CARE AND LIVING IN COMMUNITY CALICO

RECOMMENDATION REPORT ON REPLICABILITY, SCALING-UP AND DISSEMINATION

calico

Photo: Inauguration of the CALICO project. Source: CLTB

Colophon

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This is the final report, the culmination of 3 years of research. The present report is based, among other things, on the three previous reports. We would therefore like to thank everyone who was involved in the study in one way or another for their cooperation. We look with curiosity to the future, of CALICO, and of similar housing projects.

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Executive summaries

1. *English summary: Recommendation report on replicability, scaling-up and dissemination of the CALICO project*

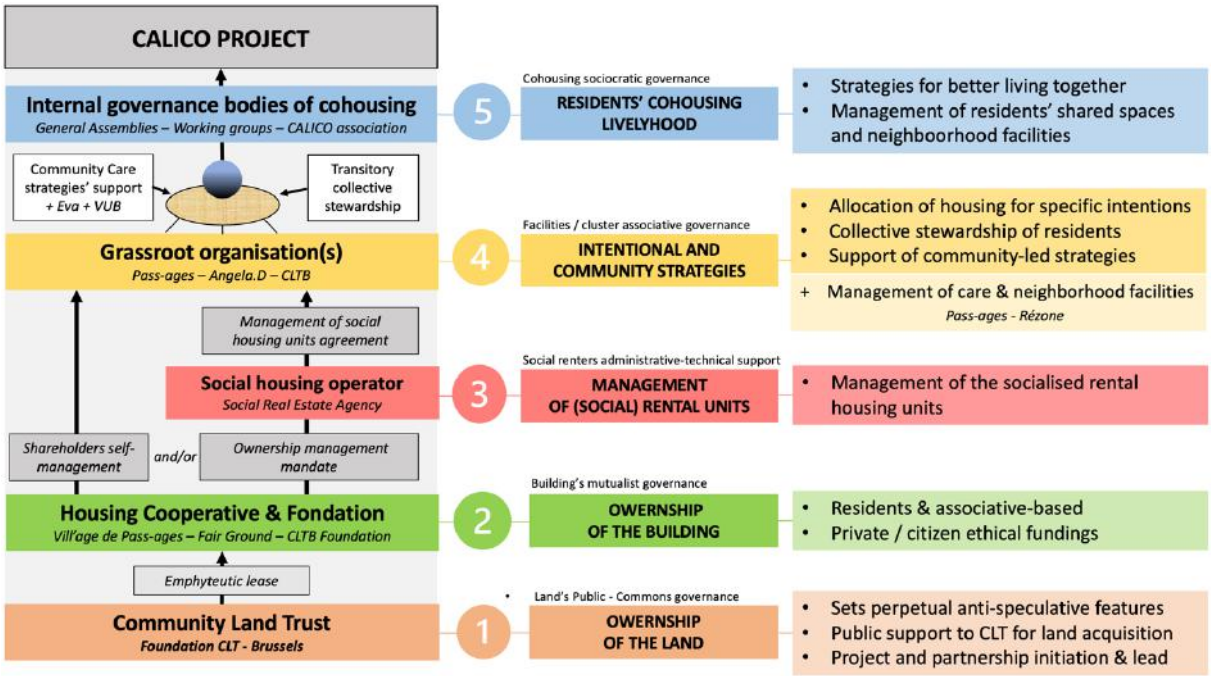
This report is the fourth and last report produced during the implementation of CALICO, a pilot project in Brussels that combines new forms of community-led housing and care. As a concluding report it not only aims to provide a "testbed" for innovative approaches to contemporary housing problems in European cities, but also to boost evidence-based innovative policies.

This recommendation report is structured in 6 main parts. It starts with some methodological details on the specific data collection carried out for this report: interviews with experts and policy makers at regional and European level and minutes of a post-evaluation meeting between partners.

The second part summarises the main results of the project (a more detailed discussion of the results can be consulted in the previous reports). Among other things, this section provides a description of the project, a reminder of the partners, the different tenure types of the residents, main bodies of governance for the project setup, and some quantitative and qualitative results on residents' satisfaction of the project. In order to anchor the debate on the replication and scaling-up of the CALICO project in the institutional agenda, a return on the achieved outreach during and beyond the project financed period (post-project grants, institutional, press, academic outreach of the project...) is then proposed but also on references to CALICO in strategic policy document at regional level and further study financed by the Region on public spendings of CALICO-like projects.

Third, a section dedicated to replication issues from a planning perspective written by the Brussels "Housing Advisor", Yves Van de Casteele (perspective.brussels) is integrated into the report. This section situates CALICO in the regional landscape of different public housing operators, discusses the criteria to be favoured in terms of territorial planning, and the necessary public support. The issue of land scarcity is notably put forward.

Finally, the report concludes with 3 parts dedicated respectively to the issues of replication, scaling-up at the level of the Brussels-Capital Region and dissemination at European level. These parts are punctuated by a summary list of recommendations (boxes). The section on the replication of the CALICO project first describes the public-commons partnership set up within the framework of the project, conferring on the two lead partners, the CLTB and Bruxelles.Logement, the mission of embodying the pivotal role of a relational or entrepreneurial State. Next, this section presents and analyses the five layers or building blocks which together make it possible to articulate the project's innovations. These are summarised in the following diagram:



The following section on the scaling-up of the CALICO project is more prospective. Based on the feedback from policy makers, the obstacles and opportunities for strengthening public support for CALICO-like community-led housing projects are discussed. Main obstacles are the budgetary and urban planning trade-off between housing policies, the challenge of professionalisation of the emergent cooperative scene, the setting-up of procurement procedures that would favor community-led governance.

These first two sections end with a list of recommendations to encourage the scaling-up of similar projects. These include the need for a legal definition of community-led housing projects likely to be the object of public support, the possible stages of a scaling-up, the different supports needed by the different categories of actors involved (public administrations, CLTs, cooperatives, Social Real Estate Agencies, associations) and the fiscal, urbanistic and regulatory obstacles to be removed, etc.

The report concludes with a brief discussion of the challenges of disseminating the CALICO-type project on a European scale. It is firstly highlighted that the search for support for innovative projects, which is regularly called for in a context of disengagement of the States from housing policies, does not spare the search for regulation of the housing market. Next, reference is made to the diversity of national and regional contexts to be taken into account in the perspective of a replication of the project. This section concludes with general recommendations at the European (recognition and dissemination), national and regional (enacting laws and policies) and municipal (political support and access to land) levels.

2. *Résumé en français : Rapport de recommandation sur la reproductibilité, la montée en régime et la dissémination du projet CALICO*

Ce rapport est le quatrième et dernier rapport produit au cours de la mise en œuvre de CALICO, un projet pilote à Bruxelles qui combine de nouvelles formes de logement et de soins gérés par la communauté. Ce rapport vise non seulement à fournir un "banc d'essai" pour les approches innovantes des problèmes de logement contemporains dans les villes européennes, mais aussi à stimuler les politiques innovantes fondées sur des preuves.

Ce rapport de recommandations est structuré en 6 parties principales. Il commence par quelques détails méthodologiques sur la collecte de données spécifiques effectuée pour ce rapport : interview d'experts et de décideurs politiques au niveau régional et européen et compte-rendu d'une réunion de post-évaluation entre partenaires.

Elle résume ensuite les principaux résultats du projet pour le nouveau lecteur qui n'a pas eu l'occasion de lire les rapports précédents. Cette section fournit, entre autres, une description du projet, un rappel des partenaires, les différents modes d'occupation des résidents, les principales instances de gouvernance pour le montage du projet, et quelques résultats quantitatifs et qualitatifs sur la satisfaction des résidents vis-à-vis du projet.

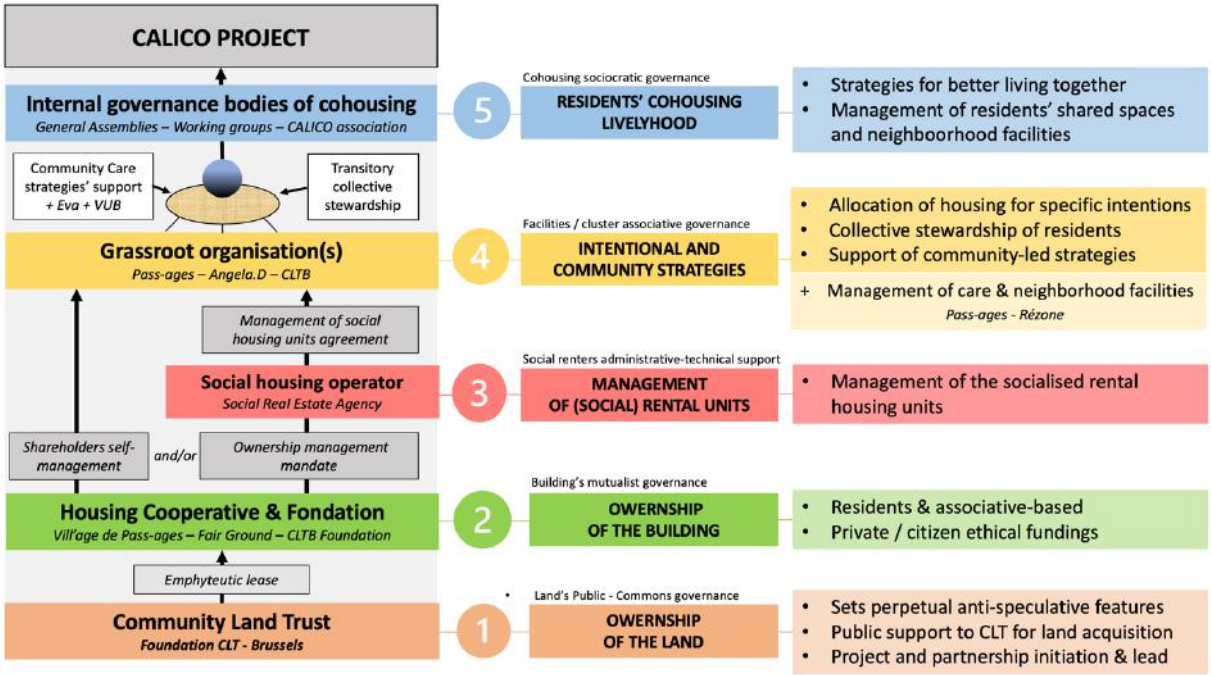
Afin d'ancrer le débat sur la réplication et le changement d'échelle du projet CALICO dans l'actualité institutionnelle, est ensuite proposé un retour sur le rayonnement réalisé pendant et au-delà de la période de financement du projet (subventions post-projet, rayonnement institutionnel, presse, académique du projet...) mais aussi sur les références à CALICO dans les documents de politique stratégique au niveau régional ainsi que l'étude complémentaire financée par la Région sur l'impact su les dépenses publiques d'un projet de type CALICO.

Enfin, est intégrée au rapport une section consacrée aux questions de réplication du point de vue de la planification, rédigée par le "référent logement" de Bruxelles, Yves Van de Casteele (perspective.brussels). Cette section situe CALICO dans le paysage régional des différents opérateurs de logement public, discute des critères à privilégier en termes d'aménagement du territoire, et du soutien public nécessaire en faveur de ce type de projet. La question de la rareté du foncier est notamment mise en avant.

Enfin, le rapport se conclut par 3 parties consacrées respectivement aux questions de la réplication, du changement d'échelle au niveau de la Région de Bruxelles-Capitale et de la diffusion au niveau européen. Ces parties sont ponctuées d'une liste synthétique de recommandations (encadrés).

La section sur la réplication du projet CALICO décrit tout d'abord le partenariat public/commons mis en place dans le cadre du projet, conférant aux deux chefs de file, la CLTB et Bruxelles Logement, la mission d'incarner le rôle pivot d'un Etat relationnel ou entrepreneurial.

Ensuite, cette section présente et analyse les cinq couches de gouvernance qui, ensemble, permettent d'articuler les innovations du projet. Celles-ci sont résumées dans le diagramme suivant (en anglais):



La section suivante sur la mise à l'échelle du projet CALICO est plus prospective. Sur la base des réactions des décideurs politiques, les obstacles et les possibilités de renforcer le soutien public aux projets de logement de type CALICO sont examinés.

Les principaux obstacles sont la concurrence budgétaire et territoriale entre les politiques de logement, le défi de la professionnalisation de la scène coopérative émergente, ainsi que la mise en place de procédures de passation de marchés qui favoriseraient une gouvernance collaborative.

Ces deux premières sections se terminent par une liste de recommandations visant à encourager le passage à l'échelle de projets similaires. Celles-ci incluent la nécessité d'une définition légale des projets de logement collaboratifs susceptibles de faire l'objet d'un soutien public, les étapes possibles d'un changement d'échelle, les différents soutiens nécessaires aux différentes catégories d'acteurs impliqués (administrations publiques, CLTs, coopératives, agences immobilières sociales, associations) ainsi que les obstacles fiscaux, urbanistiques et réglementaires à lever, etc.

Le rapport se termine par une brève discussion sur les défis de la diffusion du projet de type CALICO à l'échelle européenne. Il est tout d'abord mis en évidence que la recherche de soutien aux projets innovants, régulièrement plébiscités dans un contexte de désengagement des États des politiques du logement, n'épargne pas la recherche de régulation du marché du logement. Ensuite, il est fait référence à la diversité des contextes nationaux et régionaux à prendre en compte dans la perspective d'une réplication du projet. Cette section se termine par des recommandations générales aux niveaux européen (reconnaissance et diffusion), national et régional (promulgation de lois et de politiques) et municipal (soutien politique et accès au foncier).

3. Samenvatting in het Nederlands: Aanbevelingsrapport over repliceer-baarheid, schaalvergroting en verspreiding van het CALICO-project

Dit rapport is het vierde en laatste rapport dat werd opgesteld tijdens de uitvoering van CALICO, een pilootproject in Brussel dat nieuwe vormen van community-led huisvesting en zorg combineert. Het rapport wil niet alleen een "proeftuin" bieden voor innovatieve benaderingen van hedendaagse huisvestingsproblemen in Europese steden, maar ook een empirisch onderbouwd innovatief beleid stimuleren.

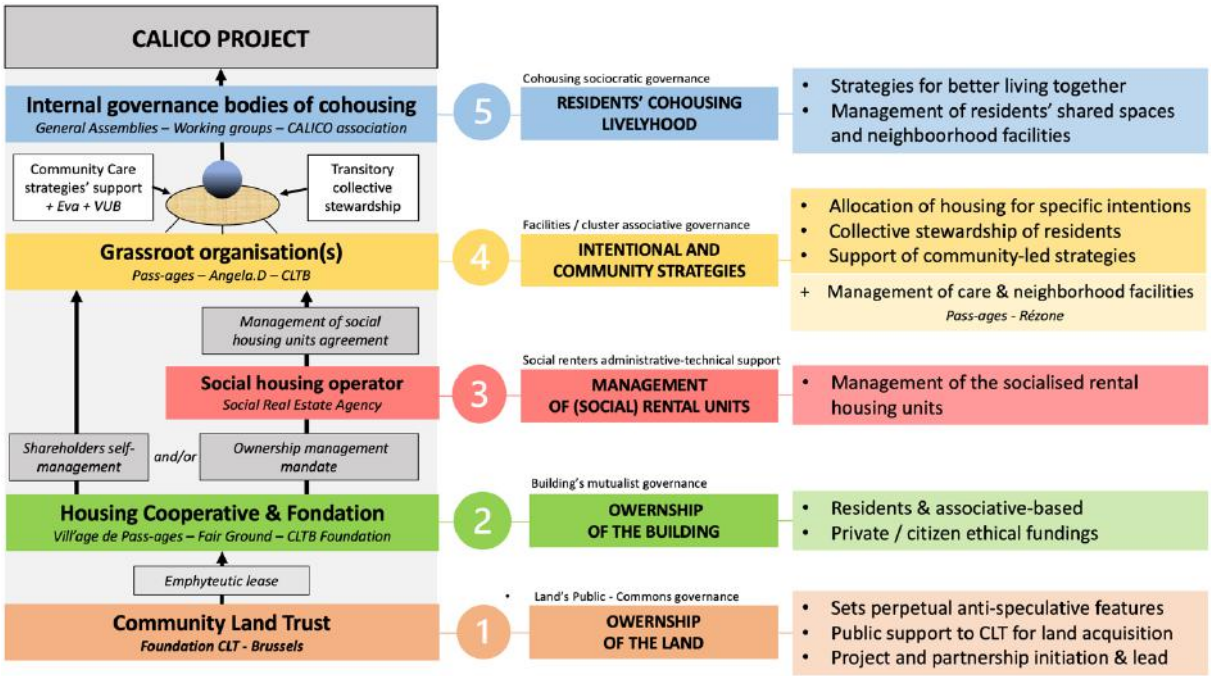
Dit aanbevelingsrapport is gestructureerd in 6 hoofddelen. Het begint met een methodologische beschrijving van de dataverzameling dat voor dit rapport is uitgevoerd: interviews met deskundigen en beleidsmakers op regionaal en Europees niveau en notulen van een post-evaluatiebijeenkomst met de betrokken projectpartners.

Vervolgens worden in een tweede deel de belangrijkste resultaten van het project samengevat (voor een gedetailleerde beschrijving van de resultaten verwijzen we naar de 3 eerder gepubliceerde rapporten). Dit deel bevat onder andere een beschrijving van het project, een opsomming van de partners, de verschillende soorten huur van de bewoners, de belangrijkste bestuursorganen voor de opzet van het project, en enkele kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve resultaten over de tevredenheid van de CALICO-bewoners over het project. Om het debat over de replicatie en schaalvergroting van het CALICO-project in de institutionele actualiteit te verankeren, wordt vervolgens een overzicht gegeven van de verdere verwezelijkingen tijdens en na de gefinancierde periode van het project (vb. verkregen subsidies na afloop van het project, institutionele, pers- en academische bekendheid van het project...). Het overzicht bevat tevens verwijzingen naar CALICO in strategische beleidsdocumenten op regionaal niveau en verdere door het Gewest gefinancierde studies naar overheidsuitgaven voor gelijkaardigeprojecten.

Een derde hoofdstuk werd geschreven door de "referent huisvesting" te Brussel, Yves Van de Casteele (Perspective.Brussels) en waarin wordt ingegaan op de problematiek van de reproductie vanuit een planologisch perspectief. In dit deel wordt CALICO gesitueerd in het regionale landschap van verschillende publieke huisvestingsoperatoren, worden de criteria besproken die in termen van ruimtelijke ordening de voorkeur verdienen, en wordt ingegaan op de noodzakelijke overheidssteun. De kwestie van de grondschaarste wordt met name naar voren gebracht.

Tot slot bevat het rapport drie delen die respectievelijk gewijd zijn aan de kwesties van replicatie, schaalvergroting op het niveau van het Brussels Hoofdstedelijk Gewest en verspreiding op Europees niveau. Deze delen worden aangevuld met een samenvattende lijst van aanbevelingen (kaders).

In het deel over de navolging van het CALICO-project wordt eerst het publiek-private partnerschap beschreven dat in het kader van het project tot stand is gekomen en waarbij de twee hoofdpartners, het CLTB en Brussel.Huisvesting, de taak hebben de spilfunctie van een relationele of ondernemende overheid te belichamen. Vervolgens worden in dit hoofdstuk de vijf lagen of bouwstenen voorgesteld en geanalyseerd die het samen mogelijk maken de innovaties van het project te verwoorden. Deze worden in het volgende schema samengevat (in het Engels):



Het volgende deel over de schaalvergroting van het CALICO-project is meer prospectief van aard. Op basis van de feedback van beleidsmakers worden de obstakels en mogelijkheden besproken voor het versterken van de publieke steun voor gelijkaardige community-led huisvestingsprojecten. De belangrijkste obstakels zijn de budgettaire en stedenbouwkundige afweging tussen het huisvestingsbeleid, de uitdaging van de professionalisering van de opkomende coöperatieve wereld, het opzetten van aanbestedingsprocedures die een door de gemeenschap geleid bestuur zouden bevorderen.

Deze eerste twee delen eindigen met een lijst van aanbevelingen om de schaalvergroting van soortgelijke projecten aan te moedigen. Deze omvatten de noodzaak van een wettelijke definitie van community-led huisvestingsprojecten die in aanmerking komen voor overheidssteun, de mogelijke fasen van een schaalvergroting, de verschillende steun die nodig is voor de verschillende categorieën van betrokken actoren (overheidsdiensten, CLT's, coöperaties, sociale makelaars, verenigingen) en de fiscale, stedenbouwkundige en regelgevende obstakels die moeten worden weggenomen, enz.

Het rapport wordt afgesloten met een korte bespreking van de uitdagingen die verbonden zijn aan de verspreiding van het CALICO-project op Europese schaal. In de eerste plaats wordt erop gewezen dat het zoeken naar steun voor innoverende projecten, waartoe regelmatig wordt opgeroepen in een context van loskoppeling van de staten van het huisvestingsbeleid, niet het zoeken naar regulering van de huisvestingsmarkt ontziet. Vervolgens wordt gewezen op de diversiteit van de nationale en regionale contexten waarmee rekening moet worden gehouden in het vooruitzicht van een replicatie van het project. Dit hoofdstuk wordt afgesloten met algemene aanbevelingen op Europees (erkenning en verspreiding), nationaal en regionaal (uitvaardiging van wetten en beleidslijnen) en gemeentelijk (politieke steun en toegang tot de grond) niveau.

General introduction

This report is part of an extensive scientific evaluation study of the CALICO project. CALICO was a community-led housing initiative running from November 2018 to October 2021 in Brussels, Belgium. It was led by the Brussels Capital Region and the Community Land Trust and supported by an ERDF *Urban Innovative Action* (UIA) Grant. The goals, design, implementation, and outcomes of the project have been discussed extensively in different consecutive evaluation reports (see Dawance et al., 2019; Smetcoren et al., 2020, Smetcoren et al., 2022)

The following report contributes to the UIA's aim to not only provide a livinglab for innovative approaches to contemporary social problems in European cities, but also to boost evidence-based innovative policies**.** While CALICO was a local project, designed and executed by Brussels Regional authorities, Community Land Trust Brussels (CLTB) and other local NGOs in Brussels (Belgium), most recommendations are relevant to other policy levels and other urban and national contexts.

Since the CALICO intervention was holistic in nature, the evidence-based recommendations in this report touch upon various policy areas such as housing, community-led strategies, community care strategies, gender mainstreaming approaches and social cohesion.

This recommendation report is structured in six parts. After a brief methodological description, the main results, achievements, and outreach are presented. Then, a section dedicated to replication issues from a planning perspective written by the Brussels Housing Advisor (perspective.brussels) is integrated into the report. Finally, the report concludes with 3 parts dedicated respectively to the issues of replication, scaling-up at the level of the Brussels-Capital Region and dissemination at European level. These parts are punctuated by a summary list of recommendations (boxes).

