Cohousing as an opportunity to increase the self-reliance of economic homeless people

Final Version - anonymously

Author: D. (Danielle) Schol, Metropolitan Analysis, Design, and Engineering, Delft University of Technology and Wageningen University

WUR Supervisor: Dr. Ir. K. B. M. (Karin) Peters, Department of Environmental Sciences

TU Delft Supervisor: Dr. D. K. (Darinka) Czischke, Management in the Built Environment subdivision Housing Management

December 9, 2021

Keywords: homeless shelter, cohousing, social networks, social support, self-reliance

Student number: 940705742080 (WUR), 4281136 (TU Delft)

Preface

This is the thesis entitled 'Cohousing as an opportunity to increase the self-reliance of economic homeless people'. This master thesis was written as part of my graduation project for the Master's degree in Metropolitan Analysis, Design, and Engineering at Wageningen University and Delft University of Technology. I have been working on this research from September 2020 to December 2021.

I would like to thank both my supervisors, Karin and Darinka, for the intense process of the past 1.5 years. It was literally a rollercoaster, but fortunately you were always there for me.

I would also like to thank all interviewees for their time and valuable information. I would also like to thank the economic homeless people who were willing to share their story with me. Without your help, I would never have come this far.

I wish you much pleasure in reading it.

Danielle Schol

Abstract

Due to the tightness of the housing market, the number of economic homeless people in the Netherlands has increased significantly. According to the Wmo 2015, citizens are required first to solve their problems themselves or within their own network. Most economic homeless people do not have an informal social network and end up in a homeless shelter. In the homeless shelters, they become dependent on formal support organisations and are barely part of society. This study compares the homeless shelter with a potential alternative, such as cohousing, to increase the self-reliance of economic homeless people. The research question in this study is as follows: "*What are the effects of homeless shelter and cohousing on the self-reliance of economically homeless people?*" This research is a comparative exploratory study with a qualitative research approach. Through in-depth interviews with economic homeless people and employees of formal support organisations , the experiences of economic homeless people regarding their housing environment are collected. The study shows that the homeless shelter has a negative effect on the self-reliance of economic homeless people. In this living environment, economic homeless people will not make new social contacts and are dependent on formal support organisations. In contrast, the effect of cohousing is positive. The results imply that cohousing is a source of the development of informal social networks with neighbours who can provide informal social support. This makes the economic homeless less dependent on formal support organisations, and their self-reliance will be increased.

Contents

1. Introduction

1.1 Motivation

One of the consequences of the shortage in the housing market and the corona crisis is the huge increase in the number of homeless people. In October 2020, several newspapers published articles about a tripling of the number of new applications for the homeless shelter compared to the previous year. Alderman Simone Kakenheim calls this situation alarming: *"People without a home run a great risk of developing many more problems in a short time. They have difficulty keeping their jobs, run a greater risk of developing addictions and psychological problems, and if they spend the night outside, there is also a risk of physical problems"* (Weel & Kleijn, 2020).

In particular, the group of economic homeless people has increased significantly. This is a group of people who have lost their homes due to critical life event(s), such as dismissal or divorce, or due to (a combination of) debts, unemployment and mortgage payments. Within this group, there is no sign of serious mental illness or addiction (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, 2018; Trimbos Institute, 2015).

Since anyone can come across these critical life events, I had many questions about how this could happen and how one could ask for help from others. Looking at my own situation, I have a strong network that I can ask for help. The type of support can be both formal and informal. Not every form of support is available or accessible to economic homeless people. It made me wonder what the social networks of economic homeless people look like and whether there are possibilities to strengthen their social networks and thus the availability of social support. In this thesis, I will research the effects of social networks and social support of economic homeless people concerning their living environment.

1.2 'Self-reliant' economic homeless people

As stated above, this research focuses on the social networks and social support of economic homeless people. In particular, it will be examined whether the social support is given by formal or informal actors. The formality of the given social support has effect on the self-reliance of economic homeless people. Self-reliance can be understood as the ability to live without formal social support (Westert & de Groot, 2017). This aspect is crucial because it has to do with the accessibility of social support for the economic homeless people and with the pressure on formal support organisations. In this section, I will describe the situation and context of the economic homeless people.

The Social Support Act 2015 (Wmo 2015) is the legal entitlement and shelter for vulnerable and homeless people. Through this law, shelter and counseling are offered by the municipality (Westert & de Groot, 2017; Wmo 2015) and is formulated in this study as the homeless shelter. The assistance offered from the homeless shelter is formulated in this study as formal social support. In view of Article 1.2.1c of the Wmo 2015, a person qualifies for the homeless shelter *"if he has left his home situation and is unable to maintain himself in society by his own efforts, with regular assistance,*

with informal care or with the help of others from his social network". Some municipalities, such as the municipality of Amsterdam, assume that people with a serious mental illness or addiction cannot look after themselves sufficiently in society. Conversely, according to these municipalities, this means that people without a serious mental illness or addiction are self-reliant and therefore do not qualify for homeless shelter (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, 2018; Trimbos Institute, 2015). Economic homeless people belong to this group. Given the increasing numbers, the self-reliance of the economic homeless people and the strength of their social network may be overestimated (RVS, 2020).

In addition, formal social support is currently being scaled-down and replaced by informal social support systems in neighbourhoods and living environments (Gruppen, Knevel & Davelaar, 2018), which means that the formal social support is partly taken over by friends, family, or neighbours (Rausa, 2008)(Figure 1). This development is still in its early stages (Klaveren, Triest & Velden, 2018), but it has renewed the attention for cohousing. This innovative housing form consists of independent homes and shared facilities, such as laundry rooms and gardens (Markle, 2015). The growing interest is partly related to the Dutch government transforming the traditional welfare state into a *participation society* (Rijksoverheid, 2014). This implies that citizens who are in a (temporarily) vulnerable situation are expected to make as little use of formal social support as possible and should return to living independently as soon as possible (Gruppen et al., 2018; Rijksoverheid, 2014). Although the discussion on the *participation society* is ongoing, the municipality of Amsterdam is currently investigating the possibilities of certain forms of housing to reduce the pressure on formal social support and increase the self-reliance of its citizens (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015).
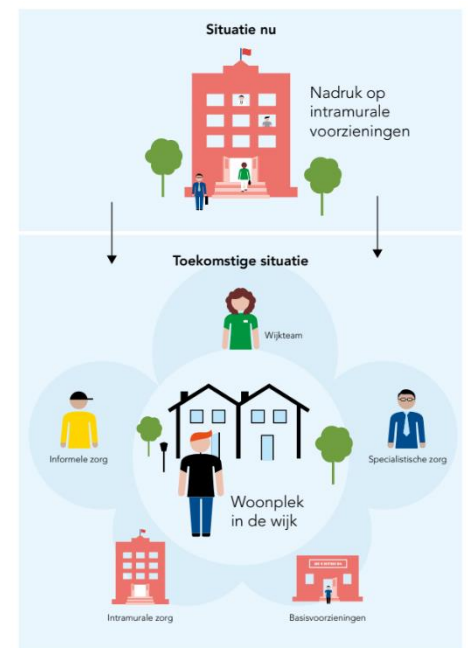

Figure 1 Transformation of support systems (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.)

In short, three elements characterise the situation of economic homeless people. Firstly, it is increasingly difficult to find affordable housing. Secondly, access to homeless shelter and formal social support is often unavailable for them (Westert & de Groot, 2017). Thirdly, economic homeless people do not have a good informal social network to rely on (Huber, Joanknecht & Metzer, 2013). The following section will propose a possible solution to tackle these three elements.

1.3 Social support and housing forms for economic homeless people

With the reduction of formal social support, informal social support has become more important. Informal social support is related to the proximity and accessibility of the social networks that provide this. For example, informal social support in cohousing may be higher than in a homeless shelter.

This thesis will focus on two living environments for economic homeless people. Each differs in living conditions and type of social support available. On the one hand, a homeless shelter is a form of housing that offers shelter to many homeless people. This situation has mainly formal social support available in the form of temporary housing or counselling (Ketenregisseur MOBW en GGD Centrale Toegang, 2021). On the other hand, cohousing is being investigated as an innovative form of housing that could increase the self-reliance of economic homeless people. Cohousing is an example of a housing form where people can reach out to each other, pull each other up and learn from each other (Gruppen et al., 2018). The living environment design purposefully promotes social interaction by providing public and communal spaces, fostering informal social support and contributing to informal social networks (Williams, 2005).

1.4 Aims and research questions

This research aims to contribute to a better understanding of how the living environment is related to the self-reliance of economic homeless people. It connects to a study by the municipality of Amsterdam that examines innovative forms of housing for economic homeless people that emphasizes the informal social support systems in neighbourhoods and living environments to alleviate the pressure on formal social support, as illustrated in figure 1 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). Innovative housing forms, such as cohousing, offer residents a living environment where they can strengthen their informal social networks and receive informal social support from fellow residents. In order to investigate how the living environment affects the self-reliance of the economic homeless people, this research will answer the following question:

What are the effects of homeless shelter and cohousing on the self-reliance of economic homeless people?

The following sub-questions are formulated to answer the main research question:

1. How can the economic homeless people's social networks, developed in both living environments, be characterised?

2. What are forms of social support being offered to economic homeless people in both living environments?

3. What is the relation between social networks, social support, and the self-reliance of economic homeless people in both living environments?
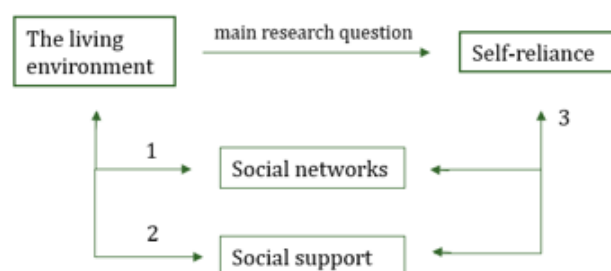

Figure 2 Presentation of conceptual framework

1.5 Methodological approach

This master's thesis is a comparative exploratory study, where a qualitative research approach has been applied. In qualitative research, individuals' opinions are examined in relation to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2014). Since little research has been done on economic homeless people and the relationship of the living environment to their self-reliance, this study has an exploratory character. This study compares two living environments of economic homeless people, homeless shelter and cohousing, and their effect on self-reliance.

Three sub-questions have been formulated to answer the main research question. The first two questions are based on two essential self-reliance concepts central to this research: social networks and social support. These questions are answered using in-depth interviews and supported by a literature review. The last question investigates the interrelationship between these three concepts. This question is answered using literature that will later be placed alongside the results from the interviews.

Research question
Combination of output from sub questions 1-3

SQ1
In-depth interview

SQ2
In-depth interview

SQ3
Literature review

Figure 3 Visualisation approach of the research questions

1.6 Relevance

Academic relevance

Not much research has been done on economic homeless people, as they have only recently come to light due to the lack of unaffordable housing. As a result, it is difficult for them to get social support from formal support organisations. The Trimbos Institute (2015) has suggested that a careful problem inventory, as referred to in the Wmo 2015, is needed for this target group. The self-reliance criteria and the matching support do not fully match. Therefore, this study is scientifically relevant because the results contribute to scientific knowledge about the effect of the living environment on the self-reliance of economic homeless people concerning their social networks and the presence of social support.

Societal relevance

The municipality of Amsterdam is researching forms of housing that reduce the pressure on formal support organisations and where social support is provided by the neighbourhood (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). In addition, Wolfshöfer & Bröer (2009) indicate in their research that the aims of homeless shelters are not being adequately pursued, partly because the homeless are losing their manners and contact with society. Therefore, this research is practically relevant because, based on the results, recommendations can be made for a living environment that will, on the one hand, increase the self-reliance of economic homeless people and, on the other hand, maintain their contact with society.

1.7 Reading guide

This master thesis is structured into seven chapters. After this introductory chapter, chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework. Chapter 3 discusses the selection of the two living environments that will be compared in this study. Chapter 4 presents the methodological approach, and chapters 5 and 6 the empirical results. The thesis concludes with Chapter 7, presenting the conclusions and discussion.

2. Theoretical framework

This thesis focuses on the social networks and support of economic homeless people. In this chapter, I will describe these concepts and their relationship. The concepts described are self-reliance, social networks and their characteristics, social support and the living environment.

Informal support systems in neighbourhoods and communities are getting more important. It is expected from economic homeless people that they will solve their problems within their informal social network before formal social support is applied (Gruppen et al., 2018). The question concerning this research is: *What is the relation between social networks, social support, and economic homeless people's self-reliance?* To answer this question, first, the definition of self-reliance needs to be described.

Several definitions are used for self-reliance. Westert & de Groot (2017) define it as the ability to solve problems individually or within their social network without recourse to formal social support. Berkman et al. (2000, p. 850) define it as "the degree of confidence that persons have in their ability to perform specific behaviours". And Movisie, the national knowledge institute for a coherent approach to social issues, defined self-reliance as the ability to carry out daily activities independently. For example, activities such as spending the day, administration work and maintaining relationships (Kruijswijk et al., 2014). The main question in this study is whether the living environment relates to the self-reliance of economic homeless people. Therefore, the definition of self-reliance used in this study is the ability to live without formal social support.

2.1 Social networks related to social support

As the previous paragraph described, self-reliance is related to social support. Social support is one function of social networks. This section will discuss the definition of social networks and social support used in this thesis. In addition, I will elaborate on the formal and informal actors of the social networks of economic homeless people, and I will explain the corresponding characteristics of these social networks related to the social support they provide.

Social networks

Burt defines social networks as "*the structure of one or more networks of relations within a system or actors*" (Burt, 1982, p.20 in Berkman et al., 2000). Huang et al. (2019, p. 403) described it as "*a structure made up of a set of social actors or entities (such as individuals or organisations) and the relationships among them*". This thesis defines social networks as person-centred webs of social relationships. According to Donev, Pavlekovic & Kragelj (2007), these person-centred webs are supportive networks that make people feel cared for, loved, esteemed, and valued. The social relationships include family, friends, employees of formal organisations, and others connected to the individual personally (Donev, Pavlekovic & Kragel, 2007).

Self-reliance is linked to the formality of social networks (formal or informal). Each of these two networks has different actors and provides other support forms. Informal social networks are composed of family members, friends, and neighbours (Rausa, 2008). These social relationships support each other and are unpaid and not professional (Machielse & Jonkers, 2013).

Outside individuals' informal social networks of friends, family, and neighbours are formal social networks. Formal social networks consist of individuals and organisations for services and assistance, such as social workers, housing corporations, health care providers, and GGZ (Rausa, 2008; RVS, 2020). The social relationships of formal social networks get paid to provide their support and services (Machielse & Jonkers, 2013).

Social support

This thesis focuses on one of the functions of social networks; providing social support. Social support is about the expectation of support and trust between the relationship of individuals (Carrere et al., 2020; Heaney & Israel, 2008). It emphasises the use of networks and resources to address problems and challenges (Kras, 2019). According to Lin (1986), Carrere et al. (2020), and Heaney & Israel (2008), four categories of social support can be distinguished:

- *Emotional support*: this is the support that increases a person's self-esteem or provides a way to cope with unfavourable life circumstances, which is done in expressions of empathy, love, trust and caring.
- *Instrumental support:* this is the support that someone can give in the form of material and financial assistance, such as shelter, food, clothing and monetary support, and in services, such as lending materials, housework and meal preparation.
- *Informative support:* this is support such as giving advice, suggestions and information.
- *Appraisal support*: this is the support given in feedback on performance and personal qualities and helpful information for self-evaluation.

Just like for social networks, social support can be either formal or informal. Formal social support refers to the help provided by formal organisations linked to policies and laws (Lu, Wu, Mao, Liang, 2020). It consists of support, such as finding housing, providing shelter, and giving advice and practical support (Trimbos Institute, 2015), and is characterised by regularity and stability (Lu, Wu, Mao, Liang, 2020).

However, this type of social support is not always available, and, in addition, informal social support is becoming more critical when the amount of available formal social support is decreasing. Informal social support is unconstrained, not linked to time, and easily accessible (Kwekkeboom & Steyaert, 2012), but, in contrast to formal social support, usually characterised by uncertainty (Lu, Wu, Mao, Liang, 2020). Informal social networks may specifically provide emotional support and instrumental support (Kwekkeboom & Steyaert, 2012; Koramaz, 2014; Klerk et al., 2015). For economic homeless people, family and friends are vital factors in providing informal social support.

For example, with the provision of temporary housing (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, 2018). Yet, the provided support is not infinite and can cause friction over time; for example, if an individual stays at someone's place for a more extended period, the housing provider will cut back on his or her benefit or rent subsidy (Trimbos Institute, 2015).

Furthermore, geographical proximity is essential for providing informal social support (Kwekkeboom & Steyaert, 2012). Neighbours are, for example, valuable nearby contacts to ask for help. 78% of the Dutch population is willing to help their neighbours (Kwekkeboom & Steyaert, 2012). The willingness to receive support is much lower. Many people are reluctant to ask friends, acquaintances, neighbours and distant relatives for help (Kwekkeboom & Steyaert, 2012; Machielse & Jonkerse, 2013). It embarrasses them to say that they need help, and it requires a high degree of acceptance of their situation (Linders, 2010). They do not want to burden their informal social network any further, and they find it difficult that they cannot always do something in return (Kwekkeboom & Steyaert, 2012).

Characteristics of social networks that provide social support

Several characteristics can distinguish any social relationship that provides social support. Table 1 describes each of these characteristics according to the research of Heaney & Israel (2008, p. 191).

Table 1 Social network characteristics (Heany & Israel, 2008, p. 191)

Reciprocity Reciprocal or one-sided	The extent to which resources and support are both given and received in a relationship. Reciprocity can be expressed in the provision of services.
Intensity/strength Enduring or temporary	The extent to which a relationship is characterised by emotional closeness.
Complexity Simple or complex	The extent to which social relationships serve many functions. A complex social network means that there is a diversity of qualities within the network. A simple social network means that the type of social support is uniform.
Formality Informal or formal	The extent to which a relationship is embedded in a formal organisational or institutional structure.

Density Close or single connections	The extent to which network members know and interact with each other.
Homogeneity Similar or different	The extent to which network members are similar in terms of demographic characteristics such as age, race, and socioeconomic status.
Geographic dispersion Close by or far away	The extent to which network members live in close proximity to the focal person.
Directionality Inclusive or exclusive	The extent to which members of the dyad share equal power and influence.

2.3 Social networks and social support related to self-reliance

Self-reliance is understood as the extent to which economic homeless people can live independently without recourse to formal social assistance. So how can a stronger informal social network contribute to this?

First of all, a better informal social network, and therefore the presence of informal social support, can increase the economic homeless people's self-reliance (Berkman et al., 2000). Secondly, the lack of an informal social network makes economic homeless people more dependent on their formal social contacts, as these are the only contacts they have (Kwekkeboom & Steyaert, 2012). And lastly, it can be assumed that informal social support reduces the demand of formal social support. However, there is an ongoing debate about this. The question is if these types of support are in line with each other, or if formal social support can take over informal support, and vice versa (Machielse & Jonkers, 2013).

Looking at the situation of economic homeless people with regard to the informal social support available to them, it can be observed that they lack this form of support. Most homeless people have lost contact with their friends and family (Bower, Conroy, & Perz, 2018; in Marshall et al., 2020). In addition, they feel that they do not belong anywhere anymore, which may result in loneliness (RVS, 2020; Trimbos Institute, 2015; Walter, 2016). This research focuses on the possibilities of making informal social support accessible again to economic homeless people. Several studies have examined the relationship between the living environment and the accessibility of informal social support. The research found a positive relationship between living in a cohousing community and the development of supportive social networks (Ruiu, 2016). These support networks can increase the self-reliance of economic homeless people.

2.4 The living environment

Several studies have shown a relationship between living environment and individuals' social networks and social support (McLane & Pable, 2020; Kemperman et al., 2019; Vos & Knol, 1994). Homeless people have difficulties maintaining or strengthening their social networks because of the social environment and service settings they are now in (Padgett, Henwood & Abrams, 2008). In addition, studies have found that people who have been homeless experience deterioration of social support when moved to independent housing and living alone (Padgett, Bond, Gurdak & Henwood, 2020; Shibusawa & Padgett, 2009; in Gurdak et al. 2020). Loneliness and difficulties to become part of society again occur among (ex)homeless people when in service settings or when they have their own home again (Huber et al., 2017).

2.5 Small conclusion

Informal support systems in neighbourhoods and living environments are getting a prominent role in society (Gruppen et al., 2018). However, economic homeless people lack informal social networks and social support. In addition, they have difficulties maintaining or strengthening their social networks when moved to homeless shelters (Padgett, Bond, Gurdak & Henwood, 2020; Shibusawa & Padgett, 2009; in Gurdak et al. 2020). Cohousing is an innovative example of a living environment where they can strengthen their informal social networks and receive informal social support from fellow residents. As concluded from this chapter, a better informal social network may increase the self-reliance of economic homeless people.

3. Context: Selection of living environments

In this chapter, I will explain the two selected living environments in more detail. Firstly, I will elaborate on the background information of homeless shelters. Secondly, I will explain why cohousing is an attractive alternative living environment for economic homeless people and I will also elaborate on the background information of this type of living environment.

3.1 Homeless shelter

The Wmo 2015 (artikel 2.3.5 lid 4 Wmo 2015) lists four steps that must be followed to assist in finding housing (Westert & de Groot, 2017). First of all, citizens are responsible for their own accommodation. If this is not possible, the network must be mobilised to find housing. If no compromise can be found, the third step is to make use of the short-term shelter. The last step is a homeless shelter as a long-term facility. The short- and long-term facilities are explained in the green box on the next page.

Image 1 Homeless shelter (EenVandaag, 2019)

The homeless shelters offer temporary shelter and counselling to the homeless. The people who use these facilities are usually forced to leave their homes and cannot participate in society independently (Wmo 2015). Providing shelter should give people peace of mind to work on their recovery. However, social services are currently overcrowded, making it difficult for newly homeless people to get the help they need (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, 2018). In addition, the municipality does not have to provide shelter to people without various problems, including economic homeless people (Westert & de Groot, 2017). As a result, the economic homeless people automatically develop multiple problems.

In general, there are two types of homeless shelters: short-term and long-term (Ketenregisseur MOBW en GGD Centrale Toegang, 2021). These two forms are being explained in the green box on the next page. In the homeless shelter, people can receive formal social support in debt, psychosocial or financial assistance and advice, which will help them live independently again. In addition, people could also get help on finding their way around social services.

All of these facilities aim to ensure that the economic homeless people have a roof over their heads again, that they can relax and that they have the opportunity to look for alternative housing in a safe environment (RVS, 2020). However, none of these housing types has a living environment aimed at building up an informal social network and thereby increasing self-reliance. Cohousing is an example of a living environment in which this does occur. This will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Examples of types of homeless shelters (Ketenregisseur MOBW en GGD Centrale Toegang, 2021)

In general, there are two types of shelter; short-term shelter and long-term shelter.

> *Short-term shelter (formerly night shelter):* this type of shelter consists exclusively of 'bed, bath and bread'. No extensive research is done about the applicant and no further support is provided. Homeless people can sleep and live in this shelter for a maximum of 3 months.

> *Long-term shelter (customised provision):* in this shelter, the homeless are supported with a personal trajectory and is intended for people with a serious psychosocial disability or a psychiatric disability (including addiction). It is also for people who have no other way of finding (temporary) accommodation. Homeless people can stay in this facility for a maximum of 6 months.

In addition, the municipality of Amsterdam has a number of facilities that economic homeless people can make use of:

> *Passantenpension:* this is a temporary place of accommodation where people can live independently without extra care or support. The stay is for a maximum of 6 months and consists of only single rooms in which the housekeeping must be done by the residents themselves.

> *Onder de Pannen*: this is an initiative of the Regenboog Groep and means that people who have a spare room can rent it temporarily to the economic homeless people. This prevents them from deteriorating further and becoming dependent on social services and possibly on short-term shelter.

3.2 Cohousing

In recent years, research has been conducted into community living projects where vulnerable citizens can live independently with the support of fellow residents and, where necessary, from formal support organisations. For example, the research of the Ontwikkelplaats Gemengd Wonen focused on the extent to which mixed housing projects succeed in creating informal and supportive social networks (Gruppen et al., 2018). Within these mixed housing projects, there are supportive people, who have deliberately chosen to live in such a living environment, who will live together with people with care needs. Therefore, these projects are a source of development of informal supportive social networks and make the residents feel seen and accepted. This informal, supportive structure has reduced recourse to formal support organisations. Two examples of these mixed housing projects are presented in the green boxes on the next page.

Image 2 't Groene Sticht (Gruppen, Knevel & Davelaar, 2018)

't Groene Sticht (2003)

't Groene Sticht is the first mixed housing project in the Netherlands with living and working opportunities for people who have been homeless. The resident group consists of singles and families, students and seniors and socially vulnerable people (including former homeless people). There are communal living areas, a communal garden, a neighborhood restaurant, work spaces, a thrift store and a courtyard. Of all the homeless people who have come to live here, no one has ever left (Gruppen et al., 2018).

Majella Wonen (2016)

In this project, 70 homes were renovated by a housing corporation with the intention of providing housing for people who have been homeless. What is special about this concept is that the residents can continue to live in their homes, even after the three years of counseling will end. The residents will then receive a rental contract in their own name. There are communal gardens and there is a small square at the back intended as a meeting place (Gruppen et al., 2018).

Image 3 Majella wonen (Gruppen, Knevel & Davelaar, 2018)

The name of these community living forms is cohousing. Cohousing is characterised by the establishment of reciprocal relationships, mutual help, and solidarity (Czischke, Carriou, Lang, 2020). It is a housing model where the promotion of social support and social networks is expected (Markle, 2015; Williams, 2005). And where the design of the living environment purposefully promotes social interaction through the provision of public and communal spaces (Williams, 2005).

The first cohousing homes in the 1970s were established in Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands (Ruiu, 2015). The goal of the Danish and Dutch cohousing homes was to build better social relationships and increase the sense of belonging to a community (Meltzer, 2001; Williams, 2005). The Swedish models were more focused on women and working parents and their children to reduce the burden of housework by providing services such as meals and childcare (Meltzer, 2001; Jarvis, 2015). After the global financial and economic crisis in 2008, new attention to these types of cohousing models emerged from drivers such as affordability and social inclusion of disadvantaged groups (Czischke, Carriou, Lang, 2020).

Within cohousing, independent houses are combined with shared facilities, such as a common garden, laundry facilities or kitchen, which are offered concerning the needs of the residents and their economic resources (Ruiu, 2015). Several typologies differ in the way these homes are built and managed. For example, it may be a group of people who build and/or inhabit the community together, or it may be an organisation of professionals who involve future residents in occupying the community (Beck, 2020). The size of the communities also varies. Cohousing communities range from small buildings with a few households to entire neighbourhoods with more than 300 households (Ache & Fedrowitz, 2012). Two examples of cohousing living environments are presented in the two green boxes below. The *Anton Pieckhofje* focuses on housing for formerly homeless people and *Het Startblok* on housing for refugees.

Anton Pieckhofje, Haarlem

Het Anton Pieckhofje is a transit facility where formerly homeless people prepare to transition to their own living space. The shelter currently consists of 18 rooms, with participants sharing the kitchen, living room and sanitary facilities.

Counselling is present to help participants with housing, financial problems, day-to-day activities and restoring contact with family and friends (Leger des Heils, n.d.).

Image 4 Anton Pieckhofje (Haarlems Dagblad, 2021)

Image 5 Het Startblok (Archined, n.d.)

Het Startblok, Amsterdam

The Startblok is an innovative approach to refugee integration through collaborative housing. In this project, organised by the municipality of Amsterdam and housing corporation De Key in 2016, Dutch young adults are housed together with refugees according to the 50/50 principle. The underlying idea is that through structured self-organisation, the daily interaction between people from each group will lead to social connections and the development of social networks. The first findings of this research indeed show that social connections have been established between both groups (Czischke & Huisman, 2018).

4. Methodology

This chapter explains the research design and research methods applied in this study. It starts with an explanation of the research design and a description of the methodological approach. Thirdly, it describes the data collection methods. And lastly, it highlights the method of analysis.

4.1 Research design

In order to investigate how the living environment affects the self-reliance of the economic homeless people, this study will compare the difference between two living environments: homeless shelters and cohousing. The economic homeless people are housed in homeless shelters when their informal social network can no longer support them. Cohousing is studied as an alternative because of its informal supportive living environment.

To answer the main research question, I devised a conceptual framework to study the difference between these two living environments concerning the self-reliance of economic homeless people. The relation between the living environment and the self-reliance of economic homeless people will be regarded from social networks and social support themes based on three sub-questions. The final answer will be a description, whereby the effect on self-reliance will be defined as positive or negative. Positive means that self-reliance will increase through the development of informal social networks. And negative means that self-reliance will remain the same or decrease due to a lack of informal social networks.

The first sub-question will describe the characteristics of the social networks of economic homeless people in both living environments. These characteristics relate, for example, to the availability and accessibility of social support and the social relations that are providing the social support. The second sub-question will investigate what categories of social support are being offered to economic homeless people in both living environments and by whom. This answer will contribute to whether formal social support and informal social support are in line with each other or can take each other over (Machielse & Jonkers, 2013). The third sub-question will describe the relationship between social networks, social support and self-reliance. It will explain what essential aspects have to be focused on during the data collection.

The social networks variable refers to social network characteristics of social relations that provide social support (like reciprocity, density, formality, etc.). The social support variable relates to the categories of social support (like emotional, instrumental, informative, and appraisal support). Because the self-reliance of economic homeless people depends on the extent to which economic homeless people can live independently without recourse to formal social assistance. Therefore, the self-reliance of economic homeless people is linked to the formality of social networks and in which categories the social support is provided. The variable refers to social networks (like formality) and social support (emotional, instrumental, informative, and appraisal support). The operationalisation of these variables is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Operationalisation of concepts

Variable	Feature	Indicator
Social networks	Characteristics of social networks	Reciprocity
		Intensity/strength
		Complexity
		Formality
		Density
		Homogeneity
		Geographic dispersion
		Directionality
Social support	Categories of social support	Emotional support
		Instrumental support
		Informational support
		Appraisal support
Self-reliance	Social networks	Formality
	Social support	Emotional support
		Instrumental support
		Informational support
		Appraisal support

4.2 Methodological approach

The main focus of this research is to understand the role of social networks and social support of economic homeless people regarding their living environment in relation to their self-reliance. Since I am interested in the experience of everyday life of economic homeless people while being homeless, a qualitative research approach is suitable (Joffe & Yardley, 2004). Not that much research has yet been done about economic homeless people and how to increase their self-reliance. Therefore, this research is an exploratory study. The intention is to develop a grounded picture of the living situation concerning economic homeless people's social networks and social support. It provides background information on a suitable living environment as a start for further research. I adopted the comparative study approach in which I compared two forms of living environments next to each other. On the one hand, the homeless shelter, and on the other hand, cohousing.

Creswell (2014) describes qualitative research as "*an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem*" (Creswell, 2014). And it is an approach to study the stories of the lives of individuals (Riessman, 2008). Every economic homeless person has his or her personal story. I examined each of these stories separately in this research and analysed the underlying ideas and experiences. The best-revealed approach is through a qualitative research approach with open interview questions (Joffe & Yardley, 2004).

4.3 Data collection methods

In this section, I will shortly elaborate on the literature review that is done in this research. Additionally, I will discuss the respondents of this study and the characteristics of the interviewees. I will also elaborate in this section on the preparation of the interviews, the item list and how I did conduct the interviews.

Literature review

Policy documents, scientific literature, news, and other media articles were used as data resources to answer the third sub-question and to provide additional information for the results chapter. It provided focus points for comparing the results of this research with other findings (Creswell, 2014). Moreover, it was used to understand the problem statement concerning the importance of social networks in society in relation to self-reliance and background information on the current state regarding the life situation of economic homeless people.

Interviews

Respondents

I interviewed two groups in this study: economic homeless people and employees of formal support organisations. The most important group are economic homeless people. Their wishes and needs concerning their living environment are the focus of attention. Additionally, I interviewed the employees of formal support organisations to understand and explore their views on the living environment related to the self-reliance of the economic homeless people and to find out what has been done to strengthen their social networks.

The first contact for the start of this research was with EFSO I from the Regenboog Groep in Amsterdam. The Regenboog Groep is a formal support organisation dedicated to helping vulnerable people who have nowhere to turn in and around Amsterdam. In addition, contact has been made with other formal support organisations such as Het Leger des Heils and Stem in de Stad in Haarlem through a voluntary organisation. Through a snowball sampling technique (Babbie, 2010), which means that spoken contacts help find new respondents for the study, the employees of these formal support organisations helped me gather new respondents who were willing to tell their stories. The sample size in qualitative research is rather open, as it depends on the amount of information provided by the respondents (Babbie, 2010).

A total of 11 interviews were conducted from July 2021 to September 2021. However, one interview (of EFSO III) was not used in this study as the data of this interview was not related to the living environment of economic homeless people. The summer holidays played a significant role in finding enough respondents. Only a few were available for an interview. Because the answers took a long time to arrive, an appeal was placed via social media to find interested economic homeless

people. This resulted in several new contacts. In searching for the economic homeless people, their anonymity was guaranteed. It is a vulnerable target group where shame often dominates.

The criteria that respondents from formal social support organisations had to fulfil was that they were in contact with economic homeless people. Through this contact, they know whether the current living environment meets their needs and desires and where formal social assistance might still fall short. The criteria for the economic homeless people were, in the first place, that they had to be adults aged between 18 and 50 whose social network was insufficient. An attempt was made to speak mainly to economic homeless people from the Amsterdam and Haarlem region. Still, due to the low response rate, this was extended to the whole of the Netherlands. In addition, the economic homeless people needed to have a Dutch identity. A legal residence in the Netherlands is necessary to access homeless shelters (Tuynman, Muusse & Planije, 2013).

Table 3 shows an overview of the characteristics of all respondents who were interviewed.

Table 3 List of interviewees – EHP = Economic Homeless People, and EFSO = Employees of Formal Support Organisations

1.	EHP 1	Vrouw – 40 – 45 jaar – alleenstaand met kind
2.	EHP 2	Man – 18-20 jaar – alleenstaand
3.	EHP 3	Man – 40-45 jaar - alleenstaand
4.	EHP 4	Man – 40-45 jaar - alleenstaand
5.	EHP 5	Man – 40-45 jaar - alleenstaand
6.	EPH 6	Man – 35-40 jaar – alleenstaand
7.	EFSO I	De Regenboog Groep Amsterdam
8.	EFSO II	De Tussenvoorziening Utrecht
9.	EFSO III	Homies Foundation (entrepreneur)
10.	EFSO IV	Coordinator Onder de Pannen
11.	EFSO V	Leger des Heils

Type of interviews

In this thesis, I conducted in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews consist of a series of themes to be discussed on unstructured and fluid questions. This type of interview aims to understand a topic deeply and is most valuable in exploring an issue that little is known about (Curtis & Curtis, 2017). Very little research has been done on economic homeless people, so the in-depth interview approach for this research is suitable. The advantage of in-depth interviews is that they can provide a good impression of how the economic homeless people find themselves. There was time for them to tell their stories well and for the interviewer to indicate what they considered essential and desirable during the interviews. As a result, the interviews lasted on average 60 to 90 minutes.

Before the other interviews, I conducted a pilot interview with EFSO I from the Regenboog Groep in Amsterdam. This interview was used as an open conversation and exploration to test the interview

themes and questions and determine whether the research direction was clear enough for the respondents. As a result of this interview, the problem definition and research direction could be formulated more clearly.

Interview location

I held the interviews at various locations. Several interviews took place at an office on the Amsterdamstraat in Haarlem. Here was a room where the interviews could take place without disturbing the respondents. Not all interviews could be held here. Three interviews took place in a quiet café or restaurant. There was some distraction from the noise of the surroundings and waitresses. In addition, due to long distances or available time, several interviews took place online or by telephone.

List of themes

During the in-depth interviews, I have used a list of themes as guidance through the interview process (Curtis & Curtis, 2017). This list has been developed based on the information in Table 2. Despite the themes and questions being broached in whatever way seems appropriate, I used an interview guide for every interview. This interview guide can be found in Appendix A and includes six main themes:

- Theme 1: Social networks + formality
- Theme 2: Social support + formality
- Theme 3: Self-reliance + formality
- Theme 4: Potential of cohousing
- Theme 5: Social activities
- Theme 6: Living environment

4.4 Data analysis methods

I recorded all interviews to gather the data. Referring to Creswell (2014), it is essential to record the interviews to obtain the data from an in-depth interview. It assists the interviewer in being more focused during the interview process, and it helps to transcribe the interviews afterwards.

I used the thematic analysis approach to analyse the data in this thesis. Based on Joffe and Yardley (2004), this approach is concerned with describing behaviours, perceptions or experiences, and is a suitable method for exploratory research (Payne, 2011). The phases of this approach are represented in Table 4.

Table 4 The phases of the thematic analysis approach

Phase 1 Familiarising with the data	The first phase is about making transcripts of the interviews to be referred back to and getting to know the datasets. In addition, it is a process of generating very early analytic ideas and casual observations.
Phase 2 Generating codes	After the first phase, the researcher begins to generate codes. The codes are labels that capture the meaning of that data segment to the researcher. Sometimes a data segment might be labelled with more than one code, or it might not be coded at all, as it has no relevance to the research question.
Phase 3 Theme development	In this phase, the researcher starts constructing themes. It is an active process of pattern formation and identification. The research questions and theoretical framework guide this, as it helps determine what is and what is not relevant in terms of potential clusters of patterned meaning. A theme is a central organised concept that is shared across a range of codes.
Phase 4 & 5 Reviewing and Defining Themes	The reviewing phase ensures that the themes work well and capture the meaning from the coded data segments concerning the coded data, the dataset, and the research question. In the end, the story told through the themes answers the research question(s). The reviewing process is finished as the researcher defines and names themes.
Phase 6 Producing the Report	This phase is the final phase. In this phase, the researcher writes the report and weaves together data, analysis, and connections to literature into an output that answers their research question(s).

The method of the data analysis was deductive. It means that the study is carried out 'top down'. From existing theoretical concepts or theories that form the basis for the research, it is determined how the data will be coded and how they will be clustered to develop themes. It also provides a basis for interpreting the data (Terry et al., 2017). However, this process is not linear but an iterative and recursive one. The process helps to understand the data, gain insights and as a basis for initial analysis. The purpose of coding is to find 'evidence' for the themes (Terry et al., 2017).

The programme used for coding is Atlas.it. In this programme, transcript documents can be added. The programme makes it possible to link codes to quotations, which can then be put into a network for analysis.

5. Results

This chapter presents the results of the interviews and literature review. The results are discussed by theme, as emerged from the interviews. The presented information considers all the data collected and will be used to answer the sub-questions in the next chapter. This chapter will discuss the experiences of the living environment in a homeless shelter, followed by an elaboration on the themes: social networks and social support.

5.1 The living environment in a long-term homeless shelter

In the homeless shelter, economic homeless people live together with other homeless people. The interviewees who had lived here temporarily regarded this period as a black page in their lives and never wanted to return there. On average, a room in the homeless shelter consists of 16 beds, and in a luxurious room, there are eight beds. EHP3 mentioned that there were also single or double rooms, but these were only used when necessary. For example, when there were people who could not get along with others. In the dormitories, you could hear everyone snoring and talking. For EHP6, this environment was not enough to recharge. He needed a place for himself. In his opinion, you only can continue with life when your battery is completely recharged. He explained it as follows:

> *"One really requires time to "charge oneself", so to speak. Much like a battery, if you plug it in to charge briefly, you are only slightly charged. This is, however, not long enough. This is similar to the living situations of human beings. If one finally acquires and moves into a private residence for the first time, you will find that at first, people tend to sleep a lot more than usual. Only after your "battery" is charged completely, it will become possible to move on to other business again."*

Besides sharing a room with others and lacking private space in a homeless shelter, people treat each other differently. EFSO II notes that the residents develop very different behaviour to survive here. It contributes to what is being said in literature. Wolfshöfer & Bröer (2009) describe that homeless shelter residents learn to adapt the manners of the living environment to survive in it. Things learned there could not be used to become part of society again and take a long time to unlearn. Several examples of this were mentioned in the interviews. First of all, you always have to be vigilant in an environment with other homeless people. Otherwise, they say, you will lose your valuables. Secondly, you lose your sense of time. As a homeless person, there is no time and no daily schedule. EHP3 mentioned as an example that you only have to be at the homeless shelter on time. Other than that, there is almost nothing to be concerned about. Thirdly, it becomes more challenging to communicate with others. Homeless people, for example, are much more direct and focused on surviving. Fourthly, EHP6 and EHP3 mentioned hygiene. While living on the streets, you

are not used to cleaning up and taking care of yourself. It is not in your system anymore. Two of the interviewees shared their experiences about this:

> *"All is taken away from you. At the homeless shelter, you find yourself standing in human excrement. The homeless do not know how to clean themselves properly, and therefore a tendency of ignorance is created."*

> *"There are certain locations within the crisis sheltering community that I do not wish to return to. Eventually, I felt like I left the showers dirtier than when I got in."*

Or it can be that some lose these manners in the long-term homeless shelter because the staff of these services take over some of these tasks such as cleaning and other domestic responsibilities (Wolfshöfer & Bröer, 2009). And lastly, the interviewees mentioned that it was difficult to get out of the homeless shelter once you got in. EPH3 knew he could leave the shelter facility at one point, but during his latest few weeks, things got worse and worse, which made him slip further down the ladder. He described it as follows:

> *"There is no purpose to life left. It is all about sleeping, eating and surviving. Once you get caught in this system, it is extremely hard to get out."*

Another reason mentioned by Wolfshöfer & Bröer (2009) is that due to the lost manners, it has become difficult to live independently and become part of society again. In the long-term homeless shelter, they are dependent on the formal staff who have control over their lives.

5.2 The social networks of economic homeless people

This paragraph will describe the social networks of economic homeless people. It starts with a description of the social networks at the beginning of homelessness, followed by their stay in the homeless shelter and how it will look in cohousing. The paragraph will end with an elaboration on the social networks after their period of homelessness.

At the beginning of homelessness

The characteristics of social networks of the interviewed economic homeless people varied from person to person. For example, EHP2 and EHP3 had both rich social networks. EHP2 told me that many of his friends supported him when he became homeless because of an unsafe home situation. He managed to find a place to sleep in his network in the first period, but later it became increasingly difficult. The moment he almost had to sleep on the streets for the first time was a traumatic experience. Fortunately, he could use temporary solutions, such as a night in a hostel. A similar story belongs to EHP3. He had become homeless due to the bankruptcy of his business. He

managed to stay with several friends and relatives for two years when he had to sell his house, but it had a massive impact on his social network. He described this impact in the quotation underneath. In the end, he ended up in the long-term homeless shelter because there was nothing left of his social network, and he had nowhere else to go.

> *"The first 3 days are all fun and games. After the first 3 weeks the realization of the situation becomes evident. After 3 months, the confrontation of the situation becomes completely mentally unmanageable. It is at that moment people are emotionally drained."*

Some economic homeless people have a good social network. According to EFSO I, it is not likely that they turn to formal support organisations such as the Regenboog Groep in Amsterdam. However, this does not mean that people with an extensive social network can never end up on the streets. She indicates that it only takes longer before the problems become unmanageable. Huber et al. (2013) also mentioned that the social networks of homeless people become smaller when they are homeless. The reciprocity will disappear, and due to embarrassment or overburdening, some of their social contacts will disappear.

Most of the interviewed economic homeless people indicated that they had no or a minimal social network. On the one hand, they no longer have a family or have lost contact with them, and on the other hand, their social network was compromised as a consequence of a break-up. EHP4 said, for example, that during his relationship, he had moved in with his girlfriend. He lost many of his friends in this period because he was so preoccupied with his relationship. When his relationship ended and he had to leave his home, no one in his network was left to turn to for support. In addition, the only family member he still has is his sister, but he does not have any contact with her anymore.

Another example is the story of EHP5. He was married to a Filipino lady and had a rich social network. Unfortunately, he was part of a community where everyone turned their backs on him when his relationship ended. He lost a group of 30 friends, and there was no one in his network anymore to turn to for help:

> *"All of the sudden, nobody was there for me anymore. I found this very hard to deal with."*

While living in the homeless shelter

When economic homeless people cannot stay any longer with friends or family, they can register at the homeless shelter. The formal support organisations use several self-reliance criteria to determine whether economic homeless people can solve their problems independently or with help from their informal social networks. The main criteria are whether the economic homeless people have a social network, whether they are alcohol or drug addicts, and whether they have other care needs (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021) Many economic homeless people only have a housing

problem, which is not a care problem and does not belong to the self-reliant criteria. Eventually, some of the interviewees had developed an alcohol or drug addiction and could no longer rely on the social support of their informal social networks. According to the criteria, they were no longer self-reliant and ended up in the homeless shelter.

However, according to the interviewees, living in a homeless shelter was not a nice place to live. They felt lonely and unseen. Also, some of the interviewed economic homeless people lived together with people addicted to alcohol and drugs and with people with schizophrenia or Korsakov. In the opinion of economic homeless people, people with these kinds of problems should not be admitted into the living environment. When developing cohousing as a new living environment, they suggest selecting the residents beforehand to ensure they can get along. This suggestion was based on their experiences when living in a homeless shelter.

Making contact in the homeless shelter with others was very difficult, mentioned EHP3. According to him, it takes much energy, and everyone is working on their path to recovery, as explained in the quotation below. Besides, EFSO II indicated that people do not make new social contacts if they know they will eventually have to leave again. The only social contacts economic homeless people generally have, are with the staff from the formal support organisations.

> *"I made attempts to socialize with others, but I gave op on that eventually. It requires a lot of energy and everybody has their own journeys to complete. The process of reintegration is not without its fair share of obstacles. First, the first bills start to come in the mail. After that, another job is lost. This stirs a great amount of emotions."*

In addition, the interviewees indicated that these formal support organisations pay (too) little attention to building or using the informal social network. Partly because there is too little time and money available. EFSO IV is therefore curious about the results when more attention will be paid to this, especially to the informal social support that can result from this.

Strengthening informal social networks in cohousing

In this potential housing form, economic homeless people will live together with people who are socially involved and can be part again or society. The focus is on informal social networks and the formal support organisations stay remain in the background. EFSO II explained that the socially involved residents, named as 'supporting' residents in the examples of De Tussenvoorziening are selected beforehand. They are selected through a questionnaire, several motivation questions and a 10-minute interview to see if there is a match. This relates to the literature, namely that it is essential for mixed housing projects that residents are actively involved in the community to contact the demanding residents and participate in social activities to create social connections, social support, and social control (Gruppen et al., 2018).

Not everyone wants to live in a cohousing living environment. The interviewees are aware that you have to be open to living in such a housing form. The majority saw benefits in this type of accommodation, but not everyone needed it. EHP6 also saw the benefits. Nevertheless, he believes that it is essential that access is as easy as possible. That someone can come in without explanation and that it is accepted if you do not want to talk about how you got there. EH1 mentioned that she is not open to live in such a housing form. Here she explained why:

> *"My downstairs neighbor did eventually reach out socially. When I got mail, she received it for me. She offered to help me with this when I was not at home. She also explained that our other neighbor would be able to watch the kids or bring them to school. It felt great to receive such kindness, of course, but I am not the kind of person that usually indulges in such offers."*

According to EFSO II, to develop a social network, the residential communities must not become too large. The residents still know each other in smaller communities, and social contact remains.

The period after homeless shelter

According to the respondents, making new contacts while being homeless is not done very often. They believe this is only possible when there is peace and quiet. When the homeless stay with someone or is still in a homeless shelter, that calmness is not there yet. They also want to give everything a place first and work on their recovery.

> *"If you suffer from a broken heart, you get the feeling that things do not matter any longer. Reaching out to people took a while. You only start doing that after enough time has passed. If you have lived in a friends attic and consume 18 beers on a daily base because you feel absolutely terrible, it does not help your social life."*

In addition, it is not easy to restore the lost contacts when the economic homeless people end up on the streets. EHP3 talks about the time it takes to restore contacts and a long time before the social bonds are good again.

> *"Getting back in touch with my family takes a rather large amount of time. Aside from that, I do have many contacts through my work."*

After a short period in the homeless shelter, EHP 5 was offered independent accommodation in an elderly flat in a quiet neighbourhood. According to him, it is 'awfully quiet' there, and so far, he has only greeted the neighbours. He has not been very successful in making new contacts here. The only contacts he has at the moment are with his supervisor. EHP1, too, has made a few new contacts in

her new environment. The only contacts she has at the moment are with two employees of formal social assistance organisations.

5.3 Social support

Before economic homeless people can receive help from formal support organisations, several self-reliance criteria are used to determine whether they can solve their problems themselves or whether formal social support is necessary (Westert & de Groot, 2017). The main criteria are whether economic homeless people have a social network, whether they are alcohol or drug addicts, and whether they have other care needs. Only a housing problem is not enough to get a Wmo indication and access to homeless shelter. Without a Wmo indication, it is not possible to get help from formal support organisations. One of the interviewees mentioned that it also has to do with government funding. If an economic homeless person is characterised as not self-reliant and he cannot stay with friends or family, he is referred to the homelessness desk. Then he will be registered and may end up in a night shelter (short-term homeless shelter).

Beginning of homelessness

The moment the interviewees became homeless, most of them received social support in the form of temporary shelter by their informal social network. However, this is not entirely without risk. For example, EHP4 was offered a place to sleep by a friend who was receiving benefits. This friend could get into trouble, as he may have his benefits reduced (Westert & de Groot, 2017).

Not all of them were able to receive this support from their network. One of the reasons they mentioned is that economic homeless people often find it difficult to ask their network for help. According to EHP6, economic homeless people are very sensitive people who do not easily ask for help and often run away from their problems. They would rather escape in the known than in the unknown. Other interviewees, such as EHP1, also indicated that they do not easily ask for help. They first try to solve the problems themselves, they think that they have no one in their network to whom they can ask for help, or, as in EHP3's case, the network becomes overburdened, making it increasingly difficult to ask someone for help:

> *"Nobody was there for me. I am not the type of person that reaches out to people for help, not at all. I could not have imagined anyone that would be able to help me anyway, except for that one friend."*

EFSO I also sees this in the people who register with them. According to her, you do not have to worry enormously about economic homeless people. But they are not always the strongest. They often have a smaller social network and do not always make the best choices, partly because they sometimes have low or very high IQ. The people who register there rarely say, "I must take action now. Otherwise, it will be too late, and I will lose my house". They are mainly people who have been

living with a friend for a while and indicate that the situation can no longer be tolerated. EFSO IV believes that if people register earlier or contact social services sooner, many more problems could be prevented. The problems quickly mount up when a person lacks a roof over their head.

Social support in the homeless shelter

In the absence of informal social contacts, economic homeless people are dependent on the social support from formal support organisations (Machielse & Jonkers, 2003; Huber et al., 2011). Because of the dependence on formal support organisations, is that homeless people have educated themselves to lie. EHP3 gave the example that if a person does not exaggerate, he will not get anything done. At a certain point, that person will no longer show his real side – he tries to do everything to get the right help. The help offered by the homeless shelters is mainly practical. They give advice, help with administrative matters, sometimes help with moving, and occasionally check-in to see how things are going. These things are not about daily life, as the interviewee explained in the quotation:

> *"The help that we receive is rather practical. It does not venture into aspects of the everyday life. There are certain choices for example. Am I going to do this or am I not? Can I leave this place when .....? What would my boss think of this? Is this a wise thing to do, for I could lose my job as a result."*

One problem experienced by the interviewees is that formal support organisations are not always available and are linked to time. According to EHP1, it often takes a long time to make appointments with these organisations or her social worker:

> *"Social services were not always available. They were not always present. That was a lack at times. Also, it is very measurable that it's just a job for them. 'Your hour is up and I shall see you again next week.' It is very clinical so to speak. This is not remotely comparable to a friendship."*

Some of the economic homeless people who are accommodated in the long-term homeless shelter drop out prematurely when they are offered a place to sleep elsewhere. As a result, they lose their trajectory and their bed. Nevertheless, EHP3 thinks it is logical that they do this. According to him, the homeless shelter is dirty, filthy and dangerous. He also sees these people returning to the homeless shelter because the temporary solution did not work out.

Other than that, the interviewees spoke little about gaining informal social support while in the homeless shelter. Their informal social network is small, and according to EHP3, only having connections with other homeless people will not get you very far. The economic homeless people

mentioned that they would like to have a coach in their informal social network in the interviews. According to EFSO IV, the economic homeless people lack a person in their lives with whom they can communicate with. It is not possible to do this with people in the same situation. As an example, EHP3 described the situation of a Christmas dinner he had organised at a homeless shelter. This dinner got out of hand because there were many people there who were not able to put things into perspective:

> *"Then it also helps if there are people who are not in the circuit. That there are people who can put things in perspective a bit better. If it went wrong at the Christmas dinner, it was because there were all these people who could not see things in perspective. In the homeless world, people are much sharper and much more direct."*

A coach should make the step to asking for help as low as possible. It should be someone who is trustworthy and gives personal attention. Someone who can give advice on which choices are wise to make. According to EHP3, formal social assistance still has shortcomings in this respect. EHP6 also says that psychological care is already complicated to obtain, and according to him, it should remain available for people who need it. He thinks a coach can be better than a psychologist because people need social control, someone who asks how you are doing and if you are still struggling with something. In addition, because for some people, a psychologist is quite heavy. The homeless are sometimes too proud to go to a psychologist. According to EHP6, this coach does not necessarily have to be someone's neighbour, but it is handy. That person is then always nearby.

During the interviews, the economic homeless people were also asked about their current living environment and needs to increase their self-reliance. The most important thing they needed was to have their own place. They do not mind sharing facilities, as long as they have their own home to live in for a longer period. Furthermore, they mentioned the need for practical help. EHP1 said, for example, that she would appreciate having people around her who could look after her children or keep an eye on them. Help with moving, painting or doing maintenance work in the house were also mentioned as examples. EHP5 has recently moved into an independent home but does not yet have an informal social network that he can ask for help with, for example, moving a wardrobe.

Supportive neighbours in cohousing

As mentioned in the previous section, the needs of economic homeless people can be achieved in cohousing as fellow residents can offer these types of support. They can give, for example, practical assistance, such as help with moving, doing odd jobs in the house, babysitting the children, and sharing facilities and materials. Therefore, the interviewed economic homeless people value this innovative form of living. There will always be someone in the vicinity to ask for help.

Social control is one aspect that appears in the examples named by EFSO II. The residents of these living environments experienced it as pleasant. The people who support them are good at keeping an eye on things and noticing when someone is not doing well. The neighbours can fulfil the role of 'coach' well by checking up on someone now and then and dropping by for a cup of coffee—a low-threshold way of offering support. EHP6 likes this idea, but with the condition that there is a bond with this coach.

The interviewees also like the fact that the supportive co-residents are available to help them with, for example, reading important mail containing all kinds of legal terms, as explained in the quotation below. EHP5 thinks this is even necessary. He is reasonably well educated, but some people are less so. Especially people who come from the street probably need this kind of help.

> *"I am already running into a number of things when it comes to finances. How should I do this or that? Or I receive mail that contains all kinds of legal terms that I do not always understand. Then it would be really nice to have a person who can help me find my way around."*

Subsequently, the co-residents can provide emotional support. The difference with formal support organisations is that they are not bound to time and can be available any time of the day. The role of a coach can be considered as being there for someone. So that economic homeless people feel like that they are being seen. EHP explained this as follow:

> *"Apart from the target group you are talking about. Who, precisely because of their loneliness, can sink further and become addicted. In that case, this kind of living arrangement is certainly stimulating. They can prove themselves, get compliments, flourish. They can dress better, go to the hairdresser. Maybe they will go for that one job after all. That is what you want."*

6. The characteristics of social networks, social support and self-reliance in both living environments

This chapter represents the characteristics of the social networks, social support and self-reliance of economic homeless people in both living environments. The results are based on chapter 5 and literature review results and contribute to answering the main research question. It starts with a discussion on the characteristics associated with the social networks of the economic homeless people who reside in these facilities. Secondly, I will discuss which categories of social support exist in both living environments. And I will close this chapter with an explanation of the differences in self-reliance in both living environments.

6.1 Characteristics of the social networks

In this paragraph, each of the characteristics of the social networks of economic homeless people will be described. Within these descriptions, both of the living environments are being compared. At the end, you will find a table that brings all these characteristics together in one overview.

Reciprocity

In general, reciprocity among the economic homeless people is low when they have become homeless. They often do not have the resources to be able to give something back. The social networks of the economic homeless people who stay in the homeless shelters consist mainly of formal support organisations and other homeless people. The help offered here by the formal support organisations is one-sided because nothing is expected in return. In addition, the homeless can support each other. Still, the interviews showed that everyone should be primarily concerned with their own trajectory and not concern themselves with the other.

The social networks that emerge in cohousing consist of socially involved people, other (formerly) homeless people, and, in the background, the formal support organisations. It is a living environment where residents are expected to support and help each other as needed. The social networks in this living environment will therefore be reciprocal. According to De Tussenvoorziening, the cohousing models make a distinction between supporting and demanding residents (Gruppen et al., 2018). The supportive residents offer help to the demanding residents when necessary. If the demanding residents have the means, they can also give help in return.

Intensity/strength

This characteristic is related to the extent of emotional closeness. The services provided by the homeless shelter are temporary. After the trajectory of the economic homeless person has ended, the support is also reduced. Moreover, the economic homeless people are seen as a "client" and

sometimes even as an administrative object (Wolfshöfer & Bröer, 2009). In addition, they do not make new social contacts if they know that they will leave the homeless shelter anyway.

Compared to homeless shelters, the social relationships that are formed in cohousing are of a longer duration. Also, the emotional closeness will be greater because the residents will most likely get to know each other. Compared to the formal support in the homeless shelters, the social support offered by fellow residents is not time-limited. The social networks created in cohousing will therefore be durable.

Complexity

The characteristic 'complexity' indicates the diversity of social relationships in the social network. Kwekkeboom & Steyaert (2012) use this diagram to demonstrate this, which is divided into family, client contacts, professional contacts, and society (Figure 4). The circles indicate how intimate the contact is. The circles refer to intimacy, friendship, acquaintants, and services from inside to outside.
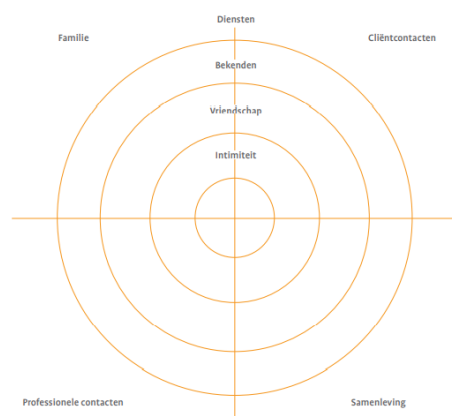

Figure 4 Complexity diagram (Kwekkeboom & Steyaert, 2012)

In the homeless shelters, economic homeless people have almost only contact with formal support organisations and other homeless people. There is hardly any contact with family or society. In the interviews, people indicated that they had no family or had lost contact. There is barely any contact with society, as they are not part of it due to their stay at the homeless shelter. Furthermore, the intimacy of social relationships is low. The interviews emerged that there is often no emotional bond with the social workers or other homeless people. The social relationships are, therefore, mainly in the outer two circles.

The diversity of contacts in cohousing is higher. As mentioned earlier, the social networks here consist of social relationships with socially involved people, other (former) homeless people, and formal support organisations in the background. In addition, social relationships are more intimate. Social contacts are made with fellow residents, sometimes even resulting in friendships (Gruppen et al., 2018). Compared to the homeless shelter, the social networks of the economic homeless people in cohousing are more complex and more intimate. As a result, they have several types of social support at their disposal.

Density

This characteristic is about whether the social relations of the social networks know each other (well) or whether they are single contacts. The formal social contacts of economic homeless people

in the homeless shelters most likely work together and will know each other. However, each formal support organisation is busy with their own work, so their relationships will not be intimate and purely business-like. The same applies to fellow residents of the homeless shelter. The homeless will know each other, but most do not socialise. Each individual is engaged in his or her own trajectory and is not focused on others.

Compared to the social networks in the homeless shelters, the social relationships in cohousing consist mainly of close connections. The residents in a cohousing environment know each other and will also participate in social activities together (Gruppen et al, 2018).

Homogeneity

This characteristic refers to the demographic characteristics of the social relations in the social networks, such as age, race and socio-economic status. The social relations in the social networks of economic homeless people in the homeless shelter will be quite homogeneous. This is because a distinction is made between adults, families and young adults, and the type of shelter. The demographic characteristics of the social networks in cohousing will probably be more extensive because the social networks there are more complex. However, a complete answer cannot be given for this characteristic because it was not explicitly asked for during the study.

Geographic dispersion

Geographic dispersion is about how close the social relations live to the focal person and thus how accessible these social relations are. The formal social relationships of economic homeless people in the homeless shelter do not live in the vicinity of the focal person. In addition, the formal social support given is not always available and accessible, and is linked to a time. Co-residents of the homeless shelter live in the same vicinity. Still, as mentioned earlier, each person is engaged in his or her own trajectory and is therefore not accessible for asking for support.

The social relations from the cohousing environment live nearby and are almost always available to ask for help. The supportive residents are selected to be available for the demanding residents (Gruppen et al., 2018). In this way, there is always someone close by to whom the economic homeless people can turn for help.

Directionality

This characteristic is about the accessibility of the social support that a social relation can offer and the extent to which that person can influence it. Before the economic homeless people can receive help from the formal support organisations, they are screened against several self-reliance criteria (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2021). As soon as the informal social network has not been sufficiently utilised, the economic homeless person is rejected from the homeless shelters. As a result, formal social support is not always accessible. In addition, formal support organisations greatly influence

the economic homeless people once they are in the homeless shelters. For example, they can determine how the process proceeds and can point out bad or good behaviour (Wolfshöfer & Bröer, 2009). Access to formal social support is not easy, and once they become part of it, they become dependent on the formal support organisations and it is difficult to get out again.

The social support available to economic homeless people in the cohousing environment is easily accessible. They do not have to meet several criteria to receive support. The residents are socially involved and happy to help each other out. The residents also have an equal relationship, which means they will not be dependent on each other.

Small conclusion

It turned out that the characteristics of the social networks in both living environments are the opposite of each other. The homeless shelter is an environment where the economic homeless people live with other homeless people. The only social relations they have here are mainly with employees of formal support organisations. The social support these social relations offers is one-sided, time-limited, and not always accessible and available. In cohousing, the economic homeless people live with other formerly economic homeless people and socially involved people. The formal support organisations are mainly present in the background. The informal social networks established here offer social support that is almost always available and accessible because the social relations live nearby. In addition, it is not linked to time, and social support can be given in both directions. The differences of both living environments are presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Difference in social characteristics of both living environments

	Homeless shelter	Cohousing
Reciprocity	One-sided	Reciprocal
Intensity/strength	Temporary	Durable
Complexity	Simple	Complex
Density	Single connections	Close connections
Homogeneity	Uniform	Different
Geographic dispersion	Far away	Close by
Directionality	Exclusive	Inclusive

6.2 Social support

In both living environments, the categories of social support are identified. The four categories of social support in this research are emotional, informational, informative, and appraisal support.

Of the four categories of social support identified in this study, two are found in homeless shelters. The formal support organisations offer instrumental and informative support. The instrumental support is offered in housing, financial assistance and, in some cases, a household inventory to

accommodate the individuals once they have been assigned independent housing. Informative support is offered in giving advice and helping to arrange all kinds of practical matters.

The interviewed economic homeless people indicated that they missed out on help with matters of daily living, practical help and emotional support when they stayed in the homeless shelter. They experienced the process as lonely because there was little support from their informal social network and, they had to do everything themselves. In addition, the interviewed economically homeless people felt the need for a coach. This coach should support them in practical matters of daily life. A psychologist, they say, is a step too far, but talking to someone of an equivalent level, such as a neighbour, is seen as valuable.

In cohousing, three categories of social support occur; instrumental, emotional, and informative support. These types of social support are provided by fellow residents and, in the background, by formal support organisations. The fellow residents in cohousing can provide the aspects economic homeless people were missing in homeless shelter. Instrumental support is considered as helping with moving, chores or babysitting, or by sharing facilities and materials. Emotional support is considered as being there for someone and informative support as being available for someone to give advice or answer questions. Nearby neighbours can serve as a coach for the economic homeless people. They can give emotional and informative support to support them in their daily lives and keep an eye on whether everything continues to go well.

6.3 Self-reliance

The independence of economic homeless people in the homeless shelter is very low. Being homeless and surviving has taught them different behaviour. They have no sense of time, are always on their guard, have poor communication skills, and lack hygiene. Their social networks consist mainly of formal social contacts, making them very dependent on formal support organisations. To increase self-reliance, the economic homeless people mentioned several suggestions: a coach, so that they can talk to someone on an equal level, living together with 'normal' people to be part of society again, and help with practical matters, such as reading the mail, doing chores around the house and babysitting.

In cohousing, economic homeless people live in independent accommodation and live together with socially involved people. Self-reliance is higher in this living environment than in homeless shelters because they have their own place to live, and there are almost always neighbours in the vicinity who can offer help. In this living environment, the economic homeless people are part of society and will not develop the manners of the homeless shelter. In addition, the presence of informal support systems makes the economic homeless people less dependent on formal support organisations.

7. Discussion and conclusion

This chapter provides the discussion and conclusion of this study. The chapter starts with an interpretation of the results with other research findings. Secondly, the limitations of this research will be described. Thirdly, the conclusion of this research is presented. And lastly, the implications and recommendations of this research are given.

7.1 Results

At the beginning of the study, it was stated that the strength of the social network of economic homeless people is often overestimated by the municipality (Westert & de Groot, 2017). In addition, based on interpretations from various literature and news reports, I assumed that there is little attention paid to the informal social network of economic homeless people and the social support that comes from it. This statement was confirmed by the interviewed employees of the formal support organisations. They were motivated to be interviewed because they were interested in hearing the new insights from this thesis perspective. With *the Anton Pieckhofje*, Het Leger des Heils has taken the first steps towards a cohousing living environment. Despite this development, employees of the formal support organizations indicated that (too) little attention is paid to strengthening the social network due to a lack of time and money. Still, it is undoubtedly an essential element in increasing the self-reliance of the target group.

Previous studies have indicated that due to the lack of attention paid to the informal social network and social support in homeless shelters, economic homeless people often struggle to develop and maintain a social network (Padgett, Henwood & Abrams, 2008) and receive social support (Padgett, Bond, Gurdak & Henwood, 2020; Shibusawa & Padgett, 2009; in Gurdak et al. 2020). In addition, loneliness and difficulties in becoming part of society again play a role in the lives of economic homeless people (Hubert et al., 2017). The interviewed economic homeless people confirmed this. Nearly everyone indicated that they did not yet have a strong social network. However, two of them succeeded in this. One of them succeeded by using social media, the other by having a very strong social network when becoming homeless. No new social contacts are made in the homeless shelters because they work there for their recovery and know that they will leave the place again. In addition, they have some social contacts with other homeless people, but they cannot offer them the support they need for their recovery. Then two interviewees indicated that they had not yet made any new social contacts after moving into their own homes. As causes, they mentioned that the living environment was not stimulating enough and because they had not yet found rest. Both currently have a lot of support from their formal supervisors but feel lonely because they are not yet fully part of society.

Cohousing was the main focus of this thesis as an alternative living environment. Whereas in homeless shelters, little attention is paid to strengthening an informal social network and receiving informal social support, cohousing is an example of a living environment in which this does happen. Previous studies suggested that cohousing has a living environment where residents support and

help each other when needed (Gruppen et al., 2018; Williams, 2005). The expectations for this study were that the cohousing environment would positively contribute to the self-reliance of economic homeless people. Self-reliance means how independently someone can live without depending on formal social support. In the homeless shelters, the economic homeless people are highly dependent on formal social workers, and their self-reliance is very low. In cohousing, the economic homeless people will be strengthening their informal social network and formal support organisations will remain in the background. The expectation is that the economic homeless people will be able to solve their problems more independently or within their informal network in this living environment. Therefore, they will be less dependent on formal social support and more self-reliant. Considering the results of the interviews, it is highly likely that these expectations are valid. Economic homeless people see the advantages of this housing model. In the interviews, they expressed their need for people in their vicinity to check on them from time to time to see if they are doing well (emotional support) and to help with small administrative matters (informative support) and practical matters (instrumental support). The needs of economic homeless people can be met through the proximity of supportive co-residents in the cohousing living environment. The interviewed employees of formal support organisations also saw the benefits of this. They believe that a significant number of tasks can indeed be taken over by the informal social networks because the economic homeless people requests for help are generally quite easy to solve. However, they also believe it will be challenging to introduce a form of housing like this to the government. Despite this limitation, they are pleased with the attention paid to this topic.

Furthermore, the theoretical framework mentioned a discussion in the field of an individual's self-reliance. This study suggests that an individual's self-reliance will increase as the informal social network is strengthened. Machielse & Jonkers (2013) set various scenarios about the changing roles between formal and informal support systems. Where previously the distinction between formal and informal was clearly indicated, it has become significantly vaguer due to the transition in society. The question posed in Machielse & Jonkers (2013) is whether the social support provided by informal social networks can take over from formal social support or whether this is in line with each other. Even after this research, it is difficult to answer this question. The research has shown that the informal social network can provide valuable social support, enabling the economic homeless people to live more independently. Some examples of this have been mentioned in the previous section. However, the informal social network cannot take over all formal social support. For example, an economic homeless person was unable to arrange his own health insurance, but with the intervention of the formal social worker he could. The same applies to financial transactions. The economic homeless people indicated that the formal support organisations are in charge of this, and because of privacy and safety the informal social network cannot take over. More research will be needed to measure precisely how these differences affect the self-reliance of the economic homeless people.

An intriguing result of this study is that economic homeless people indicated that they equally need someone with whom they can talk on the same level. For example, they want to speak with

someone about daily life. A psychologist is not seen as an equal and is often a step too far. In the homeless shelter, the economic homeless people could talk to other homeless people. However, this does not work because they cannot put things into perspective. One of the economic homeless people stayed in *the Anton Pieckhofje*. He said it was nice to live with people just like him. A significant difference with the homeless shelter is that only the economic homeless people live here and no other homeless people with complex problems. This outcome is not directly linked to the research question of this study, but it is valuable to include in research on the self-reliance of this target group.

In the beginning, when economic homeless people become homeless, they mainly lack a social network, and their problems are still relatively easy to solve. As mentioned in the previous sections, they are mainly looking for someone to check in on them from time to time and for people in their vicinity who can help with small administrative and practical matters. The informal social network is hardly strengthened in the homeless shelters, and they become dependent on formal support organisations. This research has shown that these needs of the economic homeless people can be met in a cohousing living environment. The socially engaged neighbours ensure that the informal social network can be strengthened and that the informal social support sought by the economic homeless people can be provided.

7.2 Limitations

Several limitations have affected the results of this study, for example, finding the right respondents. The economic homeless are vulnerable people who are often ashamed. Not everyone is willing to share their story or does not want to make it known that they are economically homeless. The group of economic homeless people is also difficult to generalise, which sometimes leads to discrepancies in the results. The only thing they have in common is that they have become homeless due to, for example, divorce or debts. In addition, the interviews were held during the summer holidays, which made it difficult to find enough respondents. For this reason, the diversity of respondents is quite large. People from different life phases were interviewed, such as a young adult, a woman with a child, and single adults. It is possible that the needs to increase self-reliance are not the same for everyone. More research will be needed to determine this for each stage of life.

The interviewed economic homeless people have all lived in different types of homeless shelters, which means that the results about the living environment must be drawn from a broader perspective. The types of homeless shelters vary in, for example, independence, length of stay, the number of other residents and the type of residents. Each aspect will impact the social networks and support of the economic homeless people, thus their self-reliance. Therefore, respondents must be selected more precisely by type of residence to determine the effect of the specific living environment on their self-reliance.

Method

During this research, the results were collected using in-depth interviews. The questions were asked according to predefined themes. As economic homeless people were eager to tell their stories, the interviews generally lasted quite long (60-90min). Due to the open structure of the interviews, much new relevant information emerged, such as that economic homeless people were not allowed to make new social contacts because they had to focus on their own trajectory. Nevertheless, a lot of information that was not relevant also emerged. Therefore, it is recommended to give the interviews more structure by including several fixed interview questions for further research.

Existing literature

Only recently, economic homeless people got more attention in studies. They are not a new group of homeless people, but the overstrained housing market has made them more visible. In addition, it is challenging to research this target group because they often remain under the radar by bridging their social network. For the time being, most studies are about homeless people who are mentally ill and addicted (Chan, 2020; Goering et al., 1990; Marshall et al., 2020; Walter, 2016). Hence, there is little literature available that deals specifically with economic homeless people. Therefore, this research was also an exploratory study.

In this study, I compared the homeless shelter with cohousing. Existing studies on cohousing or neighbourhood connectedness combined with social networks and social support often focus on elderly or medically vulnerable target groups (Cram & Nieboer, 2015; Norstrand & Glicksman, 2015). Originally, cohousing was used to house vulnerable target groups, but the homeless are still often not included. De Leergang Gemengd Wonen has started paying renewed attention to this form of housing for the homeless (Gruppen et al., 2018). However, no specific research has been done on cohousing as a potential housing form for economic homeless people.

In addition, there is little research that focuses on homeless people and the strengthening of the social network from the perspective of the living environment. Literature is available with tools on how formal support organisations can support the homeless to strengthen their social network (Machielse & Jonkers, 2013; Kwekkeboom & Steyaert, 2012; Dam & Liefhebber, 2017), but not how the living environment influences this. A start has been made with this type of research for the disabled and chronically homeless, but not yet specifically for the economically homeless.

7.3 Conclusion

This study examined the effects of homeless shelters and cohousing on the self-reliance of economic homeless people. This study considered self-reliance as the ability to live independently without resource formal social support. It was argued that a stronger informal social network contributes to increased self-reliance among the economic homeless people.

My findings show that the social networks of the economic homeless people in the homeless shelters mainly consist of social contacts with formal support organisations. The employees of these organisations pay little attention to building an informal social network, despite seeing that this is essential for self-reliance. It has also been shown that they find it challenging to maintain an informal social network, have feelings of loneliness and have difficulty being part of society. The results have shown that economic homeless people lose their manners in the homeless shelters. As a result, their chances of becoming independent are reduced. Therefore, the effects on the self-reliance of economic homeless people in the homeless shelter are negative. An informal social network is not built up, and dependence on formal social support is only increased during the stay.

In addition to homeless shelters, the effect on self-reliance of economic homeless people was studied in cohousing. Cohousing was identified as an alternative because it is a living environment where residents help and support each other. The study results showed that the economic homeless build an informal social network because they will live together with socially engaged neighbours. Their independence is guaranteed because these neighbours keep an eye on them and can provide informative or practical support. The effect of the living environment on the self-reliance of economic homeless people is positive. The informal social network with the proximity of involved neighbours and the informal social support they can offer make the economic homeless less dependent on formal social support.

7.4 Implications

This study will hopefully make policymakers aware that homeless shelters harm the lives of the economic homeless and that alternative forms of housing exist that increase self-reliance. In addition, help from formal support organisations is being scaled down, and informal support systems in neighbourhoods and communities are becoming increasingly important. This study shows that cohousing is an important innovation to address these two elements, as mentioned above. It will reduce the pressure on formal support organisations and dependency on formal social support because economic homeless people will have informal social support from nearby residents. In addition, they will be able to rejoin society and resume their everyday lives as much as possible.

If the municipality does not implement this solution, the pressure on formal support organisations will continue to increase. It will take years before the shortage in the housing market is resolved, and housing becomes affordable again. In addition, there is a good chance that the economic homeless people with a strong social network will at some point no longer be able to find temporary accommodation. As a result, the group of economic homeless people who turn to homeless shelters will grow even more significant.

7.5 Recommendations

The results of this study are interesting for municipalities and social housing corporations. Many affordable homes need to be built in order to reduce the growth of economic homeless people. In addition, informal support systems in neighbourhoods and living environments must be developed to comply with the Wmo 2015 policy. This research has shown that cohousing is a valuable living environment for increasing the self-reliance of its residents. By investing in this type of housing, the pressure on formal support organisations will be reduced, more people will be able to live independently again and the key objectives of the Wmo 2015 will be achieved.

Besides, there are three recommendations for follow up studies. Firstly, this study looked at the difference between homeless shelters and cohousing concerning the self-reliance of the economic homeless people. It was shown that cohousing is a potential living environment for increasing the self-reliance of the economic homeless people by developing an informal social network and receiving social support. A suggestion for follow-up research is how a cohousing housing model's living environment should be designed to realise this. This could be the physical layout of the building on the one hand and the social organisation structure of the community on the other.

Secondly, the study revealed the discussion about the term 'economic homeless people'. The formal support organisations employees and the economic homeless people disagree on the designation used for this group. They indicate that the group is diverse and that everyone needs a different form of support. Therefore, a suggestion for follow-up research is about how to help the economic homeless people better so that the support matches their needs and how to avoid characterising them as 'self-reliant' when they are not.

The last suggestion for a follow-up study is about a political discussion that is going on. At present, there is little or no money available to support economic homeless people. It is partly due to the term that is used for this group. More research is needed on the terms used to designate homeless people and the support they receive. It could help ensure that the support is more targeted and no one is left out in the future.

8. Reference list

Ache, P., & Fedrowitz, M. (2012). The development of co-housing initiatives in Germany. *Built Environment*, *38*(3), 395-412.

Babbie, E. R. (2010). *The practice of social research* (12th ed.). Wadsworth/Cengage Learning.

Beck, A. F. (2020). What is cohousing? Developing a conceptual framework from the studies of Danish intergenerational cohousing. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *37*(1), 40-64.

Berkman, L. F., Glass, T., Brissette, I., & Seeman, T. E. (2000). From social integration to health: Durkheim in the new millennium. *Social science & medicine*, *51*(6), 843-857.

Carrere, J., Reyes, A., Oliveras, L., Fernández, A., Peralta, A., Novoa, A. M., ... & Borrell, C. (2020). The effects of cohousing model on people's health and wellbeing: a scoping review. *Public health reviews*, *41*(1), 1-28.

Chan, D. V. (2020). Safe spaces, agency, and connections to "regular stuff": What makes permanent supportive housing feel like "home". *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin*, *63*(2), 102-114.

College voor de Rechten van de Mens. (2018). *Huisvesting - Het recht op behoorlijke huisvesting in Nederland*. Retrieved from https://publicaties.mensenrechten.nl/file/07a72167-cc4c-4634-8b83-0db77ddbe70f.pdf

Cramm, J. M., & Nieboer, A. P. (2015). Building social capital may protect against loss of well-being among older people. In *Social Capital as a Health Resource in Later Life: The Relevance of Context* (pp. 145-154). Springer, Dordrecht.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. Sage.

Curtis, B. & Curtis, C. (2011). In-depth interviewing – the interactive base. In *Social research* (pp. 27-54). SAGE Publications, Inc., https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781526435415

Czischke, D., & Huisman, C. J. (2018). Integration through collaborative housing? Dutch starters and refugees forming self-managing communities in Amsterdam. *Urban Planning*, *3*(4), 156-165.

Czischke, D., Carriou, C., & Lang, R. (2020). Collaborative housing in Europe: Conceptualising the field.

Dam, van C., & Liefhebber, S. (2017). *Profiel onafhankelijke clientondersteuners: Wat kunnen ze en wat doen ze?* Retrieved from https://www.movisie.nl/sites/movisie.nl/files/2018-05/Profiel-Informele-onafhankelijke-cli%C3%ABntondersteuners%20%5BMOV-12211376-1.0%5D.pdf

Donev, D., Pavlekovic, G., & Kragelj, L. Z. (2007). Social networks and social support in creating and implementation of health promotion programmes. *Health Promotion And Disease Prevention*, *1*, 127.

Gemeente Amsterdam. (n.d.). *Thuis in de wijk – Koersbesluit Maatschappelijke Opvang en Beschermd Wonen 2016-2020.* Retrieved from https://assets.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/799505/01_koersbesluit_maatschappelijke_opvang_en_beschermd_wonen_2016-2020.pdf

Gemeente Amsterdam. (2015). *Alle Amsterdammers doen mee: Meerjarenbeleidsplan Sociaal Domein – 2015-2018.* Retrieved from https://www.kennisbanksportenbewegen.nl/?file=7634&m=1489136173&action=file.download

Gemeente Amsterdam. (2021). *Stappenplan Wonen.* Retrieved from https://assets.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/717198/stappenplan_wonen_website_def_1.pdf

Goering, P., Durbin, J., Trainor, J., & Paduchak, D. (1990). Developing housing for the homeless. *Psychosocial Rehabilitation Journal*, *13*(4), 33.

Gruppen, A., Knevel, J., & Davelaar, M. (2018). Goede buren. Lessen uit gemengde woonprojecten in Utrecht.

Gurdak, K., Tiderington, E., & Stefancic, A. (2020). Community integration when moving on from permanent supportive housing. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *48*(6), 1913-1928.

Heaney, C. A., & Israel, B. A. (2008). Social networks and social support. *Health behavior and health education: Theory, research, and practice*, *4*, 189-210.

Huang, X., Western, M., Bian, Y., Li, Y., Côté, R., & Huang, Y. (2019). Social networks and subjective wellbeing in Australia: new evidence from a national survey. *Sociology*, *53*(2), 401-421.

Huber, M. A., Joanknecht, L., & Metze, R. (2013). Netwerk-en regieversterking in de maatschappelijke opvang. *Journal of Social Intervention: Theory and Practice*, *22*(1), 39-55.

Jarvis, H. (2015). Towards a deeper understanding of the social architecture of co-housing: evidence from the UK, USA and Australia. *Urban research & practice*, *8*(1), 93-105.

Joffe, H., & Yardley, L. (2004). Content and thematic analysis. *Research methods for clinical and health psychology*, *56*, 68.

Kemperman, A., van den Berg, P., Weijs-Perrée, M., & Uijtdewillegen, K. (2019). Loneliness of older adults: social network and the living environment. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, *16*(3), 406.

Ketenregisseur MOBW en GGD Centrale Toegang. (2021). *Kortdurende opvang, Maatschappelijke opvang, Beschermd wonen: Handboek voor professionals*. Retrieved from https://assets.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/717198/opvang_en_beschermd_wonen_amsterdam_handboek_professionals_2021_versie_1.pdf

Klaveren, S. van, Triest, N. van, & Velden, J. van der (2018). De magic mix als zachte landing in de wijk. Gemengd wonen voor uitstromers uit het beschermd wonen en de maatschappelijke opvang. Den Haag: Platform31.

Klerk, M. M. Y., Boer, A. H., Plaisier, I., Schyns, P., & Kooiker, S. E. (2015). *Informele hulp: wie doet er wat?: omvang, aard en kenmerken van mantelzorg en vrijwilligerswerk in de zorg en ondersteuning in 2014*. Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Koramaz, E. K. (2014). The spatial context of social integration. *Social indicators research*, *119*(1), 49-71.

Kras, K. R. (2019). Can social support overcome the individual and structural challenges of being a sex offender? Assessing the social support-recidivism link. *International journal of offender therapy and comparative criminology*, *63*(1), 32-54.

Kruijswijk, W., van der Veer, M., Brink, C., Calis, W., van de Maat, J. W., & Redeker, I. M. (2014). *Aan de slag met sociale netwerken: de 44 meest bekende methoden verzameld*. MOVISIE, kennis en aanpak van sociale vraagstukken.

Lin, N. (1986). Conceptualizing social support. In *Social support, life events, and depression* (pp. 17-30). Academic Press.

Linders, E. A. H. M. (2010). *De betekenis van nabijheid*. Universiteit van Tilburg.

Lu, S., Wu, Y., Mao, Z., & Liang, X. (2020). Association of formal and informal social support with health-related quality of life among Chinese rural elders. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, *17*(4), 1351.

Machielse, J. E. M., & Jonkers, M. D. J. (2013). De verbinding tussen formele en informele hulp aan sociaal kwetsbare burgers. Een relatieadvies voor een verstandshuwelijk.

Markle, E. A., Rodgers, R., Sanchez, W., & Ballou, M. (2015). Social support in the cohousing model of community: a mixed-methods analysis. *Community development*, *46*(5), 616-631.

Marshall, C. A., Boland, L., Westover, L. A., Marcellus, B., Weil, S., & Wickett, S. (2020). Effectiveness of interventions targeting community integration among individuals with lived experiences of homelessness: A systematic review. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, *28*(6), 1843-1862.

McLane, Y., & Pable, J. (2020). Architectural Design Characteristics, Uses, and Perceptions of Community Spaces in Permanent Supportive Housing. *Journal of Interior Design*, *45*(1), 33-52.

Meltzer, G. (2001). Cohousing bringing communalism to the World? International communal studies association, communal living on the threshold of a new millennium: lessons and perspectives. In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Communal Studies Conference* (pp. 25-27).

Norstrand, J. A., & Glicksman, A. (2015). Influence of living arrangements of community dwelling older adults on the association between social capital and health. In *Social capital as a health resource in later life: The relevance of context* (pp. 89-107). Springer, Dordrecht.

Padgett, D. K., Henwood, B., Abrams, C., & Drake, R. E. (2008). Social relationships among persons who have experienced serious mental illness, substance abuse, and homelessness: Implications for recovery. *American journal of orthopsychiatry*, *78*(3), 333-339.

Rausa B.A. (2008) Social Support. In: Loue S.J., Sajatovic M. (eds) Encyclopedia of Aging and Public Health. Springer, Boston, MA. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-33754-8_410

Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. SAGE Publications.

Rijksoverheid (2014). *Wet maatschappelijke ondersteuning 2015*. 'Wet van 9 juli 2014, houdende regels inzake de gemeentelijke ondersteuning op het gebied van zelfredzaamheid, participatie, beschermd wonen en opvang.' Den Haag: Rijksoverheid.

Ruiu, M. L. (2016). The social capital of cohousing communities. *Sociology*, *50*(2), 400-415.

RVS, 2020 – Herstel begint bij een huis: dakloosheid voorkomen en verminderen – Den Haag

Steyaert, J., & Kwekkeboom, R. (2012). De zorgkracht van sociale netwerken.

Terry, G., Hayfield, N., Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2017). Thematic analysis. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology*, *2*, 17-37.

Trimbos Institute. (2015). Dakloze personen zonder OGGz-problematiek en hun ondersteuning. Retrieved from https://www.trimbos.nl/docs/54113984-2048-41d7-960a-8a4c9dd99c5f.pdf

Tuynman, M., Muusse, C., & Planije, M. (2013). Opvang landelijk toegankelijk?. *Onderzoek naar regiobinding en landelijke toegankelijkheid van de maatschappelijke opvang. Trimbosinstituut, Utrecht.*

Vos, H. D., & Knol, H. (1994). Leefstijlovereenkomst, buurtcontacten en sociaal welzijn. Een rationele keuze-benadering. *Sociologische gids*, *41*(4), 289-307.

Walter, Z. C., Jetten, J., Dingle, G. A., Parsell, C., & Johnstone, M. (2016). Two pathways through adversity: Predicting well-being and housing outcomes among homeless service users. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *55*(2), 357-374.

Weel, F. & Kleijn, T. (2020, October 30). *Ruim drie keer zoveel aanmeldingen van economisch daklozen in Amsterdam.* Retrieved from https://www.nhnieuws.nl/nieuws/275313/ruim-drie-keer-zoveel-aanmeldingen-van-economisch-daklozen-in-amsterdam

Westert, J., & De Groot, C. (2017). De Zelfredzame Dakloze: Over het Eigen-kracht-criterium bij Beslissingen over Toegang tot Daklozenopvang. *Nederlands Juristenblad*, *44*.

Wmo 2015. (2014, July 9). Retrieved from https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0035362/2021-07-01

Williams, J. (2005). Designing neighbourhoods for social interaction: The case of cohousing. *Journal of Urban design*, *10*(2), 195-227.

Appendix A - interviewees

Appendix A presents the list of interviewees and interview guide used for the interviews.

1.	EHP 1	Vrouw – 40 – 45 jaar – alleenstaand met kind
2.	EHP 2	Man – 18-20 jaar – alleenstaand
3.	EHP 3	Man – 40-45 jaar - alleenstaand
4.	EHP 4	Man – 40-45 jaar - alleenstaand
5.	EHP 5	Man – 40-45 jaar - alleenstaand
6.	EPH 6	Man – 35-40 jaar – alleenstaand
7.	EFSO I	De Regenboog Groep Amsterdam
8.	EFSO II	De Tussenvoorziening Utrecht
9.	EFSO III	Homies Foundation (entrepreneur)
10.	EFSO IV	Coordinator Onder de Pannen
11.	EFSO V	Leger des Heils

Interview guide

- Theme 1: Social networks
    - o Hoe belangrijk is het om een sociaal netwerk te hebben
    - o Sociaal netwerk versterken
    - o Hoe is je sociale netwerk verandert
    - o Nieuwe sociale contacten
- Theme 2: Social support
    - o Hebben economisch daklozen veel mensen in hun omgeving aan wie ze hulp kunnen vragen
    - o Wat doen jullie allemaal om hen te helpen
    - o Waar hadden economisch daklozen extra hulp bij willen hebben
    - o Waar is behoefte aan
- Theme 3: Self-reliance
- Theme 4: formal or informal
    - o Welke vorm van steun konden familie en vrienden jou geven wat de formele hulpverlening niet kon?
- Theme 5: potential of cohousing
    - o Kan de hulp of steun die economisch daklozen mistten worden opgevangen in deze huisvestingsvorm?
- Theme 6: social activities

Appendix B – themes and codes used for analysis

Table 6 shows the themes and codes as used for the analysis of the data in Atlas.it.

Table 6 Themes and codes used for data analysis

Theme	Codes
Shelter facilities	(In)formal social support
	(In)formal social networks
	Self-reliance
	Other housing forms
	Attention to social aspects
While being homeless	(In)formal social support
	(In)formal social networks
	Self-reliance
Cohousing	(In)formal social support
	(In)formal social networks
	Living environment
	Social activities
	Success factors
	Selection residents
	Social interaction
	Neighbourhood
Policy problem	-
General information	Type of homelessness
	Description economic homeless people
	Asking for help
Social support	Psycholoog/coach
	Availability
	Time limit
	Support only by formal organisations

Appendix C – concepts

In this appendix, both of the variables that are being used during the data collection are being showed. The first table represents the concept 'social networks' and the second 'social support'.

Variable	Indicator	Definition	Question	Scale
Social networks	**Reciprocity**	The extent to which resources and support are both given and received in a relationship. Reciprocity can be expressed in the provision of services.	*Does the person asking for help only receive social support, or is it expected that he or she also give social support in return?*	Reciprocal or one-sided
	Intensity/strength	The extent to which a relationship is characterised by emotional closeness.	*What is the duration and intensity of the social support that is provided?*	Enduring or temporary
	Complexity	The extent to which social relationships serve many functions. A complex social network means that there is a diversity of qualities within the network. A simple social network means that the type of social support is uniform.	*Is the type of social support that is provided divers or uniform?*	Simple or complex
	Formality	The extent to which a relationship is embedded in a formal organisational or institutional structure.	*Who is the person or organisation that provides social support?*	Informal or formal
	Density	The extent to which network members know and interact with each other.	*Do the social relations know each other, or are these single connections?*	Close connections or single connections
	Homogeneity	The extent to which network members are similar in terms of demographic characteristics such as age, race, and socioeconomic status.	*Are the ones who provide social support similar or different types of people?*	Similar or different
	Geographic dispersion	The extent to which network members live in close proximity to the focal person.	*Do the social relationships that provide social support live close by or far away?*	Close by or far away
	Directionality	The extent to which members of the dyad share equal power and influence.	*How accessible is the social support that is offered?*	Inclusive or exclusive

Variable	Indicator	Definition
Social support	**Emotional support**	this is the support that increases a person's self-esteem or provides a way to cope with negative life circumstances. This is done in expressions of empathy, love, trust and caring.
	Instrumental support	this is support that someone can give in the form of material and financial assistance, such as shelter, food clothing and monetary support, and in services, such as lending materials, housework and meal preparation.
	Informational support	this is support in the form of giving advice, suggestions and information.
	Appraisal support	this is support given in the form of feedback on performance and personal qualities and the provision of information useful for self-evaluation.

Appendix D – Quotations

In this appendix, each of the quotations are presented in the original and English translation.

"One really requires time to "charge oneself", so to speak. Much like a battery, if you plug it in to charge briefly, you are only slightly charged. This is, however, not long enough. This is similar to the living situations of human beings. If one finally acquires and moves into a private residence for the first time, you will find that at first, people tend to sleep a lot more than usual. Only after your "battery" is charged completely, it will become possible to move on to other business again."

"Je hebt echt de tijd nodig om jezelf op te laden. Het is net als een batterij. Als je hem even in het stopcontact steekt, ben je weer een beetje opgeladen, maar dat is lang niet genoeg. Dat is bij de mens ook zo. Nadat je eindelijk een plek voor jezelf hebt, zal je eerst heel lang alleen maar slapen. … Dan is je batterij pas weer goed opgeladen en ben je weer in staat verdere stappen te ondernemen."

"All is taken away from you. At the homeless shelter you find yourself standing in human excrement. The homeless do not know how to clean themselves properly, and therefore a tendency of ignorance is created."

"Alles verlies je. Bij de daklozenopvang sta je tot je enkels in de plas. Die mensen weten niet hoe je schoon moet maken en die doen dat ook niet. … Ze weten ook niet hoe ze het moeten doen."

"There are certain locations within the crisis sheltering community that I do not wish to return to. Eventually, I felt like I left the showers dirtier than when I got in."

"Er zijn plekken in de crisisopvang, daar hoef ik nooit meer terug. Ik had soms het gevoel dat ik viezer uit de douche kwam, dan ik erin ging."

"There is no purpose to life left. It is all about sleeping, eating and surviving. Once you get caught in this system, it is extremely hard to get out."

"Je hebt geen doel meer. Het is op. Het is dan echt alleen nog maar slapen, eten en overleven. Als je daar in vast komt te zitten, dan kom je er echt heel moeilijk uit."

"The first 3 days are all fun and games. After the first 3 weeks the realization of the situation becomes evident. After 3 months, the confromtation of the sitiation becomes completely mentally unmanageable. It is at that moment people are emotionally drained."

"Drie dagen ergens logeren is nog gezellig, drie weken wordt al minder, maar drie maanden is geen doen meer. Op een gegeven moment is het op."

"All of the sudden, nobody was there for me anymore. I found this very hard to deal with."

"Op het ene tot andere moment was er niemand meer beschikbaar of bereikbaar voor mij. Dat was heel heftig."

"I made attempts to socialize with others, but I have op on that eventually. It requires a lot of energy and everybody has their own journeys to complete. The process of reintegration is not without its fair share of obstacles. First, the first bills start to come in the mail. After that, another job is lost. This stirs a great emount of emotions."

"Ik heb geprobeerd contact te leggen daar, maar daar ben ik op een gegeven moment mee gestopt. Er gaat heel veel energie in zitten en iedereen heeft zijn eigen weg te gaan. De weg terug is niet zonder hobbels. Dan krijg je weer een rekening voorbij, dan krijg je weer een nee of je raakt je baan weer kwijt. Daar komt een heleboel emotie bij kijken".

"My downstairs neighbor did eventually reach out socially. When I got mail, she received it for me. she offered to help me with this when I was not at home. She also explained that our other neighbor would be able to watch the kids r bring them to school. It felt great to receive such kindness, of course, but I am not the kind of person that usually indulges in such offers."

"Mijn benedenbuurvrouw heeft zichzelf wel opengesteld. … Toen ik post kreeg heeft zij mijn post aangenomen. Verder zei ze ook dat ze dat graag wilde doen als ik niet thuis zou zijn. Ze heeft me ook uitgelegd dat de andere buurvrouw soms op de kinderen kan passen of naar school kan brengen. Ik vind het heel fijn om te horen, maar ik ben niet zo snel iemand die dat toelaat."

"If you suffer from a broken heart, you get the feeling that things do not matter any longer. Reaching out to people taked a while. You only start doing that after enough time has passed. If you have lived in a friends attic and consume 18 beers on a daily base because you feel absolutely terrible, it does not help your social life."

"Als je verdriet hebt van je relatie die je moet verwerken, dan denk je op een gegeven moment van nou laat maar. Dan ga je niet gelijk andere mensen benaderen. … En de sociale contacten op doen is pas weer vanaf het moment dat je rust hebt. Zeker als je een paar weken bij een vriend op een zolderkamertje in zijn bed verblijft en elke dag 18 bier naar binnen tikt als je je zo verdrietig voelt, dan gebeurt er niks."

"Getting back in touch with my family takes a rather large amount of time. Aside from that, I do have many contacts trough my work."

"Het contact herstellen met mijn familie gaat heel langzaam. Dat kost gewoon veel tijd. Verder heb ik vanuit mijn werk veel contacten."

"Nobody was there for me. I am not the type of person that reaches out to people for help, not at all. I could not have imagined anyone that would be able to help me anyway, except for that one friend."

"Er was toen echt niemand. Ik ben ook niet het type die het gaat vragen nee. ... Ik had toen ook niemand kunnen bedenken die me zou kunnen helpen, behalve dan die ene vriend."

"The help that we receive is rather practical. It does not venture into aspects of the everyday life. There are certain choices for example. Am I going to do this or am I not? Can I leave this place when .....? What would my boss think of this? Is this a wise thing to do, for I could lose my job as a result."

"De hulp die wordt aangeboden gaat over praktische zaken, maar niet over hoe het gewone leven gaat. Er is bijvoorbeeld een keuze. Ga ik dat wel of niet doen? Kan ik hier weg als ik loonbeslag heb? Wat vind mijn baas daarvan? Is het verstandig, want ik kan mijn baan kwijtraken".

"Social services were not always available. They were not always present. That was a lack at times. Also, it is very measurable that it's just a job for them. 'Your hour is up and I shall see you again next week.' It is very clinical so to speak. This is not remotely comparable to a friendship."

"Maatschappelijke hulpverlening was niet altijd beschikbaar. Ze waren niet altijd present. Dat was wel eens een gemis. Daarnaast is het heel meetbaar dat het maar een baan voor ze is. Je uurtje zit er op en ik zie je volgende week weer. Het is heel klinisch om het maar zo te zeggen. Dit is niet te vergelijken met een vriendschap".

"Apart from the target group you are talking about. Who, precisely because of their loneliness, can sink further and become addicted. In that case, this kind of living arrangement is certainly stimulating. They can prove themselves, get compliments, flourish. They can dress better, go to the hairdresser. Maybe they will go for that one job after all. That is what you want."

"Afgezien van de doelgroep waar jij het over hebt. Die juist vanuit eenzaamheid verder afglijden en verslaafd kunnen raken. Dan zijn dit soort woonvormen zeker stimulerend. Dan kunnen ze zich

bewijzen, complimenten krijgen, floreren. Ze kunnen zich beter gaan kleden, naar de kapper gaan. Dat ze misschien toch voor die ene baan gaan. Dat is wat je wilt."

"I am already running into a number of things when it comes to finances. How should I do this or that? Or I receive mail that contains all kinds of legal terms that I do not always understand. Then it would be really nice to have a person who can help me find my way around."

"Ik loop nu al tegen een aantal dingen aan wat de financiën aan gaat. Hoe moet ik dit of dat doen. Of dat ik post krijg waar allerlei juridische termen in staan die ik niet altijd begrijp. Dan zou het heel fijn zijn als ik even een hulp heb die mij daarin wegwijs kan maken."

"Then it also helps if there are people who are not in the circuit. That there are people who can put things in perspective a bit better. If it went wrong at the Christmas dinner, it was because there were all these people who could not see things in perspective. In the homeless world, people are much sharper and much more direct."

"Dan helpt het ook als er mensen zijn die niet in het circuit zitten. Dat er mensen zijn die iets beter kunnen relativeren. Dat het bij het kerstdiner was fout gegaan, kwam omdat er allemaal mensen zaten die niet konden relativeren. In de daklozenwereld zijn de mensen veel scherper en veel directer."