# Constructible City

**Exploring cooperation among public and private actors in the process of governance of circular CPO constructions in Buiksloterham**

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## Summary

This research deals with cooperation dynamics between public and private actors in the process of governance of circular CPO constructions in Buiksloterham, an area in the northern city district of Amsterdam. The central research question reads:

> *How do public and private actors cooperate in the process of governance of circular CPO constructions in Buiksloterham?*

CPO, standing for Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap (translated: Collective Private Commissioning), is a form of area development in which a collective of private individuals has full supervision in regard to design, plan development and construction of their future house. Since 2008, the municipality of Amsterdam has been allocating land on the basis of sustainability criteria, which concerns CPO constructions in Buiksloterham as well. Current CPO concepts in the area could therefore be understood as an innovative mean in realising a transition towards a circular Buiksloterham; a widely held ambition in order to guarantee a sustainable and liveable Amsterdam. The aim of this research is to gain more insight in the functioning of circular CPO constructions in the area, with a focus on cooperation between actors in the context of transition management. The notion of transition management "views societal change as a result of the interaction between all relevant actors on different societal levels within the context of a changing societal landscape" (Kemp et al. 2007: 80).

In order to answer the central research question, I have conducted twelve semi-structured interviews with actors participating in the development of Kavel 20, one of the parcels in Buiksloterham that is based on a CPO model. Furthermore, I have used several relevant documents and attended meetings on broader developments concerning the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham.

This research shows that public and private actors move in a relationship in which the municipality mainly allocates and self-builders mainly deliver. Private professionals play a coordinating role, primarily within individual CPOs. The relationship between municipality and self-builder is rather vertical or top-down and therefore not an example of the ideal type of transition management. However, the development of Kavel 20 is partly built on co-production or co-evolution between public and private parties, a central aspect of transition management. Self-builders are involved in the development of the parcel from an early stadium. Moreover, they are able to decide quite a lot in regard to design and sustainability measures. Furthermore, there is room for innovation regarding circularity, however within boundaries of time, money and quality standards.

The transition towards a circular Buiksloterham is subject to vast changes. The municipality increasingly pays attention to cooperation and connecting with other involved actors. Furthermore, the continuous trend of CPO projects promises more influence and involvement of citizens regarding their neighbourhood. Including all actors in the circular ambition is crucial and therefore fairly deserves continuing attention, both in research, policy and beyond. Only then, a transition to a circular city will be possible.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Transition management in circular urban development

The city of Amsterdam is becoming more and more crowded (CBS 2013). This issue in combination with climate change raises serious concerns on guaranteeing a sustainable and liveable Amsterdam. Examples of challenges are less vegetation in the city, more carbon dioxide emissions and floods. Urban planning plays an important role in solving such problems. Following Hajer (2014: 11), a transition towards a sustainable city is inevitable, for which a change in governance systems is of importance (Kemp et al. 2012: 78). In this respect, transition management as a form of governance could play a key role. Transition management is a form of governing in which elements such as networks, collective long-term goals, innovation and learning are central (Loorbach 2007: 100).

Here, public-private partnerships come into play. Approaches of collaborative decision-making could be helpful in dealing with issues that often occur in the process of sustainable urban development, such as differences in perspectives of involved actors, unused knowledge, measures that seem ineffective and a lack of commitment among stakeholders. Joint decision-making would lead to mutual understanding of the central problem and therefore a form of addressing this issue (Mayer et al. 2005). This emphasis on cooperation between both public and private actors is in line with current smart city discourse, which is often used in the context of Western European sustainable urban development. According to Nam and Pardo (2011a), a smart city consists of a "combination, connection and integration of systems and infrastructures" (Nam & Pardo 2011a: 186). This includes networks of various actors. As mentioned before, such networks form one of the requirements for a transition towards a sustainable society.

## 1.2 Transformation area Buiksloterham

An area in Amsterdam that is often viewed as the prime example of sustainable urban development in the capital is Buiksloterham in the northern city district. In March of 2015 several public and private actors signed a manifest declaring their commitment to various goals concerning the transition to a circular Buiksloterham. The development of Buiksloterham concerns among other things the recycling of materials, the use of local energy sources, the protection of biodiversity and the securing of health of citizens and animals (Manifest Circulair Buiksloterham 2015).

The area is characterised by a history of heavy industrial activity. Therefore, polluted soil in the area forms one of the challenges in the transition towards a sustainable, circular area of Buiksloterham. In the previous ten to fifteen years, the area has been subject to vast changes. Once, traditional industrial activities dominated the area (Gemeente Amsterdam 2007: 13). Today, the area is considered a brown-field with little industry. This entails an area in which industrial production, activities concerning the development of a knowledge economy, housing opportunities and urban fabrics are combined.

With other words, a mixed-use approach, used by the local government, plays a key role in Buiksloterham. 'Mix to the max' is the motto of the city alderman (Savini & Dembski 2016: 146). Furthermore, one could speak of a development of organic urban development. As a result of the financial crisis in 2008, municipalities in the Netherlands have less financial means. Consequently, these institutions started collaborations with other parties. Such organic urban development entails an emphasis on bottom-up initiatives and a facilitating role for government institutions. Therefore, governments would fulfil a more horizontal role in relation to other stakeholders (De Bruijn & Hoogland 2016: 249).


*Map of Buiksloterham*

These developments could be seen in the light of a discourse of self-organisation and manufactured urban change. Initiatives such as self-building practices are supported by an idea of bottom-up urban transformation and would therefore be an example of future urban development in the city of Amsterdam, presenting Buiksloterham as 'the green utopia' (ibid.: 146). In this line, Buiksloterham could be seen as one of many transition initiatives in which actor networks start or take over new practices, technologies and experiments aimed at the transformation of established non-sustainable routines and perceptions to sustainable alternatives. In this respect, the municipality of Amsterdam, in their decision to invest in the area, pays attention to, among other things, sustainable energy supply, sustainable heating systems and the recycling of construction materials (Savini & Dembski 2016: 53-54). Such sustainability measures are reflected in current policy on self-building practices in the area. An example is the introduction of sustainability criteria demanded by the municipality in regard to self-building projects in Buiksloterham.

### 1.3 Buiksloterham as space for experiment

In the light of transition management, a concept that will be elaborated upon in chapter 2, the area of Buiksloterham is to be understood as a *niche* area. A niche area is considered to be a protective space within broader socio-technical structures; the *regime*. Within a niche there is room for experiment and sustainable transition (Smith & Raven 2012). Such spaces offer possibilities for innovation, but raise questions on governance as well. For example, in regard to the division of roles and mutual expectations among different involved actors.

The idea of a niche is comparable to the concept of the *living lab.* Leminem et al. (2012) describe the living lab as an 'open-innovation network'. A living lab often provides a platform for innovation and research. Therefore, it might function as a think-tank for supporting user-driven innovation practices (Leminen et al. 2012: 7). Buiksloterham as a living lab should stimulate discussions on, among other things, alternative energy supply and water reuse. Moreover, it should stimulate cohesion and social engagement among citizens and innovations among small entrepreneurs (Savini & Dembski 2016: 146).

In correspondence with Mensink et al. (Mensink et al. 2010: 64), Leminem et al. argue that living labs consist of heterogeneous actors (Leminen et al. 2012: 7). The same applies to living lab Buiksloterham, in which various actors are involved. Interaction and the functioning of cooperation between these various actors as part of the broader structure of transition management is a central theme in this research.

### 1.4 Circular CPO constructions

One element in the development of Buiksloterham is the phenomenon of circular self-building practices in the form of CPO constructions. CPO, standing for Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap (translated: Collective Private Commissioning), is a form of area development in which a collective of private individuals has full supervision in regard to design, plan development and construction of the building in question. Allocating land by the municipality on the basis of certain sustainability criteria is rather new, since 2008 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017b), and current CPO constructions could therefore be viewed as an innovative mean in realising the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham. In this case, cooperating actors are local government, future residents and various private professionals, such as project developers, architects and CPO supervisors. One could speak of a public-private partnership that operates within the context of the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham. All actors have a role to play in realising circular CPO constructions in the area. This research deals with questions on governance and cooperation in regard to such constructions as part of the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham. The central research question is:

> *How do public and private actors cooperate in the process of governance of circular CPO constructions in Buiksloterham?*

### 1.5 Structure

In order to answer the research question, I will firstly provide a theoretical framework in chapter 2, focussing on governance theory, operationalising governance as transition management. In chapter 3, I present the methods section. In chapter 4, provide some background information and describe the various perspectives of the actors involved in the studied case. Chapter 5 deals with group dynamics within the several examined CPOs, cooperation between these CPOs and general dynamics of interaction and cooperation between different involved actors. In chapter 6, I aim to understand the CPO construction as a form of governance. Furthermore, I will answer the central research question. Finally, chapter 7 covers a discussion on the conducted research.

# 2. Theoretical framework

## 2.1 Governance of circular urban development

The realisation of a sustainable society requires time. Therefore, *governance* of long-term goals plays an important role in this process. Traditionally, the concept of governance was often used as a synonym for 'government' or 'governing'. However, in the course of time, social scientists have started to use this term in order to study various forms of governing and shifts in these styles. The term refers to a manner of governing which is non-hierarchical. Moreover, non-state actors are involved in decision-making and policymaking processes (Mayntz 2003: 7). After the Second World War and the following period of reconstruction, Western Europe experienced a shift from a top-down controlled interventionist state to a mode of modern governance. This development was triggered by a failure of state-led reform policies. The belief of the state as an effective steering centre gave way for a search for other manners of managing socio-economic development. This resulted in a shift from state to market on the one hand and a shift from government to governance on the other hand (ibid.: 7-8). As suggested earlier, this implied a more bottom-up approach in contrast to the traditional top-down mode of governing.

In the context of circular urban development, the concept is of great relevance. Apart from government institutions, private actors such as businesses, project developers, housing associations and citizens are involved in the process of sustainable urban development (Mees 2016: 1). A top-down approach alone would not be sufficient in managing circular urban development. This becomes visible in Buiksloterham. A main aspect of the development of a circular area of Buiksloterham is the involvement of bottom-up initiatives. In this line, Van Bueren and Ten Heuvelhof (2005) describe the notion of governance as "more cooperative processes of governing, policymaking and decision-making" (Van Bueren & Ten Heuvelhof 2005: 47). Once more, the traditional hierarchical relationship between state authorities and civil society is challenged within the definition of governance. Furthermore, the authors elaborate upon the relationship between governance and institutional change. After all, governance agreements are developed and implemented in an institutional context. Therefore, these arrangements are embedded in a structure of interactions amongst actors and the patterns of either formal (e.g. constitution, regulations) or informal (e.g. traditions, social conventions) rules in which these interactions occur (ibid.: 47). Institutions are maintained through the use of these institutions by many actors and their acting in conformation with the institutional regulations in question (ibid.: 47-48).

