part of economic development.

A common criticism of newly built settlements is that they are beautiful, but dead. It often takes a lot of time before facilities and services are in place and even then, residents of newly built settlements often do not invest much in their surroundings. They tend to be double earners spending a lot of their time outside the neighborhood. What these neighborhoods often lack is time and presence. In order for neighborhoods to be safe and lively, they depend on people who are able and willing to invest time, energy, creativity and their social networks locally.

Method: Jump-Starting social Cohesion

The solution we suggest is to develop temporary settlements as an integral part of urban planning, inhabited by people who are looking for cheap accommodation, and have time, creativity and entrepreneurial energy to invest (students, starter families, artists, migrants, refugees). This is done by making use of the time and space slots available in development projects, when the old use has discontinued, but building has not started yet. Creating cheap accommodation and experimental space in the form of a temporary settlement, is a way to attract and mobilize the pioneer energy of groups whose potential is unused or underused in current society.

Artists, creative people, people from other cultures often have a rich reservoir of cultural and educational capital. People with low income develop strong social networks to compensate for the lack of monetary resources. Different kinds of people in different phases of their lives have different things to offer each other and their neighborhoods. Urban development cycles show that neighborhoods deteriorate when there is a lack of diversity in the forms of assets that residents have to invest in their neighborhood. When urban planning focuses on creating structures and opportunities to enable exchange between different groups of residents with different needs and different assets, it creates favorable conditions for resident involvement and resident investment that can counteract neighborhood deterioration.

Temporary settlements offer people whose access to the labor market is blocked, despite the fact that they have many competencies, an opening to develop their entrepreneurial skills. They can create a future for themselves, by offering neighborhood based services to the often double earner residents of the newly developing neighborhood.

Bottlenecks in new neighborhoods can be the ground for new job opportunities, problems in old neighborhoods can be reduced by offering new locations for pioneer energy, innovation and expansion.

¹⁰⁷ **mine** is the International Network of Mother Centers, a grassroots community based movement originating in Germany that has meanwhile spread into 15 countries.

Vibrant and complete neighborhoods develop when inhabitants represent a diversity of different forms of capital (time, money, social networks, creativity, culture, presence, care), when there are local structures in place that enable their exchange, when there are social, physical and economic places to meet and interact and when there is room for experimentation, creativity and self-initiative. Temporary settlements create all of the above. Temporary settlements offer a way for the social structure of newly built neighborhoods to precede the physical structure, so that people can find and build on an established community when they settle in a new neighborhood. They bring life, diversity and cultural richness to new developments.

The Neighborhood Academy, the Mother Center and an International Garden are further elements built into the Nest! design to stimulate resident involvement, strengthen social cohesion and keep up the pioneer spirit as the settlement evolves into permanence.

Creating new Investment Opportunities on the Housing Market

Temporary settlements not only address the issue of social cohesion and quality of life in urban neighborhoods, they also provide an answer to bottlenecks on the housing market. The housing market needs expansion on both ends – low cost accommodation as well as high quality accommodation in high quality locations with high quality services. The Nest! scores on both ends. Temporary settlements provide much needed cheap accommodation. They also develop neighborhoods with a high quality living environment, including services, a good social atmosphere, cultural events and entertainment, a hip image as well as educational and knowledge building opportunities. Altogether a package which can be described as “luscious living”.

Benefits

Temporary Settlements bring benefits on many levels:

- They introduce low-cost housing options on the housing market.
- They attract highly motivated and resourceful pioneers.
- They help access unused skills, talents and entrepreneurial energy.
- They offer services to newly built settlements.
- They create social cohesion and lively communities.
- They improve the attractiveness and raise the real estate value of neighborhoods.
- They create new business and investment opportunities.
- They contribute to integration by treating diversity as a resource.
- They generate bottom up knowledge building and expertise and integrate it into urban development.
- They improve local governance by stimulating stimulate citizen participation

Temporary Settlements can be applied anywhere

In this book we outline the general concept of temporary settlements. In order to make the concept concrete, it has been applied in a case study to four development locations in the municipality of Arnhem, The Netherlands¹⁰⁸, described as case scenarios in chapter 13.. The Nest! concept can, however, be transferred to any municipality interested in adjusting the social/physical balance in urban development and integrating bottom up citizen participation into urban planning.

¹⁰⁸ A special focus has been put on the Vinex location Schuytgraaf in Arnhem. Vinex locations are areas in the Netherlands indicated by a 1995 planning law for city extensions.

Part II: Towards respectful Collaboration – Introducing a new Player into City Development

“New forms of governance involve learning processes as well as unlearning processes”.
(Gina Giavarra, Coordinator Dutch Mother Center Network)

Chapter 2: Answers to Changing Urban Environments

This chapter analyses the basic structures of urban planning (organization, market, social structures and time) in their relevance to the idea of temporary settlements. Current challenges in urban development are defined and ways are described how the Nest! can contribute to solutions.

Innovations in the Housing Sector

The Vinex town extension program Schuytgraaf is an example of a settlement being developed by a public-private partnership that needs to find ways to bridge the sometimes contrasting intentions of public interest and market forces. The temporary settlement can offer ways of reducing this tension by widening the scope and bringing in new players and investors into the field.