A. Research methodology

1. *Policy level: individual interviews with policy makers and experts*

1.1 Data collection methods

One of the main objectives of the research, and of this report in particular, is to make recommendations on the replicability of the CALICO project at the Brussels metropolitan level and its dissemination at the European level. In this context, in addition to the different research methods presented in the three previous reports, two additional original qualitative data collections were carried out:

1. Minutes of the project evaluation meeting with all the project partners involved,. All partners consented to be recorded and approved their exchanges to be used in the framework of this report. This meeting took place in January 2022, 3 months after the official closure of the UIA support programme.

2. Qualitative interviews were conducted with six policy makers and experts at regional and European level. These interviews aimed to put into perspective the lessons learned from the project and to identify the main challenges that replication, scaling-up and dissemination of such a project might have to address. Quotes from the various interviews are used in this report, mainly in sections on replication, scaling-up and dissemination.

Concerning the interviews, participants were interviewed either in person, at a location chosen by the participant, or by video conference. All interviews were conducted in French by a native French-speaking researcher, except for one interview which was conducted in English by the same researcher. All interviews were conducted between September 2021 and October 2021 and the interviews lasted on average 94 minutes (range 72 minutes - 155 minutes). All respondents signed an informed consent explaining the purpose and set up of the research and what will be done with the data. The interviews were recorded and transcribed ad verbatim. All data were anonymised and treated as strictly confidential. The initial research protocol included a focus group with local and regional partners. Due to difficulties in coordinating the agenda, but also to guarantee maximum freedom of expression for the experts and policy makers, it was finally decided to conduct three separate interviews. Most of the experts interviewed were not directly involved in the CALICO project. However, all of them had heard about it and knew the main lines of innovation. At the beginning of the interview, the researcher took the time to present the different components of the project to allow for an in-depth discussion.

1.2 Respondents to the interviews

The following table presents the project partners quoted from the post-evaluation meeting.

Code Participants	Fonction / expertise type
E1	CLTB Project Officer
E2	Project officer Angela.D
E3	Project officer Pass-ages
E4	Official at Bruxelles Logement
E5	Official at perspectives.brussels

Six experts were interviewed. Two regional policy makers on housing issues responded jointly to the interview (R1 and R2). The table below presents them according to their level of expertise and function.

Level	Code Participants	Fonction / expertise type
Local (Brussels-Capital Region)	**R1-R2**	Regional policy maker on housing issues (Joint interview)
	R3	Regional public operator in urban development and housing
	R4	Architect and urban planner
European	**R5**	European Urban Policy Officer
	R6	International academic expert in collaborative housing

1.3 Interview scheme

To gain the necessary insights of each participant's perspective on the project dissemination issue, an interview guideline was developed based on the aims of the 'impact/outcome monitoring and evaluation' and 'process monitoring and evaluation' (for a detailed description see Dawance et al., 2019). The following main topics were tackled during the interviews:

- Questions related to the CALICO project and the relevance of its innovations.
- Questions related to the scaling-up of Community-Led Housing projects and CALICO in particular at regional level.
- Questions related to the scaling-up of Community-Led Housing projects and CALICO in particular at European level.

1.4 Interviews' analysis

All interviews were recoded, transcribed verbatim and analysed. For the analysis MaxQDA software was used. To identify, analyse and report the data, the thematic analysis procedure of Braun and Clarke (2006) was followed (see former research reports for more details on this procedure).

B. Main results, ultimate achievements, and outreach

1. *Final project description and main results*

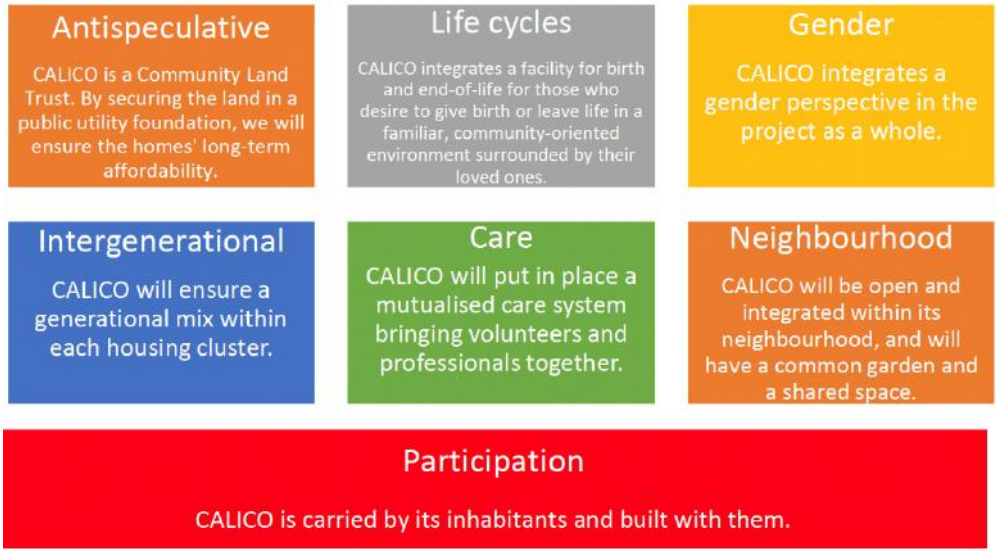
This section first presents a brief description of the project for the reader new to the project and a summary of the main results[1]. This is followed by a presentation of the main developments in the project between the closure in October 2021 and July 2022 (date of completion of the report). This shows that most of the key areas of project completion, where there were still uncertainties, are now being addressed. This section concludes with a summary presentation of the main forms of outreach and institutional take-up from which the CALICO project has already benefited, to provide a better perspective on the recommendations developed in the following sections.

1.1 Project description

In their final project brochure[2], the partners present the CALICO project as follows:

"CALICO, 'Care and Living in Community', is a project of 34 apartments in cohousing providing a generational and social mix in interaction with its neighbourhood. Its priorities are gender perspective, the integration of birth and end-of-life at the heart of the community, care, and access to housing within the framework of a Community Land Trust, i.e. land managed as a common good".

They pinpoint the following 7 objectives as central:



[1] For a detailed presentation of the findings, please refer to the three previous research reports:

- **First report** (Groundwork for evaluation and state-of-play): https://calico.brussels/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Premier-rapport-VUB.pdf
- **Second report** (intermediate evaluation): https://calico.brussels/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Deuxieme-rapport-VUB-1.pdf
- **Third report** (final evaluation): https://calico.brussels/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Troisieme-rapport-VUB.pdf

Further in this report, reference will be made to these reports as first, second and third reports

[2] https://calico.brussels/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/2021_Calico_Document-presentation_EN_CO1.pdf

1.2 The partners of the project

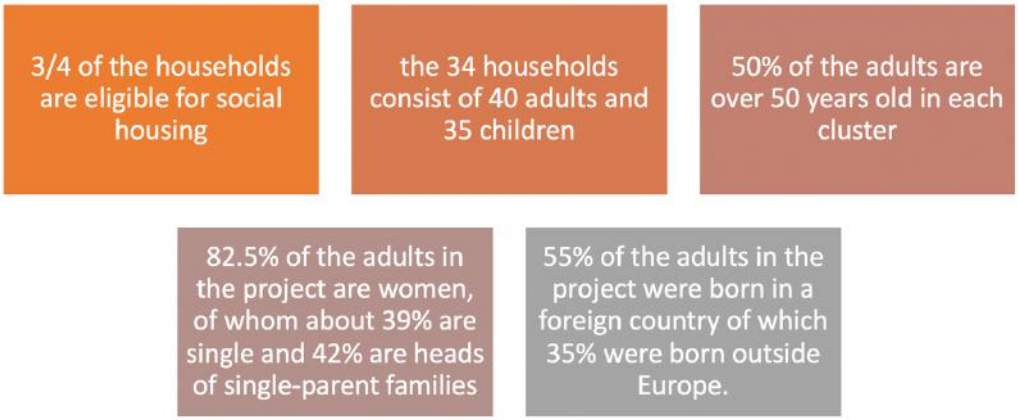
The 8 core partners are as follows:

- The Community Land Trust Brussels (CLTB) (both a Public Interest Foundation and a non-profit organization), active in the production of anti-speculative and affordable housing for low-income households since 2012, manages one of the housing clusters and the real estate operation. The Foundation is limited to being the vehicle of ownership of the land.
- **Bruxelles Logement (Brussels-Capital Region)** is the Main Urban Authority and co-coordinator of project CALICO.
- **Pass-ages** (non-profit organization) manages the facility for Birth and End-of-Life integrated in one of the housing clusters.
- **Angela.D** (non-profit organization) manages one of the three housing clusters and works towards a common appropriation of the gender perspective with all project partners.
- **EVA bxl** (non-profit organization) works in the field of mutual care in Brussels and organizes the integration of mutual care practices within CALICO.
- **Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB)** is the university in charge of the project's evaluation and replicability assessment.
- **perspective.brussels** (Centre for expertise and initiator of Brussels' territorial development strategy) brings its expertise to CALICO through its Housing *Advisor*.
- **Logement Pour Tous**, a Social Real Estate Agency (AIS), will manage CALICO's social rental housing units.

The 4 associated partners, not included in the European funding of the project, are:

- The **Municipality of Forest** works with CALICO to help its integration within the neighbourhood and is responsible for the management of the semi-public gardens of the project.
- The **Social Welfare Centre (CPAS – *Centre Public d'Aide Sociale*) of Forest** manages the Housing First units.
- **Diogènes** (non-profit organization) accompanies individually each Housing First resident.
- **Rézone** (non-profit organization) – *not included as official partner* – rent the collective space and offer a "place of links" open to all neighbours in a community care perspective.

The following main characteristics of the composition of the group of inhabitants can be highlighted:



1.3 The different tenure types of the residents

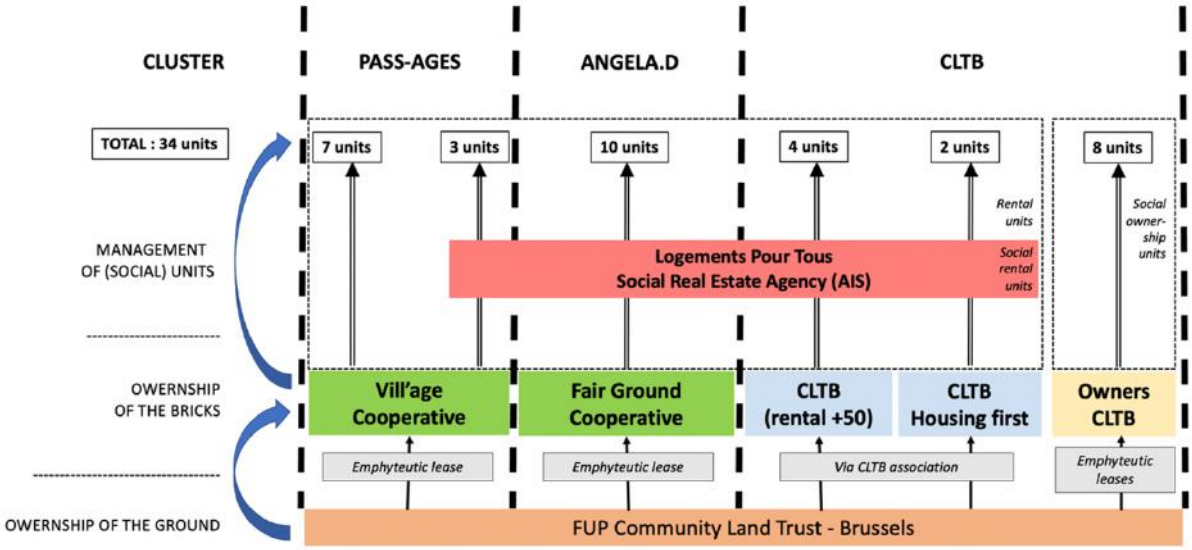


Figure 1. Different forms of tenure of the CALICO-units
(Source : CALICO project Third Report)

The residents are distributed in different tenures of their dwellings:

The **Pass-ages cluster consists of 10 units** distributed as follows:

- 7 cooperative inhabitants, shareholder and tenant of the "Vill'ages de Pass-ages" cooperative;
- 3 cooperative inhabitants, shareholders and social tenants of the "Vill'ages de Pass-ages" cooperative via the rental management of the "Logement pour Tous" Social Real Estate Agency.

The **Angela.D cluster consists of 10 units**:

- made available to women in income requirements for access to social housing. They are all social tenants of the "Fair Ground" cooperative, via the rental management of the "Logement pour Tous" Social Real Estate Agency.

The **CLTB cluster consists of 12 units** distributed as follows:

- 8 owners in income requirements for access to social housing ;
- 4 social tenants of the CLTB Foundation in income conditions for access to social housing who are over 50 years old. They rent via the rental management of the Social Housing Agency "Logement pour Tous".
- 2 "Housing First" tenants (direct access to housing for homeless people) of the CLTB foundation via the rental management of the Social Real Estate Agency "Logement pour Tous" and a partnership with the association Diogènes and the Public Centre for Social Welfare (CPAS) of Forest.

The project also includes collective spaces and facilities:

- The 2 common areas remain the property of the CLTB Foundation, one is for residents' use only, one co-occupied by the non-profit organisation Rézone, is open to all neighbours.
- The Birth facility, End-of-Life facility and the consultation space of the Pass-ages project remain the property of Pass-ages.
- a semi-public garden,
- car and bike parking units.

1.4 Location and physical distribution of the project

Figure 2. Location of CALICO in Southern Brussels (Source: First Report)

The project is located in the municipality of Forest, in the Brussels-Capital Region. The project is in a district that has been witnessing in the last 15 years a structural reconversion of an old industrial fabric and vegetable wastelands into new private and public, social, moderate, and medium-sized residential complexes.

Figure 3. CALICO and other recent residential developments in the district (Source: First Report)

The project is thus integrated into a new real estate complex purchased turnkey. All units presented above are physically distributed in the building as follow:

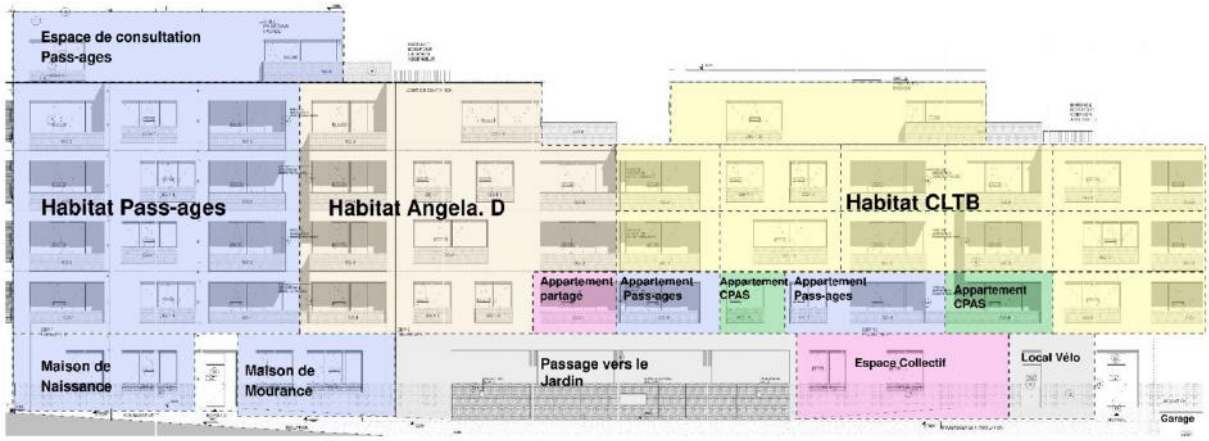


Figure 4. Spatial distribution of different types of space between partners (Source: CLTB - in french)

1.5 Governance of the CALICO project

The governance set up for the project set-up phase in all its dimensions can be summarised in the following figure 5.

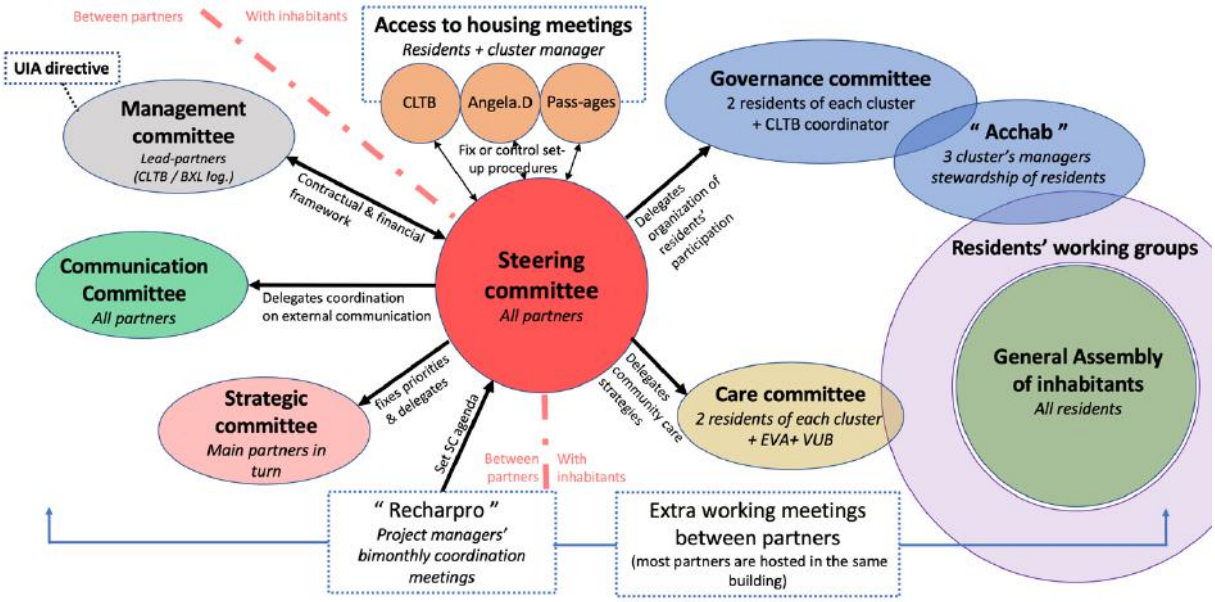


Figure 5. Overview of global governance arrangements to carry out the CALICO project (Source: CALICO project Third Report)

The diagram distinguishes between levels of governance directly involving the future residents and those involving only the partners. The whole is structured around a steering committee. As the project progressed, the governance of the project by the residents was formalised. It has gradually been constituted in general assemblies of residents under the impetus of a Governance and a Care committee and in articulation with working groups between residents. This transition from governance between partners to governance between residents is still ongoing. It was significantly disrupted by the pandemic, but recently accelerated after the households moved in.

1.6 Accomplishments and satisfaction

At the end of the period of support for the CALICO project by the UIA program (October 2021), a positive overall assessment can be made. The project has largely fulfilled its objectives:

- All legal structures and contractual documents necessary for the realisation of the project have been finalised. All housing and spaces have been allocated.
- The European and Regional funds made available have been committed and the necessary additional resources have been raised (mainly for the acquisition of the buildings by the cooperatives).
- The operating procedures for the Birth and End-of-Life facilities have been launched.
- The collective ground floor "open" to the neighbourhood has been rented to a new partner (Rézone non-profit organization), boosting the community care objectives.
- However, only 7 parking units have been sold to Pass-ages and the Vill'ages de Pass-ages cooperative, with the remaining 32 still to be sold or rented.
- The semi-public garden to be managed by the municipality of Forest has yet to be developed by the developer.

The indicators of residents' satisfaction with the project are all positive. The results in report 3 'End evaluation' (Smetcoren et al., 2022) demonstrate that residents were in particular satisfied with the idea of cohousing and co-living features. Most respondents who took part in the end evaluation were convinced that in the future the collective dimension (care, solidarity, meetings, ...) of the housing project will have a positive impact on their quality of life. The CALICO project encouraged them to develop support and/or mutual aid with the other participants of the CALICO project. And they were satisfied that from the beginning of the CALICO project, they had the opportunity to get to know their (future) neighbours better.

The housing within CALICO represents an improvement in quality and cost for most of the residents, especially for Angela.D residents and with the notable exception of some members of the Pass-ages cluster, who are more affluent and left a sometimes-comfortable housing situation to give life to their intergenerational housing project associated with a Birth and End-of-Life facilities.

For their part, the project partners, who carried out a post-project evaluation session on 26 January 2022, all shared the observation that the project was very positive. However, they noted the difficulties encountered in carrying out this complex project within a short timeframe of 3 years and in the context of a pandemic, as well as the permanent challenges posed by the issues of communication between partners and with the inhabitants.

2. Ultimate project closing period achievements

This report was issued in September 2022, almost 11 months after the end of the European support period. This hindsight allows us to mention the main final achievements of the project and significant progress in its regional consideration that have taken place in the meantime.

1. On 17 November 2021, the CLTB was officially recognised as a regional housing operator[3]. This important recognition allowed the CLTB to finally guarantee the sale of the housing units to the 8 CLTB buyer households at a 6% VAT rate. Thus, the sales took place on 23 and 24 December 2021 and the last 3 buyer households who were waiting for this sale to move in were able to do so in January 2022. More generally, this approval establishes the legitimacy of the CLTB as a public operator. Eventually, its actions will be governed by a multi-year management contract. However, the approval, which is the result of a long process, was not able to explicitly integrate the financing of innovative and recent projects such as CALICO. The accreditation only provides for investment grants for land acquisitions where the buildings are sold directly to low-income households, but not to cooperatives.

2. The opening ceremony of the Birth and End-of-Life facilities took place on the 8th of May 2022. Five midwives have already been selected. An agreement was signed with a public hospital (Saint-Pierre) for the follow-up of risky deliveries. The first prenatal consultations have already taken place in January 2022. The teams of volunteers for both Birth and End-of-Life facilities have been trained and contracted. One first senior entered the End-of-Life. A call for a medical coordinator for both facilities has been launched. The non-profit organization "Les Sources de Pass-ages", created by Pass-ages on the 17th of October 2021 to manage the Birth and End-of-Life facilities, has obtained an annual grant for the period 2022 - 2024 from the Common Community Commission (COCOM) of €70,000 a year and additional €10,000 from the King Baudouin Foundation.

3. The State Secretary of the Brussels' Capital-Region on Housing has decided to extend the stewardship of the project for an intermediate period (2022). The partners have respectively received the following grants:

    - €65,000 to the CLTB (+ €6,000 for Nov. and Dec. 2021), for the follow-up of the individual and community accompaniment of the inhabitants, the coordination of external partnerships and common spaces, the follow-up of the "care" and the possible recourse to external expertise for training.
    - €59,943.90 to the VUB for the continuation of the project monitoring study.
    - A grant of €36,987 (2022) to Angela.D for the support of the inhabitants, particularly the Angela.D cluster, but also the whole of the inhabitants in support of the CLTB.

[3] The CLTB has been recognised as a Community Land Trust ("Alliance Foncière Régionale"), in the sense of the Royal Decree of the of the Brussels-Capital Region Government of 1 April 2021: https://etaamb.openjustice.be/fr/arrete-du-gouvernement-de-la-region-de-bruxellescapit_n2021031044.html

4. Angela.D committed to producing a "*gender practice manual/guide (systematisation for other experiences)*" as a major outcome of the project. In July 2022, Angela.D published a comprehensive guide, entitled *"A Feminist Approach to Housing - A Practical Guide"* to which this report makes some reference[4]. Angela.D received an additional grant of €10,000 from the State Secretary for Gender Equality (equal.brussels) for its Dutch translation, printing and distribution.