When it comes to current policy problems, such as sustainable development, Van Bueren and Ten Heuvelhof argue that such issues are complex, partly because of their poor structures of complicated and rather vague dimensions and relations. Moreover, various administrative levels come into play. An issue such as sustainable urban development is managed on a local, regional, national and international level. Consequently, many different actors and their various interests are involved.

Moreover, the issue is addressed in several arenas in which actors participate and interact on the basis of different rules. This heterogeneous character entails multiple networks, interdependencies and the earlier mentioned diversity in rules and patterns of interaction. Subsequently, governance design might result in highly fragmented forms of decision-making that are unable to achieve fundamental change (Van Bueren & Ten Heuvelhof 2005: 48). This issue of heterogeneity plays a key role in transition management and in cooperation between public and private actors, which will be elaborated upon in section 2.2.

Furthermore, in discussions on governance of social change in urban areas, the concept of the smart city is nearly inevitable. In this respect, Nam and Pardo (2001: 186) mention 'smart governance' as part of the smart city. According to Nam and Pardo (2011a), a smart city consists of a "combination, connection and integration of systems and infrastructures" (Nam & Pardo 2011a: 186). According to the authors, a smart city should be seen as a linked system, a network (Nam & Pardo 2011b: 284). In addition, the authors argue that smart cities entail processes of fundamental change in service delivery referring to the transformation and improvement of services (Nam & Pardo 2011a: 186). In addition, Neirotti et al. (2014) mention the role of smart cities in improving the quality of life of citizens. In this line, Nam & Pardo (2011a: 186) argue that a smart city entails visions for a better future, including smart people, smart environment, smart living, smart economy and smart governance.

### 2.2 Transition management as mode of governance

In this research, governance will be operationalised as *transition management*. Kemp et al. (2007) argue that sustainable development requires fundamental changes in both functional systems and government policy as well as in systems of governance (Kemp et al. 2007: 78). Transitions could be understood as "the transformative change from one dynamic system equilibrium to another one, containing a change in the deep structure of the system." (Grin et al. 2011: 78). The concept of transition management could be understood as a form of governing in which elements such as networks, collective long-term goals, innovation and learning are central (Loorbach 2007: 100). According to Kemp et al., the process of sustainable development entails numerous transitions building on co-evolution of needs, wants, institutions, culture and practices (Kemp et al. 2007: 78). In a narrow sense, the concept of co-evolution could be understood as a process that exists of two evolutionary processes that are intertwined (Van den Bergh & Stagl 2003). However, the authors use the concept in the definition of relative autonomy, stating that human or social processes cannot be understood in an evolutionary manner, because these processes cannot be viewed in a biological sense (Kemp et al. 2007: 80). The authors state that this co-evolution approach is useful in untangling policy and governance issues concerning sustainable development. It would show the lack of adequate tackling of deficiencies in systems underlying continuous problems by current manners of planning and strategizing that would be direct and cumulative (ibid.: 80). In this context, one issue would be the gap between top-down planning and bottom-up incrementalism. In order to connect these two, the authors present the model of transition management.

This form of governance "views societal change as a result of the interaction between all relevant actors on different societal levels within the context of a changing societal landscape" (ibid.: 80). Again, the heterogeneity of actors comes into play.

Loorbach (2010) provides a framework, which is useful in gaining a better understanding of the concept of transition management. Referring to Jessop (1997), Scharpf (1999), Pierre (2000) and Meadowcroft (2005), he mentions an increasing extent of scientific consensus that in order to effectively manage sustainable solutions in society, top-down government steering as well as a liberal free market approach will be insufficient. At the same time, governing social change will not be possible without these forms of management. Building on the work of Héritier (1999), Loorbach explains that new modes of governance are needed in order to seek a solution for lacks of coordination and direction of existing governance networks. Furthermore, these new forms of governance should aim at stimulating the effect of current modes of government and urban planning in increasing long-term societal change (Loorbach 2010: 161). This requires a new balance between, state, market and civil society. Moreover, the role of bottom-up initiatives comes into play again. After all, the new modes of governance that Loorbach is encouraging, should be facilitating informal networks in order to make these work as effective as possible. Consequently, other ideas and agendas are produced. (ibid.: 161).

In the context of pursuing societal change in regard to sustainability, Loorbach points out three necessary points of interests in managing long-term sustainable development. First of all, all actors that are involved in society influence and therefore steer the process of social change. Through the agency of these actors and their mutual interaction, society is shaped. Second, both top-down planning and market forces as well as reflection and network dynamics influence social change. Finally, as mentioned before, governing social change is characterised by experimenting and learning (ibid.: 166).

### 2.3 Public-private partnership; multi-actor approaches in transition management

A relevant aspect of governance is the fading of separations between the public and private domain within governing styles (Stoker 2002: 17). In this respect, the concept of *public-private partnership* is of meaning. In such a partnership, government actors cooperate with private parties in order to develop and carry out public policy (Klijn & Van Twist 2007). The notion of public-private partnership is of relevance in the context of transition management as well, because of its emphasis on multi-actor approaches. In the context of CPO constructions in Buiksloterham, involved actors concern government actors, individual citizens and private professionals, such as project developers and architects. Klijn and Teisman (2000) define public-private partnership as a rather sustainable collaboration between public and private actors in which common products and/or services are developed and in which risks, costs and profits are shared.

Furthermore, Klijn and Van Twist (2007) make a division between two organisational forms of public-private partnership. The authors distinguish a contrast or concession model and a partnership model (Klijn and Van Twist 2007: 3). An important difference between the two is the form of relationship between public and private parties.

Within a contract or concession model, the public actor fulfils a role of supervisor whereas the private party functions as the actor carrying out the assignment in question. A partnership model is characterised by a more horizontal relation in which joint decision-making and the search for connections is central (ibid.: 5). Furthermore, the notion of co-production is of relevance in this respect. In the case of a contract or concession model such production only exists in the initial phase of the cooperation. In a partnership model, co-production covers a longer period of time (ibid.: 4). In this research, I will use co-production as part of the process of co-evolution. Through the co-evolution of needs, wants, institutions, culture and practices, co-production between different parties would be possible.

In this line, approaches of collaborative decision-making could be useful in dealing with issues often occurring in the process of sustainable urban development, such as clashing perspectives of stakeholders, ineffective measures, unused knowledge and a lack of commitment among stakeholders. As mentioned earlier, joint decision-making would lead to mutual understanding of the central problem and therefore a form of addressing this issue (Mayer et al. 2005). Van Bueren et al. (2003) emphasise the role of networks in addressing and solving today's policy problems, because of their complexity. Especially issues concerning health, safety and environment entail great risks both individually and socially, because of their context of uncertainty. According to the authors, decisions concerning such collective action problems can only be dealt with sufficiently through enhancing and strengthening interactions among stakeholders (ibid.: 194).

According to Rotmans (2003: 54), networks that are involved in the managing of a transition towards a sustainable society are coming from various sectors, such as government, corporate life, and civil society. Each of these sectors has key figures. These actors should actively contribute to the process of transition, according to Rotmans. Therefore, there should be room and beneficial conditions for these actors to operate. Furthermore, it is of importance that these key figures develop a mutual vision and working method in order to develop mutual views (ibid.: 54). This refers to the notion of collaborative decision-making, which was discussed in the previous paragraph.

### 2.4 CPO constructions as part of transformation area Buiksloterham

As mentioned before, Buiksloterham is to be considered a transformation area. Previous discussed CPO constructions are part of this transformation. Characteristic for such constructions in Buiksloterham are the related sustainability requirements. As mentioned before, land allocation on the basis of such criteria is rather new and is in line with the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham. Furthermore, area development on the basis of CPO constructions entails cooperation between local government, future residents and various private professionals, such as project developers, architects and CPO supervisors. Governing such a process is far from simplistic. This research deals with governance questions in regard to circular CPO constructions as part of the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham. More specific, this research aims to gain more insight in the functioning of such constructions in the area, with a focus on cooperation between actors.

# 3. Methodology

## 3.1 Research question and operationalisation

The central question in this research is:

> *How do public and private actors cooperate in the process of governance of circular CPO constructions in Buiksloterham?*

In order to delimit my research, I focused on one of the self-build plots in Buiksloterham, namely Kavel (translated: self-build plot) 20. Kavel 20 exists of six CPOs, which I will elaborate upon in chapter 4.

The main involved public actor is Gemeente Amsterdam. The main private actors are self-builders, project developers and CPO supervisors. The latter applies mainly to the phase of preparation in which the CPOs currently find themselves. The groups are standing on the brink of the execution phase in which the role of a CPO supervisor often becomes smaller and the role of contractors, for example, becomes of greater significance.

In order to examine the cooperation among actors, I aimed to disentangle individual motives, visions, interests and needs in the context of the process of developing Kavel 20. Furthermore, I explored what enables or hinders the cooperation between involved actors. This is in line with the idea of co-evolution, which is a significant aspect of transition management. As mentioned before, the theoretical concept of governance is operationalised as transition management, which has been elaborated upon in chapter 2. I aimed to explore the functioning of cooperation among public and private actors in order to gain more insight in CPO constructions as part of the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham and therefore examine what could be learned from current affairs in Buiksloterham for the benefit of broader notions of transition management.

I examined practices of cooperation among various actors within Kavel 20 through asking questions such as ‘What is going well within the cooperation? How come? In what manner is this facilitated?’, ‘What is going less well? How come? What needs do you have in this respect?’ and ‘How do you see the relationship between those involved? To what extent do similarities/differences exist in regard to one’s involvement, motives, visions, needs? What role do these similarities/differences play in the interaction among those involved?’ (see section 9 ‘Annexes’).

## 3.2 Research methods

### *3.2.1 Case study design*

In order to answer the research question, I used a case study; Kavel 20 as part of the area of Buiksloterham. A case offers a starting point in order to eventually provide a concrete answer on the research question. The study of one particular case provides the possibility to gain better understanding of one complex phenomenon (Yin 2014: 4). Furthermore, a case study research implicitly leans on micro-macro relations in social behaviour. Having extensive knowledge about one individual case, Gerring (2007) argues, might be more helpful in understanding social phenomena than gaining superficial knowledge about various cases (Gerring 2007: 1). Studying Kavel 20 enabled me to explore dynamics between different actors cooperating in circular self-building practices in Buiksloterham.