At present government quality standards make it impossible to produce up to standard housing for low prices except for housing corporations who can do so only because of capital reserves due to previous governmental subsidies. This leads to a lack of housing opportunities for starters on the housing market and to overpricing of low quality housing. The temporary settlement is a way of opening up a new segment at the lower end of the housing market that can lead out of this bottleneck.

The change of policy in the area of construction and urban planning has led to housing corporations being required to develop a more business-like approach in their building organization. This can be complimented by a process that creates market compatible business opportunities for market forces in the “social sector”.

New Opportunities for Investors

Stagnation both on the rental market as well as in the sale of ownership houses currently point to a need for new strategies and a change of direction that is better adapted to customer groups currently leading market demand: starters, single earners, older people interested in serviced housing. The Nest! is a possible scenario to access new markets and opens up new investment opportunities in market-segments that offer opportunities to get the housing sector going again. Like banks have discovered the economic saving power of the poor, the housing sector needs to discover the market of less expensive housing.

Creating spatial Profile and Identity

The temporary settlement can contribute to spatial identification and identity building. Buying a house is buying a home, is shaping a big part of ones life. The image and the social climate of the environment plays an important role in decisions on where to buy a house.

New neighborhoods are challenged by issues of uniformity and anonymity, which tend to make them less attractive living environments.

The temporary settlement contributes to a higher attractiveness of newly built settlements:

- by attracting creative and resourceful pioneers (the “creative class”)
- by installing services and small businesses/shops

- by initiating cultural events
- by creating animated meeting places
- by facilitating resident participation and involvement
- by giving the settlement a “hip” profile and the image of being the place to be

Temporality as an Asset

Temporary settlements are a contemporary answer to contemporary challenges in the built environment. There is a growing discrepancy in the world of architecture between the speed of change in use and the slower realization of the built environment, that has nevertheless to house the changed functions. Temporary settlements offer an instrument to adapt to demographic and life-style changes with more immediacy and flexibility.

By making use of the in between gaps in time and space in the planning of new neighborhoods for transient settlements, temporality becomes an instrument both to lesson the pressure on the housing market, as well as to answer to issues of community building and social cohesion in new neighborhoods.

Chapter 3: Pioneer Motivations

This chapter introduces pioneers as a resource and as new players on the field of urban development and describes the motives why they can be mobilized by temporary settlements.

Urban development cycles show that neighborhoods deteriorate when there is a lack of diversity in the forms of assets that residents have to invest in their neighborhood. Temporary settlements attracting pioneers with an abundance of social, cultural and symbolic resources can contribute to a more balanced situation

Temporary settlements function because they appeal to a variety of groups in society with pioneer energy. This chapter describes the motivation of pioneers and why they are attracted to the Nest!

Temporary settlements are interesting to pioneers because they offer cheap housing, opportunities to build up a future, opportunities to be creative and do things yourself as well as a lively and inspiring environment and a sense of community. Groups for whom these motives apply include students, artists, migrants, starter families as well as seniors.

Temporary settlements offer experimental and entrepreneurial space and as such are a way to tap into unused talent and resources and to re-channel blocked energy and potential into society. Pioneers have a lot to offer: time, presence, talent, skills, energy, services, art, creativity, ideas and involvement.

A Village in the City

Next to groups like students, artists, migrants and starter families, seniors can also be attracted to temporary settlements, on a part-time basis as an animated place to spend the summer or as a place to find care services embedded in neighborhood structures. What seems to constitute ideal neighborhoods in many people’s minds and dreams is something one could call “a village in the city”, something temporary settlements are well equipped to provide.

The settlement as perceived by the different pioneer groups needs to provide enough space for privacy as well as to allow for the freedom to choose the degree of involvement in community activities according to individual interests and preferences. One of the attractions of the temporary settlement is that it is conceived as part of the “real world” and realized inside regular margins, not as an utopia with few links to overall society.

Chapter 4: Knowledge from the bottom up

By providing favorable conditions and experimental space for pioneer energy, temporary settlements are a way to access skill potentials and knowledge resources in society. In this chapter we describe how this aspect of temporary settlements can be more systematically organized and can be made productive for urban development and governance. This is accomplished with the Neighborhood Academy.

Generating Community Involvement in Urban Development

The Neighborhood Academy is centered around a learning and knowledge building methodology that taps into informal knowledge sources and generates community participation and community involvement. The Neighborhood Academy organizes the temporary settlement as a "learning community". It creates a process for engaging the local community in the development of the new neighborhood and enters the perspectives, skills and expertise of residents into local planning and governance. The Academy both has an internally oriented task of structuring internal communication and community building as well as an external task of partnership building and linking to public decision making.

Knowledge from inside and outside the Settlement

The Neighborhood Academy structures the process in the temporary settlement in a way that both brings out the existing knowledge in the settlement as well as brings in required know-how to fill in knowledge gaps. The knowledge resources that exist in the community are identified through tools like skills audits and portfolio approaches that document and validate prior learning, including informal learning, as well as mapping out special interests and talents.

Inhabitants are mobilized to participate in the development of the neighborhood through a vision building process and the facilitation of neighborhood planning groups in the academy. Trainings in leadership development and conflict resolution as well as specific skill trainings in building and construction, business and marketing, and in urban planning support the process. International knowledge and expertise from self-help and grassroots groups to support the Nest! process as a whole as well as the participation of women is contributed by Grassroots Women's International Academies (GWIA)¹⁰⁹, a peer learning strategy that has been internationally successful in up-scaling and validating grassroots best practices in community development and community participation.