Figure 6. Frontpage of Angela.D's practical guide (Source : Angela.D)

[4] Link to the practical guide: https://cloud.angela-d.be/s/z8MCxA3CLKPc47J?fbclid=IwAR18t-SH1ALJRxni9DmBLPbfc3c4Syzt5Ad3LmypbwM-Xxu9FV3aHvL1J1Y

3. Achieved outreach and dissemination of the CALICO project

In addition to the important work carried out by the partners to meet all the objectives of the CALICO project, the project has already benefited from significant outreach and institutional consideration. In this sense, it has already contributed more or less modestly, more or less directly, to cultural change and policy adjustments in favour of similar community-led housing initiatives.

3.1 Additional financial support

a. Together the partners obtained €186,080.97 from 7 public and private, regional, and international institutions, equivalent to 11.2% of the operating grant awarded by the European Commission in the framework of the UIA project (more detail in Third Report, section C. 2.7).
b. Similarly, as presented above, the Region has also committed to funding the extension of CALICO project support in 2022 (see above).

In both cases, this demonstrates the interest shared by different types of institutions in supporting the success of the project and its innovative dimensions in CALICO.

3.2 Outreach video clips produced by the regional authorities

Brussels Housing has produced a series of 12 video clips to present the project. These are brief feedbacks from the different project partners and inhabitants, as well as a testimony from the Secretary of State for Housing and the Head of Unit of the New European Bauhaus[5].

3.3 Press coverage of the project

The CALICO project has been the subject of at least twenty articles, mainly on a regional and national scale, in the daily press or in magazines[6].

3.4 Presentation in a scientific symposium and academic or specialised publication

3.4.1 Articles in specialist journals

Dawance, T., Smetcoren, A.-S. (2020). CALICO: Soin, genre et rencontre intergénérationnelle au coeur d'un habitat en commun. Dans A. Fourneaux (Ed.), *Les Echos du Logement: 100 ans de logement social. Et demain?* (SPW Territoire Logement Patrimoine Energie Ed., Vol 127, p. 28-33). [5] (Echos du Logement; Numéro 127). Namur[7].

[5] Link to videos: https://logement.brussels/serie-de-videos-sur-le-projet-de-cohabitation-calico/#anchor-1

[6] For a detailed, albeit incomplete, presentation of the press articles, refer to following brochure : https://calico.brussels/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/2021_Calico_Document-presentation_EN_CO1.pdf

[7] https://cris.vub.be/ws/portalfiles/portal/65779362/echos_127.pdf

Smetcoren, A.-S., Dawance, T., Ryckewaert, M., Aernouts, N., De Donder, L. (2022), "CALICO: een nieuwe manier van wonen in de stad", in *Géron, issue 2/2022*, Netherlands.

3.4.2 Interventions in specialised symposiums

Dawance, T. (24/03/2022), « Coopératives sociales de logement sur un sol en commun (CALICO) », in *Accessibilité au logement et fiscalité immobilière », Freins et leviers pour la production et l'accessibilité au logement social et moyen*, online conference, Architects in Brussels (ARIB) and For Urban Passion (FUP), Brussels.

Dawance, T. (12/05/2022). "Crise du logement à Bruxelles et que pouvons-nous faire face à cette situation ? Présentation du projet CALICO », in Knowledge for the City Festival, Brussels studies, Brussels,

https://brusselsacademy.be/event/festival-knowledge-for-the-city-stads-labo-urbain/

Dawance, T. (18/05/2022). "Towards a revival of affordable, anti-speculative and participatory housing cooperatives in Brussels-Capital Region", in *Residential cooperative as a game changer*, conference, Architectuurwijzer , de Munt, Brussels

https://architectuurwijzer.be/wooncooperatie-als-game-changer-brussel/

Dawance, T. (16/06/2022). « De l'accès à la propriété sur un sol en commun à l'essor des coopératives de logements (leçons du projet CALICO) », in *Les agglomérations urbaines en transition face aux chocs*, round table, UCL, CREAT, perspectives.brussels, Plateforme Francophone des Agglomérations, Louvain-la-Neuve.

Dawance, T. (21/06/2022). « Les alternatives/ les modèles d'habitat innovants », in *Les Cités Jardins – réinventer le logement social*, closing conference, CIVA, Brussels Academy, Brussels.

https://brusselsacademy.be/en/event/les-cites-jardins-reinventer-le-logement-social-cloture-les-alternatives-les-modeles-dhabitat/

Dawance, T. (28/06/2022). « Soutenir les cooperatives d'habitat grâce au Community Land Trust? », in *Le foncier : un levier pour des villes durables et solidaires*, conference, Yverdon-les-Bains Municipality, Suisse.

Dawance, T. (30/08/2022). "Housing Cooperatives on CLT land : towards a new public paradigm for community-led social Housing provision in Europe? Lessons learned from the CALICO project in Brussels". In ENHR conference, Barcelona.

Dawance, T. (05/09/2022). « Solutions innovantes à la crise du logement : vers une nouvelle politique foncière et une gouvernance collaborative », in *RENODAYS : Solutions innovantes à la crise de logement?,* colloquium, Urban.Brussels, Brussels.

Vansteenbergen, S., Chambaere, K., Smetcoren, A.-S. (21/09/2022). Maison Mourance: qualitative study of the vision, organization and challenges of a community-led end-of-life care facility in Brussels, Belgium. 7th Public Health Palliative Care International Conference, Bruges, Belgium.

3.5 Participation in international events

The partners, and particularly the lead partners (Bruxelles Logement and CLTB) have participated in more than ten events at the European and extra-European level (conferences, exchanges, delegation visits) between urban development practitioners and/or academics and/or institutions, ... In addition, they have also actively partake in numerous events at the Belgian and Brussels regional level[8].

[8] For a detailed, albeit incomplete, presentation of the events, please refer to the above mentioned brochure : https://calico.brussels/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/2021_Calico_Document-presentation_EN_CO1.pdf

3.6 International recognition

a. CALICO has been selected as one of the 20 finalists for the Cities of Wellbeing award (2020 edition), and as one of the 4 finalists in the "Cohesive communities" category[9].
b. Pass-ages has been selected as one of the 15 care projects to participate in Changemakers Forum communications and activities, including workshops (3 in total), online and offline activities (to be determined by Forum participants) and received €5,000 from the organizers "TransForm Integrated Community Care"[10]. This is a joint initiative of Foundations in and beyond Europe that aims to put the community at the centre of primary care and integrated care.

3.7 Direct or indirect reference to CALICO in strategic policy documents

Two policy documents at regional level that refer directly or indirectly to the CALICO experience were produced in 2020 and 2021.

3.7.1 Housing Emergency Plan of the Secretary of State for Housing of the Brussels-Capital Region

Approved on the 7th of January 2021 by the Government of the Brussels-Capital Region, the Housing Emergency Plan[11] (PUL- *Plan d'Urgence du Logement*) is a document bringing together 33 operational actions aimed at *"addressing all the avenues of public action that can accelerate the implementation of innovative solutions, but also to seek solutions within the private rental market to stretch the public housing stock as quickly as possible to vulnerable households"*. This concern for openness is based on the idea that it is necessary to converge forces, both public and private, as soon as interests can be combined.

Action 11 of the Housing Emergency Plan: *"Supporting the development of the supply of Social Real Estate Agencies housing while ensuring that projects from property developers or investors are supervised"* (pp. 61-63) indicates that tools for supervising projects from property developers or investors will be put in place to guarantee the social purpose of the housing stock in a sustainable manner. In this context, the operational agenda of the plan foresees for 2022, the development of alternatives via partnerships with associative / cooperative actors.

Furthermore, action 31 of the Plan mentions (pp. 143-145): "*Encourage the tools of dismemberment of ownership with public real estate operators", foresees the introduction of mechanisms of emphyteusis and surface area and/or formulas limiting the resale prices inspired by the CLTB model in the management contracts of Citydev.Brussels and the Housing Fund".*

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[9] This award is an initiative of the global nonprofit NewCities (Canada). For more information: https://newcities.org/2020-wellbeing-cities-award-brussels-belgium/

[10] The forum is a joint initiative of foundations in and beyond Europe that aims to put the community at the centre of primary care and integrated care. For more information: https://transform-integratedcommunitycare.com

[11] To consult the Emergency Housing Plan (in French): https://nawalbenhamou.brussels/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Plan-Urgence-Logement_DEF.pdf

Both actions clearly demonstrate a dissemination of the CLTB innovations in general and CALICO's in particular to public operators.

3.7.2 Recommendation report produced by the *Scientific Committee on Housing* at the end of 2020 on behalf of the government of the Region

At the end of 2020 the regional government mandated a scientific committee composed of several practitioners and academics to draw up a report with recommendations for the adaptation of the regional housing policy to the specific situation of a pandemic[12]. One of the 9 sessions that the committee decided to implement was devoted to a presentation of the CALICO project by the partners. The report makes 3 main explicit references to the CALICO project.

a. In its point "*5.1.4. Alternative inhabitants and innovative forms of housing: facilitating the massification of these initiatives*" to recommend scaling-up as follows: "*These initiatives (... which on the one hand contribute to the formulation of responses to the demand for affordable housing and on the other hand propose formulas which place housing outside a speculative framework... - including CALICO) are still niche initiatives to date. However, the Committee believes that they should be expanded in the future, partly because the societal model on which they are based places housing outside the market, and partly because the forms of housing they generate also make it possible to set up mechanisms for mutual aid and solidarity between residents. This support also involves the stabilisation of associative operators by moving away from a call for projects approach to more structural support from public services"*.

b. In its point "*5.4.7. Carry out a research and information initiative on the construction of a diagnosis of gender inequalities in housing, based on gender studies in the broad sense*". It is recommended that a broad university study be carried out on gender issues related to the city and housing, with the objective of "*evaluating the empirical experiences that are emerging in the Brussels area and how these offer complementary tools (CALICO, etc.)*".

c. In addition to these explicit references, the report also refers to numerous issues relating to the various innovative dimensions of the CALICO project:
   - Generalization of long term tenure formulas by public authorities;
   - Strengthening mechanisms for the sustainability of social housing;
   - Within the Master Development Plans (PAD – *Plan d'Aménagement Directeur*), systematically provide land for the production of affordable housing, including private social housing;
   - Provide for the development of a private social housing project of a certain size on public land, based on a cooperative system inspired by Zurich's experiences, guaranteeing the very long-term social purpose of the housing. The only public investment in this project would be the land, which would be ceded under an emphyteusis arrangement;

[12] Link to the report: https://perspective.brussels/sites/default/files/csl_fr_def2.pdf

- Increase social support before and after access to housing;
- Promote a policy of subsidiarisation of operators via the COCOF (French Community Commission) or the VGC (Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie);
- Pay particular attention to housing with a gender inclusive perspective.

3.8 Study on public spending of CALICO-type projects and on their replication in the Brussels-Capital Region

This (present) research led by the VUB is neither economic nor financial. It does not allow for a comparison of the cost of the total public expenditure of a CALICO-type operation (acquisition of land by the CLT, rental management by a Social Real Estate Agency and a grassroot association), compared to that of a direct acquisition and rental management operation by a public social housing company. As the main public investment is only for the acquisition of the land and not for the total acquisition (land and construction), there are reasons to assume that a CALICO-type arrangement would be efficient.

However, in the absence of an in-depth study, the question of its efficiency in terms of public expenditure remains. Therefore, in parallel to the CALICO project supported by the UIA program, the Secretary of State of the Brussels-Capital Region in charge of housing has undertaken to finance the carrying out of such a comparative study. Initiated by the non-profit organisation *Sohonet*[13] of which several CALICO partners are members, this study is entitled "Housing deal"[14]. The conclusions are expected in September 2022. These conclusions are likely to provide useful information to confirm or refute the economic rationality of the CALICO model in terms of public spending and thus support or qualify the relevance of its replication and possible scaling-up.

Similarly, support for this housing deal initiative also includes a complementary component involving a feasibility study on the replication of a housing project based on the same set-up as the CALICO project, as described below in the section on 'Replicability'. Although the resources allocated are modest, this grant demonstrates a clear desire on the part of the regional public authorities to study the conditions for replicating the model, as well as the interest of a large network of Brussels social housing actors in scaling up the CALICO project model.

[13] Sohonet (Societal Housing Network) is a Brussels non-profit organization. It is a network of 42 partner associations from the world of real estate, entrepreneurs and investors with a social vocation, and professionals in the field of support for disadvantaged people, who have come together to imagine other ways of creating accessible, sustainable and inclusive housing for mixed groups. For more information: https://sohonet.be

[14] A short description of the "Housing Deal" initiative is available in French here: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1sm8-iWWKTbNoPDYHUhVqQoZYpo3W2DEK/view

C. The "Replicability" of the CALICO project from a planning perspective

The following section was written by Yves Van de Casteele, the Brussels Housing Advisor, project of the partner. It constitutes one of the outcomes of perspectives.brussels to support dissemination in the context of the UIA project. Given the similar purpose of this recommendation report, it has been integrated into this report.

1. Introduction

As a "Regional Centre of Expertise in Planning" but also as a partner of CALICO, Perspective.Brussels gives its considerations on the possibilities of reproducing projects such as CALICO as part of developing regional strategic perimeters.

CALICO's completion in 2021 benefited from a set of simultaneous opportunities, particularly due to obtaining European funding but also the possibility of acquiring a set of "turnkey" housing units that would meet the needs of participating non-profit associations. Such a favourable alignment of the stars will be very difficult to reproduce. This chapter therefore aims to identify the criteria to be satisfied in order to reproduce this type of project within the framework of genuinely planning for these.

- Firstly, it seems important to answer the question of why it is important for the Region to support private social housing initiatives, but also why support for other CALICO-type projects should be given priority over similar initiatives.
- Secondly, and in addition to identifying the needs of such a project in terms of regional planning, the solutions implemented by the planning tools also need to be evaluated to facilitate the practical "replicability" of similar projects elsewhere in the Region.

2. Private social housing: a supporting role for the Region?

The regional context of a lack of social housing which is affordable for the inhabitants of Brussels, requires the public authorities to support the private production of social housing. In fact, approximately 220,000 households meet the income requirements for access to social housing but do not currently benefit from social housing due to a lack of supply. They are therefore forced to find housing on the private market and 50,000 households (i.e. +/- 125,000 people) are registered on the waiting list for social housing.

Moreover, the speed, or rather the slowness of the public production of new housing (a minimum of 7 years for a problem-free project...) is a long-established characteristic for which a truly effective solution has yet to be identified.
These two observations, which are difficult to accept given the urgency of the situation, make it necessary to welcome any private sector production which has a similar social purpose.

2.1 Regional instruments to support private social housing

In terms of rentals, the Region is not increasing the support instruments designed for private developers or investors with a social purpose. Housing management through Social Real Estate Agencies is the focus of almost all such aid.

In terms of purchases, the Housing Fund, CityDev.Brussels and the CLTB produce new housing units that are sold to private buyers who are obliged, for a certain period, to limit their capital gain in the event of rental or resale on the private market.

2.1.1 Social Real Estate Agency (AIS – *Agence Immobilière Sociale*)

Set up as an institution in 1998, although it existed prior to this date, the management of private housing through a Social Real Estate Agency is now enjoying a success that could be an indicator of a boom in the formula that could potentially not be financed by the Region.

Mechanism

The system is simple: a private individual hands their property over to a Social Real Estate Agency which offers them a rent about 20% to 30% below market rate (with a possible increase of 10% depending on the location and the quality of the managed property). The management term is for a minimum period of 3 years (in case of management or rental only) or 9 years for properties requiring major renovations. The maximum term is 27 years.

For its part, the agency guarantees the absence of void rental periods and takes responsibility for the routine maintenance of the property. A series of grants and tax exemptions are also available to the owner (see below).

The prospective tenant must meet the income requirements for accessing social housing (exemption possible for a maximum of one third of the agency' rental stock). The tenant benefits from rent, determined according to a rent scale set by the Government, with a 30% to 40% discount compared to the private market price.

This system has a significant cost to the Region, since the Social Real Estate Agencies receive a subsidy for each housing unit they manage. This subsidy is used to make up the difference between the rent received from the tenant and that paid to the owner but also to cover the costs related to the renovation and maintenance of the housing as well as administration costs (staff). Annually, the Region allocates a budget of around €3,100 per housing unit. This therefore means attributing a social purpose to private housing for a limited period, fixed at the outset by means of a subsidy.

Grants and financial support for owners

Owners who assign their property to a Social Real Estate Agency enjoy a series of benefits in terms of grants and taxes. The whole package can be quite attractive:

- Complete exemption from regional property tax for the entire duration of the management term;
- Reduced VAT at a rate of 12% for all new housing managed by a Social Real Estate Agency for a minimum of 15 years;
- Collection of "Energy" grants and certain renovation grants at the maximum rate, regardless of the owner's income conditions;
- Access to certain renovation grants to which the owner would not be entitled, especially depending on the location of the property;
- Collection of an annual municipal bonus, depending on the municipality.

Both the Federal and the Regional and Municipal governments intervene to support this socialisation of private housing.

Target owner audience

All this financial support has changed the target owner audience over time. Indeed, while it was originally mainly small owners who were targeted, the VAT reduction measure on new homes introduced by the Federal Government in 2017, has caused a shift towards investor owners.
While the previous profile was mainly that of an elderly homeowner forced to go into a nursing home and not capable of taking care of the rental management of their home, this has now shifted towards the real estate development company focused on tapping into "dormant" savings in savings accounts to be invested without risk (or almost) at an annual rate of return more than 20 times higher than that of the base rate of this same savings account.

This has had the effect of profoundly changing the job of the Social Real Estate Agencies which now manage large numbers of properties concentrated in one place (with the resulting risks of no social mixing), where previously dispersion was the norm. This has also caused a very rapid increase in the number of units that a Social Real Estate Agency manages each year, rising from +/-250 to 300 units per year to over 730 units per year in the last three years (2018 to 2020).

2.1.2 Regional support for purchase by private individuals

CityDev.Brussels

CityDev.Brussels (formerly SDRB) produces new housing for sale, either through its own development or through calls for projects from the private sector in the form of joint projects. These homes are subsidised by the Region by up to 30% of the cost price. For a 3-bedroom home, the subsidy can approach or even exceed €100,000 per property.

In return, the purchaser has a 5-year residency requirement and is financially obliged for a period of 20 years following the purchase. In fact, there is a calculation method for both the rent that the purchaser can charge and the price at which they can resell the property (including a right of pre-emption for CityDev.Brussels), to guarantee a social purpose for the regional investment (for 20 years). After this 20-year period, the financial obligations no longer apply, and the property can therefore enter the private market and can no longer be described as "social purpose housing".

The Housing Fund of the Brussels-Capital Region

The Housing Fund is primarily a mortgage lender for people in the "moderate" income category. In the current context of particularly low interest rates, the advantage of the Housing Fund is mainly reflected in the loan-to-value ratio, which can exceed 100%. This is around 80% with traditional banks, thus limiting access to credit. As far as Housing Fund loans are concerned, the properties must be considered as "social". This is because, for the entire duration of the loan, they can only be resold to households which satisfy the income conditions imposed by the Housing Fund. Once the loan is fully repaid, the resale constraints disappear.

The Housing Fund also produces new or renovated housing intended for purchase by households that satisfy its income conditions. These properties are sold at cost price, without any regional subsidy. However, they are part of the "social housing" category because any resale must be to a household that meets the Housing Fund's income requirements, even after the mortgage has been repaid.

Community Land Trust Brussels (CLTB)

The CLTB offers affordable housing to people under the same income conditions as for social housing. Financial feasibility for the purchasers is helped by the fact that the arrangement uses the principle of dismemberment of rights in the form of a an emphyteusis or a surface right. The CLTB therefore remains the owner of the land and "only" sells the bricks, which substantially reduces the selling price. Initially part of the Alliance Habitat Programme, for 4 years, the CLTB received a regional subsidy of 2 million euros for the acquisition of land or buildings. Since then, but on a non-recurring basis, a substantial subsidy has been paid to the CLTB from time to time for the same purpose. Purchasers are constrained in their rental or resale conditions both in terms of the target audience for the purchase (which must be a household registered on the CLTB's lists of candidate-buyers) and in terms of capital gain which will largely be neutralised by the CLTB.

In addition to the benefit of providing access to property for a low-income population, the CLTB focuses on the neighbourhood's acceptability of the project by implementing a set of activities bringing together future residents and people from the neighbourhood throughout the project's development. When households move into their new homes, they are not only already partly integrated into the neighbourhood's social life, but they have also already developed a capacity to manage their future joint ownership property through collective intelligence.

2.2 Distinctive features favouring the support of CALICO-type projects

The Public Authorities' support of CALICO is based on the project's multiplicity/diversity. Gravitating around an innovative housing project, combining purchase by dismemberment of rights (in accordance with Action 31 of the Emergency Housing Plan: "*promote tools for dismemberment of property with public property operators*"), with varied rental management (Social Real Estate Agency, cooperative) for households responding to regional housing policies and based on taking into account the issue of gender and Care (of birth and death), CALICO responds socially and in terms of individual well-being to many current concerns in Brussels.

3. Requirements for this type of project in terms of territorial planning

In terms of basic needs, the first question to be asked is about the availability of land or the ability to acquire a residential building. However, the neighbourhood's characteristics are also important, as well as the possible set-up and management of the housing created.

3.1 Location characteristics of a CALICO-type project

3.1.1 Neighbourhood

Housing is an important part of the Regional Policy Declaration. The first chapter (*Guaranteeing access to affordable housing and local public infrastructures*) of priority 1 (*A region that guarantees everyone the conditions for a life in accordance with human dignity*) is dedicated entirely to this issue, highlighting its importance. On the second page of this chapter, the Government sets out: *"In the long term, there should be 15% of social housing throughout the region, distributed in a balanced way by municipality and by neighbourhood."*

"Social housing" is defined as accommodation produced or supervised within the framework of a regional public policy, whether in terms of setting the rent or the conditions of purchase and/or resale of the property.

In practical terms, this refers to housing which is:

- social, affordable and medium-sized, all rentals, of the Brussels-Capital Region Housing Company (SLRB – Société du Logement de la Région Bruxelloise);
- rented through the Housing Fund's Rental Assistance (affordable rental);
- rented by the Regional Land Management Unit (affordable rental);
- rented through a local public authority (social, affordable and medium-sized, all rental);
- produced as part of the Urban Regeneration tools (affordable rental and average purchase);
- managed by a social housing agency (affordable rental);
- purchased through a Community Land Trust (social purchase);
- purchased from the Housing Fund (affordable purchase);
- purchased from or through CityDev.Brussels (average purchase).

Depending on its specific characteristics, a CALICO-type project satisfies several of the items in the aforementioned list, mainly that of its purchase through the CLTB and the management of most of these units by a Social Real Estate Agency.