In this context it is of relevance to briefly touch upon the research criterion of external validity. External validity concerns the question whether results could be generalised to other social situations (Bryman 2008: 376). In my research I studied one particular case. Therefore, results of this research will not directly correspond with other CPO constructions in Amsterdam. However, I expect that the findings presented in this research show a certain tendency in broader developments concerning circular self-building practices in Buiksloterham. For example, in regard to group dynamics within CPOs. Furthermore, related procedures maintained by the municipality are part of current policy on land allocation to CPO groups.

### *3.2.2 Semi-structured interviews*

In order to explore the dynamics among involved actors as part of the process of governance of self-build plots in Buiksloterham, I conducted twelve semi-structured interviews. Interviews provide the possibility to gain direct access to the field (Silverman 2011: 166). The method of semi-structured interviewing gives the opportunity to pose directed questions that are useful for answering the research question though leaving room for flexibility (Bryman 2008: 442). After all, I was curious about information that was shared by respondents on own initiative as well.

In order to properly prepare the interviews, I formulated an interview guide which contained relevant interview questions in order to eventually answer my research question.

The interviews with actors of Gemeente Amsterdam were conducted in cooperation with a fellow student-assistant, who solely focussed on the role of the municipality in the process of developing Kavel 20.

During the period of field work, I constantly reflected on the course and the results of the conducted interviews in order to conduct my data as extensively as possible. Furthermore, this enabled me to check previously conducted data with following respondents and thus let respondents reflect on statements of other involved actors, through which I aimed to gain as much insight in the dynamics within and between the various CPO groups and individual actors as possible.

*3.2.3 Documents and involvement Stadslab Buiksloterham*

My thesis research is part of a broader research project, which contains a collaboration between the Centre of Urban Studies of the University of Amsterdam and Stadslab Buiksloterham. The Stadslab (translated: city lab) contains prominent figures within Buiksloterham, such as self-builders, entrepreneurs and a quartermaster. The main goal of the research project is the strengthening, insuring and upscaling of learning processes that occur during the development of Buiksloterham. Therefore, the Stadslab aims to function as a living lab and therefore stimulate the sharing of knowledge, both with external parties as well as with living labs in other transformation areas.

As part of this involvement with Stadslab Buiksloterham, I attended the small business complex New Energy Docks in Buiksloterham once a week for a period of various months during my research project. This provided me with the opportunity to talk with a quartermaster, who is part of one of the CPOs of Kavel 20 as well, and with fellow students who participated in related research. This enabled me to discuss the course of my research on a rather regular basis. Moreover, the involved quartermaster provided me access to the field, which I will elaborate upon in section 3.5.1.

Furthermore, on March 7, I attended a meeting organised by the Stadslab Buiksloterham. The goal of this meeting was to discuss the organisation of an action lab in which various people who are involved in Buiksloterham would periodical gather to share knowledge and experiences on behalf of realising systemic innovation in the area. One of the main discussion points during this meeting was the case of Kavel 20, which was my first introduction of this topic and therefore provided with me with a basic understanding of the case.

In addition, on July 3, I attended a so-called Meet Up, organised by Stadslab Buiksloterham as well. This meeting attracted various people, such as public officials from the municipality, (future) residents of the area and employees of water company Waternet, energy supplier Nuon and the organisation Wasted that carries out various projects to do with recycling. This meeting provided information about current developments in the area, such as an update about the housing project Schoonschip, current activities as part of the municipal programme ‘Circulair Buiksloterham’ and a proposal for a so-called ‘neighbourhood vision’. The latter entails a plan of current residents to preserve and stimulate influence of residents in the development process of Buiksloterham. I attended this meeting to hear about current development in the area. More specific, I attended, because one would discuss recent developments in regard to the joint heath cold storage various CPOs of Kavel 20 were working on at that time. However, eventually this topic was not covered during the meeting, since it appeared to be too complicated. As an alternative, I made an appointment with the quartermaster who is involved in Stadslab Buiksloterham as well as in the development of Kavel 20 as a self-builder. She is highly involved in the search for an alternative energy system and is therefore a valuable source of information in regard to this subject.

Finally, I studied several relevant documents to gain more background information These documents mainly contain technical information and information on laws and regulations. The documents contain, among others, the development plan Buiksloterham (Gemeente Amsterdam 2009), the so-called 'Menu card climate neutral self-building projects' (Gemeente Amsterdam 2012) and the Manifest Circular Buiksloterham (2015). All documents are listed in the bibliography.

Using these documents as background information enabled me to gain more insight in the broader context of the development of Buiksloterham and its characteristic circular self-building practices.

### 3.3 Selection of respondents

In order to gain more insight in the studied case, I aimed to interview as many involved stakeholders per CPO as possible. This would be useful in gaining understanding of one's role and dynamics among involved actors within the broader context of development of self-build plots in Buiksloterham. These would mainly involve employees of Gemeente Amsterdam, self-builders and project developers. In cooperation with fellow project members and through snowball sampling, I eventually recruited twelve respondents. Furthermore, I spoke with another respondent, the quartermaster, various times.

Reflecting on the selection of respondents, it is notable that some difficulties occurred. Often, pragmatic issues resulted in the absence of participation of certain respondents. Especially, private professionals, such as architects and project developers often rejected a request for participation in an interview, because of lack of time. Moreover, several approached professionals never replied, despite of several reminders. Unfortunately, such cases of non-response are often inevitable. Consequences of this lack of respondents with a background in architecture or project development will be elaborated upon in section 3.6.

*Table 1: anonymous list of respondents*

| **Date interview** | **Respondent** |
|---|---|
| May 1, 2017 | Self-builder A |
| May 4, 2017 | Self-builder B |
| May 22, 2017 | Self-builder C |
| May 23, 2017 | Project developer A |
| May 31, 2017 | Government actor A |

| | |
|---|---|
| June 1, 2017 | Self-builder D |
| June 2, 2017 | Government actor B |
| June 12, 2017 | Private advisor A |
| June 13, 2017 | Self-builder E |
| June 13, 2017 | Government actor C |
| June 16, 2017 | Government actor D |
| June 23, 2017 | Government actor E |
| Various moments | Self-builder F |
| **Self-builders: N = 6 \| Government actors: N = 5 \| Private professionals: N = 2 \| Total: N = 13** | |

### 3.4 Method of data analysis

In order to sufficiently analyse the interview data, I used the programme Microsoft Word. This gave me the opportunity to structure codes and memos. Using codes supported me in gaining more insight in mutual relations and patterns within the data. Writing memos helped me to reflect on the coding process. Furthermore, memo writing is useful in gaining insight in appearing patterns, (sub)categories, concepts and themes in the data (Saldaña 2009: 32).

In the course of the data analysis, I mainly focused on individual motives, visons, interests and needs in the context of developing Kavel 20. Furthermore, I explored what enables and hinders the cooperation between involved actors. As mentioned before, this is in line with the idea of co-evolution, which is a significant aspect of transition management.

## 3.5 Process of fieldwork

### *3.5.1 Access to the field*

As mentioned before, my thesis research is part of a broader research project, which contains a collaboration between the Centre of Urban Studies of the University of Amsterdam and Stadslab Buiksloterham. Via a contact person of the Stadslab, I was redirected to my first respondents. Subsequently, through snowball sampling, I received further access to the field.

### *3.5.2 Practical, empirical and methodological obstacles, choices and solutions*

In respect to practical, empirical methodological obstacles, difficulties in regard to respondent selection were already discussed in section 3.3.

In regard to methodological choices, integrity is of great significance. Occasionally, respondents were informed about others who participated in the research. However, I did not share information concerning content with other respondents. In case I let respondents reflect on statements of others, I naturally did not share the name or other information about the respondent who made the statement in question.

Furthermore, I aimed to steer as little as possible during interviews. Moreover, I did not pose suggestive questions in order to avoid biases. However, in some cases I did steer the conversation in order to avoid digression of relevant themes in regard to my research.

## 3.6 Reflection; research criteria and role as a researcher

### *3.6.1 Representativeness*

On behalf of this research, I interviewed twelve respondents who are actively involved with Kavel 20. On average, I spoke to every respondent for an hour. I mainly interviewed self-builders and government actors. However, I spoke with two private professionals as well. I think that the interviews provided me with a good overview of the dynamics between actors within Kavel 20. The interview data replenished each other and showed similarities. Furthermore, I had the opportunity to let respondents reflect on statements of other interviewees. In addition, I spoke with a fellow project member who is involved in one of the CPOs several times. I consider her my thirteenth respondent.

Nevertheless, I unfortunately did not manage to speak to self-builders of two out of the six CPOs. Moreover, I did not interview as many private professionals, mainly architects and project developers, as I had planned in advance. As already discussed in section 3.3, most private professionals rejected a request or never replied. Since there are, in comparison to self-builders, not that many private professionals involved in the development of Kavel 20, such rejections led to a minimal group of potential respondents in this category.

However, as mentioned before, I think that I gained a sufficient overview of dynamics of cooperation between the relevant parties in regard to Kavel 20. As mentioned before, the interview data replenished each other and showed similarities.

*3.6.2 Reliability and replication*

The criterion of reliability concerns the question to what extent a measure of a concept is consistent (ibid.: 31). Since I conducted semi-structured interviews, I have used a similar interview guide during every interview. Naturally, questions were slightly specified on a case to case basis in order to fit various respondent groups. Furthermore, it is to expected that if this research would be repeated, including the use of the current interview guide, results would not substantially differ, since the formulated questions could be considered concrete and clear.

This notion of repeatability of a research project concerns the criterion of replication (ibid.: 32). In respect to the used case, researching dynamics in the process of developing Kavel 20 a second time would be possible. This could be done in a retrospective manner. However, it entails a case which is dynamic through which mutual relations between actors are constantly moving. This could result in deviated result in the case of a second study.

*3.6.3 Role as a researcher*

During my bachelor thesis, I researched a public-private partnership in the context of multifunctional, sustainable roofs in the city of Amsterdam. Both the dynamics of such a partnership and the context of sustainable urban development caught my interest. Therefore, I preferred to further explore this theme during my master thesis. Meanwhile, my supervisor was involved in a research project that dealt with such questions. Consequently, I received the opportunity to be part of this research project.

When it comes to my personal background, I doubt the extent of influence of this aspect on the research project. I have not experienced great differences between my respondents and myself. Therefore, it was relatively easy to communicate with the participants of the research and consequently receive relevant information.

