Master's Thesis

Moulding Power of Perspectives on Purpose-built Student Accommodations (PBSA) in the Netherlands from 1950-2020

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Abstract

This research aims to explore the evolving perspectives and interplay among policy makers, architects, and students in relation to Purpose-Built Student Accommodation (PBSA) in the Netherlands between the 1950s and the 2010s. The study utilizes a comprehensive analysis of diverse primary sources, including reports from the government's advisory committee, governmental reports and announcements, parliamentary papers, architectural magazines, student magazines, the National Student Housing Monitor, research reports from student unions, and annual reports from private and non-profit student housing providers. Interviews with architects were also conducted to gain deeper insights into the design concepts, considerations, and processes underlying their student housing projects.

The research focuses on comparing two distinct decades characterized by a significant shortage of student housing in the Netherlands, investigating the historical context of each period. The findings highlight the direct influence of policy makers' perspectives on the design and supply of PBSA through policies, funding, and authoritative power over the years. In contrast, architects' perspectives were constrained by design freedom, budget limitations, and client requirements in each project. Additionally, the influence of students' perspectives increased over time, particularly as a result of the privatization of PBSA in the 2010s and the shifting position of students from tenants to consumers.

Throughout the years, a substantial portion of PBSA has transformed from basic, unfurnished student rooms with shared facilities to furnished, self-contained studios with private sanitary facilities, kitchens, and recreational amenities. This transformation can be attributed to factors such as the privatization of PBSA, internationalization and the growing popularity of higher education, as well as the accumulated wealth resulting from post-WWII economic growth of the Netherlands.

The research reveals differences in perspectives among policy makers, architects, and students regarding the responsibility of the government and universities, privacy and social interaction within PBSA, and the overall function of PBSA. These differences stem from varying perceptions and expectations regarding the social function of PBSA.

By examining primary sources and analyzing the perspectives of key stakeholders, this research contributes to a comprehensive understanding of the changing landscape of PBSA in the Netherlands, shedding light on the dynamics and interplay among policy makers, architects, and students.

Keywords: Purpose-built-student-accommodation, PBSA, student housing, the Netherlands, shortage, postwar

Preface

This master's thesis marks the culmination of my journey through the Erasmus Mundus Joint Master's Degree Program in Global Markets, Local Creativities (GLOCAL). It represents the convergence of my passion for housing and real estate, my internship experience at the Social Hub, and my personal encounters while searching for student housing in the Netherlands.

The inspiration for this thesis emerged from the immense challenges my classmates and I faced when embarking on our housing search more than a year ago. Regrettably, two of my fellow students were unable to continue their studies in Rotterdam due to the unavailability of suitable housing, while some experienced a profound disruption to their student life as they became "railway students," commuting from distant locations due to the unavailability of housing close to the university. These experiences served as a catalyst for my exploration of the broader landscape of student housing.

Moreover, my desire to gain a deeper understanding of this new home country, the Netherlands, further fueled my motivation to undertake this research. By delving into the topic of student housing in a comprehensive manner, I sought not only to shed light on the challenges faced by students but also to contribute to a better understanding of the country's housing system and postwar history as a whole.

I am deeply grateful to numerous individuals who have provided support and guidance throughout my academic journey. First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Vincent Baptist. His insightful feedback, valuable suggestions, and unwavering encouragement have been invaluable in shaping the direction and quality of this research.I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Maarten van Dijck, together with Prof. Paul van de Laar for their advice and guidance in developing my research during the research workshop.

I would like to acknowledge Mr. Roman Kulik, my internship supervisor at the Social Hub, for his support and sharing his industry experience in the field of student housing. His insights and connections have been invaluable in expanding my understanding of the subject matter. I extend my sincere appreciation to the people who participated in the interviews for this

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On October 13 2022, the students in Amsterdam stormed in the empty former Hotel Rembrandt and made it to the headlines of national and international news. They were protesting against the shortage of student housing[1]. In fact, students were warned by universities not to come if no housing is secured before their arrival.[2] Students alleged universities over-admit without providing sufficient supporting staff, teaching facilities and housing.[3]

If you speak to a local Dutch who has kept an eye on local news, he/she would tell you that it was not the first time shortage of student housing made it to the news headlines. Curiously, depending on how old that local Dutch you are speaking to, you may hear that students had also been protesting in the 2010s, or in the 1960s: indeed, there were waves of student protests in the 1960s for the same cause, in similar intensity. [4] In different times, students were forced to compromise their living condition due to the shortage of affordable accommodation. [5] Students, by nature, belong to a disadvantaged group in the housing market. They need to face the challenge of finding housing within a limited timeframe, as they require accommodation during their period of study, which is typically shorter compared to other residents. Also, they have lower income levels compared to other segments of the population. The combination of these factors places students at a disadvantage in the housing market, making it more challenging for them to find affordable and suitable accommodation.

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[1]Sija van den Beukel, "Students Squat Vacant Hotel Rembrandt," *Folia*, October 14, 2022, https://www.folia.nl/actueel/153885/update-studenten-kraken-leegstaand-hotel-rembrandt.
[2]DutchNews.nl, "Don't Come Unless You Have a Place to Live, Universities Warn International Students," June 15, 2022, https://www.dutchnews.nl/news/2022/06/dont-come-unless-you-have-a-place-to-live-universities-warn-international-students/.
[3]Peoples Dispatch, "Students Protest Lack of Staff and Facilities at Amsterdam University," October 17, 2022, https://peoplesdispatch.org/2022/10/17/students-protest-lack-of-staff-and-facilities-at-amsterdam-university/. https://erudera.com/news/international-students-in-netherlands-protest-after-university-of-amsterdam-fails-to-provide-accommodation/
[4]Lynn Owens, *Cracking under Pressure: Narrating the Decline of the Amsterdam Squatters' Movement* (Amsterdam University Press, 2009).
[5] Luuk Heezen, "Meer kamers of ik zet m'n tent op!," *Folia*, September 29, 2011, https://www.folia.nl/actueel/2557/meer-kamers-of-ik-zet-mn-tent-op; Henk Strikkers, "Many Room Students Live Poorly (Vele Kamerstudenten Wonen Slecht)," *Folia* (blog), n.d., https://www.folia.nl/actueel/124216/folia-70-studenten-in-erbarmelijk-slechte-kamers.

After the World War II, the Netherlands was perceived as one of the most destroyed nations in the West Europe.[6] Intuitively, it was rather understandable that there were shortage of facilitates in the postwar period such as student housing. Today, the structural shortage of rooms still persists. Both local and international students struggled in different Dutch cities for accommodation that allows them to register at the municipalities. What caused the housing issues in the two time periods? Were they similar or different, and did anything change?

During the World War II, the buildings and industries in the Netherlands experienced significant devastation. Numerous homes and critical infrastructure were destroyed and industrial equipments were plundered by German army.[7] The new construction activities were severly constrained due to scarcity of resources and the disruptive influence of German invasion. [8] Consequently, this gave rise to a subsequent housing shortage and elevated prices upon the Netherlands' post-war recovery. Notably, the Dutch economy demonstrated a rapid recuperation compared to other European nations. In 1945, the national income plummeted to levels last observed in 1919; however, it swiftly rebounded, surpassing prewar levels by 1947, with the aid of substantial funding from the Marshell Plan.[9] The Netherlands was one of the nations in Western Europe that received the most Marshell aid. From 1945 to 1950, an annual economic growth rate of nearly 20 percent was recorded.[10] The Dutch government allocated significant resources to the reconstruction efforts, particularly within the construction, industrialisation and education, aiming to rebuild society and foster growth. Recognizing a deficiency of professionals in the fields of social and political sciences as a contributing factor to the underestaimation of the fascist threat, policymakers in the Netherlands directed substantial financial investments towards supporting individuals pursuing higher education and facilitating the establishment of programs in social and political sciences at universities.[11] The proportion of first-year enrollments in universities and colleges, relative to the number of qualified

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[6] Hilde Heynen, "Belgium and the Netherlands: Two Different Ways of Coping with the Housing Crisis, 1945–70," *Home Cultures* 7, no. 2 (2010): 159–77.

[7] Heynen.

[8] Jeroen Touwen, *Coordination in Transition: The Netherlands and the World Economy, 1950-2010*, Library of Economic History, volume 5 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2014).

[9] Heynen, "Belgium and the Netherlands: Two Different Ways of Coping with the Housing Crisis, 1945–70."

[10] Touwen, *Coordination in Transition*.

[11] instituionalisation of SSH

secondary school graduates, rose significantly from 49% in 1950 to nearly 75%.[12] This substantial increase in student enrollment further strained an already stressed housing supply.

The Dutch economy continued to grow from the 1950s to the 1970s, a period which is often referred to as the Golden Age of economic growth. [13] Production, investment and international trade expanded substantially with a growing proportion of the economy transitioning to services industry, causing shortage in the labour market and increase in wages. [14] With the emphasis on knowledge and skills in the services economy, coupled with increased affordability of higher education, the demand for higher education recorded a significant increase. The ratio of first-year students among 18-year-old population increased from 3% in 1950 to 17% in l999. [15] Parents and students consider education an investment in human capital and a means to obtain a wage premium in a knowledge-based society like the Netherlands.

Internationalisation of higher education in the 2000s further increased the number of students in the Netherlands. To attract and retain high-skill labour for strengthening the growing services industry and facilitating knowledge exchange, more international programmes started in universities in order to recruit top students and researchers globally. Number of foreign students increased sharply. From 2011 to 2021, the ratio of international students has raised from 11% to 24%, with an annual growth rate of 13%, compared to the annual growth rate of 3% of local students. According to statistics of Nuffic, from 2016-2020, there has been a significant rise in the availability of English-taught programmes offered at higher education institutions in the Netherlands, making the country has the most extensive range of English-taught programmes in continental Europe.[16] (Refer to Figure 1)

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[12] The demand for higher education in the Netherlands (1950-1999)
[13] post-war reconstruction of the golden age of econ growth
[14] coordination
[15] The demand for higher education in the netherlands
[16] Nuffic, "Incoming Degree Mobility in Dutch Higher Education 2020-2021," 2/12/2021, n.d.
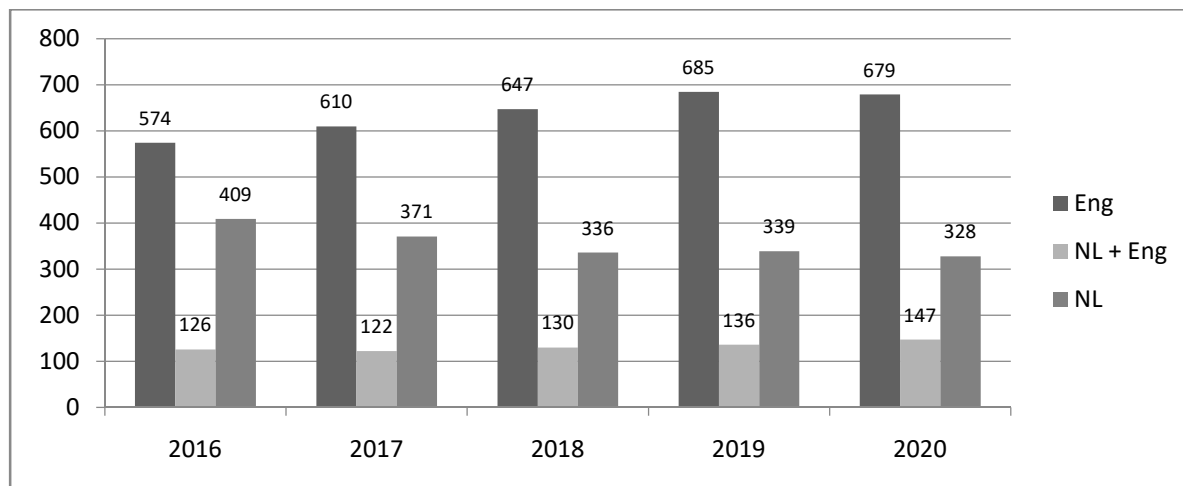
Figure 1 Number of research university programmes offered in English from 2016 - 2020

The increase in the number of university students outweighed the production of student housing. The severe shortage of housing for students triggered the Dutch government in 2011 signing the National Student Housing Action Plan 2011-2016 with major market players to promote cooperation among municipalities, student housing providers and educational institutions and aimed to realize extra 16,000 student housing units to fulfill the housing needs of students.

Apart from the basic housing need, student housing is an irreplaceable part of student life. It provides opportunities for social interactions and building social capital[17]. Early research shows residential satisfaction of students impacts their mental health, academic performance and future earning potential.[18] Not only does the quantity matter, but also how the student housing can enrich student life and enhance their residential satisfaction. Student housing is exclusive to students and usually purpose-built.[19] The design, form and funding sources of different student housing projects reflect how different stakeholders like policy makers, architects and

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[17]Carrie L. Johnson et al., "Perceived Value of College as an Investment in Human and Social Capital: Views of Generations X and Y," *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal* 45, no. 2 (December 2016): 193–207, https://doi.org/10.1111/fcsr.12195.

[18]Norman D. Aitken, "College Student Performance, Satisfaction and Retention: Specification and Estimation of a Structural Model," *The Journal of Higher Education* 53, no. 1 (January 1982): 32, https://doi.org/10.2307/1981537.

[19]Chloe Kinton et al., "New Frontiers of Studentification: The Commodification of Student Housing as a Driver of Urban Change," *The Geographical Journal* 184, no. 3 (September 2018): 242–54, https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12263; Alice Reynolds, "Geographies of Purpose Built Student Accommodation: Exclusivity, Precarity and (Im)Mobility," *Geography Compass* 14, no. 11 (November 2020), https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12543.

students view and imagine the role and purpose of student housing at different time points. How different is the design concepts of student housing in 1950s and 2010s? By comparing and contrasting views on student housing from different stakeholders, we can have a glimpse onto how student housing as a vehicle of social interaction has evolved. According to the defined research objectives, a comprehensive list of guiding questions has been formulated in Chapter 3, intending to systematically and consistently interrogate various primary sources.

Comparisons of two periods: 1950s and 2010s

1950s and 2010s were periods with acute shortage of housing for students. The tension in these decades might have also given a tough time for relevant government officers. However, from a historical point of view, 1950s and 2010s as two periods with student housing shortage provide invaluable information for us to pry into the social function of and the expections on student housing. After all, it is often in crises that there would be most people vibrantly voice out their views on the issues in crises. In other words, there would be most public records in these two periods. Additionally, new developments and creative solutions often come in times of emergencies. In periods of turmoil, visions are renewed, policies are updated, designs are evolved, and new ideas are experimented. Both periods are critical in shaping the development of student housing for the years that followed. Interestingly, 1950s and 2010s are different enough in historical background: outside of students lives, there were enormous changes in infrastructure, technology, culture, and the ways people live in these 60 years. In this research, by drawing similarities and differences in the two 60-year apart periods, we study student housing issues, how major stakeholders exerted influences on these issues, and how all these reflected the changes in the society across 60 years.