The government insists on a balanced distribution of social housing throughout the region, especially in the Neighbourhood Monitoring neighbourhoods. It therefore seems to make sense to plan this type of project as a priority in a neighbourhood that does not currently meet the 15% threshold for social housing as set by the government. Issue No. 5 of the Monitoring of Public Housing Projects[15], published at the end of June 2021, presents an analysis of the distribution of social housing in such neighbourhoods as of 31/12/2020.
The map below details the results.

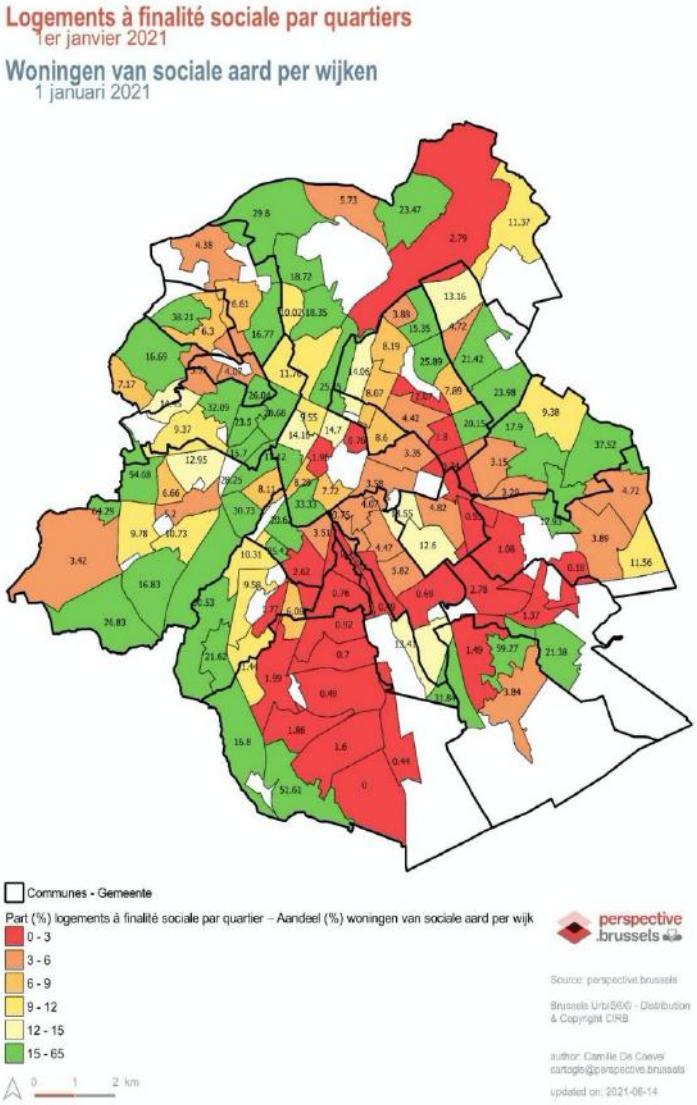

Figure 7. Share of social housing per neighbourhood
(source: 5th Monitoring of Public Housing Projects - perspective.brussels)

[15] Link to the monitoring of public housing projects :
https://perspective.brussels/fr/publications?f%5B0%5D=field_typedoc%3A127

If a new CALICO-type projects were to be created in Brussels, in a planned manner and not based on a land opportunity, it would be advisable to preferably locate it in a neighbourhood that does not exceed the 15% threshold for social housing.

3.1.2 Block

The objective of creating both social housing and "services" for non-resident citizens (through the presence of facilities and multi-purpose rooms) within the same project creates a link with a certain density. The insertion of such a project into the life of the block, the neighbourhood, the municipality, will be much better in a dense rather than a scattered urban context.

This density may exist but, in the case of a planned neighbourhood development, it could also be *'potential'* in the future. In this case, it will be important not to plan the arrival of such a project in the first location, or else it will have to be located on the edge of the area, in contact with the neighbourhoods that already exist.

3.1.3 Plot/building

At a more micro level, such a project requires a building of a certain size, allowing for several properties; a minimum of 15 to 20 dwellings seems appropriate depending on the number of associations to be involved in the project. This means having a plot of land of a certain size allowing for the development of a minimum of 2,000 to 2,500 m² gross or a building of the same capacity to be renovated/converted. The solution of a turnkey purchase should also be explored.

Finally, regardless of the type of land arrangement envisaged, a project of this type cannot be considered without communal spaces, including outdoor spaces, whether in the form of a communal garden or a useful and communal roof.

3.1.4 Housing management

Social Real Estate Agency (AIS)

As we have seen, Social Real Estate agencies are the traditional way of managing private social housing. However, some aspects of this system are now being called into question, mainly due to the development of the tax loophole represented by these homes and the resulting investments.

This leads to the creation of new, large-scale housing complexes (up to 130 properties in one project) and potentially results in problems with social relations and integration into the block and the neighbourhood that are relatively non-existent in the case of conventional and scattered Social Real Estate Agency's housings.

On the other hand, the rapid increase in the number of housing units under AIS management has led to an uncontrolled increase in the related budget. Over the past 3 years, 700 to 800 new AIS properties have been added to the existing stock.

In early 2021, the Secretary of State for Housing made the decision to create a cap totaling 2,500 properties over the entire 5-year legislative period and to prohibit projects exceeding a threshold of 15 Social Real Estate Agency managed dwellings within a single project. Recently, the Secretary of State reversed her intentions in this regard and her various limitations are not currently in force (August 2021).

Clearly, if this new framework had been implemented, a project like CALICO would not be possible today because it exceeds the 15-property threshold.

Rental housing cooperatives

Now the subject of renewed interest, rental housing cooperatives also offer potential solutions for the active management of CALICO-type housing. In addition to the fact that establishing a cooperative of this type requires limited financial support from the public authorities, which may consist of the provision of land for example, cooperatives have a specific set of advantages compared to most public housing organisations.

Indeed, if they are linked to public or CLTB ownership of the land on which they own the housing managed by a Social Real Estate Agency, the cooperatives guarantee:

- the long-term socialisation of the housing they own and thus respond to the regularly-highlighted need for the supervision of private development organisations;
- the opening of new ways of private, ethical and solidarity financing, often complicated to mobilise outside the profitability conditions of the logics of the market;
- democratic and collective management of a set of properties.

3.2 Summary of preferred planning criteria

Criterion 1: be located in a neighbourhood that does not meet the 15% social housing threshold

Criterion 2: an existing dense urban context or one with a density potential to be developed

Criterion 3: a plot of land or a building allowing for the development of a minimum project of 2,000 to 2,500 m² and including communal indoor and outdoor spaces.

Criterion 4: an organisation to manage the housing produced, renovated or purchased.

4. For achieving new CALICO-type projects

In the administrative context of a finite territory such as the Brussels Region, access to land is the main difficulty. The region is becoming denser and virgin land is becoming ever scarcer, especially when it comes to public land.

However, public and private land reserves are still present within our territory and the Region regularly acquires land, mainly from other Public Authorities (Federal State, Communities, Federal Public Interest Bodies, etc.).

At the same time, the Brussels regional public housing organisations (SLRB, CityDev.Brussels, Housing Fund) operate on the private real estate market, either through the direct acquisition of housing built or under construction (turnkey) or through the purchase of empty buildings (workshops, offices, etc.) to be renovated and repurposed.

Access to land is the determining element as a starting point for the success of a future project similar to the one developed in Forest by CALICO. There is no "miracle" formula to be favoured but a set of possible solutions that would be interesting to activate depending on the context.

4.1 Aid for accessing land

4.1.1 Acquiring land through a regional subsidy

A first option to consider is obtaining a significant subsidy from the Brussels Region. This would allow the acquisition of a plot of land with a surface area allowing the realisation of the project or of an existing building to be renovated/repurposed with the same characteristics. A subsidy of this type is periodically allocated to the CLTB to facilitate the development of its projects, so an example of this type already exists and could be used as a basis.

4.1.2 Acquiring public land under a long lease (PAD?)

A second option to consider is to acquire land from a public authority under the long lease scheme. Although still unnatural today for the Brussels buyer, the dismemberment of rights, between the ground and the bricks, has undeniable advantages, mainly in terms of purchase costs.

In fact, the buyer does not become the owner of the land on which the property stands, the cost of the land is neutralised and replaced by an annual or monthly rent (ground rent) paid to the landowner. However, the landowner waives all rights related to the use of the land for a period of time to be determined at the outset. For the buyer, this allows the cost to be smoothed out over the entire duration of the long lease, while the owner has the guarantee of regular income from the land and can take full ownership of it again at the end of the long lease, if they wish so or if they deem the social management to be deficient.

When perspective.brussels considers the planning of a neighbourhood within a Master Development Plan (PAD - *Plan d'Aménagement Directeur*), the definition of the programme for the targeted territory always specifies the number of square meters of public and private housing to be built there.

However, the PAD does not specify which operators will be responsible for carrying out this programme (for either public or private housing). In this regard, an operational note is approved separately by the Government.

In this context, through the PAD, it seems conceivable to plan the provision of public land under a long lease to a CALICO-type housing project. The Public Authority could be regional but also local and would therefore programme a certain amount of private social housing in the form of a long lease within the PAD.

The challenge of such an arrangement is to make the final user (the final buyer of a property) perceive the, mainly financial, benefit of not being a full owner while having a guarantee of occupation and use linked to the duration of the long lease.

4.1.3 Supporting a cooperative by providing public land

This third alternative for obtaining land is directly inspired by the example of the City of Zurich in its support of private affordable housing cooperatives. The mechanism is simple. The public authority supports the creation or continuity of a cooperative the objective of which is to provide affordable rental housing by "supplying" land or a building. The public authorities can be involved in two ways.

Subsidise a cooperative "in kind" by providing land or a public building

This simple method is a variation on the proposal to provide a grant to an organisation to acquire land/a building and complete its project. In this case, the subsidy is an "in-kind" contribution to a cooperative of land or a building to be renovated/repurposed. The role and support of the public authority does not go beyond that, which means that the risks and costs resulting from the production and management of the housing will in no way be borne by the public authority.

Receive land as shares in a cooperative

A public authority takes shares in the cooperative by contributing land or a building. The rest of the project (demolition, demolition/reconstruction, renovation, repurposing) is managed and financed by the cooperative. Becoming a cooperative member, the public authority takes on a broader role than in the first arrangement, but it can also be involved in the daily management of the housing produced by the cooperative.

Provided that it is set out in the recommendations of the strategic part of a PAD that covers public land, this type of project structure can find its place under the implementation of this same PAD. This mechanism is not specifically linked to a PAD; it could just as easily find its place within another planning document such as a municipal Specific Land Use Plan (PPAS) or a conventional master plan, or even in the absence of any planning tool if there is a political will to support this project.

4.2 Integration into a regional or municipal planning project

4.2.1 Acquire land in the context of financing linked to urban renewal tools

A fourth option for supporting a CALICO-type initiatives could come from the regional budgets allocated within the framework of the urban renewal tools, either via the Sustainable Neighbourhood Contracts (CQD – *Contrat de Quartier Durable*), which are mainly municipal in nature, or via the Urban Renewal Contracts (CRU – *Contrat de Rénovation Urbaine*), which are regional in nature.

These tools have a real operational power that cements the use of the significant budgets allocated to them. If there is the local or regional political will, the preliminary diagnoses of these tools and the programming of the resulting actions could identify a building or wasteland that would allow such a project to be completed and consequently, allocate a budget to allow this acquisition (full ownership, long lease, etc.) by a body/association defined and validated by the Government. The downstream management (works, rental management, etc.) would then be the sole responsibility of the organisation/association benefiting from the acquisition.

4.2.2 Acquire land as part of a municipal project (or under a long lease)

Some municipalities, mainly in the inner suburbs, are still large owners of virgin land. They regularly develop real estate projects, sometimes in partnership with the private sector, sometimes under a Specific Land-use Plan (PPAS – *Plan Particulier d'Aménagement des Sols*), but very often with the partial objective of creating social housing. The "conventional" mechanism allows a private developer to acquire municipal land at a price lower than market value in exchange for the creation of a certain number of social housing units, for rental or purchase.

A CALICO-type project is therefore also likely to interest a municipality which could even become a project partner and remain manager of some of the housing. This is a 5th fulfilment option.

4.3 In partnership with a public real estate operator

Finally, a 6th way to replicate a project similar to CALICO could be through working with a regional real estate operator and integration into one of their projects.

This last option is probably the easiest to implement if there is the political will to do so. The regional operators, Citydev and the Housing Fund or the SLRB, regularly develop major projects that would allow such a partnership to be implemented. The regional operator would be responsible for building all the housing units, a certain number of which would be purchased by an organisation/association wanting to reproduce a CALICO-type project. This acquisition could be covered by a long lease or using regional subsidy, and therefore differs little from the mechanisms above but presents the advantage of not having to search for the land opportunity.

As part of the Brussels-Capital Region Housing Company's (SLRB) Dames Blanches project, the Regional Plan for Sustainable Development (PRDD – *Plan Régional de Développement Durable*) provides for one-third medium-sized housing for purchase. The total number of homes to be built on this land is still unknown, but it can be assumed that it will largely allow the fulfilment of a project

of 20 to 30 CALICO-type dwellings in this '*third for purchase*'. Moreover, this housing would fit in perfectly with a desire for social and typological diversity in the neighbourhood, as well as with the desire expressed by the municipality to see the development of a set of facilities in the Dames Blanches that would complement existing facilities in adjacent neighbourhoods. Financing should of course be found to acquire the land and the housing that will be built.

5. Conclusions

In terms of planning, the main difficulty in "replicating" the CALICO project lies in obtaining virgin land or a building to be renovated/repurposed suitable for such a project.

The Region can actively contribute to the search for a solution either through an exceptional grant to a targeted organisation/association that would allow, in whole or in part, the purchase of land, a building or turnkey housing, the provision of land which then replaces the payment of the grant and/or the inclusion of such a project in a strategic territory's program.

The option of creating a cooperative is worth exploring because it allows the cooperative to be managed independently of the Region and guarantees that the Region's financial support is limited to an initial outlay.

However, the option to work with a regional operator seems to be the most pragmatic and potentially the fastest way to "replicate" a similar project.

D. REPLICATE THE CALICO PROJECT

This section is dedicated to the replication issues of the CALICO project and focuses on its main innovative components. After confirming the interest of replication, the general public-common governance framework of the CALICO project is highlighted. Then, the 5 layers or building blocks that articulate all the innovations of the CALICO project are detailed and discussed. Following this section, the next two sections will deal with the specific issues of scaling-up the project in the Brussels region and disseminating it on a European scale and will each present a synthesis of useful recommendations.

Many quotes extracted from the partners' post-evaluation meeting and the 5 interviews of experts and policy makers are used in this section and the following.

1. *Is it worth replicating the project?*

First and foremost, let us ask the question: '*Is it worth replicating the project?*'

As the previous research reports attest, the answer to this question is 'yes'. Firstly, CALICO fulfilled all its objectives in time, without significant alteration or disqualifying blockage. Secondly, the satisfaction expressed by the inhabitants and the enthusiastic feedback expressed by the project partners also attest to this. In addition, this opinion was also shared during interviews with (inter)national experts. . The European Urban Policy Officer expresses it as follows: *"When I saw and read the description of the project, when I talked about it, I realised that it was innovative because of the diversity of the different types of sub-projects and the legal and financial construction behind it. From that point of view, it was considered innovative at the time and I, in reading it, confirm that it is interesting. The evaluation, moreover, also confirms this"* (R5).

Similarly, the head of unit of the European New Bauhaus, in a video clip produced in the context of the project by Bruxelles Logement, states: *"The CALICO project is interesting in several respects: Firstly, because of its attitude towards property, which makes things affordable because there is a joint management of a plot of land; Secondly, because there is a co-creation approach with all the inhabitants; And then thirdly, because there is an intergenerational approach to joint care, which is also a response to a growing concern in our society"* (Xavier Troussard, 2022).

One of the international experts also explains why CALICO adds value thanks to its social dimension : *"I think the project should be supported because the housing crisis is not only about the number of houses, but also about the "how question", the quality of the houses. By quality I don't only mean the physical quality, but also the quality of the living experience that it provides, for instance a social benefit. (…) And it seems that you are addressing all your objectives quite well and in a balanced way and that you have developed quite a detailed way in which mechanisms, forms could be brought forward and could be replicated"* (R6).

Once this encouraging general observation has been made, establishing recommendations for the replication, scaling-up or dissemination of the CALICO project requires a clear definition of what is to be replicated or expanded. As the international academic expert suggests, *"the task would be to find out 'what are the key elements for building blocks of these innovations that can be replicated. (...) My recommendation would be to provide a template that can be used by decision makers that are key to making this kind of affordable and collaborative housing realisable"* (R6).

However, the project is complex and responds to many challenges of public governance, housing rights, social cohesion, social justice, community care... The objective is not so much to insist on the singularities of the project, which are certainly potentially inspiring, but rather to put into perspective the basic principles of the project that could form the basis of a public land policy in favour of community-led housing projects.

2. A new Public - Commons partnership in housing production

The CALICO project is supported by two lead partners. On the one hand, the administration of the Brussels-Capital Region, Brussels Housing, and on the other hand, the Community Land Trust – Brussels (CLTB), the last recognised public operator in the Region in the field of housing, characterised by its collaborative governance.

The collaboration of these two public operators and their work in coordinating associative and cooperative actors is above all the expression of a new paradigm of organisational or institutional governance, described according to the authors as public-civic governance (Pialucha, 2020), public-community collaboration (Buròn, Gonzales de Molina, 2021), collaborative public management (Agranoff, McGuire, 2003), or public-common governance. This differs from public-private partnerships, which are often restricted to the commercial sector, marking the domination of the economic over the social and ignoring the usefulness of other social or community enterprises.

In this framework, the role of public actors is part of a vision of a 'relational state', distributing roles, tasks and responsibilities between the state, the market and civil society, or of an 'entrepreneurial state' fostering an innovation ecosystem through different mechanisms of public-private collaboration (Mazzucato, 2014).

In the first instance, it is obviously the European Urban Innovative Action programme (UIA), and its call for projects logic, that has given rise to this relational or entrepreneurial vocation of local public operators. The approach of the UIA programme itself is in line with a certain recent evolution of the European framework for social innovation, sometimes described as bottom-linked governance, reinstitutionalising the relationships between state and civil society, and considered as a sine qua for social innovation durability (Moulaert and MacCallum:5). As mentioned above, it also seems to be in line with the principles of the new European Bauhaus.

However, in the second instance, the lead partners ensured the detailed implementation of this new collaborative governance within the project, i.e. the implementation of 'carefully structured

arrangements that weave together public and private capacities in terms of shared discretion' (Donahue and Zeckhauser, 2011: 4).

While the CLTB provided operational coordination of the project set-up, the regional administration also contributed to finding these carefully structured arrangements. In addition to its dialogue with its lead partner CLTB, the administration also participated in the bi-monthly coordination meetings between partners, actively promoted the project and financed several levels of the partnership, in addition to carrying out a monitoring task.

A project manager from one of the partnership's associations testifies to this relational approach of the regional administration: *"I have had the experience of working quite a few times with public administrations and I find that Brussels Housing's investment was very different from what we are used to, which is more of an administrative investment"* (E3). Similarly, a representative of the regional administration explains her enthusiasm for this innovative framework for collaboration: *"We experienced it in a really, really positive way, working with all the partners, even when there were tensions or whatever. So, I think it gave us a boost to be involved in this. And the office of the Secretary of State for Housing of the Brussels-Capital Region, which is always important, saw that such collaboration is possible, and that it puts certain partners forward"* (E4).

At the operational level, the sharing of this discretionary power in the CALICO project has effectively concerned the capacity for co-decision between public and private actors:

- in the design of the partnership, i.e. the formation of the consortium that responded to the UIA call;
- in the execution and implementation of the project and the partnership agreement;
- in the sharing of responsibilities, tasks, risks and resources in a stable and long-term relationship framework.

The development of the conditions set out in the administrative and technical specifications are largely determined upstream by the conditions set by the UIA programme, and the various European, national, regional and local legislative frameworks. However, a steering committee, based on the principle of co-decision between partners over the entire duration of the UIA programme (2018-2021), has twice been able to propose a major change in the implementation of the administrative and technical specifications.

In this context, thinking about the replication of the CALICO model implies imagining a collaborative governance in the absence of the privileged support framework of the European UIA programme. These aspects will be developed in part E. 'Scaling-up of the project'.

3. The five layers of governance of the CALICO project

The CALICO project can be described as a superposition of 5 levels of governance nested on each other. From a public - common governance at the level of the lead partners, to a sociocratic governance of residents for the cohousing livelyhood. Intermediate governance is the mutualist governance of the building owner structures (cooperative, CLTB), and the associative governance of community

strategies. Between the two, the Social Real Estate Agency functions as an intermediary taking care of the administrative-technical management of the social rental.

This following diagram synthesises the 5 building blocks or layers of the real estate governance model of the CALICO project, which, when assembled, guarantee the main innovations of this community-led housing model. The diagram emphasises the relevance of the articulation of these 5 layers to allow the deployment of all the real estate innovations contained in the project.

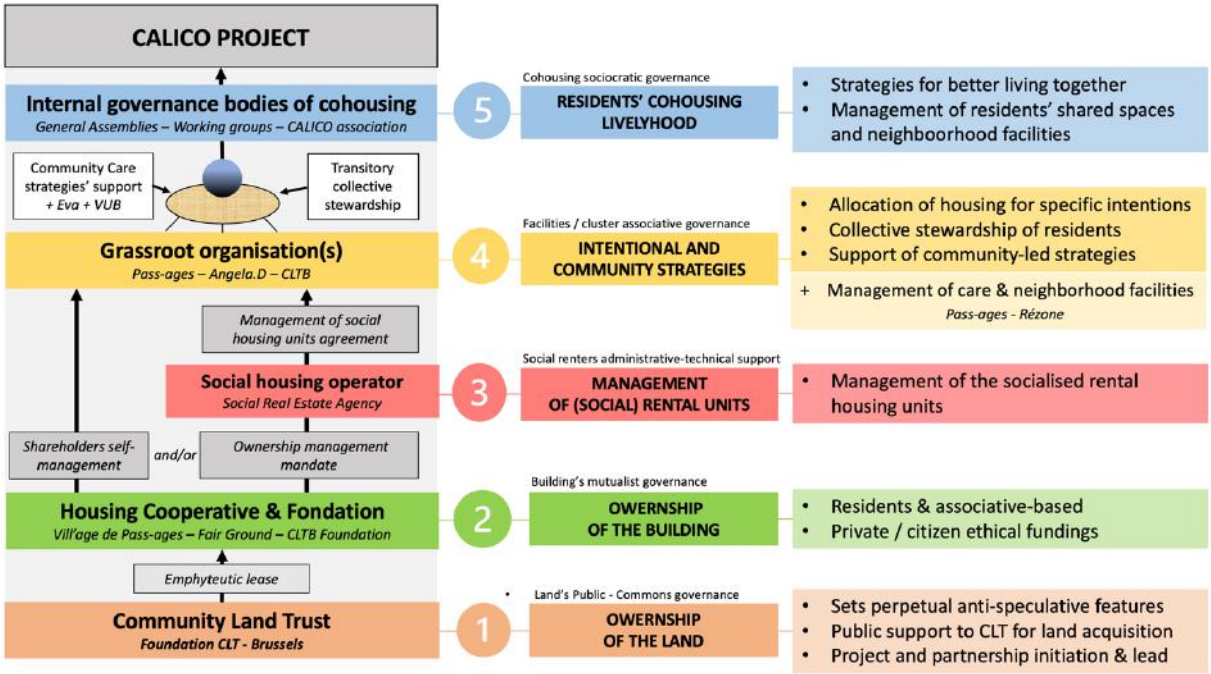

Figure 8. The 5 layers of governance of the CALICO project

It should be noted that the diagram does not include the specific features relating to the 8 dwellings of the CLTB's acquisitive set-up, as these are based on more traditional arrangements already studied in a large body of literature (Aernouts, Ryckewaert, 2018, Dawance 2014, 2018, De Pauw & Aernouts, 2020), and as such are not strictly speaking an innovation. Those owners are also included in the sociocratic cohousing governance.