The Alchemy of Communities

When collectively evaluating the lessons learned in every situation, even difficulties and failures become productive learning opportunities, become the basic alchemy of communities, weaving gold out of obstacles and challenges.

The Neighborhood Academy organizes regular community evaluation sessions on developments in the neighborhood and offers opportunities for the community to interact and connect around learning and vision building.

Developing accreditation systems for the learning happening in the settlement, further adds value to the experience, and supports pioneers to emerge with new skills and credentials, that take account of their involvement in participative community development. This involves building up partnerships with institutions inside the formal education system.

Participation and Partnership Building as a Skill to be learned

An important function of the Neighborhood Academy involves highlighting partnering skills between different sectors of society as an art to be learned and hosting various forms of dialogues, round-tables and skills trainings around participation and partnership

¹⁰⁹ see www.gwia.net

building. These workshops and debates between different stakeholders are designed to orient public authorities and mainstream players towards learning a new role when engaging in partnership with civil society as well as supporting grassroots groups in widening their understanding and perspective on partnership opportunities. This involves identifying the win-win interfaces and creating a culture of respectful collaboration on both sides.

Harvesting the Lessons learned

The Academy will be central in organizing a documentation process of the temporary settlement, in order to extract the learnings involved and analyze conditions for transfer and replication. Documentation will take three forms:

A writing class for residents, in which they learn to write up their experiences in the settlement in a story telling format as well as a journaling class, in which inhabitants learn a journaling process to self reflect on their learning process: what has changed in their life, in their thinking, in their scope of action, in their mentality, in their way of relating to issues in the settlement.

Thirdly external evaluations will be organized in cooperation with universities and external agencies to develop indicators of success of the project in terms of community empowerment, sustainable partnerships and urban development.

Chapter 5: Creating Community Participation

Bringing in the local Experts

Building new partnerships in local governance has become more necessary than ever. Major external conditions have changed and have led to a crisis in urban development. Globalization, privatization and reduced governmental budgets require an adapted organizational response, a regrouping into a new balance of forces. In our opinion this can be done and the crisis overcome by widening the existing partnerships, specifically by including the local community as a partner in planning homes and cities the advantages of centralizing and globalizing development are limited by the "human factor". Global technical organizations create by definition standardized solutions which are often ill-fitted to the requirements of social organisms like neighborhoods that depend on non-physical elements like atmosphere and identity. To bring these elements in new partners have to be involved, that are experts in understanding the needs of the neighborhood. These are most likely to be local.

Typically the billboards and advertisements of developers and real estate agents depict exactly those elements that they as developers and a technically perfect solution cannot provide: people, warmth, community, identity.

The local community can contribute these substantive missing elements, if given space and respect as an acknowledged partner in urban development.

Notions like the 'network society' and 'the creative city' are well under discussion, but have not been matched yet by a networking governance or a creative participatory management process on the level of spatial planning.

Localizing Development

The Nest! is about introducing a new player into urban development: the local community. It applies the concept of "more responsibility and participation of citizens" to the field of urban planning. Rather than building for an abstract 'market' the community develops housing and infrastructure for its own requirements. This obviously has the advantage that the resulting neighborhood fits the needs of its population.

A neighborhood developed by the inhabitants is a very local product. It has a local identity. And whatever the identity is, it is different from standard and different from

other towns. It differs from something that good designers on their own will come up with. Being different is what is needed to attract new inhabitants and keep the existing ones. It is what is needed to sell houses, which is an argument well understood by developers.

Community Building precedes Community Involvement

Community building is an integral part of developing civic participation in urban planning. This is not an extra, but a basic element of the required process. Professionals go through a learning and qualification process before they enter practice. Government goes through a dialogue and consensus building process before plans and programs are implemented. In the case of introducing the local community as a new partner in urban planning, it should not be individuals or single interest groups entering local governance or speaking for civil society. Communities need to go through a participative process of collective vision building and decision making and a transparent process of local accountability in order to be legitimate partners in development.

Generating Enabling Conditions for Community Participation

The Nest! Academy as described in the previous chapter takes an important role in this context by organizing a community building process that generates both the needed knowledge, motivation and vision as well as the consensus building required for residents to play a constructive role in urban development.

The Nest! also facilitates a further element widely recognized as central to mobilizing civic participation, the issue of adapting institutional structures to grassroots culture. Creating equitable and sustainable partnerships with local communities involves changing the professional way of doing things. This is not an easy thing to do as it involves changing "business as usual". The temporary settlement with its participatory community projects and activities creates another kind of culture. By integrating the planning process in the Neighborhood Academy, "community culture" can set the climate and take the lead, thus enabling new forms of procedures, partnerships and participation.

Part III: The Nest! Approach: Good Neighborhoods are not designed – they grow

"I thought of going to Australia for a year, I could go to the Nest! instead!" (Student, Pioneer Study)

The Physical

In the overall concept of the Nest! as described so far, the social and economical aspects are leading. On the level of the individual dwellings in the temporary settlement, however, the physical aspects are extremely important. The housing units are non subsidized and are intended for people who are not very rich. Therefore good design and engineering work is required to get solutions that are as cheap as possible and still offer an acceptable level of quality. (Not cold, not noisy and not too small). We therefore conducted research on how the physical aspects of the temporary settlement can be realized as cheap as possible. The results are put together as an inventory describing the housing units themselves, the services and requirements in regard to the location as well as recommendations regarding scale and the composition of the units.