# 4. Background and perspectives of involved actors

*In this chapter, the CPO model is explained. Furthermore, some background information on the formation of Kavel 20 is provided. Finally, the diversity of perspectives among involved actors is illustrated.*

## 4.1 The CPO model

Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap (translated: Collective Private Commissioning) is a form of area development in which a collective of private individuals has full supervision in regard to design and plan development of a construction project. Simultaneously, the group is responsible for possible risks. Furthermore, one or a few members of the construction group could be indicated as representatives of the group (Gemeente Amsterdam 2015b: 6-7). This mainly plays a role in contact with other involved parties such as government institutions.

It is common for a CPO initiative to follow certain steps. A common phasing for a CPO trajectory is (Zelfbouw in Nederland 2017) :

1. *Preparation phase*: phase in which the project is prepared with respect to content and in which the option of land reservations for the construction group is realised
2. *Design phase*: phase in which the construction plan is realised and in which the purchase agreement is closed
3. *Construction preparation phase*: phase in which the environmental permit is requested, construction is prepared and parcels are distributed
4. *Execution phase*: phase in which construction is carried out

In general, stakeholders in CPO constructions are private individuals (future residents), architects, contractors and government institutions. The CPOs of Kavel 20 are currently in the construction preparation phase.

In 2008, the municipality of Amsterdam started with allocating land to CPOs and individual self-builders on the basis of certain sustainability criteria in order to contribute to the general sustainability ambition of the local government. In this respect, the municipality presents various instruments in order to achieve this ambition (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017a). These instruments are free advice on energy, the design of public space, mobility, financing, and, as discussed, land allocation. Kavel 20 is an example of this issue of land allocation on the basis of sustainability criteria, which will be elaborated upon in the following section.

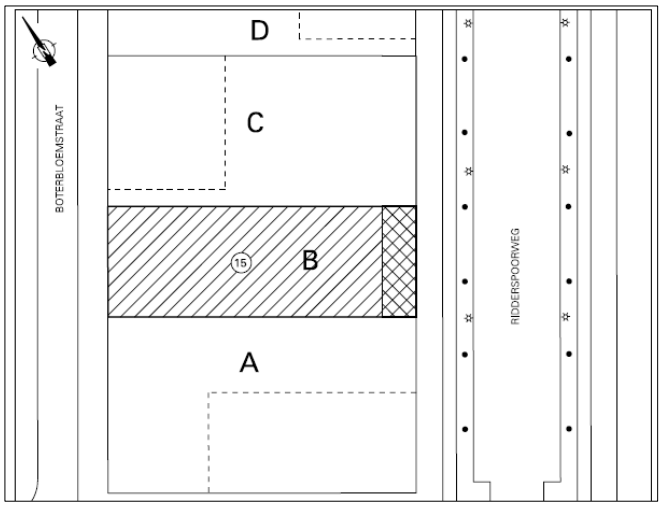
### 4.2 Formation of Kavel 20

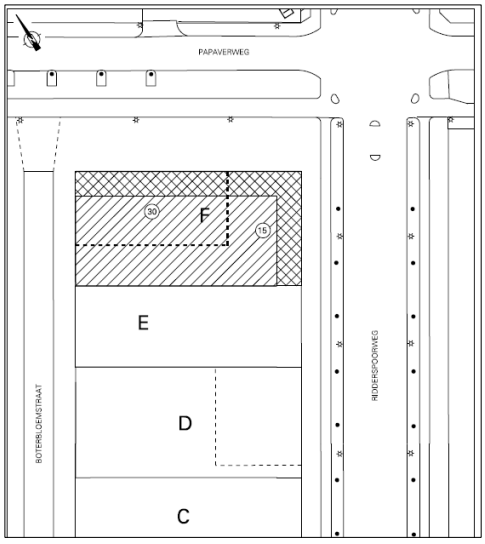
Kavel 20 exists of six CPOs. Applicants for the plots were judged on the basis of, among other things, the extent of sustainability of their building plans (Bosman 2011: 22-23). This entailed, for example, the choice of materials, such as FSC wood or the use of roof vegetation. Government actor B explains the formal public selection procedure of the CPOs of Kavel 20, which is gradually outlined in the table below.

*Example of possible result of Kavel 20*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | Several construction groups register |
| 2 | Lottery via notary resulting in three competing construction groups per parcel |
| 3 | Construction groups write motivation + two members of each group, the initiator and a regular member, are interviewed by the municipality |
| 4 | One group is selected per parcel |
| 5 | Chosen groups write an action plan |
| 6 | Option agreement |
| 7 | Provisional design and definite design |
| 8 | Ground lease offer |
| 9 | Environmental permit |
| 10 | Start construction |

A drawing of Kavel 20 is to be found below.



An example of the possible outcome of, in this case, CPO 20F is to be seen below.

**4.3 Perspectives of involved actors**

The main actors that are involved in the current phase of the development of Kavel 20 are the municipality of Amsterdam, self-builders, project developers, architects and CPO supervisors. Most self-builders do not have previous experience with the process of self-building. It becomes clear that different actors have become involved in the development of Kavel 20 in different manners. Naturally, they have different perspectives on the development of Kavel 20. These will be expanded upon in the following sections.

*4.3.1 Municipality*

The municipality has set several goals in regard to the development of Buiksloterham, focusing on energy, waste and material flows, water, ecosystems and natural capital, sustainable mobility, diversity and liveability, local economy, culture, health and safety (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017a). The 'Manifest Circulair Buiksloterham', which was signed by the municipality as well, enumerates several of these goals. These entail, among other things, the recycling of materials on a high level, the stimulation of biodiversity through human activity, health and wellbeing of humans and animals and the sharing of collected data and experiences whenever possible (Manifest Circulair Buiksloterham 2015: 4).

Municipal actors featuring in this research have a rather long working history within the municipality of Amsterdam. Government actor D explains how the development of Buiksloterham is currently organised within the municipality of Amsterdam. Roughly, four levels could be distinguished. Government actor D is part of a project team 'Development Buiksloterham' as well as in charge of the Programme 'Circulair Buiksloterham'.

Official principal or project director of the project team is alderman Eric van der Burg (VVD). The project team exists of several working groups that subsequently exist of various sub workgroups. In order to integrate the circular ambition in every aspect of the development of the area, the Programme 'Circulair Buiksloterham' was initiated in April of 2017. This programme is connected to every part of the municipal organisation that concerns the development of Buiksloterham and the related circular ambition.

> *"With this programme, everything we do, whether it is formulating a new vision or the renewal of the development plan, we will be developing large parcels soon, some sort of a plan has to be made. Basic principles et cetera, land allocation, tendering, the design of public space. For all those aspects, we want to include the task [transition to a circular Buiksloterham]."* – government actor D

Other municipal actors who participated in this research are a project manager, an advisor specialised in sustainability issues, a city planner and a so-called *gebiedsmakelaar* (roughly translated: area broker). These actors are all involved in the area of Buiksloterham. Apart from the *gebiedsmakelaar*, the interviewees are direct colleagues and focus on the area development of Buiksloterham. The function of the *gebiedsmakelaar* is characterised by a great diversity of tasks. However, a key aspect is to fulfil a connecting role between citizen and government. Government actor A, who fulfils this task, is involved in the areas Buiksloterham and NDSM-werf. However, during the interview with this respondent, it turned out that he is not involved in the process of developing Kavel 20. However, he recognises the wish of some self-builders to experience more engagement of the municipality. Bureaucratic obstacles remain a source of discontent for citizens in general. Government actor A proposes a so-called *klantmanager* (translated: customer manager) for self-builders. In the context of work, education and participation, citizens of Amsterdam have the possibility to receive one-on-one counselling by the municipality carried out by a *klantmanager*. This could, in government actor A's view, be applied to the process of self-building in the city as well.

In order to contribute to a circular Buiksloterham, the municipality emphasises that cooperation with other parties in the area, such as citizens and companies, is essential.

> *"Then there is the existing city in Buiksloterham. We want to examine companies that are currently operating in the area. We want to see how we can involve current parties in the area and see how something can start happening at those places where nothing is happening yet."* – government actor D

The subject of cooperation will be elaborated upon in section 5.3.

In regard to CPO constructions, government actor B explained that these constructions were initially stimulated by the municipality mainly out of necessity, because of the financial crisis that hit in 2008.

> *"At first, self-building practise started somehow out of necessity. The first self-builder started here at the Bosrankstraat in 2010, 2011. We were in the midst of the crisis. Actually, no one was interested in Buiksloterham. That counted for the entire city of course. Then there was the idea; there are still private individuals who have money and some of them want to pay for a house. Why would we not offer that possibility?"* – government actor B

Eventually, other reasons came in to play. Various government actors state that CPO constructions could be a motor for social cohesion.

> *"When you build a house in a neighbourhood yourself, you instantly become very involved in this neighbourhood. […]. These people know each other very well. They are organised together. Some sort of a community one could say."* – government actor B

When it comes to affinity of residents with the circular ambition of the municipality concerning Buiksloterham, government actor D draws a difference between self-builders on the one hand and future residents of Buiksloterham who might not participate in such a process on the other hand.

> *"Sometimes it almost goes automatically. In that case, there are self-builders or CPO groups who are already engaged with Buiksloterham. However, in a while, with the development of larger, new projects there will be another type of resident who perhaps is not interested in that at all. Well, we will not force it, but it is the reality. We will think about what that would mean."* – government actor D

In this line of the municipality's vision on the (future) residents of the area, several government actors stress the importance of social cohesion and involvement of residents in the neighbourhood once more. Government actor D argues that the municipality more or less expects from residents that they take into account the circular ambition of the area. In other words, the local government makes an appeal to active citizenship among residents of Buiksloterham.

*"So we will not only develop sustainable buildings. […]. We aim to, we will think about who will be living there and will they be doing something with the ambition?"* – government actor D

Incidentally, it is of relevance to note the different perspectives of government actors in regard to the relationship between municipality and self-builders. Some government actors are mainly responsible for and therefore concerned with the controlling of formal rules. Others fulfil a function that is primarily aimed at connecting all parties involved in the broader development of Buiksloterham. This results in a difference between actors' perspectives where some have a more business-like perspective whereas others hold a more collaborative view in regard to the relationship between municipality and self-builders.

### *4.3.2 Self-builders*

Self-builders have become involved in the process in various manners. Several self-builders subscribed for a construction group that would become involved in Kavel 20 without already knowing other members. Self-builder D took part in a construction group that previously applied for another project. However, they were eliminated by lottery. The group decided to stay together and subscribe for Kavel 20. Self-builder B registered for several construction groups and was subsequently approached by an architect to become part of a construction group involved in the project of Kavel 20.

*"Basically, we are all people who did not know each other before, but the architects we hired, arranged an information meeting and told us, 'these are our plans and we would love to participate in this project. If you are interested, you could form a group, subscribe and hire use'." – self-builder B*

Self-builder C tells a special story. She is the ex-partner of one of the architects involved in Kavel 20.