Key driving forces

Out of no question, student housing is the product that is yearned for in the crises since 2010s and in 1950s. Housing units were either built by public or private providers. Central Student

Housing Association (CSS) (*Centrale Stichting Studentenhuisvesting*), which later restructured as DUWO, was an exemplary public provider: it built the first non-temporary purpose-built student accommodation (PBSA) on Oudraadtweg in Delft in 1958. In the private sector, the Social Hub (TSH) can be seen as a trailblazer: it entered the Rotterdam student housing market in early 2010s with the brand name "The Student Hotel" as a pioneer in providing high-end student housing. 10 years later, they expanded from Rotterdam to Amsterdam, The Hague, Eindhoven, Delft and 11 other European cities. TSH's recent rebranding from The Student Hotel to The Social Hub hinted its vision to become a centre of network for students that provide more than mere accommodation.

Though the public and private providers appear to be immediately relevant to the student housing issues, we must emphasize that they are only intermediaries: it is the policies from the governments, the views from students and architects, and the funding from the government and students that drive the resolution to the housing issues. Therefore, this research will study how the perspectives of policy makers, architects and students on student housing have changed by comparing the situation in the 1950s and in the 2010s, discuss how has their perspectives interacted with each other and shaped the design and function of student housing. Their views will be gauged from different angles by interrogating extensive primary sources with the support of secondary literature with foci on their expectation on PBSA's function, architectural features, facilities, as well as their role in the supply of PBSA. TSH, together with other pioneering projects in the Netherlands in the 1950s will be used as representative examples along this comparative study to examine how student housing developers responded to the interaction of perspectives, catered the design requirements and demand at that time and contributed to the trend of student housing.

Research Question

While the Dutch student housing issue is core to this research, we will discuss relevant contexts in European and international developments that have affected this. This research focuses on Purpose Built Student Accommodation (PBSA), which is built, or converted with specific

intention of being occupied by students.[20] This research aims to research the development of PBSA in the Netherlands in a general sense instead of focusing on a particular student city and focus my analysis to a few prominent student housing projects.

Our main research question is to analyse the change of perspectives of the major stakeholders on PBSA between 1950-60 and 2010-20. By understanding the perspectives behind policies, measures and design of PBSA, this research aims to provide insight for future renovation to alleviate the shortage of student housing. Some sub-questions are listed as follows.

- How did the perspective of **policy makers** regarding PBSA change between 1950-60 and 2010-20?
- How did the perspective of **architects** regarding PBSA change between 1950-60 and 2010-20?
- How did the perspective of **students** regarding PBSA change between 1950-60 and 2010-20?
- How did the perspectives of **policy makers, architects and students** relate to or differ from each other?

Scope of Research

I commence this research with an extensive review of the pertinent literature (Chapter 2) delineating the genesis of Purpose-Built Student Accommodation (PBSA), offering quantitative juxtapositions of student housing contexts in the 1950s and 2010s. Our argument posits that the evolution of student housing is intimately connected to internationalism and the progressive transformation of higher education. Subsequently, we describe the methodological framework (Chapter 3) employed to systematically analyze PBSA utilizing primary source materials.

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[20]"Purpose Built Student Accommodation (PBSA) (New Policy) | Bath and North East Somerset Council," accessed January 26, 2023, https://beta.bathnes.gov.uk/local-plan-core-strategy-and-placemaking-plan-partial-update/purpose-built-student-accommodation.

In distinct chapters, we engage in an in-depth exploration of the development of PBSA under the aegis of three principal driving forces: policy-makers (Chapter 4), architectural practitioners (Chapter 5), and the student population (Chapter 6). It is crucial to note that these driving forces do not directly affect PBSA; rather, they exert influence through public and private channels of housing provision. Throughout these chapters, we consistently allude to the ways in which Student Housing Association (SSH)(Stichting Studentenhuisvesting) and DUWO, exemplary non-profit providers, and The Social Hub (TSH), a trailblazer in private housing provision, exhibit dynamic responses to the aforementioned driving forces, thereby fostering innovation within the realm of PBSA.

Prior to the conclusion (Chapter 8) of this investigation, we delineate the limitations inherent to our research (Chapter 7) and engage in further discussion (Chapter 7) concerning the intricate interactions between the three driving forces. Ultimately, we synthesize our findings to reveal how these interactions revealed structural changes in greater societal aspects such as governmental structure, business involvement, and values of individuals.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The existing body of scholarly literature on the development of student housing in the Netherlands lacks comprehensive coverage, particularly regarding the post-war period. Insufficient attention has been devoted to studies that specifically address this subject, which is of crucial importance. Nevertheless, among the limited available sources, Mooij's article stands out as one of the few that dives into the design and layout aspects of the initial post-war PBSA projects in the Netherlands.

This chapter begins by looking into the historical context surrounding the emergence of Dutch PBSA, as well as its design and layout considerations. Furthermore, it seeks to investigate the broader evolution of PBSA from the 1950s to 2010s, encompassing its changing social function and the shifting sources of funding. Additionally, the chapter explores the influence of internationalism and the transformative effects on higher education on the design and provision of PBSA. By delving into these dimensions, a more comprehensive understanding of the development of student housing in the Netherlands can be attained.

The origin of student housing in the Netherlands

How did student housing start? Before any structured form of student housing, students who were looking for temporary housing were no different from other people in the university towns: they rented properties. As they typically had lower budget than the working population, they usually formed groups to share rented properties. Before World War II, families or retired landlords made available one or two rooms to students to earn a little extra money.[21]

Nevertheless, the spare rooms were no longer sufficient for the sharp increase of students. The number of university student increased from 11,251 in 1939 to 29,397 in 1956 with a compound annual growth rate of 5.8%.[22][23] On the demand side, lots of students returned to the

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[21] Frank van der. Vorst and D.A. Huysse, *SSH Utrecht 40 jaar : 1956-1996* ([Utrecht]: [SSH], 1996).

[22] Rob Timans and Johan Heilbron, "The Institutionalization of SSH Disciplines in the Netherlands: 1945–2015," in *Shaping Human Science Disciplines*, ed. Christian Fleck, Matthias Duller, and Victor Karády (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 189–246, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92780-0_6.

Netherlands to continue their studies after the war. To train more professional personnel for the restoration of the country, entry requirement of higher education was lowered, including both tuition fee and academic requirement, and new faculties were set up. [24] Furthermore, the rise of exchange programs such as the Fulbright Program from the United States brought more students to cities. On the supply side, Buildings and infrastructure was destroyed during World War II. In addition, new family homes in the cities were too small to free up a room for a student. In 1955, the room shortage in the university cities of Amsterdam, Leiden, Delft and Utrecht has risen to around 350 per city. At that time it was a shockingly high number.[25]

The power imbalance between tenants and landlords has been long documented, and the students were not free from it. Often, landlords could arbitrarily set selection criteria to select the tenants they wanted. A landlord may refuse to rent to someone based on their race, gender, religion, or disability, or charge them higher rent or security deposit based on these factors. This made it difficult for students to find suitable accommodation, especially those from low-income families. The power imbalance was closely related to the shortage of housing units: usually, when there is a shortage, the imbalance aggravated.

New construction was considered by the housing providers at that time the only way to accommodate a large number of students and alleviating the shortage in the long run.[26] Mooij's article in Issue no. 10 "Housing the Student" of the Delft Architectural Study on Housing (DASH) published in 2014 provides a good entry point into the history of PBSA in the post-war period in the Netherlands with photos and layout plans of the first few student housing projects.[27] Mooij started his career as an architect since 2004 and had been the co-editor of Delft Architectural Studies on Housing (DASH) since 2008. He also included some debates between scholars regarding the design principles in the 1950s and 1960s. However, there is a lack of coverage on the perspective of policymakers and students in his article.

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[23] Stella Vrijmoed and Henk Strikkers, "Folia 70: who studied at the UvA in the 1950s?," *Folia*, February 2, 1957, 70, https://www.folia.nl/actueel/124190/folia-70-wie-studeerden-er-in-de-jaren-vijftig-aan-de-uva.

[24]Timans and Heilbron, "The Institutionalization of SSH Disciplines in the Netherlands."

[25] Vorst and Huysse, *SSH Utrecht 40 jaar : 1956-1996*.

[26] SSH 40 jaar.

[27] Harald Mooij, "Finding Form for a Free Spirit: Dutch Student Housing as a Design Brief," *DASH| Delft Architectural Studies on Housing*, no. 10 (2014): 52–67.

The first PBSA came into picture transforming unused existing buildings. It was a bottom-up and innovative initiative. [28]In 1949, a temporary student village was built on Tweemolentjeskade, on the outskirt of Delft. It was built with barracks from old labour camps provided by the Dutch state. It was a cooperation of different parties. Prof. JM Tienstra, rector of the Delft University of Technology, initiated the idea and contributed the initial capital with 4 other founders of Delftse Studentenhuisvesting Foundation. The state government paid for the rest of the cost while municipality provided the land. They obtained more than two hundred beds, desks, curtains and the kitchen inventory from a closed institution. Students traveled to Groningen and Nijmegen to collect old army barracks, tore down the barracks and rebuilt them in Delft. It was built in 6 months by thousands of students.[29] The student village was named Duyvelsgat by students. It was the first successful PBSA and featured in news all over the country. The 200 students were overjoyed to move in new rooms with facilities that were very luxurious for that time. Students have a furnished room, electric light, central heating, a communal kitchen, a shower, a telephone and a club room. There was even a housekeeper to make the beds and keep the barracks clean.[30]

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[28]"Studenten bouwen barakken in het Duyvelsgat (Students build barracks in the Duyvelsgat)," *Delft op Zondag* (blog), February 5, 2015, https://www.delftopzondag.nl/nieuws/algemeen/78222/studenten-bouwen-barakken-in-het-duyvelsgat.

[29] DUWO, "DUWO:Van Legerbarak Tot Campus," 2005, https://www.duwo.nl/fileadmin/user_upload/Publicaties/DUWO-story-v02.pdf.

[30] DUWO.

Figure 2 Photo of Duyvelsgat and news headline 'Pioneering work is being done in Delft'[31]

Business support for more PBSA

Duyvelsgat was a successful pilot – the queen even visited it twice. [32] More PBSA was in the pipeline due to the financial support from the private sector. The business community was concerned about the poor living conditions of young intellectuals who would contribute to the future of the nation. They brought up another bottom-up initiative – the CSS. It was formed in 1957 by several universities and large companies such as Philips, Shell, Nationale Nederlanden, NS and the PTT with a mission "…to end the state of emergency in student housing (…om de noodtoestand bij de studentenhuisvesting op te heffen…)" [33] The founders of the CSS expressly took the position that not they, but the government was responsible for public housing. The operation model of the CSS was like that: CSS collected money from the business community and provided subsidies for the construction or furnishing of rooms and the universities were

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[31] DUWO.
[32] DUWO.
[33] Vorst and Huysse, *SSH Utrecht 40 jaar : 1956-1996*.

responsible for project implementation and management. The deficit between the rental income and cost was divided between the government and the CSS. The standard of PBSA at that time was student rooms with shared sanitary facilities, kitchen common room, central heating and furniture. CSS built the first non-temporary PBSA on Oudraadtweg in 1958 and later the largest PBSA on Krakeelhof in 1968 with almost 600 rooms. By 1959, 867 students were able get a shelter in the PBSA. Other similar housing corporations such as SSHwere also formed around that time.In the 1950s, these housing corporations were the main investors to governmental projects, or they would fund the expansion of government-initiated projects.

Beyond shelter function of PBSA

With the rise of PBSA, more scholars started to research into the how PBSA influence students. Mooij found that in the 1950s, it was considered that student housing could advance student life and academic training, be influential to personal development and combat against isolation, especially among new students. Berghoef, a professor at the Delft Institute of Technology, in the early 1960s evaluated that the relationships between residents in Oudraadtweg were less tight than in the old inner-city buildings. He attributed that to the layout of some of the detached flats in the accommodation. To enhance the social function, he proposed to have more shared facilities such as chapel and space for indoor sports. He advocated that the purpose of student housing was "to aim the most active and intensive student life as possible. It is from this the free academic spirit is born!" on the basis that each institution should assess its own need in deciding what to provide.[34] His view was widely accepted by the student housing industry – by providing opportunities for students to interact with peers more intensely, such communal living experiences could enhance students' interpersonal skills, mold values and eventually impact behavior. Nonetheless, around the same time, there was opposing view criticizing that the shared space provided too little privacy and was seen to promote superficial group behavior instead of meaningful personal growth.

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[34] Mooij, "Finding Form for a Free Spirit: Dutch Student Housing as a Design Brief."

In 1967, Cohen, one of the very few Dutch scholars who researched on the residential satisfaction of PBSA at his time, analysed the relationship between privacy and residential satisfaction in Weesperflat on Weesperstraat and Casa Academica in Amsterdam.[35] Weesperflat was designed in 1958 and completed in 1966. It was an award-winning design from a student housing competition organised by student society. It was seen as the first project having students' participation in the design of PBSA. It was a great example to look into how its design and layout reflected the perspective of architects.[36] Its layout was similar to that of Oudraadtweg with shared bathroom and toilet but with a bigger communal dining room, an open kitchen and a common room. The new feature was the public facilities such as a student restaurant, a student café with outdoor seating, a bookshop and a branch of student association of Amsterdam (ASVA). Concept of social integration and city embeddedness was seen in the design[37]. Casa Academica was another newly opened PBSA. The first time, all the rooms were self-contained with private sanitary facilities as it was operated as a hotel during school vacation.Cohen' result shows there was a connection between privacy and satisfaction but it was only true for Weesperflat and there was also connection between satisfaction and judgment on particular amenities but it was also only true for Weesperflat. He concluded that the two projects were resided by two different types of students and that their different needs made it possible for them to be satisfied with opposite kinds of living conditions. He further argued against the mainstream views accepted by builders at that time put forward by Berghoef who believed that there were certain ideal conditions of satisfactory living to which the students should adapt themselves. He also questioned the scientific support of Berghoef's proposal of 12-18 shared units in a house unit as an optimal size for student housing. Cohen addressed individuality of students and believed that one should be able to develop as much as possible according to one's own choice, and that the living conditions must be created for this.There was lack of research in the post-war period which studied the relationship between residential satisfaction and the interaction among residents.