Chapter 6: The Temporary Settlement

This chapter describes what a temporary settlement can look like, how it can be built and what it will cost. On the one hand the settlement must be built and dismantled in a short period of time, on the other hand, people must be able to live there with an acceptable standard of living. Principle is that no costs for the developers are involved that exclude the benefits.

Good Options for temporary Housing exist

Based on requirements both on the level of target groups (basic comforts for a cheap price) as well as on the level of construction feasibility (foundation requirements, durability, transport) we selected eight suitable housing units and compared them in regard to relevant elements like price, montage and transport, cooking and sanitary facilities, household size, sustainability, and density. On the basis of this analysis the best option are the second hand housing units of the central refugee organization (COA), currently being sold on the market. The other options, however, can also be made use of depending on differences in types of use, length of use, as well as on implementation conditions ranging from immediate urgency to ideal conditions.

Infrastructural conditions for the setting up of the temporary settlement are examined in a case study for the location of the Arnhem town extension project Schuytgraaf. Options in regard to facilities, planning, density, soil quality and roads are described bearing in mind that the costs accrued need to stay under the rental prices that are available currently on the regular housing market .

A win-win Approach

To learn from other experiences a literature survey was conducted of comparable settlement projects. The main distinction of the Nest! is that it is not based so much on values and ideological goals but more on self interest and the development of partnerships with other stakeholders. Inhabitants as well as municipal authorities and private developers get involved in the Nest! out of their own interest, which is a very healthy businesslike basis for collaboration.

There is no selection of residents, inhabitants do not have to adhere to a certain culture or lifestyle, nor are they required to participate in anything. The possibilities that the Nest! offers are not gifts of charity, but opportunities and chances. Nothing more nothing less. Everybody is welcome, if the offered solutions suit them.

Those who make use of the economic and social opportunities the Nest! offers will nevertheless contribute to the liveliness of the settlement. From their perspective this happens more as a 'side effect'.

They do what they do, because they earn with it, because it helps to build up future perspectives and/or because they enjoy it.

The 'side effects', however, are why others are interested in the Nest!. Developers will be able to sell more houses in the new neighborhood. The municipality will appreciate the improved social quality and the better image of the town. Contrary to squats the contributions of the pioneers in the temporary settlement will be recognized, appreciated and validated.

A diverse Population and a wide Range of Options

The settlement offers a large scope of possibilities for participation ranging from full time living in the settlement, to part time participation to simply offering support, and ideas as "friends of the settlement". The option of only living there and paying rent is just as valid as using it as an opportunity to gain a living or to gain experience. Living there only in the summer or not living there at all, but only participating in a certain project or a certain event is also possible. It will not be an "either - or", "all or nothing" choice, there is a lot of middle ground.

In the ideal situation at least half of the pioneers consist of starter families. This includes newly arrived refugees, who may have older children than the Dutch starters, but are nevertheless starters on the housing market. Around 30% of the housing should be units that are suitable for students and other young people, living alone or in groups. Around 10 percent of the settlement could consist of units that are practical for artists, artisans or other creative professions to work at home. The last ten percent of the settlement consists of units for a varied range of "part time pioneers". These can be pensioners or people on holiday enjoying the place as a pleasant and entertaining experience. It can also be people who are in a temporary situation that requires flexible housing, like a divorce, waiting for a new house to finish, or expatriates on home leave. Considering that less than half of the people working in Arnhem actually live there, there could finally be a market for 'pieds a terre' where people can stay during the week instead of commuting.

The Economic

"A local economy reinforces people's identification and bond with the community and the location." (Pascal van Wanroy, Stichting Andergeld)

This section describes the economic workings of the temporary settlement. The Nest! links the economic to the physical as well as to the social aspects of urban construction and urban planning through a local exchange system based on the introduction of a Local Currency. How the Local Currency is backed and linked to Euro is described in Chapter 7. How developing a collective scheme for privately commissioned housing can support the transition of the temporary settlement into the newly developed neighborhood is described in chapter 8.

Opportunities for market forces to get engaged in the Nest! are outlined by introducing new products on the housing market as well as describing interesting investment opportunities.

The focus in this section is on economic tools and processes, that enhance economic empowerment and development for participating groups as well as for the temporary settlement as a whole. The way the Local Economy System and its elements are designed furthermore supports the main objective of the Nest! the enhancement of social cohesion and holistic community development . Civic participation as well as social bonding are integral outcomes of the economic processes described in this section.

Chapter 7: The Local Economy

This chapter outlines a Local Economy model designed for the temporary settlement as a way to optimize use of local resources as well as a way to enhance cooperation and social cohesion by economic means. It looks at ways how economic value can be created by cooperation, as well as how cooperation can be created by economic structures. By mapping and tapping into local skills and assets, local resources can be optimally mobilized. By working together financially, people can make use of their collective economic power, and various new opportunities arise. By keeping local resources inside the local community, capital can be built up locally.