*"I became part of this group, because I am the ex of one of the architects who is involved in the project. They already had some sort of an apartment. It was actually owned by the other architect, but when this happened in our relationship they said 'it would actually be ideal if you would be living there, since those houses are near each other'. So that way and then the construction group agreed upon it."* – self-builder C

Future residents of Kavel 20 have various personal motives for participating in the development of Kavel 20. Reasons for joining the project are relatively low costs, the possibility of participating in designing one's own house, the aspect of sustainability and the attractiveness of the neighbourhood and its 'unfinished' character.

In respect to expected low costs, several self-builders argue that realising a house within a CPO construction would reduce costs, because self-builders are the supervisors themselves. Therefore, one is not paying an intermediary.

When it comes to influencing the design of one's house, one of the involved residents explains that common houses are often designed according to certain conventions that do not always concords with one's needs and wishes.

> *"In the case of other houses, I always instantly see 'this I would do absolutely different'. For example, rooms that are too small or a bathroom which is placed somewhere of which I think, if you would place that differently and somewhat smaller, there would be more living space. Or if you would merge rooms, you would have a multifunction space in which you have more freedom of movement."*– self-builder B

As mentioned several times before, the designs of the various CPOs were judged on the basis of, among other things, various sustainability criteria set by the municipality. It becomes clear that the issue of sustainability is of importance to all interviewed residents. However, the extent of importance differs per actor. Some residents argue that the issue of sustainability is indeed one of the reasons why they joined the project. However, the issue is not a priority. Feasibility of the entire process comes first in this respect. Nevertheless, some residents are more driven to stimulate a form of building that is as sustainable as possible. Self-builder E states that she indeed has affinity with sustainable issues and that she is certainly willing to pay a bit more if that results in more sustainable options in the development of her future home.

> *"I am willing to pay more if its leads to the highest possible result in terms of sustainability. I did not know that of myself. Actually, I have always been living in an environmental conscious manner, but sometimes it is about money versus principles. Now, I have some margin in my budget."* – self-builder E

At the same time, being part of the development of Kavel 20 functions as a tool to set an example.

> *"I do it not only for myself, it feels as an opportunity to realise this, maybe to set an example as well. I notice this in my environment. People really connect with it, 'gee, that you are doing this'."* - self-builder E

Self-builders C and D point out that they do indeed have affinity with the issue of sustainability. However, they do not consider themselves rather radical in this sense.

They would not be considered activists or forerunner in this respect.

Self-builder B points out that the entire process entails constant tension between the extent of sustainability of the project and its feasibility. In order to manage this tension, regular meetings and discussions are required.

In a more social cohesive context, self-builder C notes that she very much values the cooperation with fellow CPO members in designing the CPO as a whole. In a more literal manner, she values the realisation of a common room in order to remain a relation with her neighbours. Various other members of the CPO in question have a more commercial view on the development of the CPO, according to self-builder C. Such discrepancies influence the process of cooperation between individual CPO members, which will be elaborated upon in chapter 5.

*4.3.3 Private professionals*

Private professional A became involved in the development of Kavel 20, because his involvement was requested by previously involved architects.

Private professional B explains that he became involved in the development of Kavel 20 through another CPO project that he was part of.

> *"People often hear of others that we have been involved in certain projects. In that manner, we became involved with Kavel 20 as well; via another CPO project we were supervising. Other times, it starts via colleagues or via internet. We have been known for a rather long time and we are well traceable on the internet if people search for a process supervisor in this subject field."* – private professional B

Private professional A has been part of the field of project development for thirty years. During his previous work on social housing projects he often cooperated with residents. Subsequently, he worked for a housing association during which he noticed that one did not leave much room for residents in certain respects.

> *"As soon as it concerned the market sector one would often say 'in case of the market, you decide and you do so without people involved'. I always thought that was very strange."* – private professional A

Private professional B, who plays a role in one of the CPOs of Kavel 20, has long time experience with the supervision of CPOs. He explains three possible roles that a CPO supervisor could play in the process of self-building. The first is to 'unburden', the second is to supervise and the third is to advise. More generally, a CPO supervisor facilitates qualitative decision-making through, for example, the preparation of meetings, the monitoring of budgets or through advising.

Since all construction groups are CPOs, future residents do have, to a greater or lesser extent, influence on the entire process of developing Kavel 20. Private professional A is the founder of a small company specialised in construction processes in which residents directly participate. It enables, he explains, area development in cooperation with and according to the needs and wishes of future residents.

When it comes to the CPO he is involved with, he names various aspects of importance. First of all, the process should result in unique houses. Second, the creation of a collective garden is of significance for the group. Furthermore, a good balance between price and quality should be secured. Finally, the entire process should be relatively fun and the eventual building should be cherished by its residents and others, the developer states. It is notable that he argues that a cherished building could be considered a sustainable building. An example would be the famous canal houses of Amsterdam. These houses have been part of Amsterdam for centuries and will be for many more centuries in the future.

When it comes to his perspective on the role of residents in the development process, he explains that the involvement of residents is of importance to him. As mentioned before, he already questioned the lack of involvement of residents in many projects carried out by, for example, the housing corporation he previously worked for. In this context, he wondered why one would not involve residents themselves. Therefore, it would be possible to deliver custom work. This relates to, among other things, his emphasis on the importance of a cherished building. The assumption could be made that in case a future resident is involved in the development process of one's future house from the start, this house will better correlate with one's wishes and needs and would therefore be a more cherished building.

When asked about aspects of importance in the development process, private professional B states that the atmosphere in the group is very important to him. Furthermore, he notes that cooperation with other parties is of great significance. This issue will be expanded upon in section 5.3.

### 4.4 Conclusion

Overall, it becomes clear that current networks have been formed in different manners. The composition of the several groups is often based on coincidence. Nevertheless, in general CPO members seem to get along surprisingly well.

In respect to the various perspectives of involved actors, certain discrepancies become clear, both within actor groups and between different groups of actors. In regard to the latter, the results show that the municipality holds a more long term, large scale perspective on the development of Buiksloterham, whereas self-builders mainly focus on the development of Kavel 20 and in particular one's own CPO. Private professionals mainly function as supporters of self-builders.

The notion of social cohesion seems to be of importance to all actors involved. Self-builders often feel solidarity with their group and their neighbourhood including its circular ambition, although some future residents tend to focus more on the feasibility of the project and the reduction of costs.

Government actors state that being part of an intensive project such as a CPO would lead to social cohesion within the CPO groups and consequently to residents who are engaging in their neighbourhood. This would result in higher involvement of residents in the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham.

# 5. From building bridges to building houses

*In this chapter, cooperation between involved actors in the development of Kavel 20 is explored. Group dynamics within the several CPOs are described. Furthermore, patterns of interaction and cooperation among the CPOs of Kavel 20 are examined. Finally, the functioning of cooperation between public and private actors involved in the development of Kavel 20 is discussed.*

## 5.1 Group dynamics

The interview data shows that the extent of social cohesion within the various CPOs is rather high. Several residents state that members of their group could be considered involved in the process. To nuance this notion, if one is part of a process such as the process of developing one's own house within a CPO model, it is inevitable that one is involved in the process. After all, decisions in regard to this development need to be made by all CPO members. One's extent of involvement has direct consequences for one's own house. Moreover, it is fair to assume that the type of person that starts with such an intensive and challenging project could be considered a relatively active person who tends to show initiative.

Furthermore the social relations within the group are generally rather good. In case of conflicts, either residents themselves solve these through discussion or a CPO supervisor functions as a mediator in the conflict. In this respect, the roles of private professionals A and B are rather similar, although one is a project developer whereas the other works as a CPO supervisor. Private professional B, who has been supervising CPOs for a few decades, explains that his involvement could imply three things. As mentioned before, possible roles are to 'unburden', to supervise or to advise. He emphasises that it is of great importance that his function includes neutrality and reliability in respect to the CPO group in question. This could, for example, play a role in possible conflict situations.

Self-builder E describes a difference between the pioneers of the group and residents who became involved in a later stadium. Residents of the first hour, according to self-builder E, tend to be less flexible towards changes in the planning of the process in contrast to others. However, self-builder E argues, plans do never entirely correlate with eventual reality. This difference is to be understood in a broader context of group dynamics in which there is constant discussion and negotiation about all aspects of the process, which was already mentioned in chapter 4. Even though such discussions might lead to mutual irritations or disadvantages for certain CPO members, self-builder D states that he enjoys the dynamics of cooperating with others.

> *"I think it is very interesting. On forehand, you never know what to expect. As an artist I often work with interaction and people, I love that."* – self-builder D

The complexity and unpredictability of group dynamics such as occurring in CPO constructions could be an interesting experience for members. Since most members are 'laypersons' in the field of self-building, especially the beginning of the process entails a lot of searching and exploring. Both concerning content (e.g. judicial or technical facets) and in regard to mutual relationships within a CPO.

Self-builder C is one of the few future residents with previous experience regarding the process of self-building. However, this concerned individual self-building and she therefore did not work within a CPO construction. She states that taking part in a CPO this time is a whole different experience. Individual freedom of movement in decision-making is relatively low in this respect.

> *"Well that is very different, in a group. The group decision is not necessarily my decision. Therefore, you should really compromise. Issues should be put to the vote. You need to accept the chosen standpoint."* – self-builder C

Self-builder D provides an illustration of the impact of the broader group on personal wishes in regard to his future house.

> *"I envisioned a high space through which I would be able to do a lot with the room division. Well, now that is simply not the case. The idea was rejected very soon in the project. It was just not possible, since I am one of a few who wanted a high space. […]. In the case of just one house that would become very expensive."* – self-builder D

In this context of group decision-making, self-builder C argues that differences in opinions do not necessarily have to be an obstacle in the process. It could be a fruitful source of discussion, which she considers interesting and instructive. Self-builder B states that the cooperation and communication within his group goes surprisingly well. Since the project concerns one's own living space as well as large amounts of money, he expected more excessive conflicts.

> *"That could lead to some firm conflicts and there have been some conflicts indeed, but not in the sense of people yelling and pulling each other over the table."* – self-builder B

In this line, self-builder E notes that well-functioning of the group requires time. In order to communicate well, one should get to know each other first.

> *"I joined last summer. If I compare the situation back then with the situation now. The relations are more balanced now. People communicate differently. If you do not know each other so well yet, misunderstandings occur. Now, everyone understands each other better."* – self-builder E

### 5.2 Interaction and cooperation among the CPOs of Kavel 20

It becomes clear that there is relatively little contact between residents of the different CPOs. Opinions about this lack of mutual contact between residents differ. Various self-builders argue that they are simply too busy with their own CPO to, in addition, focus on the development of Kavel 20 as a whole. Others, such as self-builder B and E, state that it is a missed chance to design Kavel 20 in a more integral manner and to seek for better connections with the neighbourhood. Furthermore, tighter relations among the various CPOs of Kavel 20 could stimulate better consideration of each other's position. Self-builder B illustrates an event.

> *"What I expected, but that is not happening very well yet, is the correspondence between CPOs. Last minute, we have seen changes in the design of CPO X. Changes that have quite a lot of impact on us. They are situated at the south, high residential tower, we will have limited light. We heard about their depositary two months ago. We did not know anything about that before. It will be thirteen meters high, near our garden."* – self-builder B

According to self-builder B, the municipality could have played a role in this affair. This issue will be discussed in the following section.

### 5.3 Cooperation among involved actors

Overall, cooperation between involved actors is going well. However, it becomes clear that mutual expectations do not always correlate, especially when it comes to one's role. This applies mainly to the relationship between municipality and self-builders. It becomes clear that some self-builders expect a rather accompanying role of the municipality.

> *"There is little informal contact initiated by the municipality, which is wished though. It would show engagement, it would generate trust."* – self-builder A

An example of this quest for supervision of the municipality is the affair concerning the construction of a depositary illustrated earlier. In the opinion of self-builder B, the municipality could have played a role in this affair. In this case, building the depository is allowed within the formal regulative framework set by the government.

However, the government could have played a steering or perhaps more mediating role, according to self-builder B.

> *"There is a supervisor for the entire parcel. This supervisor could keep an eye on such issues, 'keep in mind'. That did not happen. They are allowed to maintain. There has not been any pressure."* – self-builder B

However, government actor B argues that the task of solving such conflict is the task of CPO members themselves.

> *"We give certain rules to the CPOs. If they obey these rules, we cannot say, 'neighbour CPO' experiences trouble, you do obey to the rules, but adjust your plans anyways. […]. Well they should really solve it themselves. That is just it. We cannot force it and well, mediating, they should mainly do it themselves."* – government actor B

Yet, government actor E argues that the municipality indeed played a role in the matter. He describes a mediating role, stating that he gave several suggestions in regard to the design in order to reach a sense of compromise.

This example illustrates the sometimes occurring tensions between actors, in particular between self-builders and government actors. Moreover, it shows that information within the municipal organisation does not always reach every relevant government actor involved in the development of Kavel 20. This is in line with the rather classical, hierarchical, fragmented organisational structure that still characterises the municipality. Several government actors confirm this. At the same time, various government actors argue that the transition towards a circular city requires another form of organisational structure. It would require a network organisation that is capable of acting faster in regard to societal developments (Spoelstra 2017).

In this respect, the realisation of the Programme 'Circulair Buiksloterham' is an important development within the municipal organisation. This programme is a step towards a less fragmented organisation. As briefly mentioned before, the programme was initiated in April of 2017 and aims to connect every part of the municipal organisation that concerns the development of Buiksloterham and the related circular ambition. Furthermore, as part of the programme, government actors actively seek cooperation with other parties involved in this development. Therefore, the municipality is heading in the direction of a network organisation and would therefore be better capable of playing an active, valuable role in the transition towards a circular city.

However, such internal, new developments are not always visible for self-builders. Various self-builders claim that the municipality does not support, or even puts a brake on innovation in the field of urban circularity.

Nonetheless, the discussed programme pays relatively much attention to reform, both in regard to the internal organisation as well as in regard to issues to do with urban circularity.

When it comes to the relationship between self-builders and municipality, it is arguable that mutual expectations are not always clear. The case of the depositary shows that some self-builders expect the municipality to be a supervising actor, whereas municipal actors seem to view and fulfil their role in a more business-like manner, which filters through the previous quotes as well.

> *"The formal role of the municipality is, you allocate land, adjust a parcel and a self-builder. The self-builder needs to deliver the performances set in the contract. That applies to CPO groups as well. That is a rather clear line. The municipality allocates land, the person who buys that land, obeys the preconditions that come with it."* – government actor C

At the same time, government actor D illustrates a picture of a community in which everyone has a role in developing Buiksloterham. By calling the network of people involved in this development a 'community', she emphasises the importance of cooperation and the notion of 'doing it together'. Moreover, she stresses the role of bottom-up initiatives. It is arguable that she therefore distances the municipality from top-down policy-making. She explicitly holds all actors involved in the area accountable for contributing to the development of the area. However, she argues that the municipality is still searching for the desired division of roles and tasks.

> *"What we say as a municipality is 'we will work on it', but that does not mean, we as a municipality will work on it, no, we will work on it as a community. Everyone has a role. That is a search though, because everyone wants something and we want something as well."* – government actor D

One of the self-builder argues that the municipality could be better visible. In line with the idea of a community, she argues that she wishes that the municipality would better fulfil a role of pioneer when it comes to achieving the ambitions on circularity.

> *"The municipality could be more visible, for example through visiting people, cooperate in the task of developing a circular Buiksloterham. The municipality as a pioneer. I miss the persuasiveness that the municipality really wants more sustainability."* – self-builder E

This is in accordance with the earlier statement that various self-builders view the municipality as non-innovative.

Private professional A acknowledges this image of a remote municipality. However, he argues that this does not form an obstacle in the case of the CPO in which he is involved. He argues that he has enough experience with such processes. Nevertheless, he notes a few difficulties in the relationship with the local government. He emphasises the amount of regulations that, from his viewpoint, form unnecessary obstacles in the process.

> *"I am currently participating in a project in Delft, but that concerns the inner-city. That is different. In that case, there are many rules, but that makes sense, since it should really connect to the historical city. Here, you could have been building everything. The development plan leaves room for forty meters, I believe, and we have been struggling so much. We even had to ask for permission in order to have this* [points on drawing] *thirty centimetres higher."* – private professional A

In regard to the circular ambition that characterises the development of Kavel 20, he rather bluntly states that this is just very expensive, although it is an appreciative ambition This has consequences for the process and the eventual costs of the building. These costs sometimes limit innovative, circular practices.

Cooperation with architects and CPO members is going well, according to private professional A. He has previous working experience with the architects in question, which is a benefit in the current process he states. In respect to the CPO members, he argues that it is of great importance to be clear in communication and to manage expectations. Furthermore, he states that the group makes all the decisions, however, part of the risks and the coordination of the entire process are the responsibilities of private professional A. The idea of 'unburdening' plays a central role in this respect.

> *"At a given point the government said 'there is project development and there is CPO, in the case of a CPO people should do everything themselves'. Well, fine, but I think that there is a large group of people that wants to be 'unburdened' in complex situations as well."* – private professional A

This notion of 'unburdening' comes into play during the conversation with private professional B as well. As mentioned earlier, professionals such as private professional B could support a CPO group, for example in the facilitation of qualitative decision-making through, for instance, the preparation of meetings, the monitoring of budgets or to advise. Self-builder B perceives the role of a CPO supervisor as valuable.

*"It is rather new for everyone. That is why we have hired a CPO supervisor, which we could have done sooner actually. I think you should do that from the beginning on. There is so much happening. You need someone who says 'hey, this is going to happen, so you should take a look at this."* – self-builder B

In regard to the previous statement that some self-builders prefer a more involved government, private professional B argues that it is favourable that the municipality does not fulfil an intensive role in facilitating CPO groups. This would result in an ambiguous relationship between municipality and CPO groups. After all, the municipality is the regulating actor who eventually judges plans and designs proposed by the various CPO groups.

When it comes to the role of the municipality as viewed by municipal actors themselves, it becomes clear that this role could be seen as both facilitating and regulating. This results in an interesting tension and a constant search for roles, relations and tasks.

In respect to the facilitating role of the municipality, government actors explain this role as 'making process' through providing structure. Furthermore, the notion is described in terms of supporting, informing and communicating.

*"In that sense, facilitating means supporting. In communication, parties meeting the right people, knowing where to find the right office windows. Imagine, someone want to realise a ground source and needs to apply for a permit. Where do I need to go? It is more about informing, communicating."* – government actor C

At the same time, the local government institution fulfils a regulating role. As explained earlier, the municipality is the actor who eventually judges plans and designs proposed by the various CPO groups. Another example of a more formal role performed by the municipality is the attempt of several self-builders of different CPOs to realise a heat cold storage as a more circular alternative for the connection with so-called Stadswarmte, a central energy grid in Amsterdam. However, despite of several attempts, the initiative failed, among other things because of time pressure, differences in tempo between CPOs and the technical and financial complexity of the project (according to self-builder F). In this respect, municipal actors point out that the local government is open for (innovative) alternatives, for example in the field of energy. However, these alternatives should be of similar or better quality in comparison to the initial plan. In regard to the relationship between government and self-builders in this case, self-builder F states that the main involved municipal actor was initially enthusiastic. However, once time was running out, his attitude became more formal and his advices were, in the eyes of self-builder F, not feasible. Chapter 6 deals with the implications of the dual role municipality as well as with the broader functioning of current cooperation between the various actors involved in the development of Kavel 20.

### 5.4 Conclusion

Overall, it becomes clear that the extent of social cohesion within the several CPOs is generally rather high. Contact between residents of different CPOs is minimal. Opinions about this lack of mutual contact differ among self-builders.

Cooperation between public and private actors in general goes rather well. However, it becomes clear that mutual expectations do not always correlate, especially when it comes to one's role. This applies mainly to the relationship between municipality and self-builders. Self-builders sometimes prefer a more involved local government. Municipal actors seem to view the development of Kavel 20 in a more business-like manner, apart from government actor D who emphasises the idea of Buiksloterham as a community. Moreover, the local government roughly fulfils two discrepant roles. One the one hand, the municipality facilitates the development process through informing, communicating and advising. On the other hand, the municipality is the regulating actor who eventually judges plans and designs proposed by the various CPO groups. This results in a constant search for roles, relations and tasks, a subject that will return in chapter 6.

# 6. Understanding the CPO construction as a form of governance

*In this chapter, the CPO construction is examined in the light of governance theory and, more specific, the study of transition management. First of all, the relationship between top-down and bottom-approaches is discussed in the context of Kavel 20 and its CPO groups. Subsequently, the CPO construction is explored with the use of notions of 'regime' and 'niche' that are often used in transition studies. Furthermore, the role of smart citizens in local circular development is briefly touched upon. Finally, the central research question of this research will be answered, which reads: 'How do public and private actors cooperate in the process of governance of circular CPO constructions in Buiksloterham?'.*

## 6.1 Combining top-down and bottom-up approaches in developing Kavel 20

One of the key aspects in managing long-term sustainable development, according to Loorbach (2010: 166), is the acknowledgement of the influence of all actors that are involved in society on social change. Therefore, all actors steer social change. In respect to Kavel 20, it becomes clear that involved actors embrace such a multi-actor approach. One acknowledges a role for every actor or group of actors involved. In regard to broader developments in Buiksloterham, government actor D uses the term of a 'community', emphasising the importance of networks.

In this line, the relationship between top-down and bottom-up approaches plays a role, which is of relevance in the context of governance. After all, the term refers to a shift from a top-down manner of governing to a more non-hierarchical form of governing that leaves more room for bottom-up initiatives. Consequently, non-state actors are involved in decision-making and policymaking processes (Mayntz 2003: 7). This cooperative character is stressed by Van Bueren and Ten Heuvelhof (2005) as well, since the authors describe governance as "more cooperative processes of governing, policymaking and decision-making" (Van Bueren & Ten Heuvelhof 2005: 47).

When examining the CPO construction in this light, it should be noted that the CPO construction cannot be considered a bottom-initiative itself. However, such a construction has characteristics of a bottom-up imitative. This mainly contains the direct involvement of non-state actors in decision-making processes concerning urban planning. In the case of a CPO model such as Kavel 20, the relationship between top-down and bottom-up governing and decision-making is rather fuzzy. Government actor B describes the dichotomy. When it comes to self-building practices in Buiksloterham, the municipality decides to utilise certain parcels for such practices. Moreover, the local government institution decides what form of self-building practices will take place, for example individual constructions or a CPO model. However, CPO constructions are placed in a bottom-up perspective, since the final user, the future resident, is part of the development process from the start. Therefore, this private actor has relatively much influence on both the process and the result.

*"Self-building is not bottom-up by definition. We decide that there will be a construction group here, so that is top-down one could say. However, I think, if you take a look at such construction groups, the end user, the future resident, immediately sits around the table when it comes to the development of the building."*
– government actor B

Government actor D provides an illustration of the connection between top-down and bottom-up perspectives in the broader context of Buiksloterham. She mentions the sustainable housing project Schoonschip that entails, among other things, developments in regard to smart grid electricity systems. The municipality has connections with a small company specialised in such developments and consequently brings involved developers into contact with this company. Such cooperation forms are central in the governance model that government actor D envisions for Buiksloterham.

*"The arise of and room for such developments, and I think there are many more of them, I think that is what we really want. That it strengthens each other and that parties know where to find one another."*
– government actor D

Whereas this reads as rather facilitating and cooperative, it must be repeated that in the case of self-building practices, the municipality works as a controlling body as well. This dichotomy could be explored in the light of Klijn and Van Twist's (2007) work on public-private partnerships. As described in chapter 2, the authors distinguish two forms of public-private partnership, namely the contract or concession model and the partnership model (Klijn and Van Twist 2007: 3). Differences between these forms become visible in the relationship between involved public and private actors and in the length of co-production between parties (ibid.: 4-5).

In regard to Kavel 20, it is fair to conclude that the municipality is the superintendent in general. Especially in the initial phase of the entire process, the initiative and control is entirely taken by the local government. After all, the municipality is the actor that allocates land and selects construction groups. After the CPOs are selected, the responsibility for the development of the parcel partly shifts towards the various CPOs and its members. CPO members become supervisor of their own CPO. However, the municipality remains overall supervisor and functions as a regulating body in this respect, which implies a rather vertical relationship between local government and self-builders. Therefore, it is arguable that the form of public-private partnership between these two could be associated with the contract or concession model that Klijn and Van Twist (2007) present. However, when focussing on the facilitating function of the municipality, the partnership model could be applied as well. It becomes clear that the search for connections plays indeed a role in the cooperation between actors in Kavel 20.

In this context, it is important to note the difference between, in particular, government actors. The interview data shows that some involved actors are mainly responsible for and therefore concerned with the controlling of formal rules. Others fulfil a function that is primarily aimed at connecting all parties involved in the broader development of Buiksloterham. A typical example of the latter is the programme manager of 'Circular Buiksloterham'. Therefore, the discussed public-private partnership and involved municipal actors could be characterised by aspects of a contract or concession model as well as by facets of a partnership model.

Here, the notion of co-production is of relevance as well. In the case of Kavel 20, co-production between municipality and self-builders covers the entire process; from allocation of land to end result. The process of co-production between self-builders and private professionals differs. A CPO supervisor is mainly involved during the first three phases; the preparation phase, the design phase and the construction preparation phase. Involved project developers are often involved during the entire process. Private professionals such as contractors only come into play during the construction preparation phase and the execution phase. At first sight, the model of Kavel 20 could be seen as partnership model, since it entails cooperation between both self-builders and municipality as well as private professionals. However, especially in regard to the relationship between municipality and self-builders, some side notes should be made.

Most of all, it is fair to state that the municipality is the determining actor in the course of the entire process of developing Kavel 20, as argued earlier. Despite of the actions of the municipality to innovate both in regard to the municipal organisation as well as in regard to a circular Kavel 20 and therefore the transition towards a sustainable city, higher ambitions concerning the latter seem to be dependent on the activities of dedicated activist CPO members. However, developments within the municipal organisation show that the local government is reflecting on its own organisational structure and policy making constructions and aims to better adapt to current and future social issues such as the transition towards a more sustainable city. A prime example is the introduction of the programme 'Circulair Buiksloterham', which has been discussed. Nonetheless, these changes are not always communicated to relevant actors, such as self-builders in Buiksloterham. Moreover, these stakeholders are not involved in this process from the start. This results in miscommunication and a lack of feeling of solidarity among self-builders in regard to the municipality.

The form of managing a public-private partnership has consequences for the extent, form and result of co-creation between parties. This research shows that the municipality plays a prominent role in the development of Kavel 20 and Buiksloterham as a whole. Various self-builders state that they prefer a municipality that would be, in their eyes, more innovative and forging ahead. This concords with the role of Buiksloterham as a niche or living lab in which there is room for learning and experimenting. The expressed desire of self-builders adds to the claim of Spoelstra (2017) that involved parties in the development of a circular Buiksloterham eventually look at the municipality as the actor that should mainly take initiative in this respect.

After all, he argues, this is the actor that is capable of translating changing norms to decisive action (Spoelstra 2017: 48). This shows the challenge that the municipality is facing when it comes to meeting the needs of self-builders and facilitating the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham.

### 6.2 A multi-level perspective: regime, niche and niches in niches

Within transition studies, the concepts of regime and niche play an important role. As mentioned before a niche area is a protective space within the regime; the broader socio-technical structures. A niche creates space within these structures for experiment and sustainable transition (Smith & Raven 2012). As argued before, Buiksloterham could be considered a niche. Moreover, Kavel 20 could be viewed as a niche within a niche. Self-builder F builds on this notion by describing separate CPOs as possible niches in niches in niches. Following this line of reasoning, one could even break the notion of the niche down do individual key figures within the separate CPOs. Niches offer possibilities for innovation, but raise questions on governance structures as well. For example regarding the division of roles and mutual expectations among different involved actors. In this line, self-builder F expresses her concern on the drawback of the great diversity of people and related opinions in Buiksloterham in general and within Kavel 20 and the several CPOs in particular. It remains a search on how to manage these differences.

It becomes clear once more that actors within Kavel 20 struggle with this division of roles and mutual expectations. The constant managing by the municipality in regard to its facilitating as well as regulating role was discussed in the previous section. Its regulating function seems to result in self-builders sometimes feeling to be thrown in at the deep end. Furthermore, one sometimes doubts the willingness of the municipality to really innovate in the area. In this line, the notion of experimenting and learning as part of the niche or living lab is of relevance. As Loorbach argues, experimenting and learning in governing social change is a key aspect in transition management as well (Loorbach 2010: 166). On the basis of the conducted fieldwork, it seems as if there is indeed room for experiment before the contract between CPO and municipality is signed. After all, one could hand in plans of actions and possible designs as experimental as wished. However, once the contract is signed, space for experiment seems to substantially decrease. From this moment on, the process becomes more pragmatic. A tension between time for researching and experimenting on the one hand and contractual obligations implicating deadlines and booking results on the other hand starts to occur. This illustrates the case of the heat cold storage as well.

> *"In regard to Kavel 20, in my view it is fine that many things are being researched, that one is searching for alternatives. However, obviously they should have taken into account the current phase of the development of Kavel 20. If you conduct such a research on forehand, you can say 'we research, so to speak, three or four energy systems, we choose for one' and then you can propose that. However, now you are researching during the formal process in which you should take into account the formal stages as well."* – government actor C

It is fair to conclude that experimenting within Kavel 20 is possible, however within boundaries. Actors pushing those boundaries could be considered key figures in stimulating the transition towards a more circular Kavel 20 and therefore Buiksloterham. This notion of 'key figures' fits into the model of transition management. Rotmans (2003: 54) argues that networks involved in the management of a transition towards a sustainable society are coming from various sectors and include certain key figures.

In the case of Kavel 20, especially certain self-builders could be considered key figures. These are the residents who, according to self-builder F, are the activists in the overall process. This concerns activism in the context of circular development. A good example is the earlier discussed attempt to organise a heat cold storage among several CPOs within Kavel 20.

Apart from self-builders, government actors or private professionals might function as key figures. For example, the manager of the programme 'Circulair Buiksloterham' plays an important role in creating and stimulating networks in the area. Private professionals could play a key role in case a group is not capable of fully organising itself and therefore needs the help of, for example, a CPO supervisor in order to successfully realise the CPO.

### 6.3 The role of *smart citizens* in local circular development

When exploring the functioning of CPO constructions, it is of relevance to take into account the ability of self-organisation within the construction groups. Once self-builders have signed the contract with the municipality, they are supervisor of the entire process. In order to successfully carry out this process, a certain amount of self-organising ability is crucial.

It seems as if the CPOs within Kavel 20 are indeed capable of organising themselves. Government actors confirm this statement. Often, at least a few members have relevant experience and knowledge, either judicial, technical or in the field of local government. In the case of a lack of certain knowledge, members are able to provide themselves with this knowledge through the recruitment of relevant experts, for example a CPO supervisor. In this respect, one's personal network sometimes comes into play. Having a large, relevant personal network could indeed be a benefit in organising a CPO. With other words, people with a lot of social capital might be advantaged in this respect. Further, CPOs divide tasks through the organisation of various working groups or commissions. In general, the division of tasks goes rather organically.

### 6.4 Conclusion

Circular CPO constructions such as demonstrated with the case of Kavel 20, could be understood as a form of governance, more specifically as part of the mode of transition management. I argue that the CPO construction could be viewed as a mean to achieve the widely held ambition of a transition towards a circular area of Buiksloterham.

Within this transition, networks of various actors form a central theme. In this research, the CPO construction is studied as an example of a public-private partnership that deals with the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham.

The central question of this research is:

> *How do public and private actors cooperate in the process of governance of circular CPO constructions in Buiksloterham?*

In general, cooperation between parties is going rather well. However, mutual expectations, roles and tasks are not always clear. Moreover, the premise of co-evolution or co-production among involved parties is praiseworthy, but the case of Kavel 20 shows that this notion is somewhat problematic as well.

Whereas transition management aims to bridge the gap between top-down and bottom-up approaches, it becomes clear that in the case of Kavel 20, the municipality remains the determining party and therefore preserves a rather vertical relationship between government and other actors, such as self-builders. Ambitions concerning circular urban development that go beyond the criteria set by the municipality are hardly achievable, because of the pragmatic aspects of a CPO project. There is room for agency of which key figures are an example. However innovative experimenting and transgressing ambitions on circular urban development are dependent on existing structures and power relations. This challenges the notion of co-evolution or co-production in the context of Kavel 20. It seems as if the manifested production is rather one-sided. The municipality has the upper hand in this respect. This sometimes leaves self-builders feeling rather powerless.

However, the local government is reflecting on its own role and organisation in order to better adapt to current social issues and, more specific, to the wishes and needs of self-builders in Buiksloterham. Various government actors argue that the transition towards a circular city requires another form of organisational structure. It would require a network organisation that is capable of acting faster in regard to societal developments (Spoelstra 2017). As mentioned before, the programme ‘Circulair Buiksloterham’ functions as an example of a more integral organisation. This notion of self-reflection fits into the idea of Buiksloterham as a living lab or a niche in which learning is key.

Nevertheless, such changes are not always visible for other stakeholders, such as self-builders. This, and the sometimes occurring lack of clarity about mutual roles and expectations, show that there is room for improvement in terms of communication between parties. A good attempt would be the presence of two government actors, including the programme manager of ‘Circulair Buiksloterham’, at the Meet Up of July 3 (see section 3.2.3.). This meeting was attended by several self-builders as well. After all, these Meet Up’s have the central goal to connect parties in the area.

Building on these illustrations of discrepancies between municipality and self-builders, several contradictions between these actors could be distinguished. As mentioned before, the municipality presents itself in a rather business-like manner, whereas some self-builders point out that they prefer a more personal, involved government. Furthermore, municipal actors stress that area development is a long term process. Since they are mainly responsible for this process, long term planning and coordinating the overall lead times is crucial.

Extensive experimental projects carried out by self-builders are therefore not always possible. As a result, self-builders sometimes note that deadlines are too tight and space for research and experiment is insufficient. In this respect, the large scale perspective of the municipality conflicts with a more small scale perspective of the various CPOs.

To conclude, the notion of transition management "views societal change as a result of the interaction between all relevant actors on different societal levels within the context of a changing societal landscape" (Kemp et al. 2007: 80). In this light, cooperation between public and private actors in the process of governance of circular CPO constructions in Buiksloterham could be examined. The municipality as main public actor and self-builders as main private actors find themselves in a relationship in which the municipality mainly allocates and self-builders mainly deliver. Private professionals play a coordinating role, primarily within individual CPOs. The relationship between municipality and self-builder is rather vertical or top-down and therefore not an example of the ideal type of transition management. Nevertheless, the development of Kavel 20 is partly built on co-production or co-evolution between public and private parties, which plays a key role in transition management. Self-builders are involved in the development of the parcel from an early stadium. Moreover, they are able to decide quite a lot in regard to design and sustainability measures. Furthermore, there is room for innovation regarding circularity, however within boundaries of time, money and quality standards.

The transition towards a circular Buiksloterham is subject to vast changes. The municipality increasingly pays attention to cooperation and connecting with other involved actors. Furthermore, the continuous trend of CPO projects promises more influence and involvement of citizens in regard to their neighbourhood. Including all actors in the circular ambition is crucial and therefore fairly deserves continuing attention, both in research, policy and beyond. Only then, a transition to a circular city will be possible.

## 7. Discussion

Kavel 20 in Buiksloterham is an illustrative example of transition management in practice. The case of Kavel 20 shows aspects that are characteristic for this type of governing, such as networks, collective long-term goals, innovation and learning. In this respect, the outcomes of this research concord with existing sociological theory on transition management and public-private partnerships. By using these theories in the specific context of circular CPO constructions in Buiksloterham, I aimed to gain more insight in this particular case and therefore gain more understanding of this relatively new phenomenon in the transition towards a more sustainable, circular city of Amsterdam. Hence, I aimed to contribute to the broader body of literature on transition management.

The studied case demonstrates dynamics of cooperation between public and private actors in the context of a shared ambition of developing a circular area of Buiksloterham. The example of Kavel 20 particularly shows the influence of the municipality of Amsterdam and its current organisational structure. It demonstrates how co-production is limited due to discrepant perspectives and responsibilities between actors, such as the long-term perspective of the municipality versus a more short-term objective in the case of self-builders. One of the results is a lack of room for research and experiment by self-builders in respect to innovative circular development, because of the pragmatic aspects of area development.

Looking ahead in terms of future research, it should be noted that this research deals with a specific moment in time. It would be interesting to keep an eye on the developments of circular self-building practices in the context of the transition towards a circular Buiksloterham. For example, it would be interesting to see what implications the now rather new programme ‘Circular Buiksloterham’ might have on cooperation between public and private actors involved in CPO projects in the area and in the broader development in Buiksloterham. Furthermore, it would be valuable to examine how the premise of strong social cohesion evolves in practice, especially once ‘non-self-builder’ residents establish oneself in the neighbourhood. In addition, I did not manage to interview a relatively large amount of private professionals. A more in-depth analysis of their role in the entire process could play a role in future research in order to gain more insight in possible implications of their involvement.

With regard to policy recommendations, I endorse Spoelstra’s (2017) argument that the municipality should carry out a clear vision on circularity in Buiksloterham and Amsterdam in general, and act upon this vision. We have seen that the municipality plays an influential role in the transition and should therefore act decisive. Furthermore, based on the expressed needs of residents, this would lead to more trust and a feeling of direction among citizens. On the basis of the conducted interviews with government actors, it becomes clear that the municipality is able to give more and more direction to their vision and related policy-making. The programme ‘Circular Buiksloterham’ functions as a mean in this respect, emphasising the importance of multi-actor networks and therefore creating more room for joint decision-making and mutual learning, which is essential in successful transition management.

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# 9. Annexes

## 9.1 Interview guide self-builder

**Achtergrond**

1. Wil je iets over jezelf vertellen? Hoe ben je betrokken geraakt bij kavel 20 en deze CPO?

2. Hoe ver zijn jullie in het bouwproces?

**Persoonlijk perspectief**

3. Wat vind je belangrijk in de ontwikkeling van kavel 20/Buiksloterham?

4. Wat heb je zelf nodig om dit te bereiken?

**Samenwerking betrokken actoren**

5. Met wie heb je (voornamelijk) te maken binnen het bouwproces?

6. In welke mate werk je met hen samen?

7. Wat gaat er goed binnen deze samenwerking? Hoe komt dit? Hoe wordt dit gefaciliteerd?

8. Wat gaat er minder goed binnen deze samenwerking? Hoe komt dit? Welke behoeften heb je hierin?

9. Hoe zie je zelf de verhouding tussen betrokkenen? In hoeverre bestaan er overeenkomsten/verschillen in betrokkenheid, motieven, visies, behoeften? Welke rol spelen deze overeenkomsten/verschillen in de interactie/samenwerking tussen betrokkenen?

### 9.2 Interview guide government actor

**Achtergrond**

1. Wil je iets over jezelf vertellen? Hoe ziet jouw functie als [*functie*] er in grote lijnen uit?

2. In hoeverre ben je betrokken bij kavel 20?

**Persoonlijk perspectief**

3. Wat vind je belangrijk in de ontwikkeling van kavel 20/Buiksloterham?

4. Hoe kan jij hier als [*functie*] een rol in spelen?

**Samenwerking betrokken actoren**

5. Op de website van de gemeente staat dat Buiksloterham een voorbeeld moet zijn van de ontwikkeling van de toekomstige en circulaire stad en hierbij wordt de nadruk gelegd op de bijdrage hieraan van bottom-up initiatieven. Wat is volgens jou de rol van bottom-up initiatieven op dit moment in de BSH? In hoeverre speelt dat bottom-up aspect binnen kavel 20?

6. Hoe ziet jouw relatie met de bouwgroepen eruit? Hoe gaat het contact (indien aanwezig)? Vaste contactpersonen?

7. Wat gaat er goed binnen deze samenwerking? Hoe komt dit? Hoe zie je de rol van de gemeente hierin?

8. Wat gaat er minder goed binnen deze samenwerking? Hoe komt dit? Welke behoeften spelen hier? Behoeften van bewoners, ontwikkelaars en gemeente?

9. Hoe zie je zelf de verhouding tussen betrokkenen? In hoeverre bestaan er overeenkomsten/verschillen in betrokkenheid, motieven, visies, behoeften? Welke rol spelen deze overeenkomsten/verschillen in de interactie/samenwerking tussen betrokkenen?

### 9.3 Interview guide private professional

**Achtergrond**

1. Wil je iets over jezelf vertellen? Hoe ben je betrokken geraakt bij kavel 20 en deze CPO?

2. Hoe ver zijn jullie in het bouwproces?

3. Verschilt dit project van andere projecten waarbij je betrokken bent (geweest)? Zo ja, op welke manier?

**Persoonlijk perspectief**

4. Wat vind je belangrijk in de ontwikkeling van [*CPO*]/Buiksloterham?

5. Wat heb je zelf nodig om dit te bereiken?

**Samenwerking betrokken actoren**

6. Met wie heb je (voornamelijk) te maken binnen het bouwproces?

7. In welke mate werk je met hen samen?

8. Wat gaat er goed binnen deze samenwerking? Hoe komt dit? Hoe wordt dit gefaciliteerd?

9. Wat gaat er minder goed binnen deze samenwerking? Hoe komt dit? Welke behoeften heb je hierin?

10. Hoe zie je zelf de verhouding tussen betrokkenen? In hoeverre bestaan er overeenkomsten/verschillen in betrokkenheid, motieven, visies, behoeften? Welke rol spelen deze overeenkomsten/verschillen in de interactie/samenwerking tussen betrokkenen?