The following sections present each layer separately, pinpointing the innovations contained, and discussing the related issues.

3.1 FIRST LAYER - Ownership of the land as land policy tool to support community-led housing

The Community Land Trust Brussels, as an innovative regional land operator, is the main building block for the CALICO anti-speculative community-led housing project.

3.1.1 The CLTB as a basis for programming a community-led housing project

The first essential innovation in the CALICO project lies in the ability of the CLTB to guarantee a community-led programming of the housing project. In fact, it is the CLTB that brings together a consortium of actors (the project partners) before the project begins so that together they can define the programme and distribute the responsibilities in the assembly and long-term management. Thus, it is the CLTB that coordinates the arrangement of the various innovative dimensions of the real estate package resulting in:

- the definition of multi-layer governance modalities oriented by the support of associative intentionalities and emancipation of the inhabitants.

These issues of sharing the management of the project, through which its community-led dimension is materialised, will be detailed as the different layers are presented. It is through the articulation of these layers that the community-led management of such a project emerges.

- the definition of a mixed functional and social programme. It is at this level that the societal coherence of the project is defined (emphasis on care or gender mainstreaming, for example) and that quotas aimed at guaranteeing inter-generationality or balances between allocation to precarious or more affluent households are set (a full description can be found in Third Report).

In the context of a replication of a project such as CALICO, the definition of a collaborative procedure for determining the criteria for the composition of the resident community is an important issue. The procurement methods chosen for a replication may strongly condition these procedures. Depending on the type of procurement, the programmes and quotas could be set by the public authorities, the CLTB, the partners, or by their coordinated action. It can be the subject of more or less intense co-creation depending on the level of commitment of the partners upstream of the project. Ideally, it should always require an ad hoc response depending on the project envisaged. The quotas defined can be more or less elaborate, and more or less binding in time, but it is certainly necessary to define them.

3.1.2 CLTB sets perpetual anti-speculation features

The second essential level of innovation, also guaranteed by the CLTB, is the perpetual affordability of the real estate project developed on land it owns, i.e. the anti-speculative nature of the project. It anchors the various sub-projects, particularly cooperatives, in a broader project in favour of social justice, to prevent them from constituting "islands of privilege" (Dorste, 2015, Card, 2020) built with public money, but rather constitute a means of protection against gentrification and rising rents.

In concrete terms, the CLTB therefore acquires ownership of the land and then dismembers the ownership of this land from that of the buildings erected on it and grants a title (right in rem, via an emphyteutic lease) to legal bodies that acquire and finance the ownership of these buildings (either directly from the purchasing households or from collective structures such as cooperatives or foundations). It is through this dismemberment of property rights, and more precisely in the emphyteutic lease, that the CLTB establishes the perpetual anti-speculative provisions to which the households or entities that acquire ownership of the buildings agree to submit. The CLTB guarantees price control of the housing produced on its land. As this control is perpetual, it is equivalent to that guaranteed by public ownership of a housing stock.

3.1.3 Public policy to support land acquisition by the CLTB

Given the price of land and property in Brussels, the development of such a project, at least with such a level of socialisation of the housing units produced and perpetual control of the price of access to housing, cannot reasonably be envisaged without a public subsidy to the CLTB for the acquisition of land.

The CALICO project relies on significant public intervention, in this case European and Regional funds. The main public financial support, about two thirds, is the investment envelope granted to the CLTB to enable the emergence of a community-led housing project, i.e. this support is basically part of a land policy of which the CLTB is the instrument. Other financial resources, essentially operating resources, are also mobilised[16].

Thus, the issue at stake in the support of the CALICO project by the UIA programme is certainly not the kick-starting of an innovation that could then be reproduced by itself with private funds. It is rather a question of defining the basic principles of a public land policy in favour of community-led housing projects, i.e. the modalities of a structural public support for a housing production according to a new innovative paradigm that is community-led, anti-speculative, functionally and socially mixed, and socially inclusive.

This innovative land management policy differs from both strictly public and private property management. It allows for land management by the 'community', ensuring a balanced representation of civil society (inhabitants, grassroots organisations) and public authorities. As such, it is often presented as a way of managing land according to ‘commons’ principles.

[16] These include the use of Social Real Estate Agencies to assist in the social management of housing (D. 3.3 Layer 3) and grassroots organisations involved in community support (D. 3.4 Layer 4).

3.2 SECOND LAYER - Ownership of the building. To boost housing cooperatives and associative patrimonial investors

The homeownership scheme for low-income households is the core business of the CLTB and is the only one supported by the Brussels-Capital Region at this stage. The CALICO project uses this formula for 8 of the 34 housing units. Yet, it's especially the other units' collective ownership structure for the buildings in combination with CLTB land that makes the CALICO project a fairly unique case in the context of Europe[17].

So, in addition to the units sold to the purchasing households, the housing units of the CALICO project are divided between two cooperatives (the Fair Ground cooperative, the Vill'ages de Pass-ages cooperative) and one foundation (the Community Land Trust Foundation).

In particular, the use of these collective structures is intended to provide access to people who are not able to get a mortgage to become homeowners. This may be the case for elderly people, people suffering from disabilities, people in the process of obtaining administrative regularisation, etc. A person in charge of setting up the Vill'ages de Pass-ages cooperative explains: *"The cooperative set-up is really very interesting as an approach to this type of housing in a cohousing, in terms of maintaining values, and in thinking about access to housing for people who do not have the possibility of buying"*. (Sylvie).

By using a collective structure for the ownership of the buildings, the CLTB can thus design projects that are no longer exclusively aimed at households wishing to access property, but potentially at much larger scope of the Brussels population. It also makes it possible to organise a greater social mix within the projects.

In the CALICO project, the role of the owner structures is limited to the financing and the long-term management of the buildings. As layers 3 (D.3.3) and 4 (D.3.4.) illustrate, the socialisation of the units is guaranteed by a partnership with a Social Real Estate Agency and the allocations, cohousing and community care strategies are delegated to grassroots associations.

Similarly, as the CALICO project is a turnkey purchase of a new building, the owner structures do not act as project managers. The mission of project management, which traditionally falls to cooperatives and allows them to design housing typologies corresponding to their collective aspirations, is therefore not at stake here.

The role of housing cooperatives is therefore more limited than in most of the traditional arrangements involving them, with no project ownership, no socialisation of housing units, no allocation of housing, and no deployment of a societal vision at the heart of the cohousing project. This is both a strength of the project, allowing it to be strongly community-based, and a vector of complexity.
The legal forms of the owner structures are multiple, in this case two cooperatives and a foundation. They all share the objective to guarantee democratic or mutualistic forms of internal management and

[17] In the United States and Canada, there are a few projects also based on a combination of CLT owned land with cooperative owned buildings. See DeFilippis, J., Williams, O., Pierce, J., Martin, D., Kruger, R., Esfahani, A. (2019).

rely on ethical and solidarity-based private financing mechanisms, as presented in the following two sections.

3.2.1 Deepening buildings' mutualistic governance

The use of the legal structure of the cooperative guarantees a form of internal mutualistic management of the building complex, notably through the following principles:

- Integration of residents and associative founders in the decision-making bodies;
- The principle of "one person, one vote" ;
- Quorum principle and veto right to protect anti-speculation values and user representation.

Both structures operate on a tripartite Board with a specific quorum for decisions on the composition of the Board. Other management arrangements are possible. In any case, the idea is to be able to guarantee the effectiveness of democratic or mutualistic representation.

In the case of the CLTB Foundation, democratic representation follows other channels, also based on the principle of a tripartite Board of Directors involving representatives of the different CLTB projects.

In any case, the collective acquisition of a group of housing units avoids the fragmentation of the property among too many patrimonial investors. This makes it possible to envisage a coordinated overall management of the buildings, to facilitate strategies of economies of scale in the investments made in the building. It should be noted, however, that the CALICO project adds up the ownership structures, and sometimes partially delegates the mission of partial management to the Social Real Estate Agency. This only partially resolves the issue of fragmentation of ownership and, as such, raises the question of the complexity of managing the maintenance of the building.

The management of property by collective structures also makes it possible to establish innovative internal rules, which would be incompatible with joint ownership. This is the case of the Vill'ages de Pass-ages cooperative, which provides for long-term internal transfers between dwellings according to changes in the composition of the households living there.

3.2.2 Ethical and solidarity-based private financing mechanisms

The financing of the buildings is thus the responsibility of the collective ownership structures that acquire the property. The financing by the cooperatives is based on a set of loan products: bank loans, private loans, citizen's bonds, but also public institutions' and private's cooperative shares. The financing by the CLTB foundation is based on the UIA investment grant, on own reserves a loan from the King Baudouin Foundation and on bank loans.

All collective owner structures offer rental housing. If this choice is explicitly linked to the will to offer social rental to people excluded from access to property for the tenants of the CLTB foundation, it is also for the cooperatives, to increase the financial security and to reconstitute the borrowed capital. The two cooperatives that were created within the framework of the project must make every effort to ensure the security of their fixed capital. In the long run, once the capitalisation of these structures

guaranteed, a balance between a rent policy strengthening the economy of the cooperative and a policy of limited valorisation of the residents' cooperative shares could be explored.

Two specific advantages arise from ethical financing of co-operatives, one regarding the positive impact on public expenditure and the other regarding the societal involvement offered to investors.

Positive impact on public expenditure: Cooperatives can offer social rents, below market prices, thanks to the public investment in land acquisition by the CLTB, the intervention of Social Real Estate Agencies (D.3.3 Layer 3), as well as the operating costs of the actors involved. However, the sum of these public investments seems to be lower than in fully public social housing production operations. The advantages seem to be threefold in terms of public expenditure. On the one hand, they are lower than in a fully public operation since the price of the brick is not subsidised. On the other hand, this lower public investment has a positive impact on the public debt. Finally, the financial risk borne by the public authorities due to fluctuations in the financial markets is also lower.

The study entitled "housing deal", financed by the Secretary of State for Housing of the Brussels-Capital Region (presented in section B.3.7.), will make it possible to objectify and measure these advantages more precisely.

While the impact on public expenditure of the CALICO package seems a priori positive, the interest of offering the possibility of an ethical investment in the projects of the two cooperatives should also be stressed.

Positive impact on solidarity-based investment: They develop a new private, ethical, and solidarity-based financing, outside the profitability conditions of the market logic. They offer several possible investment products, ranging from donations to cooperative shares and different types of loans. In this context, cooperatives produce awareness campaigns that highlight and create support for the ethical values of the project (anti-speculation, social character, community management, care, gender mainstreaming, etc.).

Concerning the fundraising for the "Vill'ages de Pass-ages" cooperative, a project manager said: *"We saw that we had support from outside, from the population, from people who thought it was a good approach to housing. It shows that there is a way to think differently about how to access housing and that is really nice"* (E3).

Similarly, regarding the Fair Ground cooperative, the regional policy maker on housing issues states: *"The idea of mobilising capital together to acquire sustainably and put it into ISAs, we can only applaud with both hands"* (R2).

The use of cooperatives for construction financing enables the activation of other solidarity-based private financing mechanisms, i.e. share value regulation and anti-speculation clauses, and sustainable socialisation of housing.

Share value regulation: For the Fair Ground cooperative, in terms of dividends, the founder and sympathiser cooperators are not entitled to any dividends. Those of investors and residents are capped at a maximum of 2%. For the Vill'ages de Pass-ages cooperative, the residents (30% of the shares) will not give right to any dividend. Thus, the financing of the project is based solely on solidarity-based and largely anti-speculation financial commitments. These mechanisms were freely set by the cooperatives and were not subject to a prior formal agreement with the project partners.

Anti-speculation clauses: imposed by the CLTB on the cooperative structures, these are limited to the capture of 69% of the surplus value in case of resale of the housing (see details in Third Report) and to the principle of pre-emption in case of resale.

Sustainable socialisation of housing: Similarly, together, the co-operatives commit to the sustainable socialisation of 2/3 of their dwellings through the Social Real Estate Agency, although they are only formally committed to this for a period of 15 years (and 10 years in respect of UIA). In this context, the continuation beyond this term of a total or partial socialisation of their dwellings currently depends on their own will and not on rules fixed upstream in the framework of the project. The same applies to the respect of a potential future allocation of profits to projects with anti-speculation purposes.

3.2.3 Originalities of mutualist governance of each collective ownership structure

The CALICO project allows the CLTB to innovate by organising a dismemberment of the property with 3 different collective structures. This new type of partnership served as a basis for three main classes of projects:

- Social and community-based housing projects through "associative investment cooperatives".
- Self-managed cohousing projects through "resident cooperatives".
- Social inclusion programmes by Associative patrimonial investors.

These proprietary collective structures raise specific issues to be pinpointed to study their replicability.

Fair Ground: a community-based social housing project through an *associative investment cooperative*.

Fair ground is a cooperative founded by several non-profit organisations working in the sectors the fight against homelessness, the social economy, the right to housing and to the city, the activation of empty buildings, or the common good. Its founding members have a casting vote. Residents only become members on a voluntary basis by acquiring a €25 share, which is not the case for any of the CALICO project's residents at this stage. The objective is to carry out operations that allow these different actors to take turns in carrying out social real estate projects, according to their own vision and for their target public. As such, it is basically an associative investment cooperative. However, the cooperative delegates the management of the housing to the associative member to whom the project belongs, in this case the association Angela.D.

Vill'ages de Pass-ages: a self-managed cohousing and community care project through a *resident cooperative*

Vill'ages de Pass-ages, founded by the members of the non-profit organisation Pass-ages, aims essentially to articulate the asset management of the intergenerational housing project with the Birth and End-of-Life facilities. The residents have the casting vote and constitute one third of the cooperative shares. The objective is more specifically related to the project, although the cooperative envisages that it will eventually be able to support other similar real estate projects. It is basically a residents' cooperative linked to a specific societal project, in this case that of the Pass-ages association.

CLTB Public Interest Foundation: a social rental project through a *Regional Community Land Trust*

Finally, rental management by the CLTB Foundation raises other specific issues. The dissociation of the ownership of land and buildings disappears. The CLTB Foundation therefore carries out rental management for the benefit of its applicants on its waiting list. What distinguishes it from other public social housing operators in the Region is the delegation of rental management to a Social Real Estate Agency and, in the case of the two "housing first" dwellings managed by the Diogenes association and the CPAS of Forest, the establishment of a partnership with grassroots associations for the allocation of housing and social support. In this case, it is no longer an independent collective structure that forms the basis of the vision of the housing project, but the CLTB itself, alone or in direct relation with associative partners.

These three types of collective building ownership structures support different conceptions of mutualistic governance and of the notion of 'community-led'. However, they share the following key points:

- they are all run by tripartite structures ensuring a minimum of one third of the votes to resident members;
- They all socialise their housing through a partnership with a Social Real Estate Agency and sometimes with a grassroots association for housing allocation and social support;
- Finally, all of them rely on financing that strongly limits shareholder dividends.

In the context of replication, it is surely wise to allow for the possibility of supporting these three distinct types of dynamics in public efforts towards community-led housing projects.

3.2.4 Illegitimate public support for a "middle-class" cooperative?

As a cooperative based largely on the ownership of shares by the residents themselves (about one third of the shares), the *Vill'ages de Pass-ages* cooperative opens an interesting debate.

If the residents were able to constitute these shares, it is above all because they had the means to do so. They are above the income threshold for accessing social housing and could be considered as belonging to the middle class. In addition to the objective of implementing a social mix in the project, this allocation of housing to such households is justified by the objective of allowing the project holders of the Birth and End-of-Life facilities to implement their project.

This allocation of units to wealthier households is new to CLTB. The "classic" CLTB home ownership programme, supported since 2012 by the Brussels-Capital Region, is only aimed at households with the income requirements for access to social housing. This obviously raises the question of the legitimacy of supporting access to public funding for people who do not have significant financial difficulties. This tension is well described by the International academic in collaborative housing:

"These are things that have come up in my research. And the most crucial question is about incomes. The questioning is: If these projects have subsidies, or some sort of State aid, then why are they not prioritizing people with need. This is the main questioning to these models. (…) And of course, social housing providers are going to compete in a way because they are threatened, I also heard that very often, social housing providers say: why should we give better conditions to middle income households, wanting to do these collaborative projects, when I have people in acute need? So that structural problem is conspiring against more choice, choice to live differently, to live like in CALICO, in collaboration with others and have the focus on gender and care" (R6).

Well-intended community projects, if not combined with mechanisms that prevent displacement of residents and keep housing affordable can become the engine of gentrification (Rosol, 2012). In this context, it is important to emphasise that the anti-speculative clauses do apply to all households, and therefore also to better-off households, shareholders of the Vill'ages de Pass-ages:

- Their cooperative shares do not pay any dividends and are therefore economically little attractive. A purchase on the private market or via less restrictive regional ownership programmes for middle income households would have allowed them to capture more of the rent in case of resale.

- Similarly, the advantage of a rent slightly below market prices (see Third Report), does not compensate for the economic advantages they could have obtained in an individual acquisition. Their rent feeds the cooperative project and not their personal savings.

- The cooperative has also raised money to finance the direct provision of 3 of the 10 dwellings under social access conditions via the Social Real Estate Agency. Their contribution of shares was thus calibrated to allow the sustainable production of 3 social housing units.

These provisions demonstrate above all the voluntarism of these middle-class cooperators to build an arrangement that guarantees the sustainability of the means invested by the public authorities in their housing policy and the securing of an innovative cooperative project. In fact, the main risk is that this type of project and set-up will remain a marginal niche market, as the middle class concerned will objectively have only a limited economic interest in getting involved.

3.3 THIRD LAYER - Technical management of social rental units

The CALICO project makes it possible to offer 19 social rental units to people who are eligible for social housing. This is possible thanks to the public investment subsidy in the land (D.3.1. Layer 1), which reduces the cost of access to housing by about 20% of their market value. However, in the price conditions of the Brussels market, such a reduction of the access cost does not allow to offer only socialised rents. It is only in combination with a second technique that the project achieves this socialisation of housing, the partnership with a Social Real Estate Agency.

These agencies, supported by the social housing policy of the Brussels-Capital Region, are presented in Part C. They support the socialisation of private housing, which is more moderate than in the framework of public social housing, but nevertheless substantial. rental prices are estimated to be about 30% to 40% below market prices.

Social Real Estate Agencies operate on two levels. On the one hand, they oversee rental management and on the other hand, the management of the built heritage.

In terms of rental management, they intervene in the rent of the tenants, take care of the follow-up of the rent payments, manage the rental vacancies... Via an ad hoc rental management mandate agreement, they allow to delegate the allocation of housing to a partner association. This essential component is developed in layer 4 (D.3.4.).

In terms of building management, through the ownership management mandate they sign with the owners (here the cooperatives and the foundation), they take over many of the owner's responsibilities and/or accompany them in the management of their assets. They take charge of the management of maintenance works, they give access to a reduction of the VAT to a rate of 12% (instead of 21%) to the owner who puts his new dwelling under management for a minimum of 15 years, they allow an exemption from the payment of the property tax, later, they give access to renovation bonuses and can supervise the works.

Thus, the Social Real Estate Agency is a key player in the set-up. Their existence in Belgium and in the Brussels-Capital Region is therefore an opportunity that the CALICO project partners were able to seize to make their project viable. In addition to the direct intervention in the rents and the other financial advantages it offers, it relieves the owner structures and the partner associations of the administrative aspects of rental monitoring.

3.4 FOURTH LAYER - Intentional strategies, a community-led approach for social housing provision

The CALICO project is entitled "Care and Living in Community". This conception of community-led housing based on care and community living is emblematic of a globally "emergent culture of commoning based on an ethos of care" (Özkan, D., Büyüksara, G., 2020). As the philosopher Isabell Lorey phrases it: *"We can cope with our precariousness, not by pursuing fantasies of mastering our individual well-being and protecting ourselves from precarization on our own, but by creating and sustaining a care-based ethics based on our shared existential vulnerability"* (Lorey, 2015).

Thus CALICO, like many forms of collaborative or community-led housing, attempts to establish a project of cohabitation and openness to the urban environment that can respond to the changes in our societies and take care of the nature of human relations within their project.

As the international academic explains, *"There is an epidemic of loneliness in our societies. Older people are experiencing loneliness, and younger people as well. So, these models of collective self-organisation have shown to have many benefits for people who really suffer from loneliness. You can choose to live alone and that is a choice, but if loneliness on a larger scale becomes a society problem, that has costs for society in terms of healthcare: mental and physical healthcare, a breakdown in social cohesion. These are aspects that housing policies often neglect a little bit, or they fall outside the build, build, build mantra. It is not only about providing affordable housing, but also about how and for who and in what kind of relationship to each other"* (R6).

In the case of CALICO, this culture of commoning based on an ethos of care is structured on two distinct levels. That of the associative governance set up to bring to life 2 associative projects integrated into the habitat and for the constitution of the community of residents and care facilities (D.3.4. Layer 4) and that of an internal governance of the cohousing project implemented progressively between inhabitants to give life to their objective of better living together (D.3.5. Layer 5).

3.4.1 Two associative visions to feed the ethos of care of the project

The CALICO project is divided into three clusters, or sets of housing units, whose organisation (allocation of housing, involvement of inhabitants in an associative project) is based on three distinct associations:

- Pass-ages which supports an intergenerational housing project linked to Birth and End-of-Life facilities;
- Angela.D, which supports a housing project managed for and by precarious women in a feminist empowerment perspective;
- the CLTB, which, unlike the other two clusters, does not rely on the involvement of its residents in a particular associative project. CLTB residents do not explicitly commit themselves to supporting specific intentionalities in their housing project, except their adherence to the community and anti-speculation values of the CLTB.

Angela.D and Pass-ages associations support different conceptions of action on social cohesion in society. Both contribute to making visible in practice the need to integrate Care and gender

perspective in housing design. They explicitly invest the ethos of care in their community-led strategies. Both have also taken on the task of organising a strategic committee within the framework of the UIA project to share and nurture their vision with a wider network of actors.

Pass-ages seems to have its roots in a compassionate approach, partly inherited from Christian charity and philanthropy. Their project consists of organising the involvement of residents in the concrete management of Care facilities located in their housing project.

Angela.D seems to be more in line with a secular tradition of solidarity and emancipation. Its project is transversal and is not strictly linked to the management of a place of activity. Rather, it is about setting up a feminist popular education perspective, supporting women in a project of individual and collective empowerment, and inscribing the emergence of a critical perspective on the unequal gender relations within our society, and in the CALICO housing project. Finding the balance between critical perspective and cohesion within the project is a major challenge. A project leader from Angela.D illustrates this search for a position:

"It was also interesting for us internally to think about the direction in which we want to go. We want to have a feminist, flexible, soft and open approach. A partnership is about listening, it's about active listening and it's completely counterproductive to take too radical a position" (E2).

If the cohabitation of two approaches, based on divergent philosophical conceptions and action paradigms, has sometimes generated misunderstandings, or even tensions, they seem fundamentally complementary. Angela.D has organised training courses for all the inhabitants of the project and Pass-ages has integrated into its team of volunteers from the Birth and End-of-Life facilities inhabitants of the whole CALICO project.

The research currently being carried out by the VUB on the post-development period will allow a more in-depth study of the evolution of these tensions and hybridisations between associative visions.

3.4.2 The definition of specific allocation procedures to support each cluster's intentionalities

This section focuses on the housing allocation procedures put in place within the framework of the associative governance of the project and the challenges they pose in terms of replicability.

An important feature of the project consists in the delegation to each partner (Pass-ages, Angela.D and Foundation CLTB) the responsibility of allocating the housing units to its specific public according to its own objectives and missions.

In the general scheme of delegation of power illustrated in the diagram on p. 43, the delegation of allocations to the grassroots association of the project is in the first instance made possible by the willingness of the cooperatives (and of the Foundation CLTB for the two Housing First units) not to organise themselves the allocation of the units to their cooperators or members, as is most often the case in cooperative housing initiatives.

In the second instance, such a delegation of allocations to partner associations is also made possible through social rental unit management passed with a Social Real Estate Agency (D.3.3. Layer 3). This mechanism, which is well used in the Social Real Estate Agency sector (for up to 30% of their housing stock maximum), is crucial in the project set-up, as it is the basis for the possibility of organising the delegation of allocations to the field associations.

Finally, let us recall that these allocation procedures consider the upstream setting of quotas between partners to guarantee generational, socio-economic and other among residents (D.3.1. Layer 1).

The CALICO project has implemented 3 main allocating strategies of allocation of the housing units. These strategies are presented in detail in the Third Report. The objective here is to identify the intentionality they support and to discuss the main issues of equity, transparency, and sustainability they pose.

Pass-ages

The objective of the Pass-ages association in the project is the integration of a Birth and End-of-Life facility within an intergenerational housing project. The procedure of housing units within the Pass-ages cluster is therefore based on the commitment of the residents to contribute to this objective. Concretely, the residents commit themselves to contribute to the intergenerational housing dynamic and to volunteering for the Birth and End-of-life facility for 3 to 5 hours per week. The selection of future residents is organised by a selection committee implemented by the Pass-ages association and independent of the project's residents.

Angela.D

As defined by Angela.D in their practical guide written within the framework of the project, "*Angela.D works for the transversal integration of gender (...) The aim is to make visible these mechanisms of reproduction of gender inequalities, and, starting from a work of sensitization and training of the people involved, to co-construct a new perception capable of transforming the project from a gender perspective*" (Angela.D, 2022).

"In the case of the CALICO project, Angela.D, as an association, formulated criteria inspired by intersectional feminist reading grids: the challenge was to allow access to housing for women, people in precarious situations, people considered to be of foreign origin, etc." (Angela.D, 2022). Emphasis is placed on the discrimination suffered by isolated elderly women and single-parent families headed by women.

Thus, Angela.D's allocation criteria organise a kind of positive discrimination towards women in vulnerable conditions and are based on the requirement of a moral commitment to feminist values of citizenship. The selection of the future inhabitants is ultimately based on the choice of the collective of women living in the project.

CLTB

The CLTB cluster does not define itself as an intentional cohousing project. The owners and tenants of the cluster have been selected based on their strict registration in the CLTB registers. In terms of rental, however, the CLTB Foundation intends to target two groups:

- People in a precarious situation, candidates on the CLTB list who are over 50 years old and therefore have increasing difficulty in accessing a mortgage and therefore property.
- Homeless people, through a Housing First programme for which the allocation is delegated to the non-profit organization *Diogènes*, which specialises in their social support.

3.4.3 New selection criteria : Intentionalities VS social housing procedures

The mechanisms of delegation of allocations to residents-based associative partners are the answers that have been found to guarantee a balance between the need to select inhabitants around intentionalities allowing to give life to community care strategies and the requirements of equity of access contained in the traditional criteria of access to social housing. It offers a way to articulate a community vision and a principle of general interest. The current procedures for the allocation of social housing and other regional public housing operators often have difficulty in integrating to support community-led strategies. These are primarily oriented by a principle of equity of access structured around a waiting list, generalized within the Region as far as social housing is concerned, which does not easily combine any other criterion for allocation than that of an order established according to a point system based on chronology and a series of aggravating/vulnerability factors. The regional policy maker explains this difficulty as follows:

"We know that the allocation rules in social housing are sometimes a real handicap for conducting a more refined policy of social mix or even social equity. We have all the people who are not given enough priority who really find themselves in an extremely problematic situation in Brussels and that is a concern" (R1).

In this context, the mechanisms proposed within CALICO explore new criteria for access to publicly supported housing. As the expert on collaborative housing explains, this is a trend that runs through social housing at European level:

"The professionals and participants that are working in the field of the so-called social rental housing, or in the public housing are more open to consider self-organisation and more participation of the tenants in this structure and try to integrate the initiative of a group of citizens outside the system of probation with the social tenants" (R6).

The regional policymaker highlights the interest offered in this regard by the Social Real Estate agencies: *"I think that one of the strengths of the Social Real Estate Agencies sector is its ability to respond to the lack of social housing in Brussels and to be flexible and reactive in dealing with problems that are both structural and changing. By this we mean ex-prisoners, drug addicts, the homeless, women who are victims of violence, etc."* (R1).

This possibility offered by the agreements between Social Real Estate Agencies and grassroots associations is, however, most often strictly set up around specific vulnerability criteria, as is the case of the CLTB foundation for the two Housing First dwellings, or the selection of elderly people.

However, in the CALICO project, the associations propose a criteriology based on commitment, on volunteering in the case of Pass-ages and on adherence to a feminist charter in the case of Angela.D.

In terms of replicability, the question arises to what extent the criterion of commitment expected from residents should be specifically anchored in this Ethos of Care, as an essential component of forms of collaborative housing, or whether a diversification of the intentionalities and commitments required of residents could be proposed. Couldn't other commitment criteria based on other visions, other intentionalities to act on the breakdown of social cohesion and work on the sense of community be taken on by other associations? One can think of many possible intentionalities that center around social and solidarity economy projects, educational and cultural projects, etc.

In any case, allocation mechanisms based on commitment criteria in a community vision open an innovative field of application to define a new criterion of access to housing supported by the public authorities. In the following sections, the main issues for public authorities in systematising such allocation mechanisms are discussed.

Visibility and transparency and equity of access

The first criticism expressed by regional policy makers is that of the transparency and visibility that alternative systems pose to centralised principles of housing allocation in social housing, as the Regional Urban development operator describes it:

"It has to remain readable for citizens. Any self-respecting politician, be it at the local level but certainly even more so at the regional level, will want to say at some point: "Wait! I don't understand, there's this, this and this. I would like all the families to fit into a single circuit. This kind of logic is both understandable and not to be practised in a totally absolute way, because when you don't want to have a single head sticking out, you often clog up the machine a bit for the sake of visibility" (R3).

Similarly, such decentralised probation systems, even though they may be subject to control by the public administration during their annual control of the activities of the Social Real Estate Agencies, raise questions about the transparency of procedures:

"The problem is that a fine policy can be conducted, but it can also be, not diverted from its ambitions, but experienced as not transparent at all" (R1).

However, the procedures implemented by both Pass-ages and Angela.D are based on precise procedures and implemented by selection committees that respect pre-established and transparent procedures (see details in Third Report).

A Pass-ages founder, for example, testifies to the constraints that public support has placed on their citizen project. *"From the moment we enter into a public or, in any case, semi-public process with money from the region, money from Europe, etc., this intervention creates constraints in terms of transparency and equity. We are afraid that the DNA of our project will be threatened. We are afraid that we will end up with inhabitants whom we do not know, who may not want to get involved as we intend, and who could eventually undermine the specificity of our project, which is essentially built on interpersonal relationships and on daily life in an enclosed space"* (E3).

In some cases, the procedures may pose more fundamental difficulties of fairness, particularly when they are based on principles of positive discrimination. The expert on collaborative housing refers to the feminist collaborative housing project ro*sa[18] in Vienna to illustrate this danger: *"When they first came up with the first Rosa project, there was a case, a man, that suits the project, alleging Gender discrimination. He won the case at the Austrian court. So, the guy apparently came to live there but soon after he decided "No, I don't want to live here"* (R6).

In replicating the delegation of attributions in future CALICO-inspired projects, it is essential to ensure that such allocation procedures are written down, managed in clear ways and, presumably, approved by the granting public authorities to ensure their constitutional value.

Robustness of initial commitment criteria over time

How to make sure intentionalities remain sustained in time? Isn't there a risk that the inhabitants decide to cut the ties with the original associations and that the original selection criteria are hijacked or abandoned?

Establishing criteria based on commitment to a societal project raises the question of the modalities retained in the event that residents no longer fulfil their commitments. What kind of sanctions could be applied? Is there not a risk of jeopardising the right to housing of the residents concerned, if the decision is to exclude them from the project and thus force them to leave? Conversely, how can the principle of commitment be preserved if one does not wish to apply measures that are too restrictive?

The Pass-ages project manager comes back to this risk: "*as long as it is an independent selection committee that ensures that the habitat keeps the values at the level of the selection, we hope in any case that the future inhabitants will keep these values"* (E3).

For perspective.brussels, partner of the project, *"We must not be afraid to change the selection criteria in the future"*, and it obviously remains to be defined, with a view to replication, how to maintain the requirements of transparency and equity to both residents and the general public in all circumstances.

[18] Link to the ro*sa project: https://www.frauenwohnprojekt.info

3.4.4 The management of care facilities integrated with housing

Two facilities to the neighbourhood

The CALICO project, entitled "care and living in community", therefore aims to support care in community. This desire is materialised in the construction of facilities that are open to the neighbourhood and the city, offering a broader conception of the community, located at the interface between the project and its environment rather than a simple perspective of inter-cohousing.

In concrete terms, two facilities play this role of interface of caring relationships of the project with its neighbourhood. These are:

- the Birth and End-of-Life facilities managed by Pass-ages, composed of three flats converted into a space dedicated to birth, one to end-of-life and one dedicated to consultations, and intervisions.
- an unconditional neighbourhood reception area managed by the Rézone association thanks to the conversion of the most accessible flat in the projectopen to the outside.

The lack of hindsight does not allow this report to assess the actual operation of these care facilities, which were only put into operation at the end of the UIA support period. The post-move-in study currently being carried out by the VUB (2022) will allow for a more in-depth study of the challenges and issues posed by the management of these facilities for the project leaders, the project residents and the neighbourhood.

Anyway, the health crisis seems to have reinforced the general support for this community care strategies and facilities approach. As a Passages project manager explained regarding the End-of-Life facility,*"COVID may have had a positive effect in relation to everything that was happening in the retirement homes, the distancing, ... It is a project that came at a time when people were asking themselves questions about death, being in contact with people at the end of their lives, and things like that, ... And in a way we are responding to this problem, it was the right time to get involved"* (E3).

Complexity of co-financing the facilities

In the context of CALICO, the intervention of the UIA investment grant has made it possible to reduce the cost of providing care facilities, either by acquiring the premises for associations, as in the case of the Birth and End-of-Life facilities, or by the CLTB renting them out to an association at an affordable price, as in the case of the premises open to the neighbourhood made available to Rézone[19].

"There was a real risk that, on this issue, we would be blocked, not at the European level, which is relatively, well, not concerned by this type of question, but rather at an intra-Brussels level, with the question of the distribution of competences, almost going as far as the constitutionality of the arrangement. In a certain way, we have gone through the fact that this dimension was an ancillary dimension, complementary to a global project which was a global housing project" (R1).

[19] For more information on Rézone non-profit organisation, here is a link to its Annual Report 2021: https://www.dropbox.com/sh/sv1k4keqv6h12vb/AAB8i-xXA15zaTmFc1k8gntoa?dl=0&preview=REZONE_RA_2021_temp.pdf

If community-led housing projects are only supported within the framework of regional housing policy, the latter does not in principle allow for the financing of facilities of another nature by virtue of the division of competences. It seems structurally unrealistic to rely on purely private financing of these facilities, except perhaps in the context of certain economic and commercial infrastructures. These facilities, which in principle aim to meet the needs of local vulnerable communities, are often dependent on public funding from other areas of competence (youth support, health, education, homelessness, sport, etc.).

In the case of Pass-ages, although the subsidies under the UIA project made it possible to finance the acquisition of the facilities and the operating costs for the property set-up, the capacity to implement the service was not really there. In this context, Pass-ages was able to convince the COCOF (French Community Commission) for the launch phase of the Birth and End-of-Life facilities, and later the COCOM (Common Community Commission) for a 3 years funding from 2022, to support the service activity. This support was obviously not guaranteed initially and illustrates the risk-taking of the association to ensure its operation.

In the case of Rézone, the project is financed by regular subsidies from the COCOF, as well as by an additional one-off subsidy from the COCOM in the framework of the "recovery and redeployment plan to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic" (07/07/2020). The reasoning is rather the opposite. The association had the means to invest in a new project. Rézone was not a partner in the initial project. It was integrated into the project, of course, because it offered a vision of an open interface with the neighbourhood, which was in line with the wishes of the CALICO project partners, but also, more prosaically, because it allowed the space made available by the CLTB to be rented out to cover the costs that the inhabitants could not meet alone. Moreover, the active involvement of the inhabitants in opening up to the neighbourhood seemed too time-consuming at the beginning of the project for most inhabitants (moving in, other priority commitments in the project, restrictive lifestyle, etc.).

In any case, this question of co-financing reveals the complexity of conducting an integrated urban policy, which is generally desired, in the context of the current division of competences.

The difficulties of financing also affect another issue, that of car parking spaces. The regional urban planning regulations impose the production of car parks (a maximum of one per dwelling, sometimes less following an exemption procedure). In the case of the CALICO project, 39 car parking spaces have been built in the basement.

Given the urgency for the CLTB to recover the money invested in the purchase of the car parking spaces, it was difficult to set up and finance an internal collective management system within the timeframe of the project. The CLTB seems to be aware of the interest in thinking about federating means to collectively face the challenges of urban mobility (transformation of parking spaces into bicycle parking spaces, allocation of parking spaces for cars shared between residents, etc.), but does not have the means to implement such a policy at this stage. Private sales or delegation to a commercial manager are envisaged in the short term. As can be seen, the project's financing arrangements have a negative impact on the ability to develop collective mobility strategies.

3.5 FIFTH LAYER - Internal management of cohousing

This fifth and final layer presents the specific modes of governance that the residents implement for the management of their cohousing and shared spaces and to promote quality living together. Before addressing these dimensions, it is necessary to briefly review the method of transitional and progressive implementation of these shared governance methods.

3.5.1 Transitory collective strategies support: From grassroots support to residents' autonomy

It is obviously the general spirit of an institutional project such as CALICO to start from a consortium of partners, brought together in a steering committee, but also a communication committee and a strategic committee, and to gradually give life to a project which will ultimately be fundamentally supported by the shared ownership structures and the self-management of the residents. If these committees only gathered the partners for the general coordination and this exclusively for the duration of the project, the partners also implemented other organisational modalities directly with the inhabitants to ensure their autonomy in the long term in the internal management. Bringing together the future inhabitants of a cohousing well in advance of their delivery (2 to 3 years) is one of the community development methods used in all CLTB projects to encourage inter-knowledge between future cohabitants and to promote collective functioning. In practice, this upstream involvement of residents is carried out in several waves, depending on the commitments and withdrawals of the candidates during the selection process.

An intermediate transitional phase was therefore implemented by the partner associations over the duration of the project, and even beyond, organising the gradual shift from an associative-based governance to a residents-based governance. At the start of the project, the inhabitants, even if they were sometimes already members of the partner associations, had not yet been formally selected, nor had their future occupation status (tenure type) been fully defined. In such an institutional set-up of a community-led project, the integration of the inhabitants in the internal management bodies can only be organised gradually by the partners. The following sections summarise the specific modalities implemented, first in the management of the condominium, then in the management of the living together.

Co-ownership decision-making methods according to tenure types

The three associations, Pass-ages, Angela.D and CLTB, divided into three distinct housing clusters within the project, first organised several meetings during the entire project set-up phase with their residents' collective as it was being set up, around the gradual definition of the precise terms of their concrete access to housing. The setting up of the cooperative projects as well as the contractual relations with the Social Real Estate Agency took place in this framework. This process is described in detail in the third report.

Once moved in at the end of the project, the inhabitants are divided into at least 4 types of relationships specific to the co-ownership according to their tenure type (cooperator, social cooperator supervised by the Social Real Estate Agency, social renter, social renter, CLTB individual owners) in 3 distinct co-

ownerships (one for the CALICO building, one for the larger real estate development complex and one for the car parkings). This complexity is a result of the implementation of a complex project.

The present study, which was completed at the end of the UIA programme support period, did not identify in more detail the specific management challenges that a typical multiple tenure model may pose in terms of replicability. The follow-up study by the VUB and financed by the Region for the post-development period will surely establish these and make recommendations. The future will tell whether the difference in control over the management of the property will generate particular tensions.

The modes of internal governance between inhabitants

The partners have also contributed to the development of resident-based governance. To do this, they set up two transitional committees, a sort of antechamber for the development of inhabitant management: on the one hand, a governance committee to coordinate and set up modes of governance to manage their shared environment and the collective improvement of their well-being. On the other hand, a care committee to co-create the community care model of the CALICO project, exchange ideas, projects, establish local networks with neighbours and health and social services.

Initially composed of representatives of associations, the committees integrated inhabitants of the three clusters as they became involved in the project. The VUB research team and the community development association Eva Brussels also contributed to the work of these two committees.

Once the residents' collective had been formed, but especially after they had moved in, they set up an Inhabitants' Assembly bringing together all the residents of the three clusters. It is the decision-making body for the joint management of the cohousing project and the community care and outreach strategy. They also set up several working groups directly coordinated by the Inhabitants' Assembly for decision and to set their agendas and mandates.

Figure 9. The Inhabitants' Assembly and working in April 2022 (Source :CLTB)

The objective of this assembly and working groups is to put all the inhabitants on an equal footing in the management of their common affairs, regardless of the partner association of which they are members, or the tenure type of their flat.

To improve the functioning of the collective, the inhabitants also implement communication and decision-making tools inspired by the new currents of collective intelligence, among which sociocracy (decision-making by consent, double link, election without candidates, etc.). *"In the exercise of this governance, the residents are led to exercise different methods of decision-making, role and power sharing, tension management, etc. These methods sometimes require changes in individual posture and collective culture with repercussions sometimes beyond their involvement in the collective housing project"* (Angela.D, 2022).

But also, and this is the main thing, the stimulation of exchanges between inhabitants and the declared objectives of caring relationships give rise to many informal interpersonal exchanges of the order of conviviality, exchange of services, citizen initiative... The habitat then becomes *an open network of singularities that links together on the basis of the common they share and the common they produce* (Hardt and Negri, 2004).

Once again, the present study lacks the hindsight to pinpoint the challenges posed by the internal organisational modes put in place. The post-monitoring study by the VUB will certainly make it possible to establish them and formulate recommendations.

The specific governance of shared spaces.

To live and to care in community also means sharing common space to meet, to strengthen social cohesion, to build common projects, or to meet specific needs... The project has several shared spaces with different status (a garden partially open to the neighbourhood, but not yet developed, a large covered porch, a room on the ground floor shared with the Rézone association and a two-bedroom flat converted into a common space dedicated to the inhabitants).

Concerning the two flats converted into common spaces (the ground floor open to the neighbourhood and the space reserved for the inhabitants), their cost was only partially covered by the subsidies and the rest was supposed to be covered by the inhabitants. The distribution of the costs of the spaces among the inhabitants proved to be too costly for the most vulnerable households and an equitable distribution seemed difficult to organise (about € 29 per household per month).

In this context, and following the example of other CLTB projects, the commercial ground floor was rented to an association, Rézone, based on the association's correspondence in terms of the proposed opening. The residents also negotiated that the premises could be made available to them outside opening hours.

The burden of the remaining space will have to be partly shared between the households, and possibly supplemented by various rental schemes. The CLTB self-financed the costs of space until end of 2021 and has been able to obtain a grant in the framework of the "Brussels plan to support single-parent

families"[20] to finance the first year of occupation (2022), leaving time for the inhabitants to organise the self-financing of the space in the long term.

This raises the question of the integration of the cost of common spaces in the framework of public support for social housing projects, which is most often considered as a non-priority regarding the imperative of housing production. However, it is essential to promote lifestyles that aim to resolve the breakdown of social cohesion.

3.5.2 A too complex governance model to be replicated?

Should such multiplicity of associative actors be maintained in future projects? The three associative partners see this above all as an asset. A Pass-ages project officer explains that:

"Clearly, the fact of being in CALICO is a very interesting plus in the project and adds a dimension to the grouped housing as Pass-ages initially planned it. Because instead of being just 10, there are 34 dwellings and there are even more possible interactions with other families. This is positive. And besides, the inhabitants are very much involved in the activities that are planned for the 34 dwellings" (E3).

A project manager from Angela.D confirms: *"At Angela.D's level, I think it's rather an asset. It doesn't make much sense to do feminist housing on your own. The very principle of the Gender mainstream is to be transversal, and therefore here to work together, here to work with values that are gradually infused into society, it makes sense, otherwise it completely cuts off the meaning, the validity of the association"* (E2).

The CLTB's acquisition projects are generally developed exclusively between the CLTB and future buyers, and the commitments expected from the buyers in terms of residents-based governance are less important. The CALICO project required some adaptations to properly integrate the residents of the CLTB cluster into the residents' dynamic, as a CLTB project manager can testify: *"We had a small evolution in our vision. When we wrote the proposal upstream, we had a vision of "all the CLTB cluster housing in CALICO will be a CLT project like any other". With the partnerships that evolved and the construction of the project, little by little, we built this CLT housing with more commitment and adhesion of the inhabitants. The vision is that the CLTB habitat should be integrated into the whole CALICO group"* (E1).

However, it also emerged from the exchanges between partners during the post-evaluation project that the framework for moving from shared associative governance to residents-based governance poses many challenges:

Coordination between partners: too many people involved in each association, loss of information internally, cumbersome follow-up for voluntary and/or overloaded bodies, etc.

[20] https://parentsolo.brussels/plan/Plan_Monoparentalite_2021.pdf

Pass-ages project manager explains: *"If you want to replicate a project with so many partners, coordination is essential. (...) There has to be someone to ensure that it remains the CALICO project and not three associative projects next to each other. In the end, these three groups have to be diluted into each other. In the long term, this is the kind of thing you have to be careful about in this kind of project"* (E3).

The CLTB project leader made the same observation: *"For the CLTB, perhaps sometimes there was also a lack of general re-coordination of the whole CALICO project. The fact that there were a lot of CLTB workers meant that sometimes it was difficult to get organised, to pass on information"* (E1).

Similarly, an Angela D project officer explained that: *"In terms of partnership, it was not always clear who did what in our organisation, who to contact... the Board, the pedagogical committee... This sometimes led to confusion, misunderstandings, and poor communication between partners"* (E2).

Difficulty in understanding the complexities of the project: Difficulty in understanding the complex methods of governance, risk of running out of steam in the face of numerous requests, etc.

A project manager explains that *"It is a very ambitious project that we have set up, at the level of the associations that are carrying the project, but also at the level of the inhabitants. They are very, very demanding. I have really seen them get tired. The difficulty is that they have to keep a balance between their involvement in the project and their private life. In the long term, it can be dangerous for this kind of project"* (E3).

3.5.3 The extension of the stewardship of the project for an intermediate period

The transition from associative governance to resident-based governance is a delicate issue that takes time. In all these projects, the CLTB provides for post-move-in support for residents for a period of two years. In the case of CALICO, it provides for one year of support for the governance of living together, but also for two years for monitoring the management of the co-ownership.

Aware of the importance of this monitoring, the Brussels-Capital Region has provided the CLTB and Angela.D with an operating subsidy to finalise in 2022 the transfer of partnership governance to resident governance and increase residents' autonomy and self-management capacities.

The Region has also entrusted a mission for continuing academic research on reproducibility issues related to project self-governance to the Vrije Universiteit Brussels (VUB). In this context, researchers will be able to draw fine lessons, especially on the interest of the intentionalities that guided the project as an innovative way to develop social housing types.

This poses the challenge of financing the community development work of the partners beyond the end of the project setup phase, which is necessary to support an emancipatory housing model for these inhabitants and for local social cohesion.

E. SCALING-UP

This section is specifically dedicated to the challenges posed by the scaling-up of community-led housing projects inspired by the CALICO project in the Brussels-Capital Region. It is composed of two parts: a general discussion on the main challenges to be met to implement a real scaling-up and a summary list of useful recommendations in this regard.

1. Main challenges in achieving a scaling-up

If the principle of a community-led housing project is precisely that it should be led by the community to best respond to locally identified needs, i.e., that it should be modelled on a case-by-case basis, how can we ensure coherent public support to enable the scaling-up of such projects? How can we move from a "best practice" or "pilot project" culture to a culture of structural public support?

The previous section on the issues of replicability made it possible to identify the main innovative paradigms (the 5 layers) of CALICO that would make it possible to build such a Community-led housing project. The objective of this part is to identify the modalities of a structural public support to a housing production according to these paradigms. It goes beyond the strict replicability of the CALICO project and raises the question of the criteria used to mark out public action in favour of this type of community-led housing model.

If the innovation of the CALICO project was made possible thanks to the support of the UIA programme, it is now a question of conceiving the modalities of Public-Commons governance allowing its scaling up within the framework of the regional policy.

In the following sections, the current state of institutional support for the CALICO project and its possible scaling-up is discussed through the reflections shared by the policy makers and regional experts interviewed. Budgetary arbitrage and planning issues are discussed. Once the scene is set, the principle of defining community-led housing to mark out coherent public support is discussed. Secondly, the relevance of using the CLT to ensure the coordination of community-led housing projects is discussed, as well as the different contractual modalities in which this mission could be fulfilled. Finally, attention is also given to the financial support mechanisms that a scaling-up should articulate.

1.1 Strong political and institutional support

A key factor for the successful implementation of collaborative governance to support the scaling-up of such projects is, without doubt, the existence of strong political and institutional support. First, it appears that the value of the CALICO project is well and truly recognised by the Brussels-Capital Region[21], as a regional policy maker confirms it:

[21] See also the video clip of the Secretary of State for Housing produced by Bruxelles Logement: https://logement.brussels/serie-de-videos-sur-le-projet-de-cohabitation-calico/#anchor-3

"The added value is multiple. I think that it is one of the projects in the Brussels region that is interested in the dismemberment of property to make it more accessible. From this point of view, it is part of a reflection that is gaining momentum as a possible long-term solution to ensure an accessible housing policy, different from social rental housing" (R1).

Beyond the societal values carried by its community-led housing scheme, what is above all emphasised is the principle of dismemberment as a new mechanism in the corpus of public tools.

"The commitments made in the Emergency Housing Plan (PUL – Plan d'Urgence du Logement, 2021) are in line with this trend, whether it be seeking to extend the principle of dismemberment to other operators who are larger and more institutionalised, while continuing to increase support for the CLTB, while also providing it with greater legal certainty through the adoption of an approval order and, ultimately, obtaining a management contract" (R1).

At this stage, this approval of the CLTB and its future management contract are limited to classic individual acquisition operations for low-income households but could perhaps eventually be extended to dismemberment operations with cooperative actors or associative asset investors.

"The CLTB approval order having been adopted and published, it becomes difficult to modify it in the short term. (...) I am taking a completely theoretical case. If the CLTB would not have the capacity in year X to use the totality of the envelope at its disposal, the credits could be reused to allow a cooperative like Fair Ground to carry out a similar mission, in fact, why not. It will go through different channels, but for the operators the differences will be, I think, relatively small" (R1).

Although the feedback from regional policy makers seems favourable as to the role to be played by this type of model in the future, it also illustrates a cautious position which reveals the difficulties in committing more structurally to supporting this new governance paradigm, notably due to a lack of hindsight.

As the regional urban developer highlights it: *"We are at this stage today on dismemberment and it is interesting but it is the phase of all dangers. It's the phase where we say: 'It's too heavy! It's too complicated! It's not a structural answer, it's not what we hoped for, let's do something else" or "No, no, there's something to do, but be careful". We don't have enough hindsight on how things work yet"* (R3).

1.2 Budgetary trade-offs between competing housing policies

Regional policy makers highlight the difficult budgetary trade-offs between competing housing policies that they face. *"There can be tensions in terms of allocation and prioritisation, especially in the current context, which is particularly tight on the budget, because what is allocated to one, is not allocated to the other"* (R1).

Although these trade-offs are already taking place between CLTB and the other regional housing operators, the regional policy makers and public operators interviewed are more specifically concerned about the systematic use of Social Real Estate Agencies in the management of new housing acquired on a turnkey basis, as is the case with CALICO, but also with more than a third of the housing taken over by the sector in the last 5 years[22].

"To systematically have new housing under Social Real Estate Agency management, when it becomes too systematic, is a way of finally having the Agencies take the place of the Public Social Housing Companies (SISP – Société Immobilière de Service Public*). So, we can ask ourselves the question of the difficulty in relation to this"* (R3).

This observation seems even more real since, since 2017, the production of approximately one third of public and social housing in the Region has been through direct acquisitions of housing produced on a turnkey basis by private developers (see First Report). What seems to be problematic for the regional policy makers is the systematisation of the development logic based on the cut-and-run instrumentalisation of the Social Real Estate Agencies without any guarantee of the perpetuation of the socialisation beyond the 15-year term. A regional policy maker explains:

"We are thinking about options to channel this problem, we'll call them cut-and-run sales within the framework of the Social Real Estate Agencies. We are working very hard on this with a number of avenues to channel these perverse effects of the non-perpetuation of housing. This is completely in line with what the cooperatives want to put in place in CALICO". (R2)

In relation to this problem, the CLT/cooperative/Social Real Estate Agency articulation seems to bring innovative answers:

- The perpetuation of socialisation is also guaranteed by the anti-speculation clauses imposed by the CLTB.
- In the case of Fair Ground, the management of all the dwellings is centralised within a Social Real Estate Agency, allowing an overall management of the property and avoiding the management difficulties resulting from the division of a building between several investors.

However, the efficiency of these models in terms of public expenditure still needs to be demonstrated. This is the objective of the "housing deal" study already presented in section B 3.7. If the model of dismemberment, acquisition of buildings by cooperatives and management by a Social Real Estate Agency and partner associations proves to be less costly than a public social housing operation, support for this type of initiative could be reinforced.

1.3 Defining specific niches for the deployment of community-led housing projects

The issue of distribution and prioritisation is not only a question of allocating public budgets, but also of access to available land.

[22] On 1 January 2017, the federal government decided to reduce the VAT rate from 21% to 12% for the sale of new housing managed for at least 15 years by a Social Real Estate Agency. This tax rule has made the system attractive for many developers.

"I am afraid that we will soon come up against the obstacle, in a general way, of the availability of land, because even land coming from the private market, and we can already see this between the SLRB and the AIS on certain types of operations, there are already tensions" (R1).

In this context, the regional policy makers suggest several avenues aimed at defining a core business for this type of set-up that would not reinforce competition between public operators. Instead, they support the deployment of this type of arrangement, but in specific segments of the housing market.

"There is a whole series of relatively niche situations, but which, cumulatively, can become interesting, where actors like the CLTB or cooperatives like Fair Ground have an added value to bring" (R1).

The policy makers then mention niches that are not covered by other public operators, in particular small-scale operations (max. 10 dwellings), or urban renovation operations, or empty spaces, or even the case of communal land that a municipality would not be able to mobilise for lack of resources or for technical reasons.

"There are a certain number of actors on the non-market side in the broad sense (non-profit organisations, trade unions, mutual societies, parishes, etc.) who also have land that is available, I won't say available, but which can perhaps be mobilised in one way or another, and which probably won't go to the Housing Fund or the Brussels Region Housing Company (SLRB - Société du Logement de la Région Bruxelloise), and for which there could be a demand or a need for the perpetuation of this land (...) I think that it would be easier to work with an actor like Fair Ground or like the CLTB, which is more flexible and more capable of integrating into solutions dictated by the field and not preconceived by the public authorities" (R1).

Finally, the innovative character of a community-led project like CALICO also makes it attractive in two cases pinpointed by regional policy makers:

As a guarantee of innovation in large public operations:
"In the medium or even short term, this is the kind of operator approach that could complement an existing public project where an innovative player or a player in the field would be positioned as the guarantor of social innovation in a larger project" (R1).

As a tool to counter the NIMBY (not in my backyard) effects:
"The advantage also of pilot experiments like CALICO's is perhaps that they are more easily integrated, defensible or have a broader support base to be able to be established in neighbourhoods that have difficulty seeing new constructions arrive because there are many citizens who, whatever their income or the neighbourhoods in which they live, see new public projects arriving with great reluctance" (R3).

1.4 Legal definition of community-led-housing initiatives to mark out coherent public support

The following sections attempt to provide useful leads and elements for discussion to envisage how the guarantees, guidelines, transparency, visibility and operationality necessary to make the scaling-up

of a project similar to the CALICO project a structural response could be achieved. As the regional housing operator points out, this is the current challenge in the Brussels-Capital Region:

"Now, we need to maintain the advantages of the project by project while still having sufficient guarantees, guidelines, transparency, visibility and operationality to ensure that we move from the pilot experience to a structural response. I think this is the most difficult phase in any public policy, in any field, and I think we are there now" (R3).

The first challenge is perhaps to approach a legal definition of "community-led housing projects" that would set out the desired guidelines for such projects. The Regional authorities could decide to integrate such a definition in their Housing Code, or possibly in the framework of the future management contract of the CLTB if its missions were to be extended to the coordination of community-led housing projects. Elements of a proposed definition are proposed in the recommendation section below.

The main challenge of such a definition is to mark out the type of community-led housing settings that can be the subject of regional support (for investment and operation to the partners). In this perspective, CALICO's complex model of housing development would not be the only one likely to be supported as a community-led housing project. It would be more a question of defining the conditions through a set of required specifications (particularly in terms of transparency or visibility). It is conceivable that certain criteria could be made compulsory to receive public support (such as the permanent anti-speculative control of the project), while other components could be optional (such as the multifunctionality of the programming) or variable (rate of social housing units).

In any case, if we want to move from a pilot experiment to an increase in the number of similar projects and a sustainable integration of this type of set-up in public action mechanisms, it is certainly necessary to reflect on the definition of restrictive and desirable criteria.

It is perhaps useful to point out that within the CALICO project, several replicable procedures have already been formalised in contractual documents[23]:

- Emphyteutic lease between CLTB and cooperatives, setting long-term anti-speculation parameters ;
- cooperative statutes setting out democratic procedures, profitability ceiling and general/social interests ;
- mandate for the management of the property to the Social Real Estate Agency ;
- allocation procedures, with delegation to grassroots organisations and/or residents ;
- Guidelines for participatory stewardship of future residents.

The production of these procedures, which can naturally be improved, is one of the major outcomes of the CALICO project. They are the operational translation of the innovative guidelines of the project, as contained and described in the section on replication articulated around public-common

[23] interested parties can contact the respective partners to obtain those documents.

governance and the 5 layers of governance articulated within the project. It is these guidelines that offer guarantees of the robustness of project set-ups over time. They also offer the elements of transparency necessary for a thorough understanding of the project. These procedures are currently confined to the CALICO project. But they are a reassuring reference as to the possibility of guaranteeing the solidity and sustainability of the objectives and ambitions that could be entrusted to community-led housing projects in the context of a scaling-up and a search for a legal definition.

1.5 CLTB: the essential link in a new public land policy for community-led housing

The question of a scaling-up of support for a land policy in favour of community-led housing projects also raises questions of operationality that go beyond the issue of defining community-led housing projects and refer to the institutional governance mechanisms implemented to manage this type of project. What kind of governance would allow for a deeper collaboration between public and associative powers while guaranteeing the public prerogative?

The CLTB is the key regional operator that has made it possible to implement the modalities of a public-community partnership in the framework of the CALICO project (D.3.1. Layer 1).

The Brussels Region has recently recognised the CLTB as a public operator. This recognition, which is the result of a positive evaluation of 10 years of operation, provides the Region with an institution that is prepared to manage in a network and in collaborative governance, as highlighted by a regional housing policy maker:

"The emergence of the substantive aspects and the content of the CALICO project essentially emerged from the CLTB. It is clearly one of the strengths of the projects carried out by the CLTB, and one of its strengths which, for me, stems directly from one of the elements that make up the DNA of the CLTB, is its capacity to create links, to work in networks, to seek out the added value of the associative sector" (R1).

With a view to a scaling-up, it will be necessary to define how the community-led housing project management unit(s) will be organised. Should the leadership be maintained at the level of the CLTB or progressively be internalised within the regional housing administration (Bruxelles Logement), or within other public operators? Or should this leadership be co-managed as in the case of the CALICO project?

Opinions on this matter are divided. For the regional urban development operator interviewed, if a model is to be systematised, public management must prevail. It should be noted that this opinion was formulated before the formal recognition of the CLTB as a regional public operator:

"If the Community Land Trust formula is the right one, I do not see why it is not up to the public authorities to develop it themselves. I think it will be more transparent. At some point, I still think that public guarantees will be needed. This is a vision that comes from my own way of thinking, which has more confidence in public structures than in associative structures, but it is not necessarily shared by all the actors in the sector" (R3).

For one of the policy makers interviewed, leadership by Brussels Housing could be envisaged, but would pose several challenges:

"Could Bruxelles Logement develop a community-led housing project management unit ? Ideally, it would be good, but I think it would always be in reaction to a request. So, in my opinion, the first step would be to create bridges, to strengthen the links with the Brussels institutions and community-based organisations. But there are also issues of personnel management and relations between institutions that will not be easy" (R1).

In any case, this institutional issue will have to be explored further if we want to encourage a scaling-up of community-led housing initiatives. It is important to clarify the place we want to give to the CLTB and the administration in the emergence and piloting of these projects.

Given the principles of collaborative governance on which the CLT bases its action, it is perhaps the best equipped operator to be at the heart of the implementation of a genuine sustainable public-common governance at regional level, which is likely to allow for a scaling-up of this type of community-led housing projects.

The CLTB could become an instrument of a new public land policy that gives it the responsibility of coordinating the construction of shared rules that ensure the balance between public guarantees of equity (new modality of public action in housing policy) and autonomy of associative and citizen stakeholders (community-led).

For the CLTB, this would mean a broadening of its role, no longer strictly that of setting up acquisitive projects and community support for individual owners, but, like its role in CALICO, that of setting up complex projects and long-term management of multi-actor partnerships.

1.6 Developing new procurement procedures for Community-led Housing projects

The possible systematisation of Community Led Housing project articulated to a cooperative and societal vision supposes to define the procurement modalities in which CLTB is likely to operate. Depending on the level of public support and the integration of this objective in the regional policy, several scenarios can be envisaged:

- **Competitive bidding by consortia brought together by and around the CLTB** in the framework of calls for projects initiated by the Region, or other public operators, particularly in the framework of urban development programmes. In any case, this option seems realistic in the case of making public land available[24], but does not fit in well with the mission of acquiring private land. Moreover, it is more akin to a form of outsourcing of public production than to a public-commons collaboration.

[24] In 2021, the municipality of Ixelles launched an interesting public tender concerning the design, execution and management of a social acquisitive housing project (Gray street, 169 to 173). The negotiated procedure without prior advertisement used could be applied to CALICO-type arrangements. It provides for a dismemberment of the ownership of the public land (transferred to the CLTB) and the buildings.

- **Competitive bidding of consortia formed by one or more cooperatives and partners by the CLTB through public procurement**. This option guarantees transparency in the selection of the consortium and would also be realistic in the case of the provision of public land, provided that the public owner entrusts the CLTB with this mission. It is better suited to public-commons governance. On the other hand, it does not fit in well with the temporality of real estate transactions in the market for the acquisition of private land or property.

- **Formation of ad hoc consortia at the discretion of the CLTB in the context of its missions as a public operator.** Such an arrangement, while it raises questions of transparency in the selection of partners, could offer a greater level of operationalisation. This option places the CLTB at the interface of public-commons governance. The operating framework of such schemes could be framed by a roadmap (programme, type of operations, etc.), for example in the framework of the future CLTB management contract, and by criteria defined upstream (transparency, management capacity, etc.) in a regulatory definition of community-led housing projects likely to be supported by the public authorities, for example in the regional housing code.

- **In the framework of an ambitious commitment by the Region, the definition of a Regional plan defining an objective of several hundred housing units**, by reallocating the resources of the Alliance Habitat for example. In such a framework, a tripartite monitoring body could be envisaged. It would bring together the CLTB and/or the Region with the sector of cooperatives and other associative property investors, accompanying their federalisation effort, and the ethical finance sector accompanying a rise in their sector financing product, supported by the Region's commitment[25].

In order to guide the choices in terms of contracting, the general recommendation is to favour in the long term one based more on collaboration and trust and less on competition. A policy of support to community-led initiatives that aims to articulate the action of the Public Authorities and those of an emerging cooperative sector and an associative sector globally dependent on public subsidies, i.e. relatively vulnerable sectors, has every interest in avoiding competition, which is already fenced in by European legislation, and in finding modes of contracting based more on collaborative values and the principle of shared discretion. The modes of contracting also have a repercussion on the way in which the programming of the project can really be co-created and guarantee a devolution of responsibilities and autonomy to the community-led organisations.

In this context, the 4 scenarios presented above can perhaps constitute the stages of a gradual rise in favour of community-led housing projects. In the opinion of the public housing operator interviewed, it is necessary to ensure that this gradual increase is progressive:
"I think the idea is to move towards a transition in this area which is gradual and which allows the public authorities not to slow down the pace, not to jam the production machine, but rather to do it as a complement" (R3).

[25] The commitment taken by the City Council of Barcelona through an alliance signed with the most significant cooperative housing organisations and financing institutions (ESAL agreements) is very instructive and inspiring in this respect. For more information, visit:
https://www.habitatge.barcelona/en/access-to-housing/innovation-housing-production/accessible-housing-social-developers-and

In any case, in the end, it is the extent of the political and institutional support provided that will largely determine the capacity to establish large-scale collaborative governance in this area.

1.7 Design and construction work management in case of scaling-up

If we do not want to be confined to turnkey operations, like the CALICO project, the scaling-up of the project raises the question of the management capacity of the project owner. Four main scenarios can be envisaged in this respect:

1. **The cooperatives** take charge of the project management, which would allow a private project management, anchored in the research of new typologies of collective housing, but supposes that they have the management capacity. According to the urban planner interviewed, the conditions are perhaps not really met:

"It is interesting to multiply and massify operations of this type. But who is going to set them up? A segment of the cooperative housing culture that we do not necessarily have in Belgium (...). We need to professionalise cooperatives. It's really a question of organisational and management capacity, including in terms of project management" (R4).

The takeover of a publicly funded site through a private design and build contract also involves checking the legality of such an option. Can public procurement be avoided if there is no direct subsidy on the cost of the brick? In any case, it would be necessary to ensure that all the anti-speculative and permanent socialisation mechanisms are properly consolidated.

2. **The CLTB** takes charge of the project management, which implies that it is carried out within the framework of a public tender and also implies that it is equipped for a significant ramp-up.

Again, the conditions may not really be met: *"I am not saying that the CLTB is not a good manager. But when it comes to setting up a structure that works efficiently, I think that if you want to change scale (from a project of 30 dwellings to a large operation of 100 to 300 dwellings, i.e.), you have to change your philosophy a little. To have people who are capable of managing the quantity, of taking on the management of this type of project, which is not the same thing"* (R4).

3. **One of the main public housing operators** (CityDev.Brussels, Housing Funds, SLRB), better equipped for large-scale productions, takes charge of the project through public tenders. This is how the first CLTB operations were implemented (with the Housing Funds). However, this type of operation places the operator in a position where it must make trade-offs between its own production and that dedicated to CLT-projects, which must be clarified at the political level.

4. **A real estate developer,** through different mechanisms of delegation of the project management, takes charge of the project management, but this supposes that they are open to the specificity of collaborative housing buildings (type of housing typology and type of interlocutor).

The Regional public operator in urban development and housing testifies to its practice: *"When we issue calls for projects, we try to "educate" the private sector to produce housing in this range. We have to say to the market: "Guys, do you realise that you could have a business model that is profitable or sustainable by collaborating with this type of project? That's the market, that's the interest. You had a risk. It was that the market would say: "I don't care. I'm going to continue to sell to my investors, it's working better, I'm making higher returns"*" (R3).

In any case, it is important to be able to work on the architectural quality of this type of project, inspired by the mutualist governance of cooperatives. As the academic expert on collaborative housing explains, *"Basically, there are a lot of changes in the society, in the way we live and organize our lives, I think that the way we provide our housing according to the mainstream structures is very obsolete. We can't continue to all be stuck in this kind of cookie cutter houses, when we are growing increasingly diverse. It is worthwhile offering more choice in the housing systems, or market as it is called, to people to live differently. And very often I think that the mainstream industry, when you want or need to get things done quickly, that is what you miss. You miss the sophistication of all the diversity"* (R6).

The urban planner insists on the need to open a dialogue with the development sector on the evolution of housing typologies: *"Today there are buildings, flats produced by real estate development, it is an addition of surfaces, it is the minimum of distribution and the minimum of rooms requested by the RRU (Urban planning regulations), without more quality. Very often a very large part of the production in large quantities, that's it. So I'm an activist and I'm on the Good Living commission*[26] *which is thinking about the regulations. We are thinking about the quality of housing and the quality of common spaces. How do you organise a flat apart from a logic of adding surface area and flexibility, of occupying rooms?"* (R4).

1.8 Financing of the scaling-up and the sectors involved

Strong political support is above all a question of regional financial means invested in a land policy for community-led housing projects. In the first reading, this refers to the size of the investment subsidy envelope allocated to the CLTB or possibly to the public land resources made available for this policy. On a second reading, it also refers to the financing of Social Real Estate Agencies that are partners in such projects. But the issue of financing to support a scaling-up goes beyond these direct issues to these two key operators. In this section, four specific financing issues are highlighted.

1.8.1 Financing the functional mix of projects

The integration of community facilities to open housing projects to the life of the neighbourhood and the city poses challenges for the co-financing of distinct public policies (D.3.4. Layer 4). If we want to support a scaling-up, we might have to imagine coordination between competences, sometimes divided between different levels of power (community, federal, provincial) to allow the necessary co-

[26] Link to the final report of the Good Living experts commission: http://urbanisme.irisnet.be/pdf/good-living-rru-rapport-experts-fr-20211022-aspubl.pdf

financing of infrastructures within the constraints imposed by the temporality of a property development. Possible avenues are proposed in the recommendation section.

1.8.2 Support to associative partners of the project

The involvement of future residents in associative and community governance also requires funding for the associations involved. This funding should cover the duration of the property development, but also a period of post-move-in monitoring to guarantee the autonomy of the residents. This post-move-in follow-up, according to the methods used for CALICO, could be at least one year for the follow-up of the living-together aspects and two years for the management aspects of the co-ownership.

In this respect, it might be a good idea to think about supporting these associations within the framework of a specific agreement linked to the monitoring of the project and not to rely solely on the voluntary commitment of the associations based on the subsidy for their basic missions. Depending on the assumption of specific missions in the longer term and their adequacy with the regional objectives, a structural subsidy could also be envisaged.

1.8.3 Offer public guarantees to support the emergence of efficient ethical private financing

Guarantees, loans, mortgages adapted to cooperatives

In the CALICO project, the financing of construction by cooperatives is based on the articulation of several financial mechanisms (loans, donations, cooperative shares, etc.). Achieving a scaling-up of this type of project would require the existence of ethical financial products that could be used by the entire sector involved in this type of project. A "one shot" approach, project by project, forces each cooperative to approach the main existing financiers. In this respect, a clear financial commitment from the Region with a broad objective towards community-led projects would enable the ethical finance sector to offer more attractive financial products and would also reduce the effects of competition between actors.

In the same way, one could imagine mechanisms of public loans and public bank guarantees to support the partners selected for the development of community-led housing projects.

Supporting the professionalisation of cooperatives and their representation

Finally, if support for scaling up the project, led by cooperatives and associative patrimonial investors, is sought it is surely relevant to support their professionalisation effort through mechanisms of expertise transfer, project monitoring. It is also desirable to support their efforts to network, exchange expertise and represent the sector, through platforms such as Sohonet, the Brussels Assembly for the Right to Housing (RBDH – *Rassemblement Bruxellois pour le Droit au Logment*), CLTB and Fair Ground. This is probably a necessary condition to support the renewal of housing co-operatives at the beginning of the 21st century.

2. RECOMMANDATIONS FOR SCALING-UP IN BRUSSELS

Belgium is a federal state that has already decentralised many competences to the Regions and Communities. Thus, the Brussels-Capital Region is fortunate to have a great deal of autonomy to design coherent policies on a metropolitan scale. It is competent in the field of housing and has the corresponding resources. The recommendations concerning the replication and scaling-up of the CALICO project are therefore mainly addressed to the policy makers of the Brussels-Capital Region. These recommendations can of course also inspire other national, regional or even municipal authorities with housing policy competences elsewhere (in Europe).

2.1 Establish a legal definition of a community housing project in the Regional legislation

- Define the conditions for "community-led housing projects" to be eligible for regional support (for investment and operation of partners).
- Set compulsory criteria (such as permanent anti-speculation control), and optional criteria (such as multifunctionality of programming) or variable criteria (social housing rate, which should remain a majority).

Based on the five main layers of the CALICO governance scheme, the following criteria can be suggested as a basis for the definition of community-led housing projects:

- The public means invested in land control (subsidy of a CLT acquisition / provision of public land) remain permanently assigned to the project and guarantee its social and anti-speculative character.
- These anti-speculative conditions apply (via the rights of dismemberment) to all owner structures and beneficiary households, whether they are low or middle income.
- Social accessibility applies to (a majority of) supported housing.
- Different forms of community-based asset management are recognised: associative investment cooperatives; self-managed residents' cooperatives; associative and mutual asset investors.
- Cooperatives or community asset investors commit to allocate any profits to similar projects or to retrocede them to the regional housing policy.
- A maximum internal rate of return for investments in cooperatives or associative patrimonial investors is set periodically.
- Provide for a public pre-emption mechanism in case of non-compliance by the collective owners of the building.
- Residents and occupants are integrated into the governance of the collective ownership of the building.
- Cooperatives or associative real estate investors undertake to maintain the socialisation of the housing throughout the duration of the emphyteusis.
- Shared spaces and facilities open to the neighbourhood are integrated and project leaders are co-financed.
- define and approve housing allocation procedures with the community organisations.

- The management of resident empowerment in the internal governance of community managed housing is guaranteed.

2.2 Stages of growing support for CLT as a public operator in charge of Community Led Housing projects

Within the framework of public-commons governance, the objective is to define contracting and coordination modalities for projects that are not based on competition and the principle of outsourcing services, but rather on trust and collaboration, shared discretion, and the principle of devolution of responsibilities.

An increase in institutional support in the short, medium, and long term would enable the CLTB to increasingly take on the role of coordinating a public land policy in support of community-led housing projects. This increase could be marked out by the following stages:

In the short term

- To enable the development of similar projects through a regional grant for private land acquisition by the CLTB for such setup, which is not the case yet.

2 procurement methods can be envisaged:

- competitive bidding by consortia brought together by and around the CLTB in the framework of calls for projects initiated by the Region, or other public operators; and/or
- competitive bidding by the CLTB of consortia formed by one or more cooperatives/associative social real estate investors and their partners through public tenders.

In the medium term

- To include the principle of financing land acquisition by the CLTB in its future management contract for similar community-led housing projects involving the sale of buildings to anti-speculative social or societal housing cooperatives or associative investors.

In the longer term

- Define an ambitious regional plan (several hundred dwellings), for example by reallocating the resources of the Habitat Alliance to community-led housing projects managed by a CLT.

A significant public commitment would help to boost the emergence of the cooperative housing sector and appropriate ethical financing products. In such a framework, a tripartite monitoring body could be envisaged. It would bring together the CLTB and/or the Region with the cooperative sector and other associative asset investors and the ethical finance sector.

2.3 Integrate community-led housing projects into planning objectives for more coherent action[27]

- Integrate community-led housing projects into the various municipal and regional planning tools like the Master Development Plans (PAD – *Plan d'Aménagement Directeur*)
  - or within the framework of urban renewal tools (Urban Renewal Contract - *Contrat de Rénovation Urbaine*, and Sustainable Neighbourhood Contract – *Contrat de quartier durable*)…
  - Give priority to the acquisition of private land by a CLTB to increase anti-speculative land control and relieve competition between public operators on existing public land.
  - Integrate community-led housing operations like CALICO into major public residential development operations on the main land reserves in the Region.
  - Use this type of operation in areas particularly prone to NIMBY (Not in my Backyard) reflexes towards the establishment of social housing.
  - Use this type of operation for small-sized projects and complex urban renovation operations for which other public operators are less equipped.

2.4 Support and organise the functional mix of projects

As the community-led housing projects also aim at acting against the social cohesion breakdown and support local social economy, community facilities are integrated. These facilities are often implemented by social partners depending on subsidies from other competences, or even levels of power. In this context, it is a question of defining a coordination between competences and levels of power to ensure the co-financing of project leaders of community facilities within the constraints imposed by the temporality of a real estate development, either by :

- conclusion of partnership and cooperation agreements and ad hoc conventions;
- in the long term, by creating a "common" land management institution, or endowing the CLTB with this function to allow recourse to investment funds constituted by other regional competences and other levels of competence.

2.5 Integrate the architectural specificities and typologies of collaborative housing into production standards

- Adapt building typologies to cohousing specificities (shared spaces, modularity, coownership scheme kept simple in large developments...) in public tender and in private real estate development and ensure the financing of common spaces generally neglected.
- Adapt the regional planning regulation (RRU – *Réglement Régional d'Urbanisme*) to these specificities, particularly in the context of the Good Living reform or the continuation of its work.

[27] For a more in-depth discussion of the issues of planning and land management, refer to part C., which lists several avenues that could be implemented to achieve, in whole or in part, the aims of a CALICO-type set-up.

- In compliance with the legislation on public tenders and taking into account all the guarantees of social management and long-term anti-speculation, encourage private contracting of community-led housing projects, to support the emergence of new actors in design and construction specialised in the specific needs of collaborative housing.
- Reduce the requirement for the number of parking spaces, which is considered too high (one per housing unit), develop more parking spaces adapted to soft and shared mobility vehicles, and support collectivisation of parking lots.

2.6 Support the scaling-up of cooperatives and other social real estate associative investors

- Contribute to the removal of financial barriers at the level of banks or credit authorities for cooperatives by:
    - guaranteed public loans associated with a public pre-emption mechanism in case of non-compliance.
    - Study the possibility of opening credit lines to the Housing Fund of Brussels-Capital Region for the constitution of cooperative shares.
- Support the adaptation of the legislation on cooperatives at federal level by advocating for a definition of housing cooperatives, which is currently non-existent and leaves many legal gaps.
- Support the reduction of VAT to 6% at federal level for permanently affordable and anti-speculative community-led housing projects managed by collective owner entities like cooperatives and associative patrimonial investors (possibly articulated with the use of a Social Real Estate Agency).
- Support the professionalisation of cooperatives and social real estate associative investors
    - by providing various technical supports.
    - Support the emergence of forms of sectoral representation and coordination.

2.7 Support the use of Social Real Estate Agencies in community-led housing schemes

- Support the use of Social Real Estate Agencies in permanently affordable community-led housing projects.
- Frame the procedures of delegation of housing allocations to associative partners to adapt them to the specificities of community-led projects. To do so:
    - Support new criteria for access to housing (positive discrimination, societal commitment), while ensuring its constitutional value.
    - Define the allocation regulations and allocation management bodies expected of the associative partners;
    - Define the level of transparency expected in advertising to potential applicants.

2.8 Support the community development missions of the grassroots association involved

- Fund the CLTB for the general coordination work of the partner associations
- Fund the partner associations for their community development missions and their support of residents. The funding should cover the period of the project set-up, but also a transitional period of 2 years for the finalisation of the empowerment of the residents and 2 years for stewardship of the co-ownership management.

2.9 Support further academic research on community-led housing schemes

Further research could be supported especially on:

- the required conditions for a scaling-up of those initiatives;
- the efficiency of those projects in terms of public expenditure;
- and the conditions to improve the articulation of the different governance level (Public-common, mutalist ownership, administrative and technical support, associative governance and sociocratic governance by the inhabitants).

F. DISSEMINATION IN EUROPE

This last part focuses on the challenges of disseminating the project on a European scale. It first contextualises the challenges of such a dissemination in the global context of the housing crisis. It then discusses the relevance of a faithful dissemination of all the specificities of the CALICO project in the face of the diversity of national and regional contexts. Finally, a summary list of dissemination recommendations is proposed.

1. Context: the housing crisis and the localist agendas

Reflecting on the replicability, scaling-up and dissemination of projects such as the CALICO project is certainly useful and necessary, but the relevance of this type of innovation should be contextualised and relativised from the outset if other more structural measures to address the causes of the housing crisis are not taken. This is what the academic expert interviewed explains:

"If the whole burden for long-term affordability is put on a bottom-up model like the CLT or cooperatives, you are never going to solve the housing crisis. Wherever there is speculation, , and if there is housing need, that should be tackled. That is a sine qua non condition. Every city/country must take his own measures" (R6).

Similarly, a cultural shift for community-led housing projects to fully integrate housing policies is still needed overall.

"So far, we see these projects as alternatives, because the mainstream way of providing housing is very conservative and very much neo-liberal in the sense that in Europe we have a big dominance of homeownership as the paradigm, individual homeownership and asset-based mechanisms for people (…) On the other hand, we have the subsidized housing systems that are becoming increasingly residuals" (R6).

However, a rise of collaborative housing can be identified at European level. Following Pialucha, *"a relation exists between rise of Collaborative Housing (and the CLT model dissemination) and the withdrawal of public authorities from direct public service provision in Europe, or, in other words, a Welfare State retreat. (…) This retreat gave a greater margin of manoeuvres in the promotion and experimentation of alternative housing schemes. On the other hand, it also implied greater responsibilities for local authorities and the civil society in terms of housing provision"* (Pialucha, 2020).

UK's Housing and Regeneration Act (2008), Community Housing Fund, CLT Fund (2008-2018) or community asset transfer, the Scottish Land Fund (2001) and Community empowerment agenda, the Irish Land Development Agency (2018), Barcelona's ESAL agreement on the construction of 400 units in cooperatives on municipal land, the Alur (2014) and Elan laws (2018) in France, that define Housing cooperatives and the Solidarity Landholding Organisation (OFS - Organisme de Foncier Solidaire) – the land trust entity – and the Solidarity Real Estate Lease (BRS - *Bail Réel Solidaire*), as well as many other municipalist agendas and remergences of cooperative movement in Germany and Northern

Europe… The list is long, and the opportunities of networking between these numerous Collaborative housing initiatives are also increasing into National and International networks.

The European Commission is also gradually integrating community-led initiatives, as illustrated by the European Urban Policy Officer interviewed:

"The community-led-project aspect corresponds completely to what we have in our legislation with a certain number of tools called CLLDs[28], or Local Action Groups, LAGs, or even today, for the next programming period, the obligation to have the participation of stakeholders in the construction of projects and in their selection. This is at the heart, somewhere, of how we operate, and is part of the definition of the integrated approach" (R5).

Similarly, the European Parliament supports community-led and collaborative housing initiatives, including the CLTs, notably in the recommendations of its report "Access to Decent and Affordable Housing for all" (10/01/2021)[29]. In this report, the Parliament *"calls on the Commission, Member States and regional and local authorities to recognize, support and fund community led, democratic, and collaborative housing solutions, including community land trusts, as legitimate and viable means to provide market and social housing"*.

The CLTB in the rise of Community Land Trusts in the Europe.

A real CLT movement is emerging in Europe. The CLTB is one of the leading figures in the dissemination of the model. It is or has been involved in three European programmes, two of which as lead partner:

- The UIA programme with the CALICO project (2019-2021)[30].
- The Interreg North-West programme with the SHICC project (Sustainable Housing for Inclusive and Cohesive Cities), (2017-2021)[31]. This project is also winner of the Commission's regional urban policy award "Regio Stars 2020" in the category "Citizens engagement for cohesive cities".
- The Horizon 2020 programme with the GeCo living lab[32] on Generative commons project.

On the international level, the CLTB also won the "world habitat awards" organised in partnership with UN Habitat[33].

[28] More information on CLLDs and LAGs: https://enrd.ec.europa.eu/leader-clld_en
[29] Access to the report: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0020_EN.html
[30] For UIA presentation of CALICO: https://uia-initiative.eu/en/uia-cities/brussels-capital-region
[31] For more information: https://www.nweurope.eu/projects/project-search/shicc-sustainable-housing-for-inclusive-and-cohesive-cities/
[32] For more infromation: https://generative-commons.eu
[33] For more information: https://world-habitat.org/world-habitat-awards/winners-and-finalists/introducing-community-land-trusts-in-continental-europe/

While it is pleasing that these developments allow projects rooted in a community-led conception of empowerment and social justice to flourish, they also place the burden of filling the gap in terms of affordable housing provision on private developers and the civil society (Gimat, Pollard, 2016). In this context, these community-based initiatives are coming together to make the case for stronger forms of public support tailored to try to stabilise and broaden their means of action. In the face of the neo-liberalisation of the housing market, ensuring a coherent and sustainable intervention of public authorities remains a key issue.

2. *Are CLT based solutions a replicable, efficient strategy for community-led housing projects in Europe?*

The European Urban Policy Officer considers that the stage of exemplarity and the exchange of good practices is a minimum, but that "we are already a little further than that, since we must move towards transfer" (R5). To this regard, the international academic expert considers that *"we need to extract what the key elements that make this kind of affordable and collaborative housing generalised. Once you have that tested in your regional or national context, it might become interesting for other countries and cities in particular to look at"* (R6).

The previous parts of this report on the replication and scaling-up of the CALICO project were designed with this in mind. Although they focus on the specific context of the Brussels-Capital Region, they provide relevant recommendations on the implementation of different innovative building blocks that can be useful to other urban and national contexts.

The key element of a project like CALICO is the use of a CLT as a public land management tool. Thus, a strict replication of the CALICO project would imply, in the first place, to initiate locally a Community Land Trust or to extend its competences to cooperative projects, if they exist. This innovative model is far from existing in all European countries. However, one can refer to the SHICC project, funded by the European Commission's INTERREG North-West programme, to find out about the state of play in the development of Community Land Trust initiatives in Europe. The project seeks to support the establishment of more successful Community Land Trusts in cities across the North-West European region. As a result of the work of the SHICC project, a European network of CLTs is being established. A very useful literature has been produced by the SHICC project to help starting CLT initiatives in different European cities[34].

In the absence of an existing form of Community Land Trust locally, it is possible to imagine a replication of the CALICO model on public land. If the participation of residents and civil society is no longer guaranteed in the management of the land, the principle of the dismemberment of property rights (ownership of public land / ownership of private buildings) can still be envisaged, as well as the establishment of anti-speculative clauses and rules for the democratic management of buildings.

[34] All the reference documents produced within the SHICC project are described here: https://www.nweurope.eu/projects/project-search/shicc-sustainable-housing-for-inclusive-and-cohesive-cities/

As the academic expert on collaborative housing interviewed recalls, *"It is extremely difficult to push a standard principal or regulation at a European level. That's why I come back to the issue of building blocks and the elements of a model for replication not only in one country, but also at European level"* (R6).

Of course, national and local contexts are different and pose specific challenges, opportunities and constraints. Some are more advanced than others in the decentralisation of housing policies, some are more exposed to the financialisation of the housing market than others, some operate in contexts of extreme scarcity of available land, others not, ...

Some countries or regions have traditions that can facilitate the integration of CALICO's building blocks of innovation in their existing corpus of action, others do not. For example, some countries have a long tradition of dismemberment of land and building ownership (UK, Netherlands, etc.), useful for implementing a public land policy in favour of community-led projects, others have a cooperative housing sector that is advanced in the exploration of architectural typologies and private financing systems, others have a tradition of public social housing, useful for feeding expertise in social rental management or partnership. Some have an associative and social economy fabric deeply rooted in society, useful for the community anchoring of projects...

In this context, the objective is perhaps above all, beyond the strict recourse to the Community Land Trust model, to aim at the implementation of sustainable and democratic land policies.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS ON DISSEMINATION IN EUROPE

This last section presents a list of useful recommendations for moving towards a dissemination of the CALICO project at European scale. Many of the following recommendations are taken or adapted from the final report of the SHICC project, entitled "Community Land Trust in Europe: Towards a transnational movement"[35].

3.1 European level – Recognition and formalisation

Europe has no direct competence on housing issues; however, it could intervene in the dissemination of CALICO-like community-led housing projects in several ways:

- Achieve formal recognition of CLT and collaborative housing as a legitimate and viable means to provide affordable housing and sustainable urban development.
- Create formal linkages between the model and the existing EU Agenda (urban issues, housing, social infrastructure, climate and circular economy).
- Facilitate access to existing EU financial instruments :
    - structural and investment funds, including ERDF funds, in particular in the framework of objective 5 "EU closer to citizens", (integration of participatory or multi-stakeholder processes in territorial tools).
    - sectorial programmes, including new programmes, especially the European Urban Initiative (2021-2027)[36], the New European Bauhaus framework but also other programs (Urbact, Horizon 2020).
    - bank facilities, including BEI investment loans, by reaching collectively to a cluster of projects justifying a minimum loan amount of EUR 25 million.
- Set up dedicated financial mechanisms to support capacity building, facilitate the development of housing units and generate revenue.
- Formalise a European CLT Network.
- Stimulate more research on similar pilot projects, but also on the housing crisis, the shortage of social housing, financialisation, to highlight the need for public regulation of the housing market.

3.2 National or Regional level - Enactment of appropriate legislation

In the context of other European metropolises, it is a question of identifying the public authority or authorities most relevant to:

- Develop favourable policy environments: define specific status for CLT to strengthen their legal structure and enable them to benefit from the same advantages as other accredited housing providers
- Support social income and programmatic mix in CLT projects through legislative flexibility and/ or financial support.
- Support low- and medium-income households' access to housing.

More specifically, the following actions can be taken:

- include CLT and community-led housing in the local housing policies through direct subsidises and specific instruments (e.g. specific calls for projects, dedicate fund, etc.) ;
- use favourably the local regulatory tools (planning obligations, building permits etc.);
- endorse existing advocacy campaigns;
- bring direct and indirect technical assistance to CLTs and community-led housing projects;
- provide significant financial support at every stage of CLT development (through grants, attractive loans, blended finance, as well as guarantees).
- develop adapted instruments that could help to prove and generalise the model, while increasing awareness.
- Support more research on how national and regional governments could help to move CLTs out of their exceptionalist framework, so that they are seen as viable partners.
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The replication and scaling-up of community-led housing projects presupposes the implementation of sustainable modalities of shared governance between public authorities and cooperative and associative sectors. In this respect, it is worth recalling the following success factors, which have reached a consensus in the academic literature (Alsina Burgués, Gonzalez de Molina, 2019) and are valid for all public-private, including public-community, governance:

- Strong political and institutional support.
- Shared discretion.
- Implementation of organisational measures to move from a traditionally bureaucratic public administration to one that is better prepared to manage networks.
- Strategic leadership of public administrations.
- Degree of professionalisation of public and private managers.
- the definition of shared objectives to find a win-win situation.
- mechanisms for balanced management and risk transfer.
- mechanisms for good governance: evaluation, correction, monitoring, etc.
- Agreement on clear and robust rules where the organisational culture and common mission are shared.
- Good internal and external communication policy.
- A climate of trust and commitment.

3.3 Municipal level - Policy support and access to land

- Make CLT part of local housing policies, develop public-civil partnerships.
- Enhance the use of regulatory obligations (enforce social diversity, ease obtaining of building permits, etc).
- Support CLT at start-up phases (especially for access to land and up to the planning phase).

[35] Thisinal report of the SHICC : https://www.nweurope.eu/media/11838/shicc_eu-clt-guide_2020_en.pdf

[36] https://www.uia-initiative.eu/en/eui/european-urban-initiative

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