Economic Empowerment through Localisation

Key element is the introduction of a Local Currency linked to the Euro system and backed by hard economic value: housing. The major economic factors in the temporary settlement are housing (the temporary housing as well as the customized privately commissioned housing described in the next chapter) and the creation of close to home

services. Work and services in the temporary settlement are paid in Local Currency, which is accepted as equivalent to "hard currency", since it can be used to pay for rent, which composes a major part of everybody's regular monthly budget.

Euro enters the local economy through services and goods obtained by people outside of the temporary settlement. This can take the form of paying for services like childcare, eldercare, gardening or janitor services, or it can take the form of exchanging Euro for Local Currency, in order to pay for services and goods on site like food and drinks at the community pub or during events, or for a course in the Neighborhood Academy or a purchase at the Mother Center Second-hand Store.

At the end of the project, when the temporary settlement is dissolved and the housing resold, the Local Currency can be exchanged back to Euro.

The different aspects of the local economy (housing, saving, the currency fund, the matching of demand and supply of services) are self managed by different divisions of a Local Economy Organization (LEO), an umbrella organization consisting of different branches, each having its own legal and organizational structure.

The branch dealing with the housing is organized as a cooperative, in which all residents of the temporary settlement as well as those wishing to invest in the project can have shares. Because of the co-operative structure with the settlers as members (as opposed to a privately owned housing company), the settlers gradually become the owners of the Co-op with every bit of the bank loan that is repaid. Indirectly, they become owners of their own houses and thus of the capital that represents.

The Local Currency enables a broader range of work to be valued and paid for than in mainstream economy. In this way everybody living in the temporary settlement can contribute to the local economy.

Everybody has some skill or talent to contribute, thus enhancing their own economic benefit as well as the benefit of the whole community.

Various saving schemes introduced in the temporary settlement allow for individual and collective economic empowerment, thus further enhancing the building of local capital, both economically as well as socially.

The ten Success Elements of the Nest! Economy

The economic productivity of the Local Economy introduced in the Nest! is based on the following elements.

1. People are brought together for exchange and economic activities via housing.
2. Income is generated by opening up new markets both in the area of housing as well as in the area of services.
3. Skills and contributions, that normally do not enter the market are valued and made exchangeable through a local currency.
4. Service niches are created that are not serviced by the formal economy.
5. Accessing, linking and marketing local skills and talents is supported by an intermediate organization.
6. Community building is linked with economic empowerment.
7. Groups that normally only consume are stimulated to save and invest.
8. Economic power is enhanced through cooperative enterprises and collective savings schemes.
9. Resources are kept inside the community.
10. The informal is linked to the formal.

Chapter 8: Privately commissioned Housing

The strategies developed in the Nest! are not only effective during its temporary existence, they also include elements aimed at creating lasting effects beyond the duration of the temporary settlement. This chapter looks at how the temporary settlement can grow roots into the permanent settlement through the development of privately commissioned housing.

Increasing privately commissioned Housing

The Dutch government has taken initiative to expand housing production commissioned by private individuals. As common as this might be in other countries, in The Netherlands it is unusual, expensive and complicated. This chapter goes into some of the reasons why this is so, as well as providing a strategy of how this can be changed.

By nature of the exercise, it should be by private initiative rather than by municipalities to come up with suggestions on how the goal of substantively increasing private commissioning of building can be met. This chapter demonstrates how this challenge to municipal administration can be turned into an opportunity for the temporary settlement, and shows ways how private commissioned building can be realized in town extension programs.

Dividing the Building Process into two Phases

The strategy suggested to upscale private commissioning of housing is by dividing the building process into two phases, a more standardized part where the physical frames and large scaled mechanized works are provided by traditional developers and the more tailor made apartments inside these frames that are provided by the Nest! Housing Coop. This way the private commissioning is only done for the part of the work that is most interesting to develop this way, and traditional developers still access their share of the market.

The Nest Housing Coop described in the previous chapter plays an important intermediary role between the private and commercial developers involved in the process, making it more manageable on both sides.

The traditional developer does not have to deal with a large number of consumer wishes and can still keep a certain volume of work going, and the family wishing to commission their own house can find a corporation specialized on this role, as well as receiving support from a like minded collective.

Multiple Benefits

By organizing the development of privately commissioned housing collectively in the temporary settlement, the Nest! creates benefits on several levels. It creates ways for more families to get closer to their goal of owning a house. It introduces a potent instrument for community building and community involvement. And it provides an economic opening to developers to get more involved in the social aspects of urban construction. Last but not least, finding ways to realize privately commissioned building enhances possibilities that houses will fit peoples wishes more completely.

The privately commissioned building process as described in this chapter offers opportunities to save, to contribute skills and labor, as well as to invest. As such it also constitutes an important part of the local economy and enhances the economic power both of the individual participants as well as of the settlement as a whole.

Growing into Permanence

The privately commissioned housing scheme developed in this chapter constitutes one of the major ways the temporary settlement can grow towards permanence, and the community building experience of the Nest! can be seeded in and rooted down in the permanent settlement. Participants are involved in the temporary settlement before

buying or renting a house in the permanent development. They become the link between the experience of the temporary settlement and the neighborhood that will come afterwards. They bring the community spirit and social networks built up during the temporary settlement to the new neighborhood.

The privately commissioned housing project also constitutes a central part of the participatory urban development process described in chapter 5, where residents evolve as a key player of urban planning.

The Social

“There are three places in our neighborhood that are truly intercultural. The Super-Market, the Mother Center, and the Community Garden.” (Mother Center Male Molle, Harlem)

This section describes the social projects of the Nest!, designed to advance social cohesion and community building. The Mother Center, (Chapter 9) and the International Garden (chapter 10) are organized around interests that connect people across different cultural and social backgrounds.

110 Children are often the first to “break the ice” in a new neighborhood. They are interested in each other regardless of the backgrounds of their families. The “chat over the garden fence” is also proverbial for generating neighborhood contacts.

The Neighborhood Study presented in Chapter 11 describes how the social projects developed in the temporary settlement also meet the needs of the neighboring communities and contribute to integrating the new settlement into the surroundings.

Chapter 9: The Mother Center

One of the social projects in the Nest! is the Mother Center. This chapter describes the model and lays out the elements needed for implementation.

Mother Centers are self managed public spaces in the neighborhood, where mothers and their children meet on a daily basis. The atmosphere is informal. You join by having a cup of coffee in the coffee shop or by a visit to the Mother Center second hand store. Childcare is offered on a drop-in basis for all ages throughout the opening hours of the center. Mother Centers are based on participation. Their motto is that “everybody is good at at least one thing – that they can contribute”. They are places where mothers can relax, focus on their needs and interests, exchange knowledge and experiences with peers, receive personal support, take or give courses, and initiate services like childcare, eldercare, laundry or other household services.

This chapter describes the experience of the Mother Center Movement¹¹¹ and lays out the added value of the Mother Center both to the temporary as well as the permanent settlement and describes the elements needed for implementation.

Mother Centers create Community

¹¹⁰ The Neighborhood Academy, which includes the Grassroots Women’s International Academy (GWIA), described in chapter 4 also offers opportunities to connect across cultural and social differences around skills, vision, story telling, and learning, as well as by getting involved in the process of developing the neighborhood

¹¹¹ Mother Centers are an award winning grassroots self-help movement originating in Germany that have spread into 15 countries. Currently there are over 750 Mother Centers worldwide. See: www.mine.cc

Mother Centers break through anonymous and isolating structures of residential areas, they enhance the quality of life for families and create opportunities for children under kindergarten age to meet and interact. Mother Centers strengthen the parenting skills of families with young children as well as support the reintegration of women into further education and the labor market. They empower women and contribute to gender equality. The centers revitalize neighborhoods and the local culture and strengthen a climate of tolerance and understanding. They develop leadership potential in the community and are incubators for new ideas, innovations and local problem solving.

The Shift from Client to Problem Solver

Welfare institutions and family support programs consistently report that they are generally reaching a very small segment of families. Research conducted by the German Youth Institute portrays that the lack of response to institutional parent education and parent support measures is strongly linked to the institutional atmosphere and the paternalistic and school-like structures many of these programs convey. The Mother Center model takes a different route. Rather than addressing problems and deficiencies and what professionals can do to fix these, the focus turns towards competencies and capacities and what can be done to support the potential of families to help themselves and each other.

Creating enabling Conditions for Self-Help and civic Engagement

Despite or maybe even because of their success on the ground, Mother Centers are a challenge to the professional welfare system and its centralized, bureaucratic and segmented structures. The lessons learned in Mother Centers raise issues of welfare policies and legislation of a larger nature, which can be described as the "political governance paradox" 112.

Recommendations are developed in this chapter on how this paradox can be resolved, which include reforms of social welfare legislation.

Creating direct funding titles for family and community self help initiatives, increasing the margins of tax free remuneration for civic work and creating opportunities and incentives to supplement welfare subsidies with paid work in the community, constitute strategies of a new welfare mix, that can both counteract negative effects of unemployment as well as generate stronger social responsibility, initiative and civic involvement.

Chapter 10: The International Garden

A second social project in the Nest! is the International Garden, a project to initiate both social as well as economic community development. Like the Mother Center the International Garden is also one of the projects with a high chance of being taken over as a community project in the permanent settlement after the temporary settlement is over, since it includes not only the pioneers but integrates from the start participants from the newly developing neighborhood as well as from the adjacent communities.

International Gardens are an award winning project developed in 1995 by Bosnian migrants in Göttingen, Germany. In the gardens, families or individuals are assigned a plot, that they cultivate according to their own wishes and ideas. In addition communal space is reserved for common activities, events and festivities, for a playground for children as well as for a leisure area to sit together. The agreements and 'rules' of managing the garden are collectively discussed and developed.

Sowing the Seeds of Integration

One of the challenges in newly built neighborhoods is how to overcome anonymous

¹¹² Dr. Joyce Hes: Domineren of Faciliteren in: Moedercentra, November 2000

residential structures. The International Gardens are community gardens. They are in the open and thus visible, they constitute animated public space. By participating, or by casually exchanging greetings or gardening tips in passing, residents get to know each other. Even if they do not do any gardening themselves, they can buy the produce or visit one of the festivities and garden events. People in the settlement begin to get faces and names and to become familiar.

Neighborhoods develop through common activities and common experiences. A community garden can provide these. Practical activities with tangible results and benefits for the participants tend to be more successful in engaging residents, than projects that state 'communication' or 'integration' as their explicit goal. Interacting with nature and gardening provide common reference points, a focus for common interests and values, and for the sharing of knowledge and experience, that weave social cohesion and integration.

For participants from the local population the gardens represent opportunities for recreation and social contact, for relaxation, for exposure to cultural variety, getting to know, understand and be at ease with different cultures and traditions, and for learning about gardening and subsistence production.

For refugees and migrants the International Gardens create bridges between the old life and the new. Plants that were familiar at home can be grown in the new earth, thus providing an element of continuity.

Gardening techniques and traditions that are part of the agrarian and cultural heritage can be handed on to the new environment.

Being able to contribute something meaningful, having something to offer are important elements of developing a sense of belonging, of 'having arrived', of taking part in and being part of the new country.

Economic Development

The International Gardens also include strategies for economic development. In addition to the economic benefit participating families have by harvesting food for their own consumption, the project involves a lot of potential for the creation of small businesses:

for instance a catering service for churches, schools, municipal agencies, and private parties, a repair shop for garden tools and agricultural machines, a gardening service to take care of the gardens of double income families in the new settlement, or marketing strategies for selling plants and produce in the area.

The chapter describes what elements are needed to implement an International Garden and sketches a possible scenario.

Chapter 11: The Neighborhood Study

The neighborhood study was conducted as a case study, targeted at the town extension site Schuytgraaf and examines the profile of the adjacent communities Elderveld, De Laar and the village Driel.

Elderveld and De Laar are middle class communities built in the seventies that are showing signs of their age. The attitude towards the new settlement is rather skeptical. There is some concern that the new settlement will attract the more affluent part of the communities to move to Schuytgraaf, bringing in an influx of low-income families from the Arnhem "problem neighborhoods" to fill the vacated houses. There is a fear that this will cause social problems and a social decline of the neighborhoods. The communities also fear the increase in traffic to be expected with over 6000 new dwellings in Schuytgraaf, which can only be reached by one road. Congestions and bothersome traffic of people seeking sneak routes through the communities are anticipated.

Driel is a village with a strong community. They fear that the new settlement could destroy their village atmosphere as well as the beauty of their surroundings.

Serving neighboring Communities

Schuytgraaf could counteract its negative image in the surrounding communities by creating services targeted at the gaps in the neighboring communities, so that the new settlement can be perceived as a benefit and enrichment to the region. What is mainly missing in the surrounding neighborhoods of Schuytgraaf are facilities and activities for the youth and better shopping opportunities. Creating an enabling environment for the development of small businesses and investment in community building projects that radiate beyond Schuytgraaf are vital strategies of socially integrating the new settlement into the environment. This applies both in regard to the current situation in the adjacent neighborhoods, as well as in regard to the anticipated difficulties when a new population with less income moves to the neighboring communities in the wake of current inhabitants moving to Schuytgraaf.

The projects and activities foreseen in the temporary settlement like the Mother Center, the International Garden and the Neighborhood Academy seem well equipped to support social integration and social engagement. The temporary settlement will offer many attractions and events for young people as well as opportunities to get involved and apply own ideas and talents. Additional services like transport services for instance, which are now lacking for the elderly, can be made available by pioneer businesses.

Turning Problems into Assets

From the perspective of the temporary settlement many issues of the neighboring communities can be seen as assets. The unoccupied youth, that is currently perceived as a nuisance causing noise and trouble on the streets, can form a big reservoir of time, energy and creativity when engaged in a productive and constructive way.

The temporary settlement is also well equipped to mobilize the participation of the migrant population of the adjacent communities, that so far does not take part in neighborhood activities.

Though the neighborhood study presented in this chapter examines a local case, the experience described is global. People fear change. Developments of new settlements need to be accompanied by socially integrative measures and strategies, involving the surrounding communities.

The Legal

"Innovation often happens at the fringes of society. The challenge to all levels of society is to create change while playing by the rules." Jaqueline van Loon, Director of the Refugee Center, Amsterdam

Chapter 12: Finding Space for Innovation

This chapter looks at rules and regulations concerning building and spatial planning and concerning migration policies. The regulations on building and construction are an important factor to take into consideration for the realization of temporary settlements. Migration legislation effects a potential group of pioneers in the temporary settlement and forms the background for integration and diversity issues, which is one of the areas to which temporary settlements can contribute solutions.

Laws tend to avoid the unwanted rather than stimulating the wanted. In the case of building regulations this tends to stifle production. In the case of migration regulations almost no attention is given to the question of how to make use of the skills and

capacities of the migrants and refugees that despite the legal limitations do enter the country.

Ways out of paradoxical legal Settings

In this chapter we develop solutions for bottlenecks and paradoxical realities in these two areas both within the existing regulations as well as by widening their margins. Ways are described how the temporary settlement can fit into the regulatory requirements.

Using existing buildings for the purposes of temporary settlements, that are already licensed but hard to rent out is a way to avoid complicated procedures, wherever such buildings are found. In areas that are to be newly developed and built, we suggest the introduction of temporary licenses as a way to create the flexibility required to implement temporary settlements.

In any case it is recommended to collaborate closely with local authorities as well as neighboring communities from the start to avoid appeals and objections and any lengthy legislative procedures.

Concerning the regulations on migration, the current legislation does not succeed fully in its aim of limiting migration but rather has the effect of making existing migration illegal. This leads to threats to public peace, safety and health by creating homelessness and illegal employment as well as to a filling up of scarce prison space with a non criminal population. We suggest to develop temporary working permits for asylum seekers involved in the procedures of a second appeal. Contrary to opinions often voiced, this can contribute to reducing the existing gap between first and second class employment, and to access a much needed labor force in areas like agriculture and care.

Part IV: Conclusions

"Everybody is talking about the social/physical balance, but nobody is doing it" (Marcel Robben, Program manager, City development service, Municipality of Arnhem)

The final section of this book makes the benefits of temporary settlements concrete and summarizes the results. In chapter 13 we illustrate how the Nest! works by laying out four possible applications. In chapter 14 we draw conclusions and formulate recommendations that apply beyond the parameters of the case scenarios to urban planning in general throughout the Netherlands and beyond.

Chapter 13: Case Scenarios – Four Examples of the Nest!

Reading this chapter gives a quick overview and a concrete vision of what the Nest! is all about. Possible implementations of the Nest! are sketched out in four locations of Arnhem, for which development plans exist or have existed. The temporary settlements in these locations are integrated into the four scenarios that the municipality of Arnhem has developed as its vision on the way to 2015. The Nest! scenarios describe how these locations can be developed in tune with the character of the 2015 city vision. In each case, the Nest! is an important additional element and an instrumental vehicle in realizing the vision.

Each case scenario highlights different aspects and elements of the Nest! methodology. Together they give a good idea of how the Nest! works. Going through the exercise of developing implementation scenarios in four different case examples gives a good illustration of the range of possibilities of the Nest! concept. It shows how temporary settlements can become a flexible and powerful instrument of urban planning.

Chapter 14: Results and Recommendations

Although the Nest! idea has been developed as a specified case study aligned to the municipality of Arnhem in the Netherlands, the implications involved are much broader. In this chapter we spell out what processes are stimulated by the Nest!, what benefits arise and what recommendations can be derived. The Nest! relates to key areas of policy making, including new approaches to governance, migration policies, urban planning as well as social and economic development.

Processes stimulated by the Nest! include making cities family friendly, empowering women and integrating generations.

Frequently asked Questions

In this chapter we answer frequently asked questions regarding the Nest! including:

- * What happens to the inhabitants when the temporary settlement is dissolved?
- * Does the temporary settlement have an ideology?
- * What stays in the neighborhood, after the temporary settlement is gone?

And we assemble recommendations for enabling policies on municipal level.

Finally the steps toward implementation of the Nest! are summarized on the level of the initiation phase as well as on the level of transferability to other locations.

ANNEX

I) Who we are

mine (www.mine.cc) is the international network of Mother Centers. Mother Centers are a grassroots self help movement originating in Germany that has spread in two decades into 15 countries. **mine** is a networking structure consolidating the lessons learned from this world-wide movement. It offers technical support in form of trainings, peer learning exchanges and research activities.

Members of **mine** are founders of the Grassroots Women's International Academy (GWIA), gathering grassroots best practices in human settlements from around the world (www.gwia.net)

mine has been accredited as "Best Practice" by UN-Habitat and received the UN-Habitat Dubai International Award 2002 for Best Practices to Improve the Living Environment. This prize was given to **mine** for strengthening the capacity of civil society to revitalize local neighborhoods.

Monika Jaeckel, sociologist, is chair of **mine** and founder of the Mother Center concept. She has worked for almost thirty years as a researcher at the German Youth Institute in Munich (www.dji.de) on issues of community development and family policy. Currently she works as a consultant on community development and social change.

Marieke van Geldermalsen, architect, is project leader of the Nest! study. She has worked fifteen years for governmental agencies on local, regional, national and international levels on issues of urban development. Currently she works as program manager for the strategic unit of the municipality of Arnhem. She also works as independent consultant on issues of a balanced urban development.

II) Contacts

International Gardens:

International Gardens Göttingen, Calsowstr. 1, 37085 Göttingen, Germany, Tel: 49-551-5313787 or 0551-45023, Fax: 49-551-47655, Contact: Tassew Schimeles

Stiftung Interkultur, Daiserstr. 15, RGB, 81371 Munich, Germany, Tel/Fax 49-89-74746030. E mail: info@stiftung-interkultur.de, www.stiftung-interkultur.de, Contact: Christa Müller

Mother Centers:

Mother Centers International Network (**mine**): E Mail: info@mine.cc, www.mine.cc
National Association of Dutch Mother Centers, E Mail: moedercentra@opbouwwerk.nl, www.moedercentra.nl, Contact: Gina Giavarra

German Youth Institute:

Deutsches Jugendinstitut München (DJI) Website: www.dji.de, Contact: Ursula Schindler

Building Buddies in the Netherlands include the following:

www.deregje.nl - De Regie www.primavilla.nl - Prima Villa

www.r4l.nl - Ready 4 living www.terra-traiectum.nl - Terra Traiectum

www.vandiepenadviseurs.nl - Van Diepen adviseurs bij ontwerp en bouw

Mine Nederland
Stichting Andergeld
Quinten
LCO
GEM Schuytgraaf