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[35]DA Cohen, "Woonsatisfaktie En Privacy in Studentenflats," *Sociologische Gids* 14, no. 4 (1967): 252–59.
[36] More will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[37]Mooij, "Finding Form for a Free Spirit: Dutch Student Housing as a Design Brief."

Limited literature has dedicated to purpose-built student housing in the European context in the 1970s to 1990s. More discussion is found in the United States around that time regarding the influence of student housing on the personal development of residents. Wallace, in 1980, viewed that 'Students must therefore be aided in developing adequate standards of behaviors in cooperation with others; and, respect for the rights, privileges, and properties of all members of the community.'[38] Chickering, in 1974, proposed 3 ways that student housing impacts personal development. First, students develop close relationships with flat mates who share values, future plans and aspirations. Second, the subculture in the housing unit shape behavior, attitudes and standards. Third, student housing offers opportunities for a student to understand the impact of his personal behavior on other people. Physical facilities and well-planned meals were also considered as necessities to students.[39]

Change of funding landscape: rise of private providers and the trend of self-contained rooms

Publicly funded student housing, as mentioned earlier, focused on affordability to students and scalability to meet the unmet student housing demand. Unfortunately, housing corporations did not live up to the expectations from the government and from the students. Complicated by the bureaucracy from both the government and the universities, they built student housing slowly and was cost-ineffective in managing them. In the 1970s, Ministries of Education and Science and of Housing and Spatial Planning decided that student housing foundations would permanently fall under the ambit of the latter Ministry. Since then, housing corporations no longer fell under the management of universities and became self-funded non-profit corporations. In the 2000s, with the tenancy reform and increasing spending power of students, the private providers found it lucrative to participate in the student housing business.

The private sector flourished as they took up the new growth of demand and being more flexible in offering wider range of product. More sophisticated PBSA slowly emerged while to

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[38]James A Wallace, "The Philosophy of University Housing.," *Journal of College and University Student Housing* 38, no. 2 (2012): 94–99.
[39]AW Chickering, "Education and Identity: Implications for Residence Hall Living," *Student Development and Education in Residence Halls*, 1974, 76.

meet the needs of students. Specifically, private providers explored providing high-quality accommodation for students. Contemporary research also shows there is a positive correlation between high-quality amenities and residential satisfaction.[40] High-end student housing imitates the layout and facilities of a hotel. Instead of simple and basic bedrooms, furnished units with modern design and high-quality amenities such as swimming pools, gyms and co-working spaces are sometimes provided as a selling point to attract both international and local students who look for premium accommodation. Some student accommodations also provide regular cleaning services and towels for individual bedrooms so students can spare more time for their academics or social life. Most of the student housing provided by the private sector was equipped with private sanitary facilities so they could be rented out as hotel rooms during semester break for more rental revenue.

The Social Hub (formerly known as the Student Hotel) was the example. The first branch was opened in 2012 and located in close proximity to the city center and the Erasmus University Rotterdam in Rotterdam. It was positioned to provide high quality, well-equipped and well-connected residences with individual rooms and communal kitchen. Amenities like rooftop bar, restaurant, swimming pool, gym, gaming room and laundry rooms are provided, together with stylish and trendy design. It also organise in-house social events. As its old name suggested, it aimed to be a combination of hotel and student housing. The business model was pioneer in the housing market. The renaming of the Student Hotel into the Social Hub was in 2022 but the actual transition from offering student housing and hotel rooms occasionally during school holiday to a combination of student housing, hotel, co-working space, food & beverage services and collective living happened earlier. This combination was not without challenges. Dissatisfaction arose when there was disparity between expectation and reality. Hotel guests expect higher quality of facilities as it is branded as a hotel while students expect to have more active involvement in community building as co-living concept was promoted in the Social

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[40] John D Foubert, Robin Tepper, and Daniel R Morrison, "Predictors of Student Satisfaction in University Residence Halls," *Journal of College and University Student Housing* 27, no. 1 (1998): 41–46.

Hub.[41] Wallner in her bachelor thesis conducted in-depth investigation during her management internship at the Social Hub in 2020. The result of the interviews which she conducted with students reflected the students' perspective on the new model of student housing.

Despite developing with a tighter budget, housing corporations also started to build more high-quality self-contained furnished rooms in order to stay competitive to attract international students and researchers. [42] Individualisation of student housing was also facilitated by the system of rental allowance program which funds independent instead of shared housing. The popularity of self-contained units led to a change in the provision and design of communal areas. On one hand, some PBSAs minimized the common area to maximize the number of rooms. On the other hand, some PBSAs chose to allocate most of the common area to lower floors. Social interaction among residents was limited to the common area where students could actively choose to interact or not. Students have more freedom and conscious option of whom to interact with instead of unavoidable daily encounters in the shared bathroom or kitchen with flat mates that he or she cannot choose. According to DUWO's website, over 84% of recent and coming supply of student rooms would be self-contained rooms.[43] Mooij opined the self-contained room would lead to the loss of communal living experience. Research has shown that students in self-contained studios more often suffer from loneliness and psychological complaints.[44]

The tides of internationalism and higher education transformation

After the Second World War, it was believed by the higher education community that educational exchange could enhance mutual understanding and bring peace, in addition to the

[41]LM (Luca) Wallner, "Adjusting the co-living concept of The Student Hotel Amsterdam City to improve the guest experience" (Saxion, 2020), https://hbo-kennisbank.nl/details/saxionhogeschool:299E0847-EA96-4F1F-8A6E2BC00B34823F?q=living&c=0.

[42]Mooij, "Finding Form for a Free Spirit: Dutch Student Housing as a Design Brief."

[43] DUWO, "Project information - DUWO Foundation," accessed June 24, 2023, https://www.duwo.nl/over-duwo/onze-gebouwen/projectinformatie.

[44]Matthew J. Easterbrook and Vivian L. Vignoles, "When Friendship Formation Goes down the Toilet: Design Features of Shared Accommodation Influence Interpersonal Bonds and Well-Being," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 54, no. 1 (March 2015): 125–39, https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12062.

benefits for academic and intellectual purposes.[45]Increase in the number of international exchange program and scholarship, liberalization of immigration policies, globalization of economies, and international collaborations in research and innovation encouraged the movement of students and knowledge exchange. Different national governments provide financial assistance for citizens to study abroad with a hope of bringing back foreign skills, technology and knowledge. Diversity of ideas is seen as a source of inspirations to innovations. Collaboration between research institutions and joint teaching programs were set up.[46] The number of students impact the amount of funding an educational institution obtains and hence it is competitive for institutions to admit more domestic and international students for subsidy and resources. Consequently, European cities hosting prominent universities have witnessed a significant influx of international students, thereby contributing to an increased demand for student housing.
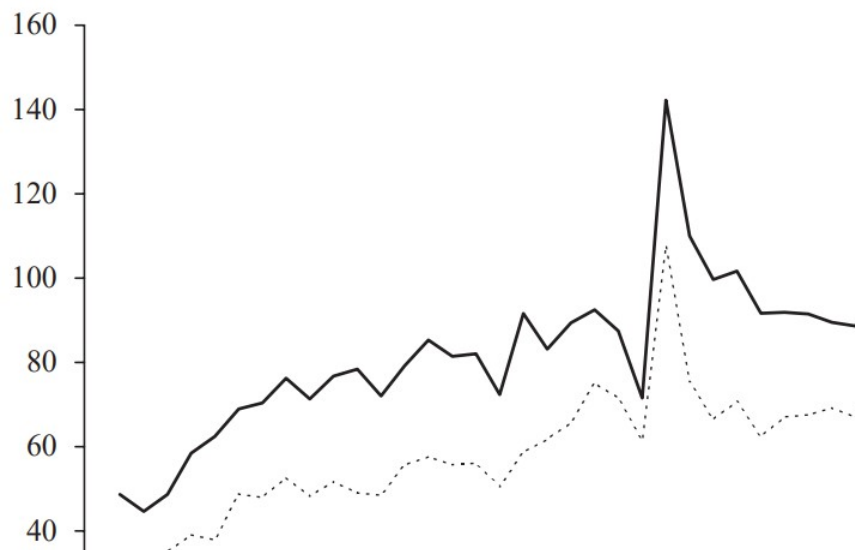
Figure 3 Percentage of First-year university enrollment among the number of secondary school graduates[47]

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[45]Cindy Naumann, "The Rebirth of Educational Exchange: Anglo-German University Level Youth Exchange Programmes after the Second World War," *Research in Comparative and International Education* 2, no. 4 (2007): 355–68; Hans De Wit and Fiona Hunter, "Trends, Issues and Challenges in Internationalisation of Higher Education," *Routledge Handbook of International Education and Development* 302 (2015): 303.

[46]Hans De Wit and Tony Adams, "Global Competition in Higher Education: A Comparative Study of Policies, Rationales, and Practices in Australia and Europe," *Higher Education, Policy, and the Global Competition Phenomenon*, 2010, 219–33.

[47] Erik Canton and Frank De Jong, "The Demand for Higher Education in The Netherlands, 1950–1999," *Economics of Education Review* 24, no. 6 (December 2005): 651–63, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2004.09.006.

The expansion of higher education has been another critical factor in the surge of student housing demand. As a result of widespread access to education, coupled with growing societal and economic recognition of the importance of higher education, the overall number of higher education students has risen substantially in the Netherlands.[48][49] This increase in the student population has translated to a concomitant rise in the need for housing accommodations in urban centers with a high concentration of tertiary institutions. The spikiness of tertiary education has further exacerbated the demand of student housing. Spikiness in tertiary education can be understood as the concentration of student interest in a relatively small number of top-ranked universities. The growing importance of global university rankings has led students to prioritize attending prestigious institutions. This phenomenon has generated an influx of students in select European cities that host renowned universities, further exacerbating the demand for student housing. Moreover, due to the limited capacity of these top institutions, competition for admission has intensified, resulting in a spillover effect on other reputable universities in the same cities, thereby contributing to the overall rise in student housing demand.

At the same time, with the growth of the global knowledge economy, there is high demand for skilled workers for different countries. One of the solutions is to attract international students and retain them after graduation. In many countries, the quality of student housing and its amenity are also used as a selling point to attract foreign students.[50]

Back to square-one: the need to deep dive into the three forces of influences from primary sources

The above review might have explained the trajectory of development of student housing well. However, they were mostly secondary sources. In upcoming Chapters, we will reexamine the

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[48] Canton and De Jong.

[49] "National Student Housing Monitor" (Kences, n.d.), https://studentenhuisvesting.incijfers.nl/mosaic/lms/2--betaalbaarheid.

[50] Gray Bekurs, "Outsourcing Student Housing in American Community Colleges: Problems and Prospects," *Community College Journal of Research and Practice* 31, no. 8 (August 2, 2007): 621–36, https://doi.org/10.1080/10668920701428402.

development of student housing with primary sources. Using primary sources to study history has several advantages over secondary sources, as the latter can be more prone to hindsight biases. Primary sources are original materials created at the time of the historical event or by individuals who were witnesses to the event, which offers an authentic and unfiltered perspective on the past. They provide a direct and immediate understanding of how people experienced events, including diverse perspectives from marginalized groups. Additionally, primary sources offer a glimpse into the context in which historical events occurred, which can help historians to better understand the motivations and actions of historical actors and analyze the broader historical trends that shaped the events.

In contrast, secondary sources, such as textbooks or historical analyses, can be subject to interpretation, analysis, and filtering, which can be influenced by the historian's personal beliefs, biases, and cultural context. This can lead to a distorted or incomplete understanding of the past, as they may provide a more convenient and accessible explanation of historical events. Therefore, while secondary sources can provide valuable insights into historical events, primary sources remain the most reliable and meaningful way to uncover how history developed, as they are less prone to hindsight biases.

Modern literature broaching the architectural features and investment opportunities of PBSA has becoming well-represented.[51] However, discussion about different perspectives of stakeholders and the implications of changing perspectives and stakeholders' imagination on the development of student housing in the Netherlands remain under-represented. Scholars who researched on the aspects of student housing satisfaction echoed the importance of other actors in the planning and designing student housing in understanding the economic and planning aspects of PBSA.[52] This research aims to fill this gap in discourse by taking a closer look

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[51] Elisa De Angelis, "Student Housing Industry: New Investment Trends and Strategic Business Models to Tackle Post Covid-19 Challenges," 2022; Nick French et al., "Investment Opportunities for Student Housing in Europe," *Journal of Property Investment & Finance*, 2018; Danielle Sanderson and Sara Özogul, "Key Investors and Their Strategies in the Expansion of European Student Housing Investment," *Journal of Property Research* 39, no. 2 (April 3, 2022): 170–96, https://doi.org/10.1080/09599916.2021.1993315.

[52] Judith Thomsen and Terje Andreas Eikemo, "Aspects of Student Housing Satisfaction: A Quantitative Study," *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 25, no. 3 (September 2010): 273–93, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-010-9188-3.

into stakeholders' opinions in various primary and secondary sources with a historical approach so as to analyse how these stakeholders understand the role of student housing and imagine the future role and trend of it.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Identifying primary sources

Responding to the research question, this research emaphsises the use of primary sources close to the targeted periods of comparison (1950s and 2010s). A wide range of primary sources is proposed in order to obtain multi-perspective historical evidence on how the views of policy makers, students, architects and entrepreneurs towards the function of student housing has changed from the post-war period in the Netherlands.

Primary sources available in the public domain were collected through library collections, archives, online databases and interviews etc. There was no exclusion criterion for primary resources. Although archives contain a large quantity of materials, the collection on student housing might be incomplete, especially for the documents in the 1950s. There can be situation when information was never recorded in the first place. Various textual primary sources identified included official documents, press releases, annual reports, magazine articles and interviews etc. For detailed list of primary sources and respective data collection method, please refer to Table 1. The primary sources, predominantly in Dutch, are initially translated into English using Google Translate before undergoing examination and analysis.

Critical examination

By reading the primary sources critically, I wish to examine the views of the major stakeholders during the periods from different dimensions by looking at their words of choice, literal meaning of text and implicit message between sentences. The interpretation and understanding of primary sources and interaction between sources will also be assisted by secondary literature.[53] Emphasis will be paid to the author, intended audience, assumptions,

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[53]Jeannette Kamp et al., *Writing History! A Companion for Historians* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

limitations and significance of the primary sources.[54]Below is a list of questions formulated that structure the study of the primary sources so we can understand the perspective of different market players regarding PBSA in a consistent and systematic manner.

1. What was the function of student housing to the stakeholders?
2. In the stakeholders' opinion, what were the ideal standards of student housing? What should be the priority?
3. From the stakeholders' point of view, what was the trend of student housing and what was their prediction? What did and what would they do to respond to the trend?
4. What were the motivations of the stakeholders to address the shortage of student housing?
5. In the stakeholders' opinion, who owned the responsibility of providing student housing? How did they see their responsibility and position in the matter?
6. How did the stakeholders anticipate their role or participation would change in 5-10 years? Did they see their role as fixated or evolving?
7. What was the attitude of stakeholders towards the opinion or desire of students on student housing?

Major stakeholder and respective primary source

Policy maker

To understand the views and considerations of policy makers in formulating policy, official documents of national government, consultation paper of municipality, reports of advisory committee and papers of parliamentwere studied. The primary sources were either mentioned in relevant secondary sources or shown in the search results using keywords like 'Studentenhuis'

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[54]Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann, eds., *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History*, Second edition, Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources (New York: Routledge, 2020).

or 'studentenhuisvesting' on online database or archive of parliamentary papers and documents from the city council of Rotterdam.

The *Report of the advisory committee for provisions to be made for students(1956)(The Rutten's Report)*detailed how policy makers and their advisory committee analysed the situation and their motivations and the political priority to address the issue. We also had a glimpse on how policy makers viewed the role of themselves, other market players, the cooperation of different parties and the proposed approaches to alleviate the shortage. The list of recommendation on the design of PBSA, the policies or regulations imposed on the industry players shaped both the market and product of student housing. These discussion process and outcome also reflected their forecast on the trend and future demand of students.*The Second memorandum on provisions for students – Letter from the Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences (1959)* responded to the recommendations made by *The Rutten's Report* reflected the perspective of the government on student housing.

We compared the *National Action Plan Student Housing (2011-2016) and theNational Action Plan Student Housing (2018-2021)* withthe report in the 1950s to see how the approaches changed or not changed in the past 60 years. That gave us more hints on the considerations and discussion behind the actions proposed. From that, we gauged the change of situation and the thinking of policy makers. At a municipality level, we made use of consultation papers of municipality of Rotterdam to see how local government reacted and implemented the national policies according to the local situation. Zooming out, we also attended to the influence of global factors like internationlisation of higher education, globalization and other global events. We studied these influences by studying *The National student housing monitor*published annually since 2012 by Kences, a knowledge center for student housing and a partnership of social student housing providers. The publication keeps track on the housing situation of students and provides numerical insight into the supply and demand for student housing and how students want to live.Chapter 4 made use of the above sources to discuss how student housing was used to achieve political intentions and the rationale behind the changing policies and production mode of student housing.

Architect

Het NieuweInstituut archived publications, design briefs, photos and models in the 1950-60 we studied while *DASH (Delft Architectural Studies on Housing)* provided primary sources for contemporary designs. From these sources, we understood the design concepts and design principles behind architectural features of variousPBSA at different periods. We studied how architects' visions responded to governmental policies and students' preferences, supplementingwith their own interpretation of student housing. By studying the various design features such as room size, mix of room type, design of common space, number of rooms in a shared unit, shared facilities and amenities of student housing projects, assisted by architects' explanation on the concept in the publications, we studied how architects balanced functionality, aesthetic and prediction of future needs of end-users. The design reflected the view of architects on the relationship between student housing and its neighborhood and how students integrated with the society.[55] To facilitate the understanding on the design concept and layout plans, we interviewed the architect and co-founder of the Social Hub and also looked into previous interviews of architects available online explaining their design concept. We asked these planned questions in the interview with the architect and co-founder of TSH:

- What was the function of student housing emphasized when TSH was first set up in 2012?
- What was your view on different aspects of student housing such as privacy and social interaction when TSH was first set up? Did you see change afterwards?
- What was your view on the diversity of room types and shared facilities, amenities and connection to the society. Did your view change afterwards?
- What were the ideal standards of student housing? What was the priority?
- What was the trend of student housing and what was the prediction? What was done to respond to the trend?
- Apart from profitability, what were the motivations for TSH to address the shortage of student housing?

[55]Harald Mooij, "'A Campus Is: A Place Where Everything You Need Is at Hand': Interview with André Snippe, Developer Campus Diemen Zuid," *DASH| Delft Architectural Studies on Housing*, no. 10 (2014): 46–51.

- In your opinion, who owned the responsibility of providing student housing? How did the interviewee see his/her responsibility and position in the matter?
- How do you anticipate your role or participation would change in 5-10 years?
- How do you think about the opinion or desire of students on student housing?

Student

The voices of students reflected their desire and dissatisfaction towards the student housing during the targeted periods for research. Past articles of student publications captured how the students responded to the shortage of student housing, design of student housing and government policy at that time. *Quod Novum*, the predecessor of the Erasmus Magazine started in the late 1960s, *Erasmus Magazine*, an independent magazine of the Erasmus University Rotterdam,*Folia*, an independent student magazine of the University of Amsterdam and press releases and research reports of ASVA Student Union were good sources to show the students' preference of accommodation, their housing situation, and wishes of students. The articles could also reflect students' participation in shaping the design of the student housing. ASVA Research team published a research report on the student housing situation in Amsterdam in 2012 which contained their analysis of the student housing situation and interviews of students in Amsterdam. It represented students' views and satisfaction on student housing and their criteria in choosing accommodation. The interviews gave us a good opportunity to see how students described how they used the space, how they liked or did not like the space, and the interaction with other residents in the student housing. ASVA's research report was assumed to be representative of the students in the Netherlands in general for subsequent discussion and analysis.By comparing students' views with the subsequent architectural designs and policies, we inspected the relationship and interaction among them.

Public Student housing provider

Annual reports and publications of StichtingStudentenhuisvesting Utrecht and DUWO (formerly as CSS), which were both formed in the 1950s, showed the thinking of student housing

operators, operation of student housing and their business plans in the 1950s and 1960s. The early annual reports and publication gave us an understanding how public student housing provider responded to their funders' requirements to address the housing situation in the late 1950s. They also provided good materials recording the housing situation, the details of student housing projects and interaction with the policy makers and students in the 1950s.

Private student housing provider

For the period of 2010s, we interviewed both the architect and co-founder of TSH to understand the situation and policies when he first set up the business of student housing in 2012. They also gave insights on the change of interaction between policy makers and other industry players and how the Social Hub reacted to the change of the market and perception of the public on student housing.

Table 1 Stakeholder and respective primary sources from 1950 to 2020 and data collection method

Stakeholder	Primary Source	Data Collection
Policy maker	- Rapport van de adviescommissievoortetreffenvoorzieningen ten behoove van studenten(1956) *Report of the advisory committee for provisions to be made for students* (1956)	Library collection
	- The Second memorandum on provisions for students – Letter from the Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences *(1959)* - Landelijk Actieplan Studentenhuisvesting 2011 tot	Website of Overheid.nl https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/uitgebreidzoeken

	2016*National Action Plan Student Housing (2011-2016)* - Kamerstuk van Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal*Parliamentary Paper*[56]*of House of Representatives of The Netherlands*	
	- Consultation paper of Gemeente Rotterdam	Archive and website of Gemeente Rotterdam https://rotterdam.raadsinformatie.nl/
Architect	- Publications and objects of Het NieuweInstituut - Delft Architectural Study on Housing (DASH) - Interview with Carmen Huestamendia, architect of TSH, Frank Uffen, Co-founder of TSH and Herman Hertzberger, architect of Weesperflat, Amsterdam	Archive and website of Het Nieuwe Instituut https://journals.open.tudelft.nl/dash Personal contact and online interview
Student	- Articles of Quod Novum and EMagazine of Erasmus University Rotterdam - Folia of the University of Amsterdam	Archive of Erasmus Magazine https://eur.contentdm.oclc.org/ Archive of Folia and website https://www.folia.nl/home
	- Press releases and research reports of ASVA student union	ASVA website https://asva.nl/belangen/studentenhuisv

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[56]"Adoption of the budget statements of the Housing, Neighborhoods and Integration (XVIII) budget for the year 2010 No. 75 Letter from the Minister for Housing, Neighbors and Integration" (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, May 28, 2010), https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kst-32123-XVIII-75.html.

	esting/	
Student housing provider	- Annual reports and publication of SSH Utrect and DUWO	Library collection and corporation website

Chapter 4: Perspective of Policy Makers

The present chapter endeavors to critically examine the shifting perspectives of policy makers regarding PBSA between the 1950-60 and 2010-20 epochs. The primary objective is to comprehend the subsequent influence of these perspectives on the development and availability of PBSA. By means of meticulous analysis of how policy makers' perspectives have influenced policy making and the market and product of PBSA, a comprehensive understanding of the student housing market, the implications of policy makers' perspectives, and the exigencies of policy revision or fortification to better cater to the needs of students can be gained. By employing comparative and contrastive analyses, this chapter enables an assessment of how policy makers delineated the roles and responsibilities of other stakeholders, established standards for student housing based on their expectations of PBSA functionality, and considered the viewpoints of students in shaping PBSA provisions. Such analyses facilitate insights into the evolving perspectives of policy makers during the two distinct periods under investigation.

Responsibility of the government

After WWII, compared to the pre-war years, the number of parents who were financially able to support their children a university education fell sharply. The Dutch government recognised the worsening position of students and the societal need for more academically trained professionals in social and political sciences to rebuild the social cohesion[57]. The former was alleviated by considerable increase in the number of grants and interest-free loans and the latter was achieved by lowering entry requirements in the new faculties of social and political science. With the return of Dutch students after the war and university education became more accessible to Dutch people, the number of university students grew strongly in the 1950s.Rapid increase of university students created acute shortage of student housing. This also triggered the state to rethink the strategies to improve the situations of students, control cost and to

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[57]Timans and Heilbron, "The Institutionalization of SSH Disciplines in the Netherlands."

cope with the inefficiency in higher education. Improving the situation of students was not merely for individual student but for the benefit of the society as a whole.

In 1953, Mr. J.M.L. Th. Cals, the Minster of Education, Arts and Sciences commissioned an advisory committee led by Professor F. J. Th. Rutten to investigate the problem with the provisions for students and provide recommendations for improvement. He viewed that the "efficiency" of the higher education was unsatisfactory for the reason that 40% of the first year students were not able to pass.[58]The alarming figure caused the state to look intoon the effectiveness of the substantial funding on higher education at that time. Mr. Cals viewed that it would be more emphatic that the funding would benefit young people whose university stay is a success if a considerable budget of financial allowances were to be made. He viewed that the problem with the provisions for students was certainly not only a matter of finances. An inquiry into the causes of the failure of the studies of so many students was deemed necessary in order to formulate well-founded opinions.

In general, the Minister viewed that the government's support could be in two ways – direct support by granting financial aid to individual students and indirect support in the form of certain measures or subsidies which benefit all students. It was always a balance of both. However, he also mentioned, "The direct task of the government does not go further than removing the financial obstacles for those who are given to be suitable for university education." His view was that government's funding would inevitably impose a certain degree of control on the spending and hence interference to university education and threat to the freedom in the academic world which is highly valued by students and academia.

Such views were not changed in the 2010s, except that the government highlighted its additional role as a facilitator to stimulate and promote cooperation and knowledge sharing between municipalities, student housing providers and educational institutions to reduce the

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[58]Frans Jozef Th. (Franciscus Josephus Theodorus) Rutten Hoogleraar psychologie, K.U. Nijmegen, 1899-1980. and Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Ministerie van Onderwijs, *Rapport van de Adviescommissie voor te treffen voorzieningen ten behoeve van studenten : ingesteld bij ministeriële beschikking van 12 augustus 1953, afd. H.O.W. nr. 343370* (Den Haag: Staatsuitgeverij, 1956).

shortage of student housing[59]. Housing was treated as an important precondition for making the study possible and facilitating our knowledge economy.[60] Documents of Rotterdam municipality acknowledged the importance of student housing to retain students or graduate who were going to be the future high income earner and supported economy growth of a city. Attracting and retaining talent was seen as an important element to support the knowledge economy of the Netherlands. Sufficient student housing could retain talent and improve city image by creating a student friendly image and make the city livelier. In the 2020s, emphasis of sustainability in PBSA came to the picture. The government continued to remove bottlenecks in national legislation and regulations and provide direct financial assistance to students. For example, income assessment in the allocation of social housing for students was removed and introduction of campus contract allowed made more short-stay accommodation for international students available.

Function, standards and priorities of student housing from the eyes of policy maker

The Rutten's committee, composed of several university professors, a representative of the Minister of Social Affairs and Public Health, a representative of the student interest office of university, a student pastor and a representative of Dutch Student Council, was responsible to review the existing provisions for students. Nutrition, healthcare and housing were the key areas to look into. In the post-war period, public health was one of the most significant social issues, both from a health and economic perspective.[61] National economic production is reduced when a person's health is compromised because of increased rate of illness, but on the other side, good health can boost labor productivity, which raises economic output. As a result, adequate nutrition was considered as one of the most crucial elements for the maintenance and promotion of health.It was similar for the expectation of student housing. It was

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[59]"Landelijk actieplan studentenhuisvesting 2011-2016 (National action plan for student housing 2011-2016)" (House of Representatives of the States General, September 10, 2015).
[60]"Landelijk actieplan studentenhuisvesting 2011-2016 (National action plan for student housing 2011-2016)."
[61]M. J. L. Dols and D. J. A. M. van Arcken, "Food Supply and Nutrition in the Netherlands during and Immediately after World War II," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (October 1946): 319, https://doi.org/10.2307/3348196.

emphasised that the student housing should provide a hygienic and safe shelter which could take care of their healthcare and nutrition during their studies. As a result, student could concentrate on studying and their personal development outside of university education. It saved students time from commutingso they could participate more in student-life outside of campus. Railway students could easily find himself/ herself living outside the student community, wasting time, fatigue commuting between home and university. The primary function of student housing was to provide a hygienic and secure space with nutritious food provided in the canteen for student to concentrate on their studying. They viewed the shortage of quality student housing could adversely impact the performance of students.[62] The Committee recommended prioritising the restoration of vacant buildings into student housing before construction of new student houses. The location of student housing should be not too far from the university or the city center.

Despite the social function of student housing was emphasised, the Committee did not recommend too much collective activity in large student complexes.[63] Learning from the experience of Duyvelsgat in Delft which was built in 1949, the committee viewed that the size of student rooms could be in the range of 9-12 sqm with 8-12 rooms sharing one unit.[64] The committee specifically pointed out that it should be prevented that student found too much fun in his/her room that he/she did not engage in the community within the student housing.[65] Student rooms at that time were simple and small, with a desk, bookshelf and bed to study and sleep, nothing more.[66] A common room, a kitchen, a bathroom, a telephone and a toilet were shared. The rooms were mostly unfurnished.[67] According to the Rutten's report, the shared kitchen should not be too well equipped, because then there will be competition with the canteen, which was also a good opportunity to learn a sense of community.[68] This perspective

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[62]Rutten and Ministerie van Onderwijs, *Rapport van de Adviescommissie voor te treffen voorzieningen ten behoeve van studenten : ingesteld bij ministeriële beschikking van 12 augustus 1953, afd. H.O.W. nr. 343370*.
[63] Rutten and Ministerie van Onderwijs.
[64] Rutten and Ministerie van Onderwijs.
[65] Rutten and Ministerie van Onderwijs.
[66] Mooij, "Finding Form for a Free Spirit: Dutch Student Housing as a Design Brief."
[67] Mooij.
[68] Rutten and Ministerie van Onderwijs, *Rapport van de Adviescommissie voor te treffen voorzieningen ten behoeve van studenten : ingesteld bij ministeriële beschikking van 12 augustus 1953, afd. H.O.W. nr. 343370*.

was further supported by Herman Hertzberger during an interview. Hertzberger mentioned that he received a request from the authority to reduce the size of the shared kitchen in order to avoid direct competition with the canteen. The rationale behind this request was to ensure that students would opt for the canteen, where they would have access to more nutritious meals compared to what they would prepare in the shared kitchen on their own, as well as engage in social interactions with their fellow flatmates.[69] This example serves as a clear illustration of the direct influence of policy makers on government-funded PBSA. The request made by the authority to reduce the size of the shared kitchen in order to avoid competition with the canteen highlights the active involvement of policy makers in shaping the design and functionality of student housing facilities. By exerting their influence on the project, policy makers can ensure alignment with their objectives, such as promoting communal dining and prioritizing the nutritional well-being of students. This demonstrates the significant role that policy makers play in dictating the direction and parameters of government-funded PBSA initiatives, ultimately shaping the student housing landscape.

The minimum size of a student rooms in the 2010s was larger but there was a trend of diminishing. The minimum size requirement was reduced from 18 sqm to 15 sqm in 2014[70][71] in order to realize more student rooms and make the investment more attractive to investors. The requirement for an outdoor space such as a garden, a balcony, a loggia or a roof terrace and was also removed based on the assumption that students would generally use the public outdoor spaces in a city and they would only live in a student residence for a limited period of time[72]. Presence of sports facilities were never a requirement of the government. According to the Committee's report, sports was considered as a form of recreation and in principle students

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[69] Herman Hertzberger, Interview with Herman Hertzberger in AHH office in Amsterdam, Face-to-Face Interview, June 15, 2023.

[70] https://rijksoverheid.bouwbesluit.com/Inhoud/docs/wet/bb2012_nvt/artikelsgewijs/hfd4/afd4-1/par4-1-1/art4-2

[71]"Official Gazette of the Kingdom of the Netherlands - Decree of 15 June 2015, Amending the 2012 Building Decree Regarding the Deregulation of the Residential Function and Some Other Amendments" (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, June 26, 2015), https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/stb-2015-249.html.

[72]"Official Gazette of the Kingdom of the Netherlands - Decree of 15 June 2015, Amending the 2012 Building Decree Regarding the Deregulation of the Residential Function and Some Other Amendments."

should bear the costs associated with sports.[73] Students could also use the sports facilities and have physical education at the university.

The Rutten's committee recommended to acquire and restore buildings which were in bad conditions or vacant for new supply of student accommodation.[74] New construction was not the first priority. The government showed support to new construction by offering land in the Opaalweg, Utrecht at nominal land price for SSH to construct new PBSA.[75] However, due to the rapid and significant increase of students in the late 1950s, it was concluded by the Board of SSH that new construction was the only solution to the shortage.[76]

Turning point: provision of student housing no longer fell within the ambit of the Ministry of Education and universities

In Rutten's report, it was pointed out that the provision of student housing was part of the responsibility of university as living in a student dormitory was considered as part of university life which promoted personal growth outside of campus.[77] At the time of the establishment of SSH, a public student housing provider, in Utrecht in 1956, it was part of the Student Interests Office of the University of Utrecht.[78] It fell entirely under the responsibility of the university. The Student Interests Office was set up in 1953, composed of advisers, counselors and psychologists, as well as sports and nutrition professionals for the individual and collective facilities of students. It was viewed that good health was an important factor for the success of university studies. Thus, it was part of the responsibility of the university to create the condition for its students. In the 1950s, the university closely monitored the development of student housing.

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[73] Rutten and Ministerie van Onderwijs, *Rapport van de Adviescommissie voor te treffen voorzieningen ten behoeve van studenten : ingesteld bij ministeriële beschikking van 12 augustus 1953, afd. H.O.W. nr. 343370*.
[74] Rutten and Ministerie van Onderwijs.
[75] Vorst and Huysse, *SSH Utrecht 40 jaar : 1956-1996*.
[76] Vorst and Huysse.
[77] Rutten and Ministerie van Onderwijs, *Rapport van de Adviescommissie voor te treffen voorzieningen ten behoeve van studenten : ingesteld bij ministeriële beschikking van 12 augustus 1953, afd. H.O.W. nr. 343370*.
[78] Vorst and Huysse, *SSH Utrecht 40 jaar : 1956-1996*.

A big turning point was when the Ministries of Education and Science and of Housing and Spatial Planning decided that student housing foundations would permanently fall under the ambit of the latter Ministry in the 1970s. Student housing was no longer an issue related to Education but purely a housing issue. PBSA falls under the basket of social housing. Students lost their exceptional position but treated as part of the low-income youth group. SSH was no longer eligible for full government support as it was not operating exclusively in the interest of public housing. Together with other public student housing providers at that time, SSH later became a self-funded non-profit student housing provider. Since then the role of university in the development of student housing had diminished, universities had less control on the production of student housing. In the National Student Housing Action Plan 2018-2021, the responsibility of education institutions mentioned was the provision of input for student population forecast so the government could gain better statistical insight for future housing demand.[79]

Internationalism, tenancy reform and participation of private real estate developers

Increase of the number of foreign students from exchange programmes like the Fulbright Program and the Erasmus Programme contributed to the rapid increase of university students in the Netherlands. However, the tenancy arrangement at that time was not tailored for short-stay rental. Prior to 1997, all rental agreements in the Netherlands were permanent, including those for PBSA. Although pursuing academic studies was a requirement to enter the tenancy, the tenancy could not be terminated if the student stopped studying. The idea of permanent contract was to protect the right of tenant so landlord could not terminate the rental contract easily. However, that also created obstacles for PBSA providers to vacate the rooms for new students after the former occupants had finished their studies. The nature of permanent tenancy also reduced overall housing supply as landlords could not rent out the properties if their properties were only transitionally vacant. From 1997 onwards, DUWO, the largest student housing corporation in the Netherlands, attempted to start a campus contract, which

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[79] "National Student Housing Monitor."

terminated students' rental contract after their studies[80]. Although such campus clause was judged as invalid by Dutch court in late 1990s, campus contract was made legal in 2006 after years of lobbying by the most PBSA providers. The update of the tenancy system was necessary to release more housing for students in need. In Weesperflat, the oldest student house in Amsterdam, some tenants had lived there for 25 years, paying less rent than other students, simply because they moved in before the introduction of campus contract and there was no way to terminate their contracts. However, such contract structure still had its shortcomings. For example, it refrained landlords from renting out the student rooms during semester breaks. This lowered the financial feasibility of PBSA production and the interest of investors.

In the 2010s, benefited from the accumulated prosperity from their parents, increased grant and scholarship, the spending power of students greatly increased.[81] Budget for student loan increased every year. International students also did not mind paying more for their short stay for a hassle-free turnkey space where they could spend most of their time in enjoying overseas experience. Some private housing providers, including the founder of the TSH noticed this growing demand for high quality student accommodation. High quality PBSA drove up the construction cost. To make the business case feasible, one of the ways was to lease the space out as a hotel for higher revenue during semester break to make up the gap between construction cost and revenue. As the campus contract at that time did not facilitate this kind of business model, early PBSA of TSH was operated under a hotel license instead. In 2016, the timeframe of campus contract was further relaxed as one of the solutions to stimulate supply. The duration of campus contract could be between 1 to 24 months with the condition that the contract could not be renewed with same tenant.

The continuous relaxation of regulations could boost the supply of PBSA. However the effectiveness and the affordability of the new supply were in question. The government could encourage private participation but the annual production was not guaranteed. Private providers made their decision also depended on factors like the global economy, interest rate

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[80]Carla J. Huisman, "Temporary Tenancies in the Netherlands: From Pragmatic Policy Instrument to Structural Housing Market Reform," *International Journal of Housing Policy* 16, no. 3 (July 2, 2016): 409–22, https://doi.org/10.1080/14616718.2016.1195563.
[81]"National Student Housing Monitor."

or investment opportunities elsewhere. Hence the long-term supply of PBSA was hard to forecast. Since the 2010s, the PBSA market had become more lucrative for investors, especially for institutional investors aiming for a stable income flow, as the shortage was acute and the pricing of private PBSA was not regulated. Despite the overall supply of PBSA was increased, the high rental was criticized for widening the inequality. The pricing of PBSA provided by non-profit providers like DUWO was subject to a rent ceiling or students were able to obtain rental allowance. According to the LMS, the average housing cost is €520 but it was only true if you were able to secure social student housing after years of wait. Foreign students who were less well-off were often the victim of the system. Many internationals had no student loans and were not in the system and ended up they need to pay far more than the average rent. They form a special group since almost all of them had housing needs but they usually had no network in the Netherlands and were therefore even more depended on corporations and private landlords than Dutch students. They were either not eligible or the waiting time could be longer than their exchange programme. They ended up giving up their offer or living far away from their universities. In 2015, the Minister of Housing announced that housing corporations were no longer allowed to collaborate with investors in the construction of student housing. The Minister attempted to avoid undesirable mixing of public and private money. Nevertheless, according to DUWO, such measure would increase the difficulties in their financing and slowed down the production of affordable student housing.

Students comfort and preference were becoming more valued

One benefit about relying the free market mechanism for PBSA production was that students' comfort and preference were more valued. Since the 1950s, there was already record showing that students would like to have more self-contained rooms where they could have their own sanitary facilities. However, this wish had long been ignored due to financial concerns. Until 2000s, traditionally, the profitability of developing student housing was low. That led to basic and unfurnished student rooms with almost no facilities. The postwar government viewed that students should not complain about the condition of their accommodation as the government

that was not the priority during difficult times.[82] In the eyes of policy makers, part of the ideal student life was to socialize with housemates. However, from students' perspective, the socialization did not happen in the sharing of sanitary facilities. Most of the complaints came from the shared sanitary facilities and kitchen, according to a research in 1967.[83]Privacy of students was not in the picture. Management could enter the room freely. Most of the student houses had strict visitor policy and mix gender dormitory was out of discussion. In contrast, students' demand for better PBSA was more valued by private developers in the 2010s. More high quality recreation and sports facilities are provided at the PBSA. Furnished rooms with individual bathroom and toile were provided to cater the prolonged demand of individual. For non-self-contained rooms, number of rooms sharing one house was also reduced. The social function of PBSA was still stressed. Meeting place, cafe, common areas were common in private PBSA with well equipped gym and even swimming pools.

With the acute shortage remained unsolved, students were often exploited by scams and unscrupulous landlords. There were times that students had to choose between homelessness and a tenancy agreement with overcharged rental and illegal terms.The power difference between landlords and students was substantial. In the National Student Housing Action Plan 2018-2021, the government attempted to strengthen the rights of students by students about their rights and obligations as tenants. They viewed that better information position could make them less vulnerable as they navigate the housing market. Concrete measures would be deployed to improve the legal position of tenants and to combat excesses in the housing market, such as discrimination, slumlords, blacklists of tenants and double-calculated brokerage fees to the detriment of the student tenant. These were good initiatives but without sufficient supply of student housing, the effectiveness would be limited.

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[82]Vorst and Huysse, *SSH Utrecht 40 jaar : 1956-1996*.
[83]K Vos, "Woonsatisfaktie in Drie Studentenhuizen," *Sociologische Gids* 14, no. 4 (1967): 244–51.

Chapter 5: Perspective of Architects

Architects devise the design of student housing based on their interpretation of the client's requirements, supplemented by their imaginative faculties and aesthetic sensibilities, all while operating within the parameters of regulatory frameworks. They need to maintain a fine balance between functionality of student housing, aesthetics and financial budget. If you ask an architect, he or she will not disagree that there is a lot of considerations in designing a building. According to Herman Hertzberger, an international acclaimed Dutch architect who designed the oldest award-winning student housing in Amsterdam, the role being an architect is to find out what actually inspires people, what they need mentally and physically.[84] They identify expressive and subtle needs of occupants. The architectural features reflect how architects balance between optimism and idealism and at the same time create multipurpose spaces that can fit for future needs. Despite there are buildings which are built to satisfies basic requirements in basic ways, their general characteristics, to certain extent, still reflect the historic, economic and social background of a country. One limitation of this chapter, however, is the different extent of design freedom an architect had in each project and how accurate is our interpretation of the architectural features.

This chapter undertakes a comprehensive exploration of design concepts and architectural elements in PBSA from the 1950s and 2010s. By utilizing detailed descriptions found in architectural magazines archived at Het Nieuwe Instituut, as well as conducting interviews with architects and developers, the aim is to delve into the perspectives of architects regarding the development of PBSA and analyze how these viewpoints influenced the final design outcomes.

The study focuses on representative projects from the 1950s and 2010s, with particular attention given to the Weesperflat, Casa Academica and IBB complex, all completed in the 1960s, as well as the Casa 400 and Campus Diemen Zuid in Amsterdam, both completed in 2010s. Through an examination of these projects, this chapter seeks to investigate the architects' perspectives on the functionality and prioritization in designing PBSA. Additionally, it

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[84] William de Wagt, Interview with Herman Hertzberger in De Groene Amsterdammer, March 13, 1991, https://wimdewagt.nl/kunstjournalistiek/herman-hertzberger.

explores how the social integration element was incorporated into the design of PBSA and analyzes the architects' predictions regarding future trends in PBSA.

By combining insights from architectural magazines, interviews, and project analysis, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the design concepts and architectural features of student housing projects, shedding light on the architects' perspectives and their influence on the overall design outcomes.

Function, standard and priority of student housing in the eyes of architects

Weesperflat is the oldest student house in Amsterdam, situated at a central location and next to a metro station. Designed by Herman Hertzberger, Tjacko Hazewinkel and Henk Dicke, three architectural students from Delft, the project won the design competition of student housing organised by the senate of the main Amsterdam student society and the Academy of Architecture in 1958. Its design concept was worth analysing as it was not instructed by a client but later realized by Herman Hertzberger with his own practice[85]. Despite this, according to the interview with Hertzberger, some of the designs were modified due to the comment of the authority in the process.[86] It still consisted of some features which were original and more than fulfilling the regulatory requirements. It was a combination of students' preference, architect's imagination and practical considerations. Widely featured in various architectural magazines at that time, it was a design with student rooms with different size, extensive communal space and fairly accessible by public. The number of rooms sharing one unit was in general higher than the number recommended by the Rutten's committee. It provided approximately 250 beds across 12 units of 18, 3 units of 6 and 8 homes for married students with an average room size of approximately 12 sqm[87] (Refer to Figure 3).

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[85]Mooij, "Finding Form for a Free Spirit: Dutch Student Housing as a Design Brief."

[86] Hertzberger, Interview with Herman Hertzberger in AHH office in Amsterdam.

[87]Frank van Vuuren, "The lost student paradise (Het verloren studentenparadijs)," January 31, 2019, https://overamsterdam.nl/2019/01/31/het-verloren-studentenparadijs/.

The figure shows a floor plan with the following legend:

1. toega...
2. gang
3. stude...
4. lunchk...
5. loggia
6. telefo...
7. natte
8. toilett...
9. werkk...
10. bergin...
11. noodt...

studentenkamers 1 : 200
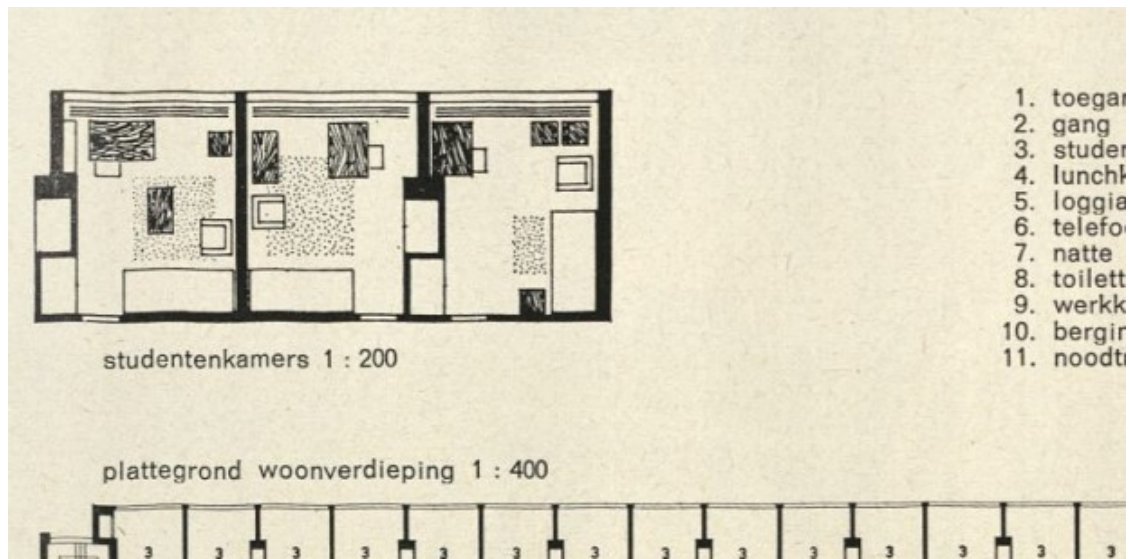
plattegrond woonverdieping 1 : 400

Figure 4 Floor plan of Weesperflat[88]

The Weesperflat emphasized the encounters and social interaction in the buildings. One of the special features was a loggia across the entire width of the spacious communal canteen. The idea of the large loggia was to provide a space where people could eat, sleep and even camp to enjoy some fresh air with a roof.

Figure 5 Loggia at Weesperflat

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[88] "Studentenhuis, Weesperstraat," *Goed Wonen*, 1966.

Figure 6 Common kitchen for 18 students at Weesperflat

Another feature was the 4-meter wide Gallery Street, which was on the fourth floor. Residents could walk between the roofs of the surrounding buildings of the old town on a covered street. The housing units for student couples and a caretaker's house located there prompted the creation of this street in the sky. That was to resemble a residential street without traffic where children can play unthreatened. It was designed to be an extension of the living space to the outside: a common area where you can sit in front of your house.

Figure 7 Gallery Street in 1966 (Left) and 2016 (Right)[89]

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[89]Lex Bean, "The 50-year-old Weesperflat is 'not so wild anymore, but cozy' (De 50-jarige Weesperflat is 'niet meer zo wild, wel gezellig')," *Het Parool*, September 11, 2016.

Believing in the influence of built environment on human behavior, Hertzberger attempted to encourage the social integration of students and expand interaction to people outside of the building. There was no clear separation between inside and outside in this building. The building was fairly accessible by the public. This articulation of entry means above all that there was no abrupt boundary between public and private realm. There were the center of ASVA student union, a book shop and a café located on the ground floor, facilitating the interaction between different students in Amsterdam.
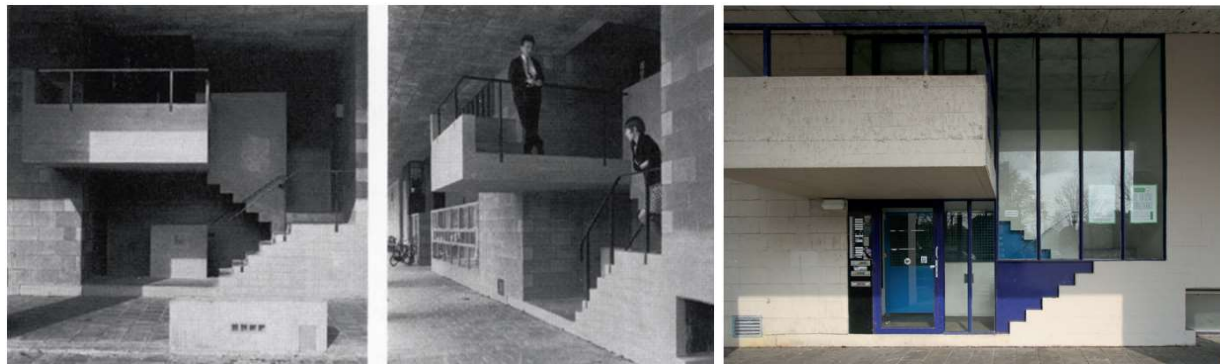

Figure 8 Entrance of Weesperflat in 1966 (Left) and 2016 (Right)

The social integration did not go as intended. It was a desirable space to live in the beginning. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was once the breeding ground for activism and political engagement. Czech refugees found shelter at Weesperflat after the Prague Spring in the late 1960s. It also housed the headquarter of ASVA which then initiated the occupation of the Maagdenhuis.[90] However, the open plan of Weesperflat also attracted illegal immigrants and vagrants to sleep in the corridors in the 1970s. The open door parties went totally out of control in the late 1990s which police had to intervene and arrested 5 people.[91] The open access of the building caused security concern and it was no longer the case in the 2000s. The distinction between inside and outside is now very clearly defined by glass walls (Refer to **Figure** 8 Entrance of Weesperflat in

[90] van Vuuren, "The lost student paradise (Het verloren studentenparadijs)."
[91] van Vuuren.

1966 (Left) and 2016 (Right)). Open access was blocked including the Gallery street on the fourth floor and the cafeteria on ground floor was converted into offices.

Weesperflat was a thought-provoking example of how to approach community life in a residential structure and its integration with the city. At the same time, Weesperflat was an exception, PBSA with elements encouraging social integration and city embeddedness was rare in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of the other newly constructed PBSA was to merely serve the primary housing need of students. For example, the PBSA built in 1957 on Lange Nieuwstraat 103, Utrecht. The rooms were fully furnished with curtains, carpeting, cupboard, desk, chairs, a sofa bed with mattress, pillow and blanket but nothing more beyond that.

In this project, it is highlighted that Hertzberger enjoyed a certain degree of design freedom, which allowed him to incorporate unique and distinctive features into the student housing projects. However, despite this freedom, as mentioned in Chapter 4, Hertzberger encountered a request from the authority to alter the design of the kitchen (Refer to Figure 5). The aim of this request was to influence student behavior and encourage them to choose the canteen as their primary dining option. By modifying the kitchen design, the authority sought to ensure that students would be more inclined to dine in the canteen, where they could access nutritionally balanced meals and engage in social interactions with their peers. This demonstrates that while architects may have some design autonomy, they are also subject to the influence and directives of policy makers who aim to shape the behavior and choices of students within the student housing context.

In the 1960s, the number of students continued to grow rapidly. The slogan 'Everyone should be given the opportunity to study' has broad support, especially among progressive politicians. Moreover, in the second half of the decade, the post-war baby boom is at the gates of the university - children whose parents had never had the opportunity to study.[92] More large-scale PBSA came into place and we see more features in addition to residential function within large complexes. The IBB complex, located between Utrecht's city center and the University of Utrecht, stands as the oldest PBSA in the area. The architect had developed a gigantic

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[92]Vorst and Huysse, *SSH Utrecht 40 jaar : 1956-1996*.

residential complex for approximately 1250 students. The ideal student life depicted at that time was - Students eat bread in the common room in the morning, then go to lectures and have a meal in the canteen or in the city in the afternoon and evening. The kitchen facilities on the floors are therefore very small. The room was small with a size of 12 sqm, with a desk, bookcase and bed to study and sleep. No sports facilities as students would do sports in sports club or other social associations. However, an extensive conference, meeting and recreation room was present, for residents to meet each other and professors. Also, it could also be the place for graduation prom. There were also a café, reading table, TV room, music room and a hall for performances. However, after one year, the meeting center was not proved to be a success. Residents complained about the noise nuisance from events and bar in the meeting center. If the meeting center was quiet, the operation could not be financially feasible. There was a deviation between the design intention and users' preference. Furnished too luxuriously, the meeting place was lack of cozy atmosphere for students and it was also not popular among local residents nearby. Students avoided the large and atmospheric meeting center and opted for brown cafes in Utrecht's city center or huddle together in their room. After years of successive tenants and heavy exploitation losses, the SSH decides to leave it to the students themselves. They made the meeting center a small, but cozy café.

The IBB complex attracted extensive media attention including TV and radio broadcast and regional newspaper. However, the aesthetics was not a taste of students. Students found the black, white, grey and brown paints were too dull. Students also complained about the small size of rooms. Local politicians also worried about the emergence of student ghettos in the complex and hence urged the municipality to improve the connections between the IBB complex and the city centre.

From Casa Academica to Casa 400

In the post-war period, housing shortage was intense, as well as the shortage of hotel rooms. The society was open to new housing solution. Inspired by the successful case in Denmark where the student rooms were rented out as hotel rooms during summer. During 1957 to 1962,

Casa Academica was developed as the first student housing cum hotel development in Amsterdam. The extra rental obtained from hotel rooms helped to support the affordability of student rooms during school semesters. For the first time, all the 400 student rooms were self-contained. It was also the biggest hotel in the Netherlands. The double role of Casa Academica was not always without challenge. It caused turbulent when students were forced to leave during summer. In line with the recommendation of the Rutten's committee, female and male floors were separated yet it was strongly objected by students. In 1964, the PBSA had the first co-ed floors. In 2010, a new casa complex named Casa 400 was opened not far from Casa Academica. The old Casa Academica underwent a major renovation in 2013 with the introduction of coffee corner, a deli, a restaurant and a wine bar and a rooftop terrace and became a pure PBSA. The new Casa 400 continued the mixed model with 150 rooms, a restaurant, a bar, 13 conference rooms, a large canteen for students and a spacious courtyard garden. However the interaction between hotel guests and students in Casa 400 is questionable as now the building had separate entrance and clear area dedication for students and hotel guests respectively.

Social integration and social interaction element in large-scale modern PBSA

With scholars and policy makers more aware on studentification and student ghettos, modern university housing attempted to focus more on the social integration of students in the neighborhood by improving connectivity and attracting outsiders to the PBSA. Developed by a housing corporation, Campus Diemen Zuid in Diemen was opened in 2013, converting 50,000sqm vacant office space into student housing. Over 500 student apartments were provided with private bathrooms, private kitchens and large rooms with television and internet connections. One may question the social interaction in all those self-contained rooms. Would that take away the socialization aspect of living in a PBSA? 'The socialization happens downstairs.' explained the developer of the Campus Diemen Zuid.[93] Instead of socializing with

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[93]Mooij, "'A Campus Is: A Place Where Everything You Need Is at Hand': Interview with André Snippe, Developer Campus Diemen Zuid."

flat-mates or floor-mates that are mostly randomly assigned, students socialize in the wide range of communal facilities such as a coffee shop, self-service restaurant, pizzeria and wine bar etc in the lower floors.

Figure 9 Cafes in Campus Diemen Zuid

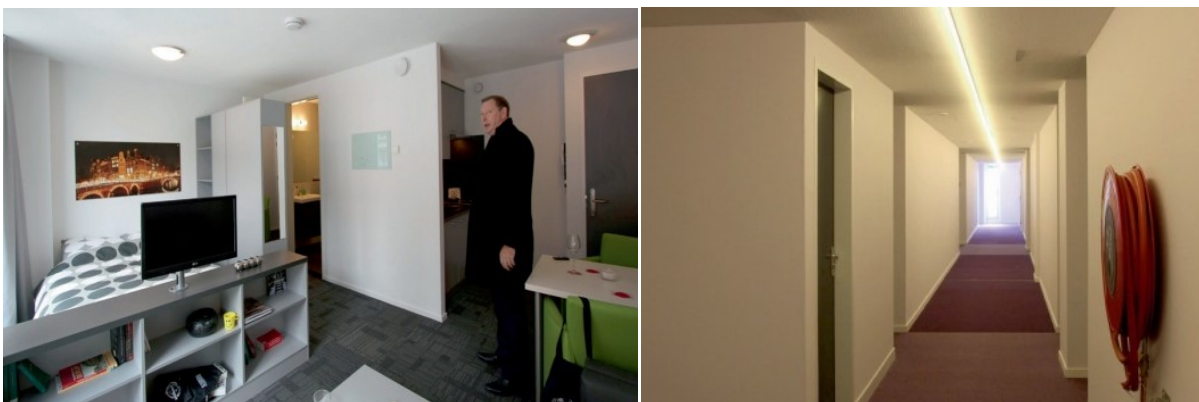**Figure 10 Salon (Left), Hospitality Desk and Local Police Station (Right)**

Figure 11 Interior of a room (Left) and corridor (Right) of Campus Diemen Zuid

Apart from the communal facilities it aims to create a neighborhood where residents can have all necessities such as a supermarket, sports and fitness hall, tennis court, hair-dressing salon, a laundry, also a police station, student employment agency. Students can fulfill their daily needs all within the campus. The mode of social interaction and community building has transformed. Students also work at the supermarket and at the bars. The living experience in the student housing is becoming more all-rounded – expanding from the old function of sleeping, studying and socializing to working and recreating.

Contrary to the large-scale student projects on the outskirts of Amsterdam which might segregate students form society, the well-connected Campus Diemen Zuid draws outsiders to shop in the campus. It presents a new idea how student housing can connect with the society and becomes a hub for different people. Completed also in 2013, the 72-m tall Anna van Bueren Tower adjacent to The Hague Central Station represents another modern example of student housing. It is a multipurpose building which combines studying, living and social experiences. On-campus accommodation is uncommon in the Netherlands. Again, the student has his/her own bedroom with private kitchen and sanitary facility. The tower provides cycle parking spaces, a laundry, academic and office spaces with meeting rooms and facilities, study areas, an auditorium, food and beverage facilities and common area for meeting and gathering. Unlike older student housing which located at the suburb of the city, both Anna van Bueren Tower and Campus Diemen Zuid are well-connected. They demonstrate modern purposes of designing student housing. They focus on providing a comprehensive living experience which match with Franz and Gruber's proposition that the role of student housing is changing[94]. Apart from offering affordable space to live, student housing supports students' social integration in the urban environment.

TSH is an exemplary private provider in the 2010s, bringing the social club concept into student housing and ways to promote social interaction and integration in PBSA. It started in Rotterdam in 2012, later expanded to Amsterdam, The Hague, Groningen, Eindhoven and Maastricht in 5 years, and 10 more accommodations in other European student cities. The founder identified

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[94]Yvonne Franz and Elisabeth Gruber, "The Changing Role of Student Housing as Social Infrastructure," *Urban Planning* 7, no. 4 (November 10, 2022), https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v7i4.5661.

the market gap for PBSA of higher quality and started to develop hotel-like student rooms. With the short-stay nature of students, especially for international students, the co-founder viewed the shortage of student housing should be solved with hospitality products, instead of residential products.[95] The design and specification of student rooms is no different from a midscale hotel. Similar to the operation of Casa Academica, TSH is operated with a hybrid model, in other words, part of the building is used for hotel while part of it is used for student accommodation during the whole year. Lots of common facilities such as restaurant, café, gym, cinema room, game room, ping-pong/pool table, multipurpose function room, terrace/courtyard and sometimes a rooftop pool and a pool bar can be found in their PBSA. Lower floors are designed as co-working area for freelancers and entrepreneurs. Social interaction and integration happens in common area and facilities which are opened to both hotel guests, students and customers. Workshops and seminars are sometimes organised for public participation. The design of the common space aims to facilitate the interaction of students, hotel guests, co-workers and other public users. TSH changed their name from 'The Student Hotel" to "The Social Hub" to renew its brand image and vision on PBSA. Social integration is encouraged but in a managed and controlled manner. The rooms are designed for as comfortable space for rest and relax. A lot of changes is noted when I compare PBSA in the 1960s and 2010s, however, one thing common between the thinking of the in-house architect in the 2010s and the comments of the Rutten's committee in the 1950s is that – the bedrooms should not be excessively comfortable, as this may dissuade students from socializing outside of their living quarters, which is important for their overall social and personal development.

Trend and prediction

'What is much more important today than in the 1960s is change. Constant change. Nothing doesn't age in a few years… We need to make structures in such a way that they are not only suitable for that one narrow function, but can also be used for other purposes." said by

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[95]Interview with Frank Uffen, co-founder of TSH

Hertzberger in his interview in 1991.[96] When we look back to the design of PBSA in the 1950s, there was one dominanttheme – living in student housing meant communal living and sharing kitchen, kitchen and bathrooms for student housing provider. Despite in the 1950s, students had already expressed that they preferred self-contained studios over student rooms, they also prioritised their wish list quickly. Affordability was the first priority, followed by location and quality of the student housing. In 2010s, more self-contained studios were realized in both subsidized and private PBSA. The provision of self-contained studios had become a new norm. According to the website of DUWO, among recently built or coming projects, 84% of the residences are self-contained with private kitchen, bathroom and toilet. In the 21st century, people had become more individualistic. In the examples of both Campus Diemen Zuid and TSH, digital solution was used alongside to realize the design concept and promote interaction of residents. In the former, a campus app was used to notify residents the latest event and activity information happening in the campus or offer food or drink coupon in restaurants.

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[96] de Wagt, Interview with Herman Hertzberger in De Groene Amsterdammer.

Chapter 6: Perspective of Students

How did students of different generation view and react to the shortage of student housing? To dig up their perspective change on student housing, I looked into two student magazines, Folia from the University of Amsterdam and Erasmus Magazine from Erasmus University Rotterdam, annual reports and research reports of ASVA, supported by literature which studies student housing satisfaction.

Students' housing preference and satisfaction

Housing preference and satisfaction are different concepts. [97] According to Thomsen, housing preferences are criteria which are influenced by personal aspects such as life stages, social and cultural background, financial condition, aspirations and architectural features of a dwelling. [98] In contrast, housing satisfaction can be understood as the feeling that arises when there is a perceived positive balance between one's preferences and the choices made regarding their dwelling.[99] In literature, students' housing satisfaction is typically evaluated based on the individual's real housing situation, examining how well it aligns with their preferences and expectations.[100] On the other hand, housing preferences can be defined in a more general sense, without specific reference to an actual housing situation. Preferences are often shaped by expectations and ideals, reflecting what individuals desire and value in their housing choices. When there is a significant mismatch between housing preferences and the actual housing situation, it is likely that individuals will experience dissatisfaction with their living arrangements. Over the course of residing in a particular housing arrangement, housing

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[97] Robert Gifford, "Environmental Psychology: Principles and Practice," 2007; Thomsen and Eikemo, "Aspects of Student Housing Satisfaction."

[98] Thomsen and Eikemo, "Aspects of Student Housing Satisfaction."

[99] Thomsen and Eikemo.

[100] Gerald Davis and Ron Roizen, "Architectural Determinants of Student Satisfaction in College Residence Halls," *Archea and C. Eastman (Eds.) EDRA2*, 1970; Lucy Delgadillo and Luke V Erickson, "Off-Campus Student Housing Satisfaction," *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences* 98, no. 4 (2006): 5; Vos, "Woonsatisfaktie in Drie Studentenhuizen"; Cohen, "Woonsatisfaktie En Privacy in Studentenflats."

satisfaction tends to increase naturally as the resident adapts to the housing situation, even in the absence of any significant changes.[101]

Folia reported the results of a survey conducted in 1957 by the Bureau of Statistics on behalf of the Commission for State and Opinion Research of Civitas Academica on the students' housing satisfaction. According to the results, one third the students were dissatisfied with their housing condition which could be insufficiency of heating, lighting, washing facilities or air ventilation.[102] At that time, only slightly more than half of the rooms had heating at the time.[103] Private sanitary facilities were preferred but not a must.[104] It also showed that students considered 'good relationship' with those whom one lived was considered very important. They also appreciated 'no interference'. [105] The survey results aligned with the study conducted by Vos who investigated degree of residential satisfaction of 3 PBSA projects in Amsterdam, namely Casa Academica, Weesperflat and Westermarkt. [106] Housing condition, relationship with flatmates and privacy were prominent factors affecting the housing satisfaction. Privacy in PBSA could be referred to as possibility to do in one's own room what one finds necessary and wants and the possibility to determine the degree and manner of interaction with fellow residents[107]. The perception of privacy has multiple facets. Despite Casa Academica had individual sanitary facilities whereas in Weesperflat, students had to share facilities with 5-17 flatmates, the privacy score of the former was lower than the latter. The dissatisfaction was caused by the checks by the management without notice. Students in general perceived privacy as not disturbing.[108]

As mentioned earlier, housing preferences are not solely shaped by individuals, but rather they are influenced by enduring societal processes encompassing social, economic, political, and cultural factors. As a result, housing preferences undergo changes over time. When we

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[101] Thomsen and Eikemo, "Aspects of Student Housing Satisfaction."
[102] Strikkers, "Many Room Students Live Poorly (Vele Kamerstudenten Wonen Slecht)."
[103] Strikkers.
[104] Strikkers.
[105] Strikkers.
[106] Vos, "Woonsatisfaktie in Drie Studentenhuizen."
[107] Cohen, "Woonsatisfaktie En Privacy in Studentenflats."
[108] Cohen.

compare the housing situation of young people in the post-war period to their contemporary housing preferences and demands, some fundamental factors such as affordability and relationship with flatmates remains prominent while less complained about the housing condition and more prioritised PBSA's locality, privacy and leisure facilities.[109]

With the Housing Act, rental act and building regulations, the primary needs of housing – protection, security were met. Students in the 2010s prefer housing options that could appreciate individual difference and privacy.[110] Hence self-contained rooms were always preferred in different student surveys, however it was not the most important factor. For domestic students, they would rather staying with parents than living in unsatisfactory student rooms and spent time doing chores and withstanding stinky kitchen and sleepless nights due to party noise.[111]Train services was improved which made daily commute more acceptable. With the advancement of technology, students can stay connected with their peer through social media and communication applications. They would rather sleep over occasionally after party or party till the first train to go home on the next day rather than paying a fortune to stay in a room that they did not like. Parents were also happy with their kids' stay. Different entries of Erasmus Magazine in the 2010s wrote about the growing trend for more Dutch students staying at home and their reasons. In 2012, the percentage of 18-year-olds who left their parental home to live independently was 13 percent, whereas in 2019 this figure had decreased to 8 percent, indicating a 40 percent reduction in the number of young adults leaving home.[112]Staying at home was a cheap, nice and easy option. Instead of spending time on grocery, cooking and household chores, students staying at home had more time on studying and having fun within their high school friends in their home city. Students still wanted to move into rooms, but only if that room was better than what they had at home. Fewer students stayed in the student rooms for the whole period of their studies since the queue for subsidized

[109] ASVA, "Studentenhuisvesting 2012 - De situatie van studentenhuisvesting in Amsterdam," June 21, 2012; "National Student Housing Monitor."

[110] Thomsen and Eikemo, "Aspects of Student Housing Satisfaction."

[111]Marjolein Marchal, "Moving out of the house? Why would you? (Uit huis gaan? Waarom zou je?)," *Erasmus Magazine*, August 19, 2010.

[112]Hoger Onderwijs Persbureau, "Students live longer with their parents (Studenten blijven langer bij ouders wonen)," *Erasmus Magazine*, May 11, 2023.

student rooms took time and they also needed to save up for the spending they having after moving out. Individual students had diverse preference based on their financial situation, family background and mode of socialization.[113] For foreign students, however, not many options left for them except staying in an overpriced student rooms in the midst of housing shortage. For foreign students, affordability and availability of student housing remained the most important factor in their housing decisions.

A mixed neighborhood was preferred by students. They considered neighborhood with only families, only immigrants or only students was boring and one-sided. They concerned whether they could feel included in their neighborhood. A living space which was considered normal in the 1950s is no longer accepted in the 2010s with the rise of spending power of students benefited from scholarship, increasing grant and more prosperous parents. Students' preference was more valued by housing providers in the 2010s compared to the situation in the 1950s. More amenities and facilities were added to student housing. The provision was more student-centered and PBSA were located at central location.

Students' participation in PBSA

In the Rutten's committee, there were student representative and the head of Student Interests' Office representing students' interest and preference. Before SSH Utrecht became a self-funded organisation, SSH fell entirely under the responsibility of the university, which in turn entrusted students with a major input into the administration of SSH Utrecht. The board of SSH consisted of 3 members appointed by the student council. Older students in the PBSA were also involved in daily administration of the building such as paying bills for common costs such as electricity and telephone. He or she would collect the monthly rent and act as the first interlocutor on behalf of the residents of the building. As a reward, the eldest received a discount on the monthly rent. In the 1950s, students would also be responsible for the room allocation procession on a first-come-first served basis. This practice continued until in early

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[113] Thomsen and Eikemo, "Aspects of Student Housing Satisfaction."

1960s, the increase in housing stock could no longer be handled by student part-timer.[114]From time to time, the opening of student administrator position could be seen on Quod Novum in the 1960s, hiring students for daily administration of PBSA. Nevertheless, students were not involved much in the planning and design stage of PBSA. A report published by a steering group consisting of members of the Verita student association expressed students' views on building plans and requirements of SSH and expressed their wishes in regularly sitting down with the housing corporation during construction processes of PBSA. However, such meetings eventually did not happen. Architectural students were sometimes invited to student housing competition to express their ideas on PBSA but it was again, not a regular practice.

[students willing to pay more for a better housing]

Since the 2010s, students' housing needs and situation were surveyed annually by Kences, a knowledge center for all housing corporations. The purpose was to provide more statistical insight for, municipalities, educational institutions and student housing associations determine how many and what type of homes need to be built. With private housing providers stepped into the student housing market, students' opinions and preferences were more valued. The private providers must respond to the demand of their customers to stay competitive in the free market. More amenities and facilities were added to student housing. The provision was more student-centered.TSH conducted its own student survey quarterly to collect feedback from students for future improvement. As the role of students was changed from a tenant to a customer, both housing corporations and private providers had adapted their approaches. The industry became more customer-oriented by offering better service to residents and flat hunters. The room allocation process became faster and more transparent. While students were less involved in daily administration and management of the buildings, they were invited to be part of students committee to express their view to the building management team and suggest activities to be organised in the PBSA. Students, certainly still expressed their views through housing protests[115] and university magazines.

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[114]Vorst and Huysse, *SSH Utrecht 40 jaar : 1956-1996*.
[115] "Thousands Gather at Westerpark to Voice Outrage about Housing Crisis | NL Times," accessed May 25, 2023, https://nltimes.nl/2021/09/12/thousands-gather-westerpark-voice-outrage-housing-crisis.

Chapter 7: Relations and differences between perspectives of policy makers, architects and students

In the 1950s, the student housing market in the Netherlands was a supply-dominated market. Policy makers and universities predominantly determined what to provide in the market. The requirements and standards of PBSA came from scholars and the Ministry of Education, Arts and Science and were widely accepted by the industry.[116] Their perspectives cast a substantial influence on the design of PBSA. They played the leading role by initiating the production by allocating land and providing funding, monitoring the building process, also to start discussion on the topic such as the commission of the Rutten's committee in 1953. They were open to new creative ideas and solutions as long as the innovation could work under a tight budget.

60 years passed by. In the 2010s, the national government no longer opined universities or policy makers have the sole responsibility in providing PBSA. The role of universities was diminished to providing accurate number of admitted students or to control the number of international students from the demand side.[117] The policymakers sought themselves as the facilitator to provide land and lift up bottlenecks in the production process, such as relaxation of building regulation and providing financial subsidy to students to rent a place. The production process has become a collaborative process between policy makers, municipalities, educational institutions, housing providers and building professionals. Not a single party can address the shortage by itself. Since the universities stopped providing PBSA and student housing associations have become self-founded, with internationalism, the PBSA became lucrative and private developer/ architect were driven by demand of students. With the free market mechanism, the supply was more diversified and there were more exchange of ideas and discussion on the future of PBSA. Organisation like The Class Foundation was established in 2011 in response to the student housing shortage, connecting different stakeholders in the industry and facilitates the brainstorm of more innovative solutions to alleviate the issue.

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[116] Rutten and Ministerie van Onderwijs, *Rapport van de Adviescommissie voor te treffen voorzieningen ten behoeve van studenten : ingesteld bij ministeriële beschikking van 12 augustus 1953, afd. H.O.W. nr. 343370*; Hertzberger, Interview with Herman Hertzberger in AHH office in Amsterdam.
[117] "Landelijk actieplan studentenhuisvesting 2018-2021 (National action plan for student housing 2018-2021)" (House of Representatives of the States General, April 10, 2018).

The project brief, policies, and measures reflected the perspective of the policy makers, while the architect, based on their understanding of the needs of the students and future vision, channeled and interpreted the brief with their own architectural sensibility. The final outcome reflected the dynamic interplay between the demands of policy makers and the creative vision of architects in the design of a student housing project. Their perspectives sometimes coincided but not always. This chapter aims to analyse the relations and deviation between perspectives of different stakeholders.

Function of student housing

During the 1950s, policy makers perceived the primary objective of student housing as providing an environment conducive to academic concentration and personal growth, which could be facilitated through interactions with fellow residents. PBSA offered students a nearby residence, allowing them to focus on their academic pursuits and fully engage in the university experience. A group size of 8 to 12 students was deemed an appropriate scale for shared flats. Students shared a common perspective regarding the principal objective of student housing. Nonetheless, they acknowledged that shared living arrangements did not always foster a conducive environment for academic concentration. Clean and tidy communal kitchens in student housing are a rare occurrence. A quiet environment in student for studying was also not guaranteed.

While some students were content with affordable, albeit somewhat worn-out accommodations, others prefer not to fully immerse themselves in the social aspects of student life, such as parties, disorder, and unclean restrooms on a daily basis. Students did not consider that sleepless nights resulting from the previous night's party noise would enhance their academic pursuits. To students, meaningful connection with flat-mates did not happen in shared bathrooms or toilets. They demanded for more privacy in the PBSA with self-contained rooms with private bathrooms, toilets and kitchen.

During the 2010s, to stay competitive in the global economy, policy makers started to view housing as a way to attract and retain talent from abroad. They responded to the feedback

from students and endorsed the provision of more better insulated, self-contained rooms, by enabling rent allowance to be applied towards such lodgings. Although kitchen and sanitary facilities typically account for the highest cost in a residential unit, architects and PBSA providers strive to strike a balance between budget constraints and the number of rooms required, resulting in a trend towards constructing more self-contained units. When budgetary constraints preclude the provision of self-contained lodgings, a reduction in the number of shared rooms within a given unit is often observed. As a result, in the 2010s, fewer students complained about their housing condition but the difficulties in securing a room or the affordability.

Socialisation in student housing

In the 1950s, communal living was considered an integral component of student housing by both policy makers and architects, who believed that shared sanitary and kitchen facilities were essential to foster a sense of community. This perspective was validated by the success of the Duyvelsgat model, which demonstrated that students were amenable to sharing amenities and developed strong social connections within the communal environment. Communal living was regarded as a form of socialization. Ideally, students had breakfast and dinner together in the common dining hall. Students would be considered unhealthy or unsociable to dine in his/her own room. The universities, at that time focused more on their own interpretation of the ideal student life. This led to a parental way of thinking where they believed that students did not always know what was good for them.

For students, socializing with their peers and meeting new people was an important aspect of their university experience, but they had different preferences when it came to socializing. Some students would rather socialize at a time of their own choosing, rather than necessarily with their flat-mates. It was not necessary to have every meal together, and students may prefer to dine out or gather in a common area to watch a movie or engage in other social activities.After all, no individual student is the same and students appreciated student housing that could embrace the diversity and individuality of students.

Architects must work within the parameters of the client's needs and expectations when designing a building, which affects the degree of design freedom they have for each project. The Weesperflat project was a standout example of this, receiving recognition within the industry for its innovative design. The building's communal living spaces, including shared bathrooms, kitchens, and a dining hall, were aligned with prevailing attitudes at the time. The design also encouraged socialization and daily encounters among residents, with features such as an exceptionally wide loggia and gallery street. Additionally, the building's ground floor included a restaurant and a student center to promote socialization with outsiders. In the 2010s, the housing corporations became self-funded and private PBSA developers emerged, and the students' position changed from tenants to customers. Their views were more valued in the design process of PBSA. This shift was mainly due to the fact that the private PBSA developers and housing corporations needed to attract students and ensure high occupancy rates. To do this, they needed to create a more appealing living environment that met the needs and preferences of the students.

As the needs and preferences of students have evolved over time, architects have had to adapt their designs to meet the changing demands of clients. Modern PBSA designs prioritize creating a comfortable and contemporary living space with the latest technology and amenities to enhance the student experience. This differs significantly from the approach taken in the 1950s, where the focus was more on providing basic accommodation to students. Today, architects must balance the needs of their clients with the expectations and preferences of students to create living spaces that are both functional and attractive. Architects recognized the importance of socialization among residents with similar interests, and therefore have included more social and sports facilities in their designs. These facilities allow residents to engage in activities together and foster a sense of community. For example, common rooms with entertainment systems, game rooms, study lounges, and fitness centers are common in modern PBSA. This shift towards creating a more communal living environment aims to address the social and emotional needs of students, which is critical for their well-being and academic success. The design process is now more student-centered, with architects taking into account factors such as privacy, flexibility, and community-building when creating their plans.

Social Integration

In response to the growing demand for student housing, there has been a notable increase in the size of student complexes since the 1950s. This trend has prompted concerns among political stakeholders regarding the emergence of "student ghetto" as it pertains to a neighborhood where the ratio of students to other residents has surpassed a particular "tipping point", causing negative impact to other residents in the same neighborhood.[118] As a countermeasure, policymakers have worked to improve connectivity between these complexes and city centers. This approach has persisted into the 21st century, with municipal officials taking care to avoid marginalizing students by locating PBSAs on the outskirts of cities. Students in modern times prioritize social integration and interaction with their surrounding community, rather than isolating themselves within their student housing complexes.[119] When students chose their PBSA, in addition to safety of the neighbourhood, they preferred to reside in mixed and lively neighborhoods with easy access to public transportation.

Architects have made efforts to encourage social integration through building design, often through a trial-and-error process. One important lesson learned from the case of Weesperflat is that while providing free public access to the PBSA can encourage social interaction and community building, it can also lead to issues such as vandalism and undesirable behavior, including homeless individuals sleeping in common areas. As such, architects must balance the need for social integration with the need for security and safety within the PBSA. Contemporary PBSA design focused on promoting social integration among students while still maintaining a safe and controlled environment. The facilities within the PBSA, such as restaurants, bars, and multipurpose rooms, are designed to be accessible to the public, but with controlled access to ensure the safety and security of the residents. This approach strikes a balance between promoting social integration and maintaining a safe and controlled living environment.

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[118] Blake Gumprecht, "Fraternity Row, The Student Ghetto, and the Faculty Enclave: Characteristic Residential Districts in the American College Town," *Journal of Urban History* 32, no. 2 (January 2006): 231–73, https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144205281664.
[119] Thomsen and Eikemo, "Aspects of Student Housing Satisfaction."

Role and responsibility of policy makers, architects and students

Since the 1950s policy makers had generally limited their role in the academic world to financial support. They tended to exercise a hands-off approach to university governance to maintain freedom in the academic world. Gradually, the government also recognised more its role as a facilitator to facilitate the cooperation between municipalities, education institutions and PBSA providers. The tenancy reform of temporary contract was proved to be effective in boosting PBSA supply from both private developers and non-profit housing corporations. Financial support to students was also increased for them to deal with the increasing rental price of student housing. Despite the efforts of policymakers to address the housing shortage, the issue persisted, prompting students to become more involved in finding solutions in the 2010s. One way students have sought to address the issue is by advocating for changes to national policies to allow universities to place limits on certain courses of study, a solution that universities have also considered. Additionally, students have called on universities to assist in the provision of housing for international students and proposed other solutions, such as reducing the size of English-language programs to better manage the number of international students.

Limitations

This paper acknowledges several limitations that may affect its findings. Firstly, the language barrier presents a challenge as the majority of the primary sources are in Dutch. The reliance on Google Translate introduces the possibility of losing certain nuances and details from the original sources. Secondly, this study primarily focuses on analyzing PBSA in the Netherlands as a whole, without delving extensively into the variations between individual student cities or the distinctions between PBSA in student cities and non-student cities. Recognizing the potential differences in policies, practices, and experiences across various locations is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of the PBSA landscape. Thirdly, it was observed during the course of this study that architects' perspectives were often constrained by factors such as design limitations, budgetary constraints, and client requirements. While efforts have been made to gain insights from annual reports of housing providers and conducting an interview

with a private PBSA provider, further analysis of housing providers' perspectives could enhance the overall understanding of the PBSA landscape.

These limitations should be considered when interpreting the study's findings. Future research endeavors can address these limitations by employing more robust language translation methods, exploring the specific characteristics of different student cities and non-student cities, and conducting in-depth investigations into the perspectives of housing providers. By addressing these limitations, researchers can enhance the validity and comprehensiveness of their findings, leading to a more nuanced understanding of PBSA in the Netherlands and potential implications for future developments.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Upon examining the history of student housing in the Netherlands from 1950 to 2020, it becomes evident that the shortage of such accommodations is a long-standing and structural issue. Throughout each decade, students have been forced to resort to sleeping in public areas such as parks or train stations, as well as in temporary housing, due to the persistent shortage of suitable living arrangements.[120]

The imbalance of supply and demand for PBSA existed for different reasons in the 1950s and 2010s. In the 1950s, on the supply side, fewer housing was available for students due to the destruction caused by WWII. The scarcity of construction materials and other resources limited the new construction of PBSA. On the demand side, number of student increased sharply due to the return of Dutch students, societal need for more academic professionals and the rise of international exchange programs. In the modern days, the supply of student housing could not keep up with the increasing influx of students. The demand quickly expanded with internationalism and widespread access to education, coupled with growing societal and economic recognition of the importance of higher education. The growing number of English courses in universities and exchange programs attracted more foreign students to study in the Netherlands. (Refer to Figure 1) [121]

Throughout the examined period, the roles of policy makers, architects, and students have undergone transformations, yet they have remained crucial stakeholders in the planning and development of PBSA. Their perspectives have exerted a significant influence on the design and provision of PBSA. This thesis addresses a research gap by conducting a systematic examination of extensive primary sources. It investigates the perspectives of these key actors involved in the planning and design process of PBSA, aiming to comprehend their viewpoints on the social function and the supply of PBSA and analyze how their evolving perspectives and interaction of perspectives have contributed to the evolution of PBSA in the Netherlands from the 1950s to the 2010s.

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[120] Heezen, "Meer kamers of ik zet m'n tent op!"; Strikkers, "Many Room Students Live Poorly (Vele Kamerstudenten Wonen Slecht)."
[121] Nuffic, "Incoming Degree Mobility in Dutch Higher Education 2020-2021."

For policy makers, they had always been confined their role to providing financial support and updating policies and regulations whenever there was a bottleneck faced by housing providers. They viewed any further involvement as excessive and unhealthy interference to the freedom of the academic world or university governance. They no longer saw student housing as a separate housing type or view students had a special position among other low-income group. Student housing was grouped under the umbrella social housing, treated in the same way when it came to rent allowance or rent ceiling of social housing. In the 1950s, student housing was once under the ambit of Ministry of Education and universities. In the 1950s, the production of student housing was monitored by universities but was observed to be ineffective, leading to a decision to refrain from direct involvement in the production or management of such housing. The production responsibility was thus shifted to housing corporations and private developers.

Architects utilized the design freedom and budget allocated to them, based on the clients' brief, to create student housing that they believed would be ideal for the intended occupants under the regulatory framework. During the 1950s, architects' design approach was primarily influenced by the perspectives of their clients, who were typically housing corporations managed by universities and policy makers who funded the projects. There were a lot of designs with shared sanitary facilities and kitchen, promoting communal living as much as possible in student housing. Their own interpretation and imagination of student housing were better reflected in award-winning projects or large-scale PBSA complexes, where there was more space and budget that architects could utilize the intended design. Shared student rooms were still the main tune but more diverse common facilities and elements of social integration were seen in these projects. In the 2010s, the major clients become the self-funded housing corporations and private developers. To stay financially sustainable, both housing providers valued more the preferences and opinions of students and so did the architects. Over time, the privacy and individuality of students came to be valued more highly, leading to an increase in the number of self-contained rooms in student housing designs. To reconcile the expectations of students and housing providers with regard to socialization within student housing, a wider range of common facilities were located on the ground or lower floors, which helped to reduce

the likelihood of party noise on upper floors that could potentially impact the sleep quality and studying of students.

The expectations and opinions of students regarding PBSA have also evolved over the years. In the case of international students, the primary function of student housing remains to provide a shelter away from their home countries. Affordability is the most critical factor for them, followed by comfort and social needs. Conversely, the expectations of domestic students towards PBSA have increased over time.If students are unable to find suitable accommodation within their limited budget, staying at home has become a preferred option for many. They still wanted to move into PBSA in the 2010s but they no longer viewed it as an essential part of student life. To maintain social connections with their peers, students have the option to engage in online interactions or occasional sleepovers rather than renting an overpriced space for a prolonged period of time.

Given the current shortage of student housing, it is worthwhile to review the old assumptions made by policy makers and reexamine the boundaries of responsibility that were established by past policies for each stakeholder. The boundaries of responsibility established for each stakeholder were based on lessons learned from past experiences. Nevertheless, it is important to determine whether these assumptions still hold true in today's world, and to consider whether a radical change in perspective could help us to renew our vision and generate innovative solutions